

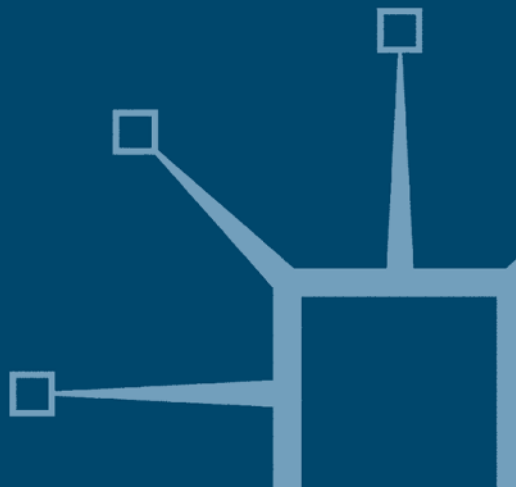
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# Humanitarian Work Psychology

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Edited by

Stuart C. Carr, Malcolm MacLachlan and  
Adrian Furnham



# Humanitarian Work Psychology

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# Humanitarian Work Psychology

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Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2012 978-0-230-27545-4

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First published 2012 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

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Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

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ISBN 978-1-349-32480-4 ISBN 978-1-137-01522-8 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1057/9781137015228

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

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

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1  
21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12

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# Acknowledgements

This book was conceived at the first meeting of the *Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology*, kindly hosted and supported by the Department of Psychology at University College London, in 2009. We thank the Centre for Global Health and the School of Psychology at Trinity College Dublin for a wide range of generous assistance throughout the meeting and project. Thank you to Jeffrey Godbout for coining the phrase ‘humanitarian work psychology’. We thank the School of Psychology at Massey University, Aotearoa/New Zealand, for consistently supporting the book, and helping us over the finishing line. Thanks to Emma Sherry for all your copyediting skills, professional patience and good will! Our sincere appreciation goes to the Global Task Force, and to all the members of the humanitarian psychology network/community, for their skilled input and advice. A special thank you to the contributors to this volume, for the excellent chapters and for the constructive peer reviews. We are very grateful indeed to the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, especially Executive Director Dave Nershi and *The Industrial Psychologist's* Editor-in-Chief, Lisa Steelman, for kindly allowing us to reprint interviews from *Pro-Social I/O – Quo Vadis*. Thanks to the late Emeritus professor Frank J. Landy and Professor/Editor Wendy S. Becker, for envisioning and backing the series. We would like to thank the team at MPS for finalizing the manuscript in such a professional and kind manner. Thanks to all the people who participated in the practice and in the research reported between these pages.

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# List of Abbreviations

AAA	Accra Agenda for Action
ACAS	Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service
ACM	Association of Computing Machinery
ADD-UP	Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance?
AfriNEAD	African Network for Evidence to Action on Disability
AfT	Aid for Trade
AHA	American Humanist Association
A-PODD	African Policy on Disability and Development Project
APA	American Psychological Association
CAT	Computer-Adaptive Testing
CIDSE	Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité
CIASP	Conference on InterAmerican Student Projects
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
CROMA	Center for Research in Organization and Management
CSC	Corporate Services Corps
CESEND	Centre for Socio-Eco-Nomic Development
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
CWBs	Counterwork Behaviours
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCs	Developing Countries
DFID	Department for International Development
DPA	Development and Partnership in Action
Drew CARES	Drew Centre for AIDS Research, Education, and Services
DWCPS	Decent Work Country Programs
EABIS	European Academy of Business in Society
EFA	Education For All
EFL	Entrepreneurial Finance Lab (Harvard)
EIF	Enhanced Integrated Framework
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council

Eurodad	European Network on Debt and Development
EURAM	European Academy of Management
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSI	Global Special Issue
HDN	Human Development Network
HIPCs	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HOPE	Health Opportunities for People Everywhere
HR	Human Resource
HRM	Human Resource Management
HWP	Humanitarian Work Psychology
ICAP	International Congress of Applied Psychology
ICT	Information and communication technology
IIASA	International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis
I-O	Industrial and Organizational
ILO	International Labour Organization
INSEAD	European Institute of Business Administration
IMF	International Monetary Fund
I-NGOs	International Non-Government Organizations
IO	International organization
ISO	International Organization of Standardization
IT	Information Technology
JSAN	Joint Staff Advisory Note
JSAs	Joint Staff Assessments
KEPE	Centre of Planning and Economic Research (Greece)
KP	Kimberley Process
KPCS	Kimberley Process Certification Scheme
KPI	Key Performance Indicator
KSAOs	Knowledge, Skills, Abilities, and Others
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MAP	Monitoring and Assessing Progress
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoE&S	Ministry of Education and Sports (Uganda)
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NCESS	National Committee for Economic and Social Sciences

NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OCBs	Organizational Citizenship Behaviors
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
O*NET	Occupational Information Network
OPHI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PFA	Psychological First Aid
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategies
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SAFOD	Southern Africa Federation of the Disabled
SCRA	The Society for Community Research and Action, Division 27 of the American Psychological Association
SIOP	Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology
SJTs	Situational Judgment Tests
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
Sodnet	Social Development Network
S-P	Scientist-Practitioner
S-P-H	Scientist-Practitioner-Humanist
SPSSI	Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues
TI	Transparency International
TIP	<i>The Industrial/Organizational Psychologist</i>
TNCs	Transnational Companies
TRTA	Trade-Related Technical Assistance
TTT	Train-the-Trainers
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UPE	Universal Primary Education

USDOL/ETA	US Department of Labor/Employment and Training Administration
USE	Universal Secondary Education
WPWP	Work Psychology White Papers
WTO	World Trade Organization



**Part I**  
**Conceptual Foundations**

# 1

## An Introduction to Humanitarian Work Psychology

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### Summary

Humanitarian work psychology is a dynamic response to the growing humanitarian challenges, and opportunities, of our era. After introducing the field (Chapter 1) the contributions in this volume define a *Conceptual* basis for humanitarian work psychology, in its history (Chapter 2), theory (Chapter 3), method (Chapter 4) and ethics (Chapter 5). These conceptual foundations enable a range of *Applications*, for example, to the skills of development diplomacy (Chapter 6), and the enhancement of public services in health and education (Chapter 7). These and a range of other applications related to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the International Labour Organization's Decent Work Agenda are responses to demand (Chapter 8), and supply (Chapter 9). They are fit for purposes as responses to the ongoing challenges of global recession, warming and climate change (Chapter 10). Future directions for *Building Capacity* through and within humanitarian work psychology include gender equity (Chapter 11), bridging the digital divide (Chapters 12 and 13) and restoring global and local trust, for example, in aid organizations and the work they perform (Chapter 14). Constructing that trust begins and ends with listening to local voices about some of the organizational causes of, and solutions to, humanitarian issues like poverty (Chapter 15). In the final synthesis then, humanitarian work psychology can itself be organized, as it is in this book, into concepts, applications and the building of capacity. Organizations, the book suggests, can be capacitors.

No problem can be solved from the same level of consciousness that created it.

(Albert Einstein, 1879–1955)

Many were shocked to discover that they were not the only ones entering the MBA programme who cared about the wider world, including about poverty, the environment, peace and the quality of life.

(Nancy Adler, 2011)

## **Context for the book**

Despite advances in human society, we continue to live in a world of humanitarian crises. Most recently famine and war in Somalia have put 12 million people on the verge of starvation ([www.tearfund.org.nz/hoafrika/?gclid=CMe8kcvFraoCFUYDHAodID2BVg](http://www.tearfund.org.nz/hoafrika/?gclid=CMe8kcvFraoCFUYDHAodID2BVg)). Global climate change and rising sea levels are displacing entire Island communities from the Pacific Ocean (Elliot & Fagan, 2010). Forced displacements from natural and man-made disasters, like wars, number 67 million people globally – people who need international protection and assistance ([http://www.arcrelief.org/site/PageServer?pagename=learn\\_FAQs](http://www.arcrelief.org/site/PageServer?pagename=learn_FAQs)). In addition to these all-too-familiar humanitarian crises, there is the more insidious killer – poverty. Around half the world's population, now heading towards 3.5 billion, still live on less than \$2.50 per day; and 1.4 billion of these have less than \$1.25 per day (<http://www.globalissues.org>). According to UNICEF, 22,000 children under 5 die each day due to poverty; and a baby born in Malaŵi is almost 17 times less likely to reach the age of 5 than a baby born in a more prosperous economy like New Zealand (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2010). Appalling statistics like these mandate renewed contributions to humanitarian work.

## **What is humanitarian work psychology?**

Humanitarian work psychology incorporates both the application of industrial and organizational psychology to humanitarian issues, and more broadly the development of a psychology that promotes humanitarianism work. Issues become 'humanitarian' when natural or man-made events overwhelm a community's internal resources to deal with them (Marsella, 1998). The events themselves are certainly all too frequent, and recognizable. In addition to the disaster that is extreme poverty, they include the advent of famine or drought, other natural or man-made disasters like genocide, and the forced mobility that can flow from war, climate change, tsunamis and earthquakes. As we saw recently in Japan, even the most economically powerful nations – and communities in them – can be thrust into humanitarian need. Humanitarian needs can also compound, for instance when the effects of a disaster are amplified by pre-existing conditions like poor infrastructure, a lack of an adequately skilled workforce or material shortages before the crisis begins. Recovering from a magnitude-7 earthquake in Haiti takes longer than recovering from a similar-sized event in New Zealand. Those interactions aside, however, the essence of being humanitarian remains the same. It means being responsive to the needs of others, when local groups do not have the capacity, at the time, to manage the crisis alone. 'Humanitarian' work psychology is thus – at its root – a hand-up, not a hand-out, response to acute human need (Carr et al., 2008).

At the forefront of efforts to manage the humanitarian issues above are *organizations*. They include literally millions of non-government organizations (NGOs), international and local, found worldwide (with over a million in India alone). They include peacekeeping units, regional and international; and emergency response teams from international search-and-rescue organizations. Included too are public service organizations in health, education and law. There are also global, international banks and local lending agencies – potentially priming business growth. And of course there are a plethora of business organizations, from industrial manufacturers to commercial retail firms. Organizations like these are stakeholders in medium and longer-term processes of poverty reduction, economic growth and social development; for example, through the creation of decent jobs, basic goods and services, that improve quality of life for all (Prahalad & Hart, 2002). A growing global consciousness about corporate social responsibility is fuelling expectations that big business may have a ‘mighty purpose,’ including humanitarian goals like poverty reduction and forms of disaster management (Adler, 2011; Ahlstrom, 2010).

Summing these points up, organizations of all types are potentially means of building capacity to recover, rally and prosper. They are metaphorical ‘capacitors’ for human development (Carr, 2009).

In the physical world, capacitors release stored energy when a work is done by an ‘external influence’, like a storm enabling lightning to pass from cloud to ground. In the occupational world, organizations provide an enabling structure for people to work together, to release their creative energy. Without their talent, competencies, motivation and human agency, development work will likely fail (Berry et al., 2011). At one level therefore, the metaphor of a capacitor reminds us that one cannot place the onus for success, at work, on workers’ shoulders alone (Sen, 1999). That is a fundamental attribution error (MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010) – over-emphasizing individual rather than situational determinants of behaviour. Workplace performance depends on, and is influenced by, enabling organizational *structures*.

Structural influences are not confined to the insides of organizations. Global economic climate matters too, for instance. Global recession and/or technological developments can and do close down and open up entire industries, exacerbating poverty and challenging organizations to provide decent work conditions and enable workforce agency. Work psychology is about people at work, actively interacting with their work environment, local *and* global. That global-local ‘glocality’ – the contributors to the book show – has profound implications not only for humanitarian issues, but also for their resolution, and thereby to human development.

Humanitarian work psychology has to make a difference, whether in poverty reduction, social empowerment, conflict resolution or in community recovery from disaster. It is about the development of human capability, via freedom from need (Sen, 1999).

## Rationale for the book

This book is not the first time that work psychology has broached humanitarian issues. An excellent history of psychology's pathways in and out of the humanitarian arena is provided in the next chapter (Reichman & Berry, this volume). Applied psychologists were involved in job selection in the early stages of the United States' Peace Corps (Harris, 1973); in cross-cultural training for humanitarian workers (Furnham & Bochner, 1986); and in motivational training programmes for enterprise development, designed by David McClelland and his colleagues (Carr, 2007). However, these initial forays – like others by psychologists in general – were not sufficiently effective, culturally competent or impactful to create any lasting presence or profile for psychology in development work to date (Ager & Loughrey, 2004; Reichman & Berry, this volume).

If we look at a recent metareview of 'hits and misses' by work psychology, we can perhaps understand more about why there has been a disconnect (Murphy, 2007). On the side of 'misses,' the profession can be criticized for being servants of power not empowerment – helping managers in big business rather than not-profit groups and smaller enterprises; for defining organizational success too narrowly, namely, in financial over social terms; and for failing to adopt a wider, more contemporary view of organizations – in which workers and the communities they serve are core *stakeholders* (Aguinis, 2011).

'Hits' in work psychology by comparison – the successes that have resonated with real organizations – include the development of clear understandings about how workplace justice works (e.g., the salience of psychological contracts); about key drivers of contextual performance (e.g., going the extra mile when material resources are low), and for translating wider goals into everyday workplace targets that workers themselves can own, and thus more readily accept (Murphy, 2007).

In humanitarian domains, these very strengths may be precisely what are required to address the misses (Carr, 2009). Perhaps the most obvious illustration is provided by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (Annan, 2000). Resonating with goal-setting theory in work psychology (Latham, 2006) these macrolevel objectives were set in 2000, for 2015, and represent possibly the most systematic and interdisciplinary (although not unproblematic) approach to poverty reduction to date (for a critical assessment, see Tripathi, 2010). They include, for example, development targets in health and education, and the provision of 'Decent Work' for all (MDG1b). Decent Work means having a job that matches workers' own aspirations for dignity, respect, liveable wages, etc. The concept of Decent Work is thus a leading plank in the manifesto of the International Labour Organization (<http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang-en/index.htm>).

The global recession is of course undermining the United Nations' 'grand plan', for example, through rising food prices. Nonetheless, the

Millennium Development Goals need to be translated into everyday practice, including *at work*, that is, in organizations and development agencies (MDG1b), international and national (Easterly, 2006). These challenges have fuelled demand for fresh perspectives on humanitarian issues like global poverty reduction and climate change ([http://www.un-ngls.org/spip.php?page=amdg10&id\\_article=2552](http://www.un-ngls.org/spip.php?page=amdg10&id_article=2552)). We hope that this book can contribute to addressing some of these challenges, by thinking through distinctive humanitarian work psychology contributions.

## **Foci of the book**

The title of this book could equally well be parsed into (1) 'a psychology of humanitarian work' and into (2) 'a work psychology that is humanitarian.' These are not the same thing, although they are certainly compatible and even complementary. For example, (1) reducing aid worker stress may enable (2) a safer work environment, just as (1) the provision of humanitarian aid may enable (2) local businesses and jobs to develop. The book also incorporates a fundamental distinction in work psychology (Latham, 2006), between workers, including human relations, and the work itself, that is, organizational task. For example, we can distinguish between a worker's well-being and a work done well. This second conceptual distinction, again between complementary foci, combines with the first to create a four-fold conceptual topography (Figure 1.1). Figure 1.1 is not a taxonomy, or a typography, but a schematic map of foci in humanitarian work psychology. The features in Figure 1.1 are all included in this book, with some examples falling relatively clearly into discrete quadrants, and others stretching and spanning boundaries. Crudely speaking, humanitarian work psychology has progressively expanded from left to right, and top to bottom in the figure. Although presented as two conceptual dichotomies, we do recognize that, in practice, our categories represent anchors along dimensions which we hope offer a useful tool for interrogating activity within the domain of humanitarian work psychology. Reading the chapters in this book, it will become clear that while there is ongoing work in each area of the topography, there are also many gaps and opportunities for influencing research, practice and policy from a humanitarian work psychology perspective. The topography metaphor also suggests scope to stretch the boundaries beyond Figure 1.1, for example, 'easterly' into more humanistic work globally, and/or 'southerly' into more macro-level linkages. Chapters in this volume deal with those vistas.

## **A psychology of humanitarian work**

From Figure 1.1, a number of studies have focused on the psychology of aid and other forms of humanitarian work, and its psychology (Ager et al.,

	Humanitarian work	psychology	Humanitarian	work psychology
Workers	Fostering humanitarian worker well-being		Ensuring decent work for all workers	
Task	Enabling humanitarian work for organizational goals		Meeting responsibilities towards multiple stakeholders	

Figure 1.1 A topography of humanitarian work psychology

2002). Much of the study and practice in this field has in turn explored the psychosocial well-being of aid workers, largely though not exclusively among expatriates (<http://humanitaian-psy.org>). In addition to developing a psychology of aid workers, a further facet of humanitarian work’s psychology, from Figure 1.1, is an analysis of the tasks that humanitarian workers actually do (Ager & Loughry, 2004). Prominent examples of the more behavioural focus that we introduce in more detail below include the provision of health care services in resource-constrained environments, and work that is done towards peace and reconciliation in conflict zones. The former underpins several of the Millennium Development Goals (Annan, 2000). The latter has recently been flagged by the United Nations as a key factor in human development (UNDP, 2010).

**Fostering humanitarian worker well-being**

This is often defined as subjective well-being, and is contrasted with negative states such as anxiety, despair and depression. Diener (2000) has defined subjective well-being as how people cognitively and emotionally evaluate their lives. It has an evaluative (good-bad) as well as a hedonic (pleasant-unpleasant) dimension. Well-being matters because the research evidence links it not only to being more successful at work, but also to coping effectively with setbacks on a personal and professional basis (Furnham, 2010a, b).

Aid worker well-being has also been linked empirically to the experience of culture shock (e.g., Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Harris, 1973; Kealey, 1989). Later studies have used critical incidents analysis to derive the kinds of specific *process skills* that international aid workers may need to help them cope, emotionally and professionally, with cultural, economic and

political differences (MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2003). Recent research has found that humanitarian workers' personal well-being is linked to their fit with (a) local managers' expectations about what task competencies are required for capacity building, followed by (b) the views of internationally based job selectors on the same question (Manson & Carr, 2011). This and related research on subjective well-being may take aid-work job selectors closer to a working definition (in human relations terms) of what official aid policy calls 'alignment' – in this case with local aspirations for aid service competency (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008).

One of the most common foci in the extant literature on aid worker well-being is the importance of stress, and managing stress at the aid workplace (Musa & Hamid, 2008). Psychologists have spent considerable effort in describing and categorizing different strategies, some of which are thought to be 'successful' and adaptive, and others less or not at all (Furnham, 2010a, b). People can be helped to adopt better coping strategies so as to deal with the inevitabilities of stress at work, including aid work (<http://www.peopleinaid.org/>). Many of the stressors, it turns out, are organizational rather than humanitarian-related. They include, for example, not having a supportive supervisor, being stuck with poor communication lines (Wigley, 2006) or being insufficiently prepared for coping with conditions of extreme need and extreme plenty that some aid workers can experience simultaneously between their work and recreation time (MacLachlan, 1993a). Again both people (managers/workers) and structure (organizational communication lines) matter.

Importantly, and consistent once more with the policy of aid alignment, research attention in recent years has begun to shift from being almost exclusively about 'expatriate' well-being, and a concomitant 'expatocracy' (MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010), to local humanitarian workers (Vergara & Gardner, 2011). These often face additional stressors such as losing loved ones, survivor guilt and depression (<http://www.headington-institute.org>). Local workers also often have to deal with everyday organizational injustices. These in turn include power differentials with their expatriate counterparts, economic discrepancies such as high expatriate-local pay differentials, and increased risks to personal safety or security (McFarlane, 2004).

Also related to these issues, and a factor present in several loci of our topography, is the nature of relationships between humanitarian workers. Such relationships are often charged with power imbalances that can undermine their good intentions, their explicit collaborative objectives and personal well-being (MacLachlan, 1993b). Establishing just what type of expatriate-local aid worker relationships are mostly likely to contribute to genuine capacity building is a critical challenge for humanitarian work psychology (McWha, 2011). In this way, the well-being of workers spills over directly from Figure 1.1, from workers into Task.



### **Enabling humanitarian work for organizational goals**

Health service providers are the human link that connects knowledge to health action. Capable, motivated and well-supported health workers are essential for achieving national and global health goals. However, 75 countries have fewer than 2.5 health workers per 1000 population, which is the minimum number estimated as necessary to deliver basic health services (Joint Learning Initiative, 2005). The World Health Organization Maximizing Positive Synergies Collaborative Group (2009) noted a global deficit of trained health workers of over 4 million, while suggesting that 'new strategies are needed to improve staff retention that integrate in-service training of existing staff members with long-term investment in development. The production of new health workers through pre-service education needs greater attention and resources.' (p. 2157). In Africa alone, the Global Health Workforce Alliance (2007) suggested that a further 1.5 million new workers need to be trained to address current shortfalls in its health systems (p. 2157). The projected shortage of conventionally trained nurses and physicians by the Millennium Development Goals' target date of 2015 has been estimated at 800,000 in sub-Saharan Africa (Scheffler et al., 2009).

Clearly there is a serious human resources crisis in health care organizations in lower-income settings, and this is partly why they feature so prominently in the Humanitarian Millennium Development Goals (Annan, 2000), including their workplace/organizational substrates (Easterly, 2006). The crisis itself is fuelled by global mobility (Carr, 2010). High-income countries with high salaries and good living conditions have been attracting qualified doctors and nurses (the vast majority of the 'health professions' with internationally recognized qualifications in low-income countries) from these countries to fill gaps in their own health human resources pool. The emigration of this skilled labour is depleting human capital in many low-income countries, including the organizations operating in them (Lowell & Findlay, 2001).

Brain drain like this has made dependence on conventionally trained and qualified doctors, nurses and teachers increasingly precarious (McAuliffe & MacLachlan, 2005). Workload and staff shortages are washing back into worker well-being (Figure 1.1), contributing to burnout, high absenteeism, stress, depression, low morale and de-motivation and are responsible for driving workers out of the public sector (Sanders & Lloyd, 2005). Poor working conditions seriously undermine health system performance by thwarting staff morale and motivation, and directly contributing to problems in recruitment and retention (Troy, Wyness & McAuliffe, 2007). Domestic resources in many countries may clearly not be sufficient to support scaling up the conventional health workforce to the levels required for health care organizations to *address population needs* (Joint Learning Initiative, 2005).

A creative solution is needed. Countries may need to move away from the expensive production of conventional (Western) health professionals

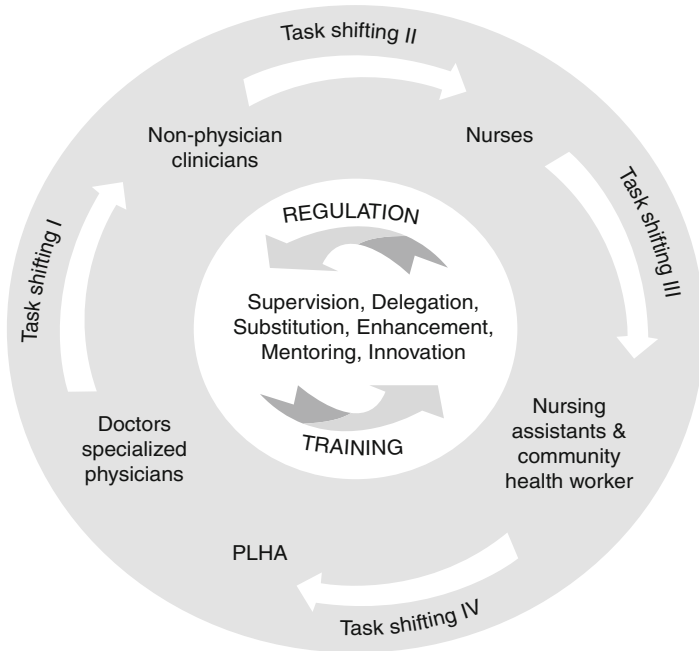
to focus instead on the more pragmatic production of health workers appropriate to their own burden of disease and availability of resources (Huddart & Picazo, 2003). This strategy has in fact been adopted by several countries that are increasingly relying on so-called *mid-level cadres*. These include medical assistants, clinical officers and enrolled nurses (who have shorter lengths of training than doctors or registered nurses), to provide health care roles and tasks, in human service organizations (McAuliffe et al., 2009b; Figure 1.1).

A recent review of mid-level health workers suggests that more than 100 different categories have been used to provide health care, particularly to underserved communities, and that the use of mid-level workers has been widening in both high- and low-income countries (World Health Organization, 2007). The review notes that utilization, skills, length of training and management practices vary quite substantially across cadres and countries. However, recent studies in the area of emergency obstetric care provide strong evidence for mid-level cadres' clinical efficacy and value for money in terms of training costs and outcomes (McCord et al., 2009). From Figure 1.1, mid-level cadres can Enable humanitarian work to be successful in its goals.

Given these quite promising indicators, it is important to recruit, retain and support these cadres to build the capacity of health systems, and a programme of humanitarian work psychology research has been underway for several years in this area exploring the job satisfaction, motivation and performance of mid-level cadres across a number of African countries (McAuliffe et al., 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Negusse, Mc Auliffe, & MacLachlan, 2007).

Figure 1.2 illustrates the World Health Organization's working concept of task shifting, where specific tasks can be reallocated, from more to less specialized personnel. From a work psychology perspective, it is important to note that the optimal means of identifying the most appropriate types of task to be shifted from one cadre to another have yet to be fully developed. To date, such task shifting has been more based on service needs rather than though job analysis, skill-set specification or educational and capability levels. That level of analysis – part and parcel of organizational psychology practice – is essential in order to identify appropriate types of task shifting, where appropriate decision-making and patient/client safety are combined with technical efficacy.

Figure 1.3 illustrates how humanitarian work psychology may help address the identification, training and evaluation of a new cadre of community-based rehabilitation workers, at an organizational level (MacLachlan, Mannan & McAuliffe, 2011). This is an area where there is a great need to build a stronger evidence base concerning human resources, their efficacy and performance-related factors, in humanitarian health care (Mannan et al., 2011). In counselling services for refugees, for example, mid-level cadres within the refugee community may be advantageously positioned, culturally,



*Figure 1.2* The World Health Organization’s concept of task shifting (World Health Organization, 2007).

politically and socially, to be effective in community rehabilitation work roles and tasks (Kanyangale & MacLachlan, 1995). The functions in Figure 1.3 are all within the armamentarium of organizational psychology.

Community rehabilitation counselling work includes the difficult task of caring for the well-being of children and adults traumatized by war and conflict, for example, following forced displacement, international and national (Miller, 2010). Violent conflict, in particular, represents one of the central challenges to human development, and to humanitarian work tasks in organizations. Not only does it result in the deaths and injuries of combatants, workers and civilians caught in the crossfire, its aftermath is always marked with significant reversals in human development (World Bank, 2011; UNDP, 2005; Collier et al., 2003). Armed conflict destroys economies, assets and livelihoods; dislocates families and communities; and intensifies poverty and inequalities within societies (Green, 2008). Indeed, the World Bank (2011) estimates that countries experiencing severe conflict and violence from 1981–2005 had a poverty rate that was 21 percentage points higher than countries that did not undergo major conflicts. In the Philippines, the conflict in Mindanao was estimated to have an economic

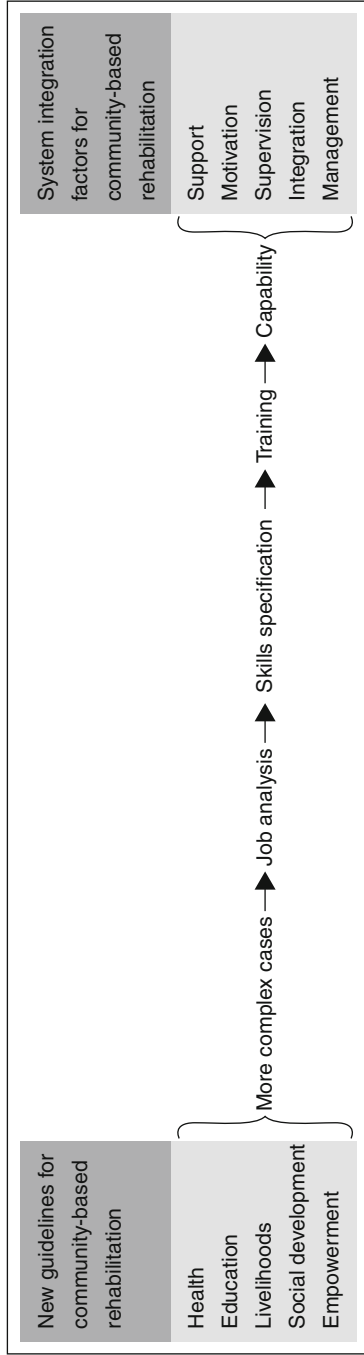


Figure 1.3 Integrative staff skill-mix requirements for community-based rehabilitation and important associated factors for system integration  
 Reproduced with permission from MacLachlan, Mannan & McAuliffe (2011).

cost of US\$2–3 billion during the period 1970–2001, mostly resulting from the destruction of infrastructure, agriculture, livestock and enterprises (Human Development Network [HDN], 2005). As a result, poverty incidence in the Mindanao region has steadily risen from 56 per cent in 1991 to 62.5 per cent in 1997 to 71.3 percent in 2000 (Schiavo-Campo & Judd, 2005).

Violent conflicts lead to severe human development deficits as large numbers of people are displaced from their homes and communities, thereby exposing them to physical suffering and psychological trauma (UNDP, 2005). Armed conflicts tend to wipe out physical, financial and human capital for the delivery of basic education and health services. When conflict erupts, scarce resources originally meant for food, education and health are also oftentimes diverted to military spending. The displacement of large numbers of people, the collapse of food systems and the breakdown of basic health services also increase malnutrition and vulnerability to infectious diseases, such as malaria, tuberculosis and AIDS, in conflict-affected societies (UNDP, 2005). In addition, violent conflicts also undermine security and weaken governance in conflict-ridden societies (World Bank, 2011). Violence against women also tends to intensify during and after armed conflicts, as opposing groups may utilize rape and sexual abuse as weapons of war, as in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Peru, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, Rwanda, Uganda, Liberia and Somalia (Green, 2008; World Bank, 2011). Increases in criminal activities, such as robberies, extortion, kidnapping and drug trafficking, have also been documented in societies that have experienced violent conflicts (UNDP, 2005; World Bank, 2011).

Violent conflicts manifest vicious cycles of poverty, inequality and violence. While the causal link between poverty and conflict is not automatic, there is a general view that violent conflict is strongly associated with conditions of widespread deprivation and inequality (Collier et al., 2003; Kanbur, 2007; UNDP, 2005; World Bank, 2011). Low-income countries are at more risk of experiencing conflict and violence, particularly when unequal outcomes between different groups coincide with social and political cleavages such as caste, religion, ethnicity, race and region (Kanbur, 2007; UNDP, 2005). In the Philippines, discriminatory laws and programmes enacted by the government led to widespread land dispossession, displacement and destitution among the Muslim people in the Mindanao region, and consequently, to Muslim liberation movements launching an armed struggle for justice and self-determination (Montiel, Rodil & de Guzman, in press). As such, the eruption of violent conflicts oftentimes signifies the failure of particular social, political and economic systems to secure the factors integral to human development for specific groups. However, the poverty-inequality-conflict nexus does not end here because as illustrated above, violent conflicts result in the further deepening of poverty and inequality and the perpetuation of violence in a society.

Given the serious challenge posed by violent conflicts to human development and consequently to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, it is imperative for humanitarian psychologists to facilitate work efforts aimed towards addressing the roots and costs of violent conflicts. For instance, humanitarian work psychologists can work with government agencies, NGOs and peace organizations in facilitating consultations with multiple stakeholders, establishing partnerships with other organizations and developing programmes and policies for structural peace-building in societies plagued by economic, social and political inequalities between groups. Also, based on their knowledge of factors and processes involved in attitude and behaviour change, humanitarian work psychologists can contribute to the development of local capacities and interventions for conflict-resolution, peace advocacy, active non-violence, psychosocial support and community organizing. Ager and Loughry (2004) proposed an examination of NGO culture, capacity and operations from the organizational perspective on humanitarian work tasks depicted in Figure 1.1.

From a peace-building perspective, this involves addressing individual and organizational issues that facilitate or hinder the performance of organizations focused on promoting peace in conflict-affected areas. At the individual level, this includes work engagement, motivation, stress and burnout, and self-efficacy, among others. At the organizational level, issues related to strategic leadership, human resource development, stakeholder relations, innovation and learning and advocacy are of primary importance in improving effectiveness among organizations involved in conflict-resolution and peace-building. Thus we emphasize the need for humanitarian work psychologists to focus their initiatives not only on preventing and resolving violent conflicts and mitigating their negative consequences, but also addressing critical issues linked with dignity, power and social justice – human factors that lie at the heart of conflict and violence in most societies.

To sum up, the psychology of humanitarian work has already made contributions to understanding aid worker well-being. It also has considerable potential to contribute to facilitating humanitarian work itself. Insofar as humanitarian work depends on the well-being of humanitarian workers, the two functions in Figure 1.1 are logically, and psychologically, linked.

## **Work psychology that is humanitarian**

### **Ensuring decent work for all workers**

Workforce developments like task-shifting, and reconciliation work, are reminders that poverty reduction entails fairly basic organizational processes like job description and work design (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Humanitarian health care workers and advocates for peace are part of the *general* workforce. This more general workforce, of course, faces humanitarian issues,

too. An obvious and particularly salient challenge in lower- and middle-income settings (like Egypt, for example) is the creation of jobs that meet expectations for Decent Work. One of the pre-requisites for Decent Work, according to work psychologists (Reichman & Berry, this volume), is decent pay. Although work psychology resonates with the International Labour Organization policy that pay is not the main reason why most people work, decent pay is a necessary condition, quite literally, for poverty to be reduced (Ndjonkou, 2008).

Dual salaries are an institution that is found worldwide, and across sectors both for- and not-for-profit, and one related to worker relationships, as previously discussed. Indeed, they affect and are relevant to all quarters in the humanitarian work psychology landscape in Figure 1.1. They are found wherever international and local workers meet, for example in the same aid project or business assignment, when the parties concerned are paid from two different labour markets: one international, often from a higher-income economy; and the other a national, frequently lower-income economy. Whatever the macro-economic reasons for a pay difference (e.g., differing labour markets-of-origin), people on the ground, in the same workplace, are expected to work together in teams; and build capacity. Yet this is despite a fundamental structural barrier, an 'economic apartheid' (Marai et al., 2010). Dual salaries are inherently indecent, an example par excellence of the slippage and misalignment that can occur between grand plans like the Millennium Development Goals versus everyday implementations of the plan at the proverbial coalface (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008; Easterly, 2006) of policies espoused versus practices-in-use.

Being taboo, both informally and formally in some expatriate contracts, research on dual salaries has been somewhat stifled. One of the first studies of them was conducted in an educational setting in Malaŵi (Carr, MacLachlan & Chipande, 1998). Lecturers at the national university were paid either a local or an international wage, somewhere between 10 and 20 times the local salary depending on the funding agency – even though the lecturers themselves were equally well qualified and experienced. Based on theories of workplace justice (Furnham, this volume), we predicted and found that local lecturers found the differences to be unfair and demotivating, while expatriate workers felt comparatively guilty and uneasy about the gap, a twin threat dubbed 'double de-motivation' (MacLachlan & Carr, 1993). Moreover, neither group was aware that the other group felt the way they did, giving false impressions to expatriates that local workers were disengaged and to local workers that expatriates were more insensitive than they themselves reported (MacLachlan & Carr, 2005). Such perceptions can get in the way of teamwork, and undermine team performance (Chen, Choi & Chi, 2002). Dual salaries can thus be doubly demotivating.

Linking the findings directly to occupational well-being in Figure 1.1, an innovative study was made of teachers in Indonesia, within the dual salary

system (Marai, 2002/3). In addition to replicating the double demotivation effect, this research found that inequitably paid teachers, both under- and over-paid compared to their equivalently skilled and experienced counterparts, reported more anxiety, depression and sense of hopelessness. In terms of task and performance, further research in the laboratory indicated that double demotivation may be exacerbated for individuals who are more 'equity sensitive' (McLoughlin & Carr, 1997), undermining intrinsic motivation and performance for individuals, and for groups whose pay is high but not the highest (Carr, McLoughlin, Hodgson & MacLachlan, 1996; Carr, Hodgson, Vent & Purcell, 2005). Relative deprivation effects like the latter have also been found in the private sector, in particular in joint hotel ventures within the People's Republic of China (Choi & Chen, 2007; Leung, Wang & Smith, 2001; Leung, Zhu & Ge 2009). On the whole therefore, the exploratory research has suggested that double demotivation may be linked to worker well-being and work motivation, across both not- and for-profit sectors including but not limited to aid and development.

Perhaps the most systematic study of dual salaries to date was undertaken in Project ADD-UP (an acronym for Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance?). Building on and integrating the above previous findings, the study involved research teams in landlocked countries Malaŵi and Uganda (Munthali, Matagi & Tumwebaze, 2010), Island Nations Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (Marai et al., 2010) and emerging economies China and India (Zhou et al., 2010). Project ADD-UP employed a mixed methods approach, involving almost 1300 professional workers, local and international, in a range of professional jobs related to the Millennium Development Goals, in more than 200 organizations across various sectors. We measured actual wages with statistical corrections for purchasing power, sampled critical incidents relating to workplace motivation and performance, conducted an organizational survey and ran in-country workshops with local subject-matter experts once the initial analyses were conducted.

Dual salaries were found to be wanting in a number of ways (Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010). First they ranged anywhere from 2 to 10 times the local salary, when they contribute to poverty by generating local inflation, lowering the purchasing power of local salaries, marginalizing local workers and their families and pushing them below the poverty line. Second, and controlling statistically for human capital factors like qualifications and experience, they created feelings of work injustice, double demotivation and intentions towards organizational turnover and country brain drain. Third, and most interesting perhaps, organizations rather than countries were the statistically significant moderators of these linkages, implying that organizations before countries might be the most effective point of intervention to render workplace remuneration more decent, and ultimately effective in meeting the MDGs. In the series of in-country workshops at which the data loaned from the community were 'handed back' in analysed form for them



to consider, recommendations were derived for managing decent pay focused on alignment with local aspirations (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008). Among the concrete measures suggested were closing the gap by introducing structured job description and evaluation, transparent and open selection policies and the provision of structured and more socially equitable career pathways for international and local workers alike (Economic & Social Research Council, 2010). Another suggestion related to creating a stronger contingency between performance and pay. A recent wide-ranging, systematic review of civil service salary reform in lower- and middle-income countries combined skills from humanitarian work psychology and development economics to explore these relationships (see Carr et al., 2011). We found them to be a very complex area with many, but largely incomparable, research studies; a domain where humanitarian work psychology could make a significant contribution to enabling decent work for all workers (Figure 1.1).

Turning forward from Project ADD-UP, what kind of cross-sector impact has the project had to date? In one sense, it has been instrumental in the compilation of this book, by encouraging the creation of a Global Taskforce for Humanitarian Work Psychology (<http://www.humworkpsy.org/>; Reichman & Berry, this volume). Beyond that, the findings have been presented to a number of aid reviews and policymaking bodies. In one case, for example, evidence on the deleterious effects of dual salaries was presented at a bilateral aid review committee hearing, but subsequently significantly watered down in the final report. In another, more positive outcome, the findings were tabled by one major international non-government aid organization, and were instrumental in a decision by the organization to begin to harmonize and align its salary system to national sector norms, with one salary scale not two, for each of the 40 countries in which the organization operates.

Bold and socially responsive reforms like this, towards decent pay for decent work, among workers, will require support from humanitarian work psychologists, in order to evaluate how alternative systems are working. As Figure 1.1 indicates, these efforts will need to go beyond the aid sector, harmonized across sectors. For example, do the alternative systems prevent effective recruitment in times of global shortage, do they result in improved workplace relations and ultimately, do they help reduce poverty via decent pay for all workers (Zhou et al., 2010), compared to dual salary counterparts? As Zhou et al. conclude in their review of decent pay in joint ventures across China and India, enabling decent remuneration for all workers is both the challenge and an opportunity for the future. It is a global-local issue where humanitarian work psychology has a useful and significant role to play.

The practice of dual salaries is redolent of the glass ceiling, whereby women are under-represented in senior management, and continue to receive lower wages for doing the same job (<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/29/63/38752746.pdf>). In ADD-UP, some men rated their own

abilities higher than women rated *their* own (in Papua New Ghines, see Marai et al., 2010; and in China, Zhou et al., 2010), suggesting a possibility of interactions between dual salaries and worker's gender. However a post-hoc test in which salary was entered as the criterion with type of salary and gender as potential predictors, including statistical controls on human capital factors years' experience and highest qualification level, there were no significant differences between the genders in terms of pay received in terms of purchasing power parity. Similar aspirations are maintained in the United Nations' Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals volunteering programme, for example, in Sudan [http://www.google.co.nz/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=6&sqi=2&ved=0CEIQFjAF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.sd.undp.org%2Fprojects%2Ftokten.htm&rct=j&q=UN%20Tokten&ei=BJNZTq3IH87SmAWx9\\_ynDA&usg=AFQjCNGu489EV6Rn6lEgDB4hDhD7807zoQ](http://www.google.co.nz/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=6&sqi=2&ved=0CEIQFjAF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.sd.undp.org%2Fprojects%2Ftokten.htm&rct=j&q=UN%20Tokten&ei=BJNZTq3IH87SmAWx9_ynDA&usg=AFQjCNGu489EV6Rn6lEgDB4hDhD7807zoQ). On the whole however, workers who happen to be women continue to be under-represented, as a gender, within international assignments (Global Employment Trends for Women, 2009).

Gender equity is a major part of the MDGs (Annan, 2000), for example, through decent work (MDG1b), equity in basic education (MDG2), and access to training (MDG3). In education, humanitarian work psychology has been applied in a reportedly successful girls' empowerment programme funded by the government of Lesotho, for example, by teaching business skills (Berry, 2011). Micro-enterprise schemes for women have been studied by work psychologists as a means of empowerment, from both worker and work perspectives (Schein, 1999, 2003; for reviews, Rugimbana & Spring, 2009; Schein et al., 2011). Group interventions can also be combined with forms of empowerment training other than occupational, for example, to foster solidarity between women to reduce vulnerability to partner violence, substance use and to diseases like HIV (Lee et al., 2010; Pronyk et al., 2008).

What these examples show, like others in the rest of the book, is that gender equity at work is a major issue for human development, and a challenge and opportunity for a humanitarian work psychology – of workers, and task, alike.

Genders are equal stakeholders in human development.

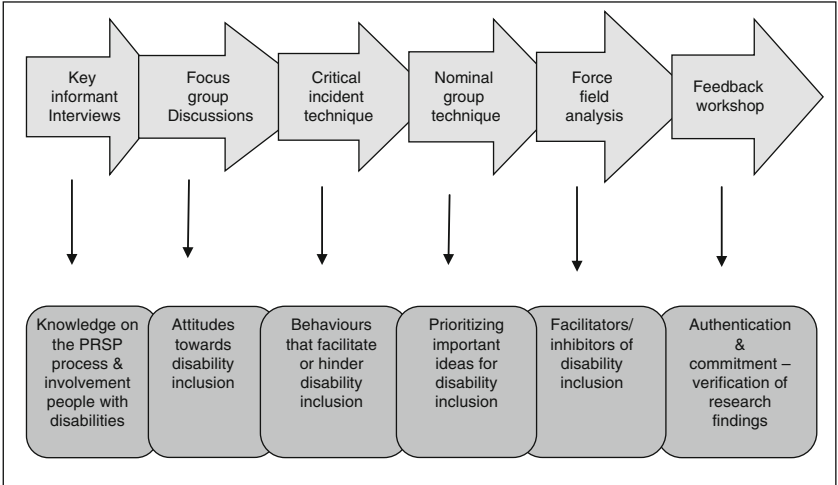
### **Meeting responsibilities towards multiple stakeholders**

Dual salaries and glass ceilings are forms of exclusion. Employment and career opportunities are denied. A further type of exclusion, and of constrained opportunity, is the under-representation of people with disabilities in the workforce, in lower-income settings. The African Policy on Disability & Development project ([www.a-podd.org](http://www.a-podd.org)) has been exploring the extent to which disabled people's organizations are involved in the process of developing Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) – the agenda-setting documents that state a country's development aims, usually over a five-year period. Data gathering in Uganda, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Malaŵi has

involved working with a broad range of civil society organizations using several techniques familiar to humanitarian work psychologists. These have included key informant interviews, focus groups, critical incidents analysis, the nominal group technique and force field analysis, as well as substantial documentary analysis.

Figure 1.4 illustrates the sequence of research which seeks to contribute to developing an evidence base that can be useful in advocacy-related work to influence development policy: identifying when, where and how, disability issues get to influence policymaking and how to overcome some of the barriers that prevent them having more influence (Wazakili et al., 2011). It seems that research evidence – even when it does exist – is rarely used by advocacy groups and is rarely influential for policy decision makers, at least within this domain. However, a lack of research evidence may be used as a rationale for postponing or avoiding a decision. Of course, this is also the case in much-better resourced countries (Lavis et al., 2005). This has led to the promotion of initiatives that bring together stakeholders from very different domains, but similar interests. AfriNEAD (African Network for Evidence to Action on Disability: see [www.afrinead.org](http://www.afrinead.org)) deliberately targets an array of stakeholders that rarely come together: people with disabilities themselves, policymakers, activists, practitioners, researchers and academics.

One of the major challenges is the vastly different capacity to engage in research production and – equally importantly – research utilization, both across these different groups and across different countries in Africa itself.



*Figure 1.4* The research sequence in the African Policy on Disability and Development (A-PODD) Project, which used a number of work psychology techniques to gather data across a variety of stakeholders

Nonetheless, the meetings do give a platform for the presentation and discussion of an evolving evidence base (Mji et al., 2009; Mji et al., 2011), and seek to do so in a distinctively African manner. For instance, AfriNEAD has tried to capitalize on the cultural principle of Ubuntu (or its linguistic variations as used in many African countries); referring to a social system of interrelatedness, where a person's sense of humanity is determined, not so much by their personal qualities, but to a much greater extent in terms of how they relate to all in their community (Mji et al., 2011).

The idea that 'a person is a person through other persons' encapsulates the essence of the Ubuntu philosophy, contrasting sharply with more individualized Western views of the self (MacLachlan, 2006). While it would be naïve to assume that cultural values apply equally to all, or that they do not change over time (MacLachlan, 2006), Ubuntu offers a powerful and culturally resonant symbol for groups and networks trying to address the challenges facing people with disabilities across many African countries (Mji et al., 2011). It has that kind of power because it represents, from Figure 1.1, a wide range of stakeholder groups, including workers themselves from the communities they can serve (for more details, Mbigi & Maree, 1995). Stakeholders have the potential to form transformational partnerships, enabling MDGs to work, and through work.

## **The contributions in this volume**

Responding to critiques that work psychology needs to be more interdisciplinary as well connecting more with its own rank-and-file, the contributions themselves are inter as well as intra-disciplinary (Ager et al., 2002; Berry et al., 2011; Carr et al., 2008); indeed humanitarian work psychology may have much to contribute to facilitating the process of very different disciplines and perspectives working more closely in humanitarian projects (Carr & MacLachlan, 2008; MacLachlan; Carr & McWha, 2008).

The next chapter in this volume reviews the history of industrial and organizational psychology (Reichman & Berry). The review is careful not to claim that work psychology belongs to, or originates in, any one particular cultural or historical setting. It does not shy away from criticizing the profession for not being responsive enough, while at the same time tracking recent developments within the field, and outside in its relations with other disciplines across development studies. The chapter therefore provides a scholarly and useful introduction to the context in which a *more* humanitarian form of work psychology, more interdisciplinary and responsive, has arisen.

The essence of the humanitarian in work psychology, as this chapter makes clear, involves justice and ethics. A chapter on justice at work, by Adrian Furnham (this volume) takes the reader through developments in the field as a whole, with sidebars that indicate where the concept,

technique or research finding is either demonstrably or potentially relevant to humanitarian issues. These issues span all four quadrants in Figure 1.1, from culture shock for aid workers and enabling aid work itself, to managing counterproductive aid work behaviours and creating more decent work (Furnham, 2010a, b). Psychological contracts can be honoured, enhancing accountability and social responsibility in multinational firms, whose stakeholders all have an interest in justice at work. This chapter thus offers a theory flagstone for humanitarian work psychology: justice, and its import for human development (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

Research methods themselves are not above justice concerns. A chapter by Ishbel McWha and her colleagues (this volume) charts some of the justice issues that can and do arise in cross-disciplinary humanitarian research. The case in point in the chapter is Project ADD-UP (above). The chapter details how principles for research justice, such as alignment, can be put into methodological practice in a socially responsive humanitarian research project. Globally distributed interdisciplinary teams are diverse in a variety of ways, including culturally, economically and politically. The chapter describes a number of challenges, and opportunities, for making humanitarian research culturally competent, safe, equitable and just. Adopting a process view of interdisciplinary research, the chapter points out that research, like practice, must, to paraphrase Gandhi, be the changes that we want to see in the world. In that sense, the contribution is focused on developing process skills that are aligned with local aspirations, and geared for local ownership (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008).

One of the criticisms of psychology proffered in the past is that it has sometimes been an implicit servant of power rather than powerlessness (Carr & MacLachlan, 1998). This criticism has included work psychology (Baritz, 1960; Brief, 2000; Carr, 2007). Like its predecessors, the chapter on ethics and humanitarian work psychology, by Joel Lefkowitz (this volume) addresses the issue of power. This chapter surfaces an implicit dilemma of an ethical nature. Is it ethically appropriate to merely replicate conventional work psychology inside aid organizations, and humanitarian work, or, is it more ethically defensible to use the developments – in humanitarian work psychology – to help make work psychology *itself* more humanistic? The chapter leans towards the latter option, without necessarily ruling out the possibility that some work psychology will apply to humanitarian workers, and work (Figure 1.1). Where the chapter is innovative, in an ethical sense, is by reminding us as readers that this is a fresh opportunity for work psychology to address an ethical issue that has arguably dogged its own development – who do we serve? Lefkowitz's suggestion is that here is an opportunity for work psychology to redefine its own values base, and strategic human direction, extending the frontiers in Figure 1.1 eastwards towards a wider work psychology that is more humanistic, and southwards towards a mightier human development purpose.

In that vein, a lingering risk in any humanitarian effort comes from its own definition – which as we have seen entails assistance from outside a local community. The risk is that it becomes part of the problem rather than the solution. Unwittingly contributing towards a ‘poverty industry’, by riding on the back of the poor, is the antithesis of humanitarian psychology (Tripathi, 2010, p. 202). Several social sciences have already reportedly become instruments of foreign policy, and in that sense, servants of power. A contemporary example is the so-called Human Terrain System, in which social scientists of various denominations become means for political gain at the potential expense of local community interests and aspirations ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human\\_Terrain\\_System](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_Terrain_System)). The global task force for humanitarian work psychology is currently considering risks like these, and adopting of codes of ethics to help reduce the risk of mal-alignment with local needs. A key process goal is to keep humanitarian work psychology working clearly and overtly within the code of the Accra Agenda for Action (2008).

In addition to policy alignment, the MDGs place a lot of emphasis on global partnerships for development (Annan, 2000; MDG8). Principles in the Accra Agenda stress in turn the import of harmonization between organizations, and sector-wide approaches, in order to minimize fragmentation, maximize coordination and enhance aid efforts. Humanitarian work is certainly increasingly interorganizational, rather than organizational per se. A recent Global Special issue on Psychology and Poverty Reduction (2010/11), shows how aid projects can entail partnerships between international foundations, local NGOs, researchers, government departments and local industries who provide training opportunities and internships for otherwise marginalized workers; from sectors as diverse as hospitality, mining, and waste management (respectively, Lee et al., 2010; MacLachlan et al., 2010; Singh & Tripathi, 2010). In community-based rehabilitation, newly released guidelines encourage practitioners to work across sectors that are historically quite insulated from each other: health, education, employment, social services and transport.

Working across these contexts requires a diverse mix of knowledge, skills and abilities – individual, team or organizational. Implementation of the new guidelines in low-income countries (where they are primarily focused) must not only address the shortage of staff, but also the greatly expanded range of skills that will be required for those trying to put the guidelines into practice. In their chapter on new diplomacies, Raymond Saner and Lichia Liu outline a process and a range of knowledge, skills and abilities in work psychology that can be marshalled to facilitate partnership processes through ‘development diplomacy’, which plays a key part in transformational partnerships between different organizations working together to meet the MDGs. These skills are increasingly important in today’s complex, multi-organizational and cross-sector world.

The MGDs highlight a central role for education in developing basic capabilities, and enabling poverty reduction. The research reported in the chapter by Callist Tumwebaze and Malcolm MacLachlan focuses on motivating teachers as a means to achieving universal education. In Uganda, motivation is a critical element in ensuring quality education, which in turn leads to poverty reduction and improved development. The teacher role has been undervalued in many ways, and teachers are under-resourced, poorly paid and tasked with huge student headcounts. This is a pattern that is repeated across a range of low- and middle-income countries (Carr et al., 2011). As the chapter argues, better incentives, higher salaries, improved career structure and professional support are needed.

Demands for evidence-based practice are the subject of the Chapter 8, which contains a set of interviews originally published in the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology publication, *The Industrial/Organizational Psychologist* (TIP). These come from a column titled 'pro-social industrial and organizational psychology: Quo Vadis'. The format in the chapter is miniature case reports, which highlight areas in which the skills of work psychologists are required, using reports directly from field settings. They include advice from a former Director of the OECD's Centre for Development, a senior economist at the World Bank, a former manager in the non-government sector in India and Cambodia; to a health workforce researcher, a community health practitioner working in lower-income settings and an experienced disaster management consultant. The interviews adopt perspectives that range respectively from political, individual and organizational to occupational, communal and institutional.

Responses to those demands are framed as 'supply' factors in work psychology, in Chapter 9. This chapter draws from the same Quo Vadis column. The interviews are skills-focused, and feature, for example, political skills, which are New Diplomacies; individual competencies in managing corporate social responsibility; selecting organizations, specifically small to medium enterprises for start-up credit; managing special journal issues like the Global Special Issue on Psychology and Poverty Reduction (2010); and on other important humanitarian issues: job creation in local communities, for example, in the creation of sustainable health records systems for remote and rural areas; and fostering the United Nations' Global Compact between business organizations that seek to make their own contribution towards the Millennium Development Goals (Annan, 2000).

Perhaps one of the greatest threats to the planet and humanity as a whole, at present, is global climate change. With its potential to interact with humanitarian issues like extreme poverty, and poverty reduction, and its direct relevance to the MDGs (MDG7 – environmental sustainability), humanitarian work psychology has a role to play in helping build local and national capabilities to respond in an effective manner, to earthquakes, floods, rising sea levels, forced displacements and less sustainable

livelihoods. In Chapter 10, C. Harry Hui and his colleagues build on their experiences in developing an online national selection system in the wake of the recent earthquake disaster in the People's Republic of China (Hui, Zhou & Chan, 2011). They outline a process for building capacity in which basic process skills like cultural competency, job specification, job evaluation and workplace performance management have a role to play in building capabilities at a local as well as at international levels. The chapter is a poignant reminder that humanitarian work psychology is a balance of global and local practices, a glocality in which there is room for both standardization and customization (Carr, 2004), and innovatory applications for modern Internet technology.

The prospect of technological innovation is a key aspect of the final section in the book, which focuses on building new capacities for the future, both within work psychology and in partnership with other agencies – and professions. The opening chapter in this 'new futures' section, by Virginia Schein, focuses on self-empowerment processes in groups of employed and self-employed working women. The chapter illustrates how self-empowerment processes work in many such groups. However it goes further, by arguing that researchers can take those processes further than the groups themselves are able to do, by becoming advocates for women workers' rights. In order to do this, however, researchers have to learn to appreciate the living and working conditions of the groups they 'research' (a point echoed profoundly in Bastos, Rabinovich, & Almeida, 2010). This in turn may require researchers to leave their comfortable surroundings, to travel to and undertake work as volunteers, in situ, as participant observers (Schein, 1999). Demands like these, however, have often been impractical for students, interns and researchers – resulting in an under-developed advocacy function, including gender and empowerment at work.

The digital era has ushered in a new set of opportunities, barriers and challenges, especially regarding the issues of distance and advocacy. It has potentially moved some of these barriers to participant observation, for example, through virtual online volunteering. The chapter by Lori Foster-Thompson and Stephen G. Atkins, reviews a nascent and sometimes controversial area in humanitarian work psychology – the study of online volunteering, and its contributions to humanitarian goals. They document, for example, how online volunteers have been helpful in fighting poverty in rural Guatemalan villages by assisting farmers to market their produce for a decent price. Online volunteers have also provided online training and support to under-served communities, all without having to travel, or necessarily leave, their immediate familiar surroundings.

The full extent to which virtual systems and online volunteering can augment traditional forms of volunteering have yet to be fully evaluated. Clearly a 'digital divide' has the potential to exacerbate inequity. However, the Internet's social network functions have the potential to transform the



possibilities for aid and development work, including the possibility for advocacy and a different type of 'participant observation'. The description of SmartAid is a very promising development in this area.

The theme of empowerment is explored further in the chapter by Alexander Gloss and colleagues on building 'digital bridges' to replace a 'digital divide'. This chapter explores the plethora of ever-changing ways in which the 'developing' world is catching up, and innovating with respect to digital communications. The authors argue and reassert that a key challenge to any development effort is to maintain alignment and ownership of projects and programmes, at the local level. International collaboration and development partnership, they argue, can benefit substantially from the range of online community media currently available, from Facebook through to blogs, wikis and virtual webinars. The chapter is also reflexive, applying these ideas to the development of humanitarian work psychology itself. A key challenge for the field, and for this book, is to keep the material and voices aligned, harmonized and to resonate with local ownership.

Keeping organizations accountable to their stakeholders is a vital part of genuine collaborative process (Aguinis, 2011). Fund-raising by organizations that are not-for-profit is a case in point. In the chapter by Christopher Burt it is argued that these organizations, like their commercial and for-profit cousins, need to be accountable, in this case to the local communities that receive and give humanitarian donations. Overheads costs for example are psychologically salient for many potential donors, who may lose trust in organizations that are perceived to be spending too much on costs like expatriate salaries or benefits (Economic & Social Research Council, 2010). Trust, this chapter argues, is a key form of human social capital, which aid organizations must work hard to earn, from both donor and 'recipient' communities alike. Trust is not hearts and flowers. It is more nuts and bolts. Ideas like trust, and the research evidence that is presented to back them up, also chime well with recent ideas from economics about rendering accountability and trust more salient for humanitarian organizations (Easterly, 2006). They moreover resonate with ideas elsewhere in the volume, about making work psychology more humanitarian (by focusing on the production of effective aid), and beyond that humanistic (by focusing on social not just financial capital).

Appropriately enough, this idea of organizational accountability, and responsibility, is applied to the most important group of stakeholders in the final chapter. In an empirical exposé of how people living closer to poverty actually conceptualize, frame and account for poverty, and poverty reduction, Peter Baguma and Andrian Furnham present attribution findings about the perceived causes of and solutions to poverty, in contemporary Uganda. This research is aligned, owned, evidence-driven and focused on accountability (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008). Rather disturbingly perhaps, it reveals that aid organizations themselves are often perceived to be a part of the problem, rather than the solution.

At the same time, Baguma and Furnham's findings present a range of opportunities. Many of them focus on the potential for organizational factors to make a difference. Organizations are seen to have the potential to help create jobs, train for capacity, fund and remunerate with social equity, and to enable enterprise and business growth. This is a fitting point on which to end the book, its starting point: In the final analysis, humanitarian work psychology has to grow from the grassroots.

## Conclusion

Humanitarian work psychology may have an important trio of contributions to make towards international development (MacLachlan, 2009). *Content knowledge* refers to knowing what (in terms of specific interventions) could be done to address a particular organizational challenge. *Process knowledge*, in terms of international aid, may also extend to examining the way in which aid is structured both locally, regionally and, indeed, how international non-government, multilateral and multinational organizations operate more generally and internationally (Carr et al., 2010; MacLachlan et al., 2010). *Context knowledge* is concerned with trying to understand how people and place effect action. To what extent can local contexts and cultures modify the effects of an intervention, for example, does being a member of a vulnerable group, or living in an urban slum, affect interventions that may work well in other situations? The essence of our argument is therefore that *humanitarian work psychology* may be particularly well placed to address these content, process and context challenges in an interconnected and evidence-based fashion to benefit international aid and development.

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# 2

## The Evolution of Industrial and Organizational Psychology

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### Summary

Industrial and organizational (I-O) psychology, as a profession, stands on the verge of a new practical application of its expertise: the challenge of the reduction of world poverty. This goal emerged from I-O psychologists' commitment to their discipline and its rich heritage. I-O psychology has developed a series of theories and methodologies that have altered the world of business and the working lives of millions over the course of a century. As a science, I-O psychology progressed as all science does: in incremental steps, each step building on the progress of the one just before it. We believe it is time to take the next leap, to become more international in our thinking and to apply our expertise to solve one of the major global problems of our time: poverty. In order to move forward, we must first look carefully at our history so as to use the gains we have already made to take our next and possibly greatest step. We see I-O psychology as perhaps the foundation stone of humanitarian work psychology, but also recognize that its own development has been influenced by other areas of psychology, and indeed by other disciplines (Berry et al., 2011). This chapter will, however, focus on the evolution of I-O psychology as it relates to the development of humanitarian work psychology.

### Psychology's roots in philosophy

I-O psychology developed as a specialty from the science of psychology, and therefore to trace the history of I-O psychology, we must review the history of psychology itself. When we trace the history of any science, we usually go back to its prescientific roots when it was part of philosophy. When we trace its roots to philosophy, we find that the elements of psychology can be found in the philosophical quest to understand the world (Heidbreder, 1961). Both Greek and eastern schools of philosophy were interested in explaining the natural world and they attempted to do so by breaking the

components into smaller units and gaining an understanding of those units and how they came together to form the components of the world of which people were aware. The philosophies of the East and the West were also concerned with understanding the relationship between internal and external experiences, or the body and soul, or between the body and the mind. Eastern and Western philosophy differed in the manner in which they approached this quest. Western philosophers tended to begin the quest by looking outward towards the world and examining the relationship between what was out there and their own experiences. Eastern philosophers began the quest by looking inward at the human experience or consciousness (Segall, 2003). Starting from an examination of what was outside the person gave rise to the natural sciences from which psychology developed its earlier schools of structuralism and behaviourism. Starting from internal experiences gave rise to the philosophies associated with Buddhism that emphasized phenomenology, introspection and mediation as the way to analyse experiences of the natural world (Davidson & Harrington, 2002). We can see the components of Eastern philosophy in Gestalt psychology, psychoanalysis and humanistic psychological theories. In most of the philosophies of the East and the West we can find basic elements of modern psychology. It may be that Eastern philosophy, with its emphasis on the inner dynamics of the person, was a stronger and more profound influence on psychology than Western philosophy. Western philosophy, with its starting point external to the person, gave rise to the early scientific study of the world. These early scientists became involved with psychology when they had to account for the person as the observing organism of the universe in order to give a complete account of the observable universe (Heidbreder, 1961).

### **Psychology as a science – brief review of the theories of psychology: structuralism, gestalt, behaviourism, functionalism, psychoanalytic, humanistic, cognitive**

Historians of psychology set the beginning of scientific psychology as 1879, the year Wilhelm Wundt established his laboratory and promulgated structuralism as the first formal theory of psychology. For Wundt the subject matter of psychology was consciousness, and the way to study consciousness was to break one's perceptions down to their simplest components and study how the parts came together to form the conscious experience (Heidbreder, 1961). The idea of breaking complex activities into their components is directly relevant to the nineteenth-century theory of scientific management, which broke industrial activities down to their basic components, simplifying these components as much as possible and teaching workers to perform those specific behaviours. This was the basis of the assembly line, which increased efficiency but also had negative consequences for the workers. Wundt also impacted I-O psychology through two of his students,

Hugo Munsterberg and James McKean Cattell, who are credited with the formal founding of I-O psychology (Koppes & Pickren, 2007).

In reaction to the shortcomings of structuralism the theories of gestalt and behaviourism were developed, also in Germany. Gestalt theory maintained that people do not break perceptions down to basic components but respond to the totality; the whole, the form, and the shape determine the person's experience. Behaviourists objected to a science dealing with the unseen. They asked how can the subject of a science be unseen and immeasurable and still be considered a science. They made psychology more scientific by insisting that the subject matter of psychology is behaviour and behaviour can be observed, measured and manipulated. This meant, however, that thoughts, ideas and emotions which were not directly observable were not to be studied by psychologists. Many psychologists thought they had gone too far.

The theory of psychology that had the greatest impact on the development of industrial and organizational psychology was the school of functionalism. This was developed by theorists who believed that psychology had to have some applied pragmatic value. Psychology was to be used to help people deal with their lives and accommodate to their environment in order to make the best possible lives that they could for themselves. From functionalism developed all of the applied psychologies, including I-O psychology. Psychology was to be used to deal with matters related to getting work done effectively and efficiently and to develop successful work organizations (Heidbreder, 1961).

A current influence on I-O psychology is the twentieth-century theory of humanistic psychology (Lefkowitz, this volume). It is having its influence in what is being called person-centric work psychology and humanitarian work psychology. Both of these theories have as their base an understanding and a respect for the individual worker both as subject of study and as a focus for activities to benefit their work and personal lives. The humanistic psychologists that moved the focus of attention to the emotions, attitudes and motivations of the person included Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow and, more directly in I-O psychology, Chris Argyris. Cognitive psychology was also developed in reaction to behaviourism and plays an important part in modern I-O psychology. Cognitive psychology deals with issues of thinking, problem solving, attitudes, beliefs and intentions – all of which are unobservable but affect behaviour (Sternberg, 2002). As I-O psychologists, we deal with many unobservables and use our knowledge to influence the behaviour of employees and their organizations. For example, we measure the unobserved attitudes of employees through surveys and use the information to make changes in the organization that will improve employee attitudes. We do this because we have empirical data that there is a positive relationship between employee attitudes and organizational success.

One of the greatest influences on modern psychology and modern life is Freud's psychoanalytic theory. Basic to the theory is the notion that in order to be healthy, a person must be able to love and to work (Hall, 1999). I-O psychologists know the importance of work for the well-being of the individual and the detrimental effects of job loss. The constructs of personality that were developed by Freud are still part of the repertoire of I-O psychologists when they hire people for jobs, train and coach them.

Thus humanitarian work psychology evolved from a rich scientific history of trying to understand the human being in all its complexities with the ultimate goal of improving the life of the individual. The development of psychology as described here took place almost exclusively in Europe and the United States. However, it is very likely that African, Asian and Pacific countries dealt with many of the same issues in trying to understand how humans function.

### **The direct antecedents of I-O psychology**

I-O psychology involves the study of organizations, especially the business organization, and so those who influenced the development and expansion of business are also contributors to the history of I-O psychology. The moral philosopher and political economist Adam Smith had an enormous impact on business. He studied the capitalistic order of production and concluded that rational self-interest and the division of labour was the way to create wealth. Directly in opposition to Smith was the theory of the philosopher Karl Marx. He maintained that because the worker does not own the means of production, he is likely to be exploited for the benefit of the owners. He railed against workers accepting this state of affairs as part of the natural order (Koppes & Pickren, 2007). These two theories encapsulate the frequent conflict between workers and their bosses.

Another philosopher whose work had a major influence on the development of I-O psychology was Francis Galton, the founder of differential eugenics and mental testing. It was not until generations after his death that aspersions were cast on both his motivation and intent. His (unspoken) goal was to demonstrate the superiority of the upper classes of the English. Nevertheless, his statistical methods were an important part of a major contribution of I-O psychology: testing and selection of people for jobs (Forrest, 1974).

### **Personnel psychology**

The importance of personnel selection for efficient and effective organizations was understood as far back as the early days of imperial China. Chinese emperors recognized that the system of selecting government officials through nepotism and influence was not yielding the most qualified

civil servants and this was detrimental to the functioning of the country. The emperor Wu of Han instituted the imperial examination in 605 AD. The exam was open to all, regardless of family or connections, and was designed to select the best administrators for the state bureaucracy. This system led to the creation of a meritocratic class of scholar bureaucrats that served the nation well. Vietnam and Korea also implemented similar systems (Elman, 2002). Personnel selection as a science and a system was therefore begun in the East much before its importance was recognized in the West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the West, personnel selection procedures were an outgrowth of the need of capitalistic business to hire qualified people. It later became an important government procedure, the civil service exam, for hiring government employees. One of the first psychologists to develop a selection test was Hugo Munsterberg, who developed an aptitude test for streetcar operators (Muchinsky, 1999).

The growth of organizations made it necessary to develop departments to deal with selection, since the local foreman could no longer handle that task. It was also believed that selecting individuals based on objective measures of ability would be a more democratic means of selection than alternative methods. As a result, systems to determine individual differences in ability, personnel selection and placement procedures dominated the early research and practice of I-O psychology. The intention was to make selection of employees for jobs as scientific as possible. Developing methods for obtaining high correlations between tests (as predictors of success) with measures of success (the criteria) became the dominant research theme. Raising the correlation coefficient between the criterion and the predictor was perceived as contributing to the science of selecting people for jobs.

Research and theory picked these processes to death. Publications addressed various types of criteria (immediate, intermediate and ultimate), various types of validity (content, predictive, concurrent, construct, differential and synthetic), various types of reliability (test-retest, split-half, alternate form and coefficient alpha) and various statistical techniques (simple correlation, multiple regression, weighting, factor analysis, validity generalization and meta analysis). Despite extensive research, scientists were generally unable to achieve a correlation higher than .50 (and usually much lower). A correlation of .50 indicates that 25 per cent of the variance in the criterion is accounted for by the variance in the predictor. What accounted for the other 75 per cent was rarely addressed. Psychologists promoted selection methods by claiming that they selected successful workers better than selecting them randomly. And, the fewer positions you had to fill and the greater the number of applicants, the greater the success you would have in selecting those who would be successful on the job. Research contrasting the clinical methods of selection with the actuarial methods always favored the actuarial method of predicting success. The research emphasis on increasing the correlation between the predictor and the criterion began to take on

a life of its own. The mark of success was increasing the number without looking behind the number for a psychological or other explanation. The correlation (in spite of what was taught in introductory psychology) took on the mantle of explaining cause and effect. No matter the reason, the size of the correlation became the key to successful selection.

By not seeking a reason for the correlation, personnel psychologists in the United States became targets of major criticism. Minorities in jobs and those seeking employment in the United States (African-Americans, Hispanics, Asians and women) charged that the tests and their use discriminated against these groups. Their charges led to a series of lawsuits which led to legislation that monitored the use of tests and other selection procedures to be sure they did not discriminate against employees on the basis of race or gender (and, more recently, sexual orientation). The criteria for fair selection of personnel were now detailed in a series of government guidelines and no longer under the discretion of I-O psychologists and human resources departments. The power of the correlation now had to contend with issues of discrimination and adverse impact on minorities.

The civil rights act and other legal developments had an impact on I-O psychology. Psychologists began to be concerned with, and developed research on, discrimination in the hiring and promotion of women, ethnic and racial minorities, the disabled and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) individuals. Along with the research, there began an awareness 'that many of the problems of fairness could not be solved by methodological advances alone; social factors and conceptions of justice and fairness had to be considered as part of personnel selection' (Vinchur, 2007, p. 210). Thus the evolution of I-O to humanitarian work psychology received impetus from an examination of personnel procedures. While the issue initially surfaced in the United States, it had implications for selection in businesses around the world, and especially as the world began to move towards multilateral and multicultural organizations.

## **The psychology of the organization**

What we may call the 'humanization' of personnel selection during the course of years of research and practice also occurred on the 'O' or organizational side of the I-O psychology profession. It has been accepted for a long time that organizations are composed of groups of people working together to achieve a common goal efficiently and effectively. The question that organizational psychologists and managers of organizations have tried to answer, and are still trying to answer, is how to achieve this lofty goal. The answers given, the research carried out and the methods developed, have at their base certain beliefs about the nature of man. What is it about 'man' that motivates people to work cooperatively and efficiently to achieve common goals? In the early days of capitalism it was generally accepted that

people worked for money and the way to motivate them to work efficiently and effectively is to tie their work activities to money. People will work hard and efficiently if this results in monetary reward.

One of the earliest theories of management was developed by Fredrick Winslow Taylor and is known as scientific management. This required breaking work activities down to their smallest and simplest components so that even the most unsophisticated individual could learn to do them (Koppes & Pickren, 2007). Once the job had been simplified, it was necessary to find the most efficient way of completing the job so as to have it move quickly with few wasted movements and with little chance of error. Since it was simple, anyone could learn the task and so people were interchangeable in the same way as machine parts. You did not have to be concerned with absences because anyone could take over the task and do it successfully. Workers were conceived of as identical elements – the same as the cogs in the machines – which could be manipulated to increase production. The motivation and reward was money. As might be expected, this style of management came under harsh criticism. Among the criticisms were that this type of management actually runs counter to the normal healthy development of the human being, which involves growth, expansiveness, long-term planning and use of multiple abilities (Argyris, 1957). The downside of scientific management is that it leads to frustration of natural healthy development, with this frustration turning to aggression either against the self (drinking, drugs and illness) or against the organization (absenteeism, sabotage and limiting/withholding work).

Scientific management as a way of organizing work and directing workers was undermined by a series of research studies carried out in the United States. The results of the research strongly suggest alternative methods of organizing work and motivating workers, based on an acceptance of workers as having a drive to grow, achieve, produce and become psychologically involved in meaningful activities. While the conclusion is based on the behaviour of American workers, there is reason to assume that these characteristics are universal and when not observed in workers elsewhere in the world, it is because the conditions under which they live and work inhibit the natural development or demonstration of these characteristics. The research giving rise to this assertion began with the Hawthorne studies (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939). These classic studies indicated that listening and paying attention to employees was the key ingredient to increased production, regardless of changes in work circumstances such as illumination, rest periods and length of work week. Another part of the studies showed the importance of the work group itself in determining the amount of work produced. While the Hawthorne studies were criticized for their methodology, and alternate explanations for the results were suggested, they ended the idea of scientific management as the most appropriate way of running an organization. They also directed researchers and

practitioners to an appreciation of the worker as part of a social group with social and personal needs that transcended money.

The Hawthorne studies were followed by a number of theories that can be identified with the humanistic movement in psychology, established primarily by Carl Rogers (1970) and Abraham Maslow (1954). Maslow's theory of motivation maintained that humans have a hierarchy of needs that they try to fulfil. The fulfilment of one need leads to a focus on fulfilling the next higher need. At the top of the hierarchy is self-actualization, the need to fulfil one's potential.

Carl Rogers' psychology had a profound effect on bringing human interactions to the forefront of organizational theory (Highhouse, 2007). His work gave rise to an I-O psychology movement known as the t-Group – workshops designed to train business people to deal with intergroup and interpersonal conflicts (Rogers, 1970). It also dealt with developing an understanding of the self and the importance of becoming more psychologically stable.

Another major contribution to the humanization of the workforce was the work of Douglas McGregor (1960). He differentiated two ways of thinking about the motivation of people, theory X and theory Y. The underlying assumption of theory X is that without intervention by management, people are resistant to, or at best passive about, organizational needs. Its counterpart, theory Y, assumes that people have the will and capacity to assume responsibility and direct their behaviour towards achieving organizational goals without management having to impose this direction. He suggests that theory Y should be the basis of any successful management system. He presents workers as naturally mature, self-motivated and capable, and if they act otherwise, it is because they are not given an opportunity to manifest their natural inclinations by a management that perceives them as having less potential than they actually have. At about the same time as McGregor was writing, research by Alfred J. Marrow, a psychologist and vice-president of the Harwood Manufacturing Company (a maker of pyjamas), and others showed that when workers participate in decisions about their job and the level of their productivity, they actually perform better than when decisions are made for them (Marrow, Bowers & Seashore, 1967).

Another landmark piece of research having to do with motivation of workers, which came under a great deal of criticism for its methodology, but which had a profound effect on organizational thinking, was conducted by Frederick Herzberg (Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman, 1959). He differentiated those job activities that caused a worker to experience job satisfaction (hygiene factors) from those job activities that motivated a worker to produce more and contribute discretionary effort to the firm. The motivators were related to enriched jobs, suggesting that an effective organization would give workers opportunities to complete a meaningful task and develop a sense of achievement.



At this time, there is not one single generally accepted theory of organizational management. While the consensus is that an effective organization must emphasize humanistic values, none of the existing theories have complete scientific validity. We can, however, assume that an effective theory will have to include the fulfilment of the needs and values of workers.

## **I-O psychology: the turning point**

In the last quarter of a century there have been many new ways in which I-O psychologists have impacted the business world. The world has undergone vast changes and I-O psychology has kept up with some and fallen behind on others. The changes in I-O psychology speak to a shift for the discipline: to become more focused on the needs of individual workers and not just on their organizations. Here are some examples of I-O psychology achievements and failures and the potential for the future.

### **I-O psychology and labour unions**

One important component of business is the labour movement, yet I-O psychology has been almost completely absent from that movement. The consequence of that absence has relevance to the standing of I-O psychology in the world at large. Labour unions and the labour movement have a long and important history. There are few that question how crucial labour unions were and are in the lives of employees. 'Reviewing the history of psychology in general and I-O in particular with working people in general and organized labour in particular reveals considerable disinterest, distrust, and antipathy on both sides' (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 285). The situation has been attributed to I-O psychology's long association with management and the identification of its practitioners and researchers with the values of the upper middle class and those opposed to labour unions, and the use of I-O psychology research and instruments such as opinion surveys for the goals of management, such as union busting (Lefkowitz, 2003). The Global Compact, an affiliate of the United Nations, has as one of its ten Principles the right of workers to unite (Rasche and Kell, 2010). Labour unions and the right of collective bargaining are coming under attack in the United States as inhibiting progress in everything from building cars to teaching children. This may present a good opportunity for I-O psychologists to conduct research and act as consultants to unions as well as to management. I-O psychologists could make a valuable contribution by researching those situations where unions effectively collaborate with management, rather than being on opposing sides of the bargaining table.

### **Stress and health**

Because I-O psychology has been less concerned with the well-being of the worker than with the well-being of the organization, it has generally

overlooked the health of employees (for an exception in aid work, Carr et al., this volume). It has paid only peripheral attention to the ills that befall workers because of conditions in the workplace and the impact of those ills on the success of the workplace. For example, the Employee Assistance Program movement, which stemmed from attempts to deal with alcoholism in the workplace, expanded to a range of ills that befall employees that have a negative impact on the success of the organization. The model, developed by industrial sociologists and then practiced by industrial social workers, looked at deteriorating employee performance as an indicator of a personal problem. By helping the worker deal with the problem (treatment outside work while maintaining their job), they showed their ability to improve the job performance of the individual and the success of the organization. The model was further expanded to include ills that befall members of the employee's family which impact the employee on the job (Diamante, Natale & London, 2006).

The idea that employee stress is a problem to be addressed by I-O psychologists is fairly new. It took reports that stress costs American industry \$300 billion a year, and that 40 per cent of employees feel very stressed in their jobs, to raise the awareness of I-O practitioners and researchers (Diamante, Natale & London, 2006). Their research revealed that many organizational procedures are directly linked to employee stress, for example, having responsibility but not authority to carry out the task, being answerable to multiple bosses or being unprepared to accomplish the task assigned. Research by I-O psychologists has identified the conditions of the workplace and of the work itself that induce stress. Steps can be taken to reduce employee stress by altering the way the work is done and by providing stress management programmes for employees.

### **Work/life balance**

In most families around the world, both parents work and are faced with a balancing act. Different industries and different countries are dealing with this balancing in a variety of ways. I-O psychologists have only recently become involved in research and consulting on this issue. The early research indicated spillover effects between conditions on the job and in the home: stress on the job affected stress at home and vice versa. Concern for balance was also fuelled by the increase in the numbers of women who were working and their multiple responsibilities of raising their children, keeping their home and earning a living. Research also indicated that there was an increase in desire for better work/family balance among men, from 35 per cent in 1977 to 55 per cent in 2008 (Galinsky, Wigton & Backon, 2009). Research showed that when companies paid attention to work/life balance, employees were more satisfied with their companies and performed better. Managers came up with a number of ways of promoting work/life balance, such as childcare leave, job sharing, compressed work week,

career flexibility such as 'mommy tracks' and, with the advent of modern technology, telecommuting.

The most effective methods of ensuring work/life balance have not yet been determined. This is, however, an example of I-O psychologists emphasizing the needs of the worker in their research and practice.

### **Ethics and justice**

The essence of a profession is its specialized knowledge, its professional values and its ethics. The existence of these three gives the public the confidence to rely on the expertise of those in the profession. Within I-O psychology, there has only recently begun an emphasis on the ethics of the profession. Joel Lefkowitz (2008) recently proposed a vision of ethics in industrial and organizational psychology. This is

the adoption of a broader model of values than currently characterize the field; a greater interest and concern for the individual employee, along with our predominant concern for organizational needs, goals and perspectives; an expanded criterion of effectiveness beyond the narrow standard technical competence to a consideration of the broader societal consequences of our work and the inclusion of a moral perspective to the field along with the scientific and instrumental.

(p. 282)

This broadening of psychology to include societal consequences is gaining acceptance and support, especially from younger industrial and organizational psychologists and graduate students. It is also congruent with our call for industrial and organizational psychology intervention into poverty reduction.

Closely aligned with ethics is the topic of justice in the workplace. Jerald Greenberg (2007), who originated this research, complains that while psychologists research justice in all its ramifications, they do little in the way of applying it in the business world. Greenberg and those who followed him described three types of justice: distributive, procedural and interactional. Distributive justice describes the degree to which the distribution of resources such as pay is commensurate with the relative job contribution. Procedural justice defines the fairness of the procedures for making decisions. Interactional justice (comprising informational and interpersonal justice) relates to the way information about distributions and procedures is communicated. When the communication is incomplete or presented in a disrespectful or undignified manner, people feel they have been treated unfairly (Greenberg, 2009).

The perception of justice at work has been linked to beneficial aspects of the organization such as low turnover intentions, customer satisfaction, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behaviour and low

levels of employee theft (Greenberg, 2009). The perception of justice has also been linked to employee well-being (Greenberg, 2009). Greenberg suggests that industrial and organizational psychologists be more proactive in bringing the results of this research to managers so they can apply one of our better researched contributions for the benefit of their organization and their employees.

Closely related to justice is the equitable treatment of employees by management. Equitable treatment refers to receiving compensation sufficient to support oneself and one's family, fairness in promotional opportunities and being treated with dignity on the job. This form of equity is the most important component in overall satisfaction at work, which in turn is related to organizational success (Sirota, Mischkind & Meltzer, 2005).

### **Corporate social responsibility**

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has been a part of business life for much of the twentieth century. It has been controversial, and yet has come to be a dominant topic in the twenty-first century. Corporate social responsibility means the equitable treatment of all stakeholders without sacrificing the needs of one group for the success of another. The stakeholders include employees, suppliers, customers, owners, investors and the community (Carr et al., this volume; 'Quo Vadis – Supply', this volume). Industrial and organizational psychologists initially seemed to oppose Corporate social responsibility by agreeing with Milton Friedman that the only social responsibility of business is to increase profits (Friedman, 1970). It was business people and business school faculty that developed the modern concept of Corporate social responsibility. The idea of the triple bottom line – financial success, concern for the environment and concern for human rights – did not stem from industrial and organizational psychology but from business.

Corporate social responsibility also includes concern for the environment, the wise use of natural resources and consideration of the effects of climate change. Corporate environmental sustainability is the name being given to concerns for an organization's wise utilization of resources and protecting the environment. Industrial and organizational psychologists around the world are lately becoming active in researching and promoting this important work. In 2008, industrial and organizational psychology, as a late-comer, did have the topic of Corporate social responsibility as a theme of one of its professional conferences (Society for Industrial & Organizational Psychology (SIOP), 2009). As evidence of its growing importance to industrial and organizational psychologists, there was a major Corporate social responsibility poster session and several Corporate social responsibility presentations at the 2011 SIOP conference. However, at the time of writing, there are few courses on Corporate social responsibility in industrial and organizational psychology PhD programmes, and many professors in industrial and organizational psychology programmes had not heard of Corporate social responsibility until the 2008 conference.

## **Scientist-practitioner-humanist and the promotion of justice**

Joel Lefkowitz (2008) suggests enlarging our model from scientist-practitioner (S-P) to S-P-H, a scientist-practitioner-humanist model. This will provide a description of how organizations should be: a reflection of the social responsibilities of a true profession (Lefkowitz, 2008). As described earlier, Lefkowitz espouses the view that a humanist agenda which promotes fairness, respect and organizational justice in fact contributes to organizational business objectives, rather than being in opposition to the goals of employers and clients (Lefkowitz, this volume). Other researchers support this view, and have found that organizations which focus on wider societal concerns also have superior financial performance (Orlitzky, Schmidt & Rynes, 2003).

Jerald Greenberg (2009), as noted previously, believes that the time is right and that industrial and organizational psychologists are well positioned to benefit employees and organizations not just by generating knowledge about justice in organizations, but by actually promoting justice in organizations.

## **Reaching the marginalized workforce**

Industrial and organizational psychologists have recognized the importance of corporate social responsibility for the long-term well-being of our society and are beginning to take a more active research and advocacy role. Industrial and organizational psychologists are also coming to realize the importance of professional social responsibility for the long-term well-being of their own profession.

One recent example of this realization is Maynard and Ferdman's (2009) call for industrial and organizational psychology to serve the marginalized work force. They referred to the Merriam-Webster definition of marginalized as 'those in an unimportant powerless position within a society or group'. Among the marginalized, they listed the working poor, immigrants (both documented and undocumented), young workers who left school too early, victims of child labour abuse and human trafficking, ethnic minorities, older workers, disabled workers and the range of LGBT workers. They call not only for research into these groups of workers but also for advocacy on their behalf.

Maynard and Ferdman (2009) have started an interest group among industrial and organizational psychologists to promote this type of advocacy and research. We see in their call an expansion of our mandate to directly affect the lives of all workers so that they have an opportunity to achieve employment that is equitable and provides opportunities for achievement and camaraderie (Sirota, Mischkind & Meltzer, 2005; for a discussion in relation to global mobility, Maynard, Ferdman & Holmes, 2010). We recognize this as a directional shift from using our science to promote the success of

the organization with an expected ancillary benefit to the worker, to using our science to promote the well-being of the employee, which in turn will improve the probability of success of the entire organization.

### **Person-centric work psychology**

Weiss and Rupp (2011) are promoting a new paradigm for industrial and organizational psychology research, a person-centric work psychology. This involves a 'more coherent focus on the worker and on the subjective experience of working' (p. 83) as opposed to the current paradigm which 'treats workers as objects' and thereby limits the ability to gain a deep understanding of the ways people relate to work from the workers' point of view. Truxillo and Fraccaroli (2011) maintain that the emphasis on the work and the worker's experience without regard to the organization or management needs is central to industrial and organizational psychology in Europe. Weiss and Rupp have set a new and exciting direction for dealing directly with the human element in their new paradigm. It is congruent with the study of the marginalized worker, a scientist-practitioner-humanist model for industrial and organizational and humanitarian work psychology.

### **Humanitarian work psychology**

We believe it is time for I-O to take the next great step in its evolution. We have moved through pre-scientific philosophical concerns about the nature of man in his working life to a scientific programme that had somewhat short-changed the nature of man in research and practice. We then arrived at an understanding of the shortcomings of I-O psychology as well as ways to redress these shortcomings. We have developed theories and methods for motivating people to be productive, to developing viable successful organizations that fulfil the needs of the worker and the goals of the organization. Now we stand poised to expand the application of I-O psychology to the larger problems of the world, with an eye on one specific target: the reduction of poverty.

Some among our profession have already taken steps to alleviate this blight, for example, the work of Michael Frese (Frese et al., 2007), who has taught entrepreneurship in Africa, and Virginia Schein (2003), who has worked with poor women in Central America (Schein, this volume).

The definition of poverty by such researchers as Amartya Sen includes psychological and social as well as material and economic dimensions; this kind of definition emphasizes the connection between poverty and power (Carr and Sloan, 2003). Furnham (2003) has analysed the causes of and solutions to poverty in terms of attribution theory; and MacLachlan and McAuliffe (2003) highlight the importance of developing process skills as an integral part of projects designed to overcome poverty.

It was Stuart Carr (2007) who pointed out that I-O psychology has in fact sometimes been responsive to social and economic needs (albeit usually in the interests of the powerful rather than the powerless) and asked why we have not made a greater contribution to the achievement of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). He outlined major areas for which our research would be relevant, and suggested, as did Lefkowitz (2008), (Greenberg 2009) and Maynard and Ferdman (2009), the expansion of our definition of I-O psychology and the application of current areas of research and practice to achieving poverty reduction, such as international business, entrepreneurship, trade and commerce and the marginalized work force.

The psychology of work is viewed by Carr as involving processes which are implicated in a range of poverty-related activities. These cover such elements as selection of aid and development workers; designing more equitable pay and remuneration systems in aid projects and integrating cross-cultural training with skills at managing socio-economic diversity; evaluating and choosing the most effective organizational channel for aid delivery; selecting, funding and training would-be entrepreneurs; and understanding what motivates decisions to emigrate, integrate and return migrate (Carr, 2007).

In all of these respects, I-O psychology is either already helping to make a difference, or has the potential to do so. To become more successful, I-O will need to expand its self-definition, raise its own profile through greater exposure to, and activity in, poverty-reduction organizations and develop additional capacity through more consciously training and encouraging the next generations of I-O psychology students in poverty-reduction efforts.

One recent attempt to create greater and more focused involvement in poverty reduction among organizational psychologists is the establishment of the Global Task Force on Organizational Psychology for Poverty Reduction, which has subsequently evolved into the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology (Carr et al., 2008). This task force is a non-partisan, international initiative formed to link organizational psychology and its institutions with development agencies, the United Nations, the OECD, civil society and low-income country governments. Its aim is to 'bring together and focus a range of psychological initiatives, energies, and value commitments' (Carr et al., 2008) and to make those available to a range of development agencies. The task force seeks to step up the scale, impact and funding of these activities, and to align and harmonize them with efforts towards realizing the Millennium Development Goals (Carr et al., 2008; Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, 2005). As a professional group, we stand ready for a new era of interdisciplinary collaboration and practical application of our expertise (MacLachlan, Carr & McWha., 2008).

## Note

The authors are indebted to an earlier review by two reviewers, and for the assistance of Megan C. Lytle, intern to the International Association of Applied Psychology.

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# 3

## Justice at Work

*Adrian Furnham*

### Summary

The concept of fairness and justice at work in organizations can be traced back to the 1960s, predominantly with the work of US-based researchers Homans (1961) and Adams (1965). Early research was dominated by testing equity theory and seeing some of its implications. However, the new sub-discipline of *organizational justice* really took off in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly with the work of Greenberg (1987, 1996, 2001, 2003) as well as the establishment of the journal *Social Justice Research* in 1987, which often contains articles about justice at work (van der Toorn, Berkics & Jost, 2010).

The idea of justice at work is also central to the *humanitarian work psychology* movement, which is the application of organizational psychology to the humanitarian arena (Lefkowitz, 2010). In a recent international project called ADD-UP (Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance?), humanitarian work psychologists examined perceived justice at work among aid workers, who are often remunerated differently for doing similar work based purely on their country of origin (Carr et al., 2010). It has been argued that best practice in aid work means pay should be *aligned* and *harmonized* across all worker groups. Although pay is usually not a central motive for many development workers, small as well as larger discrepancies in pay have the potential to influence perceptions of organizational justice, which can easily affect work performance over long periods of time (Saner, 2010). Indeed, because injustice is a motivation for much aid itself, perceptions of unfairness in aid work may inherently undermine its necessary constituents, like cooperation and capacity building. Certainly what this work illustrates is that organizational justice issues apply to all work places, and in all countries and at all times.

There are now various academic societies and journals dedicated to social justice and much of this work is concerned with the perception of justice in the workplace, as well as attitudinal and behavioural reactions to injustice. The field has even expanded to include papers on neuro-organizational

justice (Beugré, 2009). The work has attempted to distinguish between different types of justice (i.e., procedural, distributive) as well as develop theories of organizational justice (Blader & Tyler, 2003). There has been a concerted effort to look at individual and group differences in the perception of, and reactions to, justice and injustice. More recently there has been a great interest in how people with a strong sense of injustice at work either attempt to take revenge or else restore justice in other more subtle ways (i.e., retributive, restorative justice) (Furnham & Taylor, 2011).

Justice is not only relevant to workers in a company but also their customers (Hui & Au, 2001). Dayan, Al-Tamimi and Elhadji (2008) found that interactional justice (i.e., courtesy) and distributive justice (i.e., refund) were clearly linked to customer loyalty. This stresses the consequences of the perceptions of justice in an organization, for example, civil service and society organizations like government departments, NGOs, micro-credit lenders and international development banks.

Organizational justice is usually thought of as people's (manager and employee) *perceptions of fairness* in an organization's policies, pay systems and practices. The concept of justice and how justice is meted out in any organization is, nearly always, fundamental to that organization's corporate culture and mission. The psychological literature tends to be *descriptive* (focusing on perceptions and reactions), whereas moral philosophy writings are more *prescriptive* (specifying what should be done). References to questions of justice and fairness occur whenever decisions have to be made about the allocation of resources, whatever they are in a particular business. Most, but by no means all, fairness-at-work issues focus on pay, but also include selection, promotion and the granting of particular privileges and career promotions (Furnham & Petrides, 2006).

Different disciplines have become interested in organizational justice. Thus *cross-cultural* psychologists have noted how the concept of fairness at work differs between cultures (Shiraev & Levy, 2004) and religions (Singh et al., 2009) and how justice perceptions and reasoning are culturally determined (Miller, 2007). Cultural dimensions like individualism-collectivism and power-distance have been used to try to explain cultural differences in perceptions of fairness at work (Kim & Leung, 2007). The new field of cross-cultural organizational behaviour has, in part, tried to examine pan-cultural but also cross-cultural differences in justice perceptions, beliefs and practices (Gelfand, Erez & Aycan, 2007). Such differences and similarities are in principle highly relevant to international aid and business assignments, in which people from diverse backgrounds *ipso facto* work alongside each other.

There is also an extensive *differential psychology* literature on individual differences in fairness perceptions. Thus there are well-known measures like *just-world beliefs* that have been related to perceptions of fairness (Furnham, 2003, 2005; Hagedoorn, Buunk & Van de Vliert, 2002).

This research suggests that individual differences in sensitivity to justice issues account for a considerable amount of individual variation in work-related behaviour (Schmitt et al., 2010).

There is also a *psychometric literature* on justice. The growth of research in organizational justice has spawned a surprisingly large number of questionnaire measures. Fields (2002) in fact lists 19 different measures published between 1989 and 1999. They differ enormously on many criteria but essentially there are three. First, some measure only one type of justice (i.e., distributive), while others measure two or three (distributive, interactive and procedural). Second, some focus on very specific areas such as justice with respect to pay, or to appraisals. Third, they differ enormously in terms of the psychometric properties and evaluation. Most have between three and five items which measure a particular area. Some have reverse items, others do not. Most have evidence of internal reliability but the really important and difficult area is, as always, validity. The measurement of justice is thus one area where humanitarian work psychology has a contribution to make.

What the existing literature consistently indicates is that organizational justice (of all sorts) is linked to positive behaviours like organizational citizenship behaviours (Rego & Cunha, 2010) and the implementation of change (Williamson & Williams, 2010), while injustice is linked to negative behaviours including fraud, theft and arson (Furnham & Taylor, 2011). To the extent that humanitarian work depends on contextual behaviour, and counterproductive work behaviour is universally counterproductive, then justice is relevant to humanitarian work psychology generally.

This chapter briefly reviews the different types of organizational justice. It then examines three related but distinct areas of justice research (distributive, procedural and interpersonal justice). Then it looks at pay fairness and secrecy and remunerative justice. Next, it examines restorative justice and finally retributive justice. The chapter has a particular focus on retributive justice, which is a growing issue of concern in organizations and is central to the mission of *humanitarian work psychology*. It reviews the growing literature on arson, fraud, theft and other counterwork behaviours that result from people feeling unfairly dealt with at work. There is abundant evidence that justice at work has powerful consequences on such things as job satisfaction/dissatisfaction, intent to leave and well-being (Dailey & Kirk, 1992; Furnham & Taylor, 2011). These all impact on aid and humanitarian organizations. The chapter concludes with some practical strategies for managers in attempting to ensure that theirs is a just workplace and also considers some suggestions for further areas of research.

## **Different kinds of justice**

Organizational justice researchers have, for 40 years, carried out research on the economic and socio-emotional consequences of perceived injustice.

Table 3.1 A taxonomy of work justice

1	<b>Distributive justice</b>	The allocation of outcome rewards in accordance with implicit or explicit norms like equality and equity.
2	<b>Procedural justice</b>	The consistency, accuracy, lack of bias, correctability and representation in all decision-making processes at work.
3	<b>Interpersonal justice</b>	The way people are treated (i.e., with respect, sensitivity, dignity) as justice procedures are enacted.
4	<b>Informational justice</b>	The accuracy, timing and comprehensiveness of explanations for all justice procedures and distribution.
5	<b>Retributive &amp; retaliative justice</b>	The attempt to take revenge or retaliate against individuals, groups or organizations who have been perceived as treating one unfairly.
6	<b>Restorative justice</b>	The attempt to restore justice to victims and their network.

In doing so, researchers have distinguished between various types of justice (see Table 3.1).

There are also a number of organizational justice theories, so many in fact that Greenberg (1987) attempted to taxonomize them. He isolated two dimensions (proactive-reactive and process-content) which revealed four types of theory: *reactive content* (How do workers react to inequitable payments?), *proactive content* (How do workers attempt to create fair payments?), *reactive process* (How do workers react to unfair policies or legal procedures?) and *proactive process* (How do workers attempt to create fair policies or procedures?). Much of this work has been led by Greenberg (1996, 2001), who has shown in a series of experimental and quasi-experimental studies the powerful roles of justice – more accurately perhaps perceived injustice – in the workplace (Greenberg, 2003).

To date, the most research effort has gone into distributive and procedural justice (Pearce, Bigley & Branyiczki, 1998). Many studies have demonstrated that distributive and procedural justice systems and beliefs moderate the relationship between many variables like worker's age or values and their productivity (Bal et al., 2010; De Cremer et al., 2010; Fischer & Smith, 2006). These types of justice are outlined here, while restorative and retributive justice are covered in more depth below.

## Distributive justice

Concern about the outcomes of justice decisions is called *distributive* justice. Research in distributive justice draws on the concept of 'rules of social exchange' (Adams, 1965; Homans, 1961). It is argued that rewards should be proportionate to costs, and the net rewards should be proportionate to

investments. Most of the current research focuses on employees' perceptions of the fairness of the outcomes (both rewards and punishments) they receive. Results show clearly that fairness perceptions are based on relative judgments, that is, comparisons with salient others. Thus how happy one is with fairness decisions (such as decisions about pay and benefits, or per diems) is dependent on the perceptions or knowledge of *others'* pay and benefits, etc. It is not the absolute amount of reward people focus on but their relative rewards *compared* to salient others that matters more (Greenberg, 1996).

The question is *who* does one compare oneself to, on what *criterion* of one's job, and for *how long*? It seems that most employees are able to distinguish between unfavourable outcomes (not as good as one had hoped) and unfair outcomes. Clearly, employees react much more strongly and angrily to unfair, compared to unfavourable, outcomes. There may be cultural factors that relate to distributive justice; for example, in collectivist cultures equality decisions for ingroup distribution may be seen as more important than equity decisions, whereas the reverse may be true in relatively individualistic cultures (Carr et al., 2010).

### **Procedural justice**

Procedural justice concerns *the means* rather than *the ends* of social justice decisions. These are questions about how fair decisions are made and the procedures and processes each organization has in place to make those decisions. There are, or should be, general context-independent criteria of fairness as well as special cases and rules about how to apply them (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Greenberg, 1996; Pearce, Bigley & Braniczki, 1998; van Dijke & De Cremer, 2010). Researchers have found that employees are more likely to accept organizational decisions on such things as smoking bans, parental leave policies, pay, and even disciplinary actions, if they believe the decisions are based on fair procedures. The evaluation of procedural justice issues depends on both the environmental context within which the interaction occurs and the treatment of all those concerned. Although there are, or should be, general context-independent criteria of fairness, there are always special cases (Cropanzano & Greenberg, 1997). Various factors are considered to be crucial in building a justice procedure that is characterized by consistency, non-partiality, accuracy, correctability, representativeness and openness. These include

- Adequate notice for all interested parties to prepare;
- A fair hearing, in terms of giving all parties a fair chance to make their case;
- A perception that all judgements are made upon good evidence rather than on intuition;

- Evidence of two-way (bilateral) communication;
- The ability and opportunity to refute supposed evidence;
- Consistency of judgement over multiple cases.

Quite simply, procedures matter because a good system can lead people to take a long-term view, becoming tolerant of short-term economic losses for long-term advantage.

Research has demonstrated many practical applications or consequences of organizational justice (Greenberg, 1996). Using fair procedures enhances employees' acceptance of institutional authorities. Further, staffing procedures (perceptions of fairness of selection devices) can have pernicious consequences. People at work often talk of particular types of injustice: unjustified accusation/blaming; unfair grading/rating and/or lack of recognition for both effort and performance; and violations of promises and agreement (Furnham & Taylor, 2011). In Project ADD-UP, for example, it was found that paying 'dual' salaries to expatriate versus local labour was perceived as lacking in transparency and fair procedures (Carr et al., 2010).

Thus far studies have shown that leaders who are perceived to be fair are more endorsed by their followers (van Dijke & De Cremer, 2010). Justice practices have been shown to influence not only how candidates see a selection process but their trust in the organization and their subsequent productivity on the job (Celani, Deutsch-Salamon & Singh, 2008). Distributive justice beliefs in a group have even been shown to effect creativity (Goncalo & Kim, 2010). Further, lack of justice has been linked to stress (Dbaibo, Harb & van Meurs, 2010) and mental health (Gigantesco, 2011). In Indonesia, Marai (2002, 2003) found that dual salaries were linked to reduced well-being among both lower- and higher-paid teachers, compared to more equitably paid counterparts, both local and expatriate.

## Interpersonal justice

All employees are concerned with interactional justice, which is the quality of interpersonal treatment they receive at the hands of decision-makers. Two features seem important here: *social sensitivity*, or the extent to which people believe that they have been treated with dignity and respect, and *informational justification*, or the extent to which people believe they have adequate information about the procedures affecting them (Greenberg, 1996, Holz & Harold, 2011).

There is evidence that some people can be more sensitive to equity issues than others. (Huseman, Hatfield & Miles, 1987; Shore, 2004; Yiu, Keung & Wong, 2011). In their early work in the area Huseman, Hatfield & Miles (1987) suggested that there were three types of individuals. Most of us pay attention to input-output equity (i.e., what you give to and get from an organization), though some really take it very seriously. They are called



*equity sensitive*. They adjust their inputs to those of others to ensure equity of effort and reward. However, there are two other groups. First, those who appear not to mind giving more than they receive. They are the *benevolents*, while there are those called the *entitled* who are pretty determined to ensure others do the lion's share.

In a recent study, Yiu, Keung and Wong (2011) called the benevolents 'givers' and the entitleds 'takers'. Many of these studies use the Equity Sensitive Instrument devised by Huseman, Hatfield and Miles (1987), though there are now others to choose from. Benevolents are those who are always socially useful. They think always more about giving than receiving and are prepared always to contribute and co-operate. They are prototypic altruists with the philosophy of 'service above self'. This is the tradition of maximum effort, high input without thought of reward. It is empathy and self-sacrifice, and the central message of various religions. Cynics and sceptics, however, believe benevolents are disguising their real motives. These may be to gain social approval or to enhance their self-image or their reputation.

The *entitleds* on the other hand believe they have a right to others' total, continual and unconditional support. They have a high threshold for feeling indebted. They seem to demand help and support from all around them as their due and feel little or no obligation to reciprocate. In this 'cloud cuckoo land' all are debtors but themselves. Entitleds are exploiters and manipulators. They employ charm, or temper tantrums, intimidation or attention seeking to achieve their end. They seem insatiable. They are 'getters' (Furnham, 2009).

Entitleds seem to always be worried that they are not getting a better deal. They can be difficult to manage unless, of course, they have been paired up with benevolents. If work is being carried out on a piece-rate system entitleds tend to produce a lot but usually at subsistence levels rather than achieving high quality. Benevolents tend to produce more and better work. This is particularly true under salaried work conditions. Benevolents are consistent and low in their absenteeism and turnover regardless of the level and equity of reward. Entitleds are the opposite and will demonstrate high absenteeism and turnover if equity is not ensured. There is also evidence that benevolents and entitleds define work outcomes quite differently. Thus doing 'challenging work' may be seen as a privilege by benevolents but as a source of stress by entitleds.

The origin and cultural normativeness of equity sensitivity remains to be investigated, especially in the kind of settings that characterize aid and humanitarian work.

### **Example of informational justice: pay fairness and secrecy**

There is an extensive literature on fairness-of-pay perceptions (Verwiebe & Wegener, 2000). These are related to sex, age and ethnicity (Paul, 2006)

as well as work-related motives and type of job (de Jong & Schalk, 2010). Studies have clearly demonstrated that satisfaction with pay is related to such things as the understanding of the pay plan and its perceived effectiveness as well as organizational commitment (Dulebohn & Martocchio, 1998). What is well established, however, is that nearly everyone makes remunerative comparisons, that is, they compare their salary with their peers. Previous research has shown a person's satisfaction with their salary is predominantly determined by a comparative process (Furnham, 2009). Indeed it has been suggested that the single most powerful determinant of a person's satisfaction with their salary is the perceived salary of colleagues (Furnham & Argyle, 1998). More importantly, there is abundant evidence that if remunerative comparisons result in a discrepancy this usually leads to a sense of injustice, which in turn leads to demotivation, lower productivity and turnover (Carr et al., 2010).

One way in which some employers have tried to deal with the problems of pay comparison processes has been to insist on secrecy: the idea that salaries are kept secret and staff are strictly forbidden to share pay information. Just after the First World War a big American company put out a 'policy memorandum' titled 'Forbidding discussion among employees of salary received'. It threatened to 'instantly discharge people' who disclosed their 'confidential' salary in order to avoid invidious comparison and dissatisfaction. The staff in this instance rejected the order and protested by marching with large signs showing their exact salaries (Colella et al., 2007).

The same issue continues to this day with employers worrying that pay discussion fuels 'hard feelings and discontentment'. Pay secrecy is complex. An organization may withhold information about an individual or their pay levels and/or they may provide pay ranges or average pay rises rather than the specifics. An organization may also restrict the manner in which pay information becomes available. It may threaten heavy sanctions for disclosure and discussion. There may be secrecy about pay level and structure as well as the basis and form of pay. Some employers very actively restrict the way pay information is made available. There is a continuum from complete secrecy to complete openness. Hence, in Project ADD-UP, we found that expatriate aid consultants and workers were often forbidden by their employment contract to divulge their salary (e.g., to local workers). Yet for many pay secrecy is just as much about respectful openness and collectivism as for others it is about privacy and individualism.

Colella et al. (2007) looked at the costs and benefits of pay secrecy. They argued that there were various costs: First, employee judgements about fairness, equity and trust may be challenged. If people do not know exactly what amount individuals are paid and why, they surely infer or guess it. Yet uncertainty generates anxiety and vigilance about fairness. People believe that information is withheld for a reason. This in turn affects three types of justice judgements: *informational* (it being withheld), *procedural* (lack of

employee voice and potential bias) and *distributional* (compressing the pay range). These were all found to be low from the perspective of locally salaried workers in Project ADD-UP.

Second, judgements about pay fairness will often be based on a general impression of the fairness in the organization. People see and remember all sorts of things (hiring, firing, perks) that are vivid examples of 'fairness'. So even if they have a 'fair but secret' pay policy, it will be judged to be unfair if other (perhaps unrelated) actions do not look fair.

Third, secrecy breeds distrust. Openness about pay signals integrity. Secrecy may exacerbate views about organizational unfairness and corruption. Further, it signals that the organization does not trust its employees. Secrecy reduces motivation by breaking the pay for performance linkage. In-country workshops in ADD-UP revealed that local workers wanted this linkage to be introduced, and kept explicit. Fourth, people need to have, and perform best when given, goals/targets/Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) and rewarded for them. But if they do not know the relative worth of the rewards (i.e., in pay secrecy) they may be less committed to those goals. Fifth, pay secrecy could affect the labour market because it could prevent employees moving to better suiting and more rewarding jobs. Pay secret organizations may not easily lure or pull good employees from other organizations. Secrecy makes the market inefficient, and may do the same in humanitarian labour markets and service sectors.

On the other hand, secrecy can bring real advantages to the organization: First, secrecy can enhance organizational control and reduce conflict. Pay differentials can cause jealousy so that hiding them may prevent problems in *esprit de corps*. Making pay open often can reduce performance differences; that is, the pay range distribution is narrower than the performance distribution. So, paradoxically, secrecy can increase fairness in the equity sense because people can more easily be rewarded for the full range of their outputs.

Second, secrecy prevents 'political' behaviour, union involvement and conflict. Openness is both economically inefficient and likely to cause conflict.

Third, pay secrecy allows organizations more easily to 'correct' historical and other pay inequities, such as colonial and post-colonial relations. So, paradoxically, one can both minimize unfairness and discrimination as well as perceptions of those matters more easily by secrecy.

Fourth, secrecy may benefit team work, particularly in competitive individuals, organizations and cultures. It may encourage interdependence rather than 'superstardom'.

Fifth, secrecy favours organizational paternalism in that organizations can (and do) argue that employees themselves want secrecy, and that this can reduce conflict, jealousy and distress. One can even suggest that workers might make irrational decisions if they know how much their colleagues are paid. So paternalistic secrecy can increase control and the 'feel good' factor.

Sixth, secrecy is another word for privacy, an increasing concern in a technologically sophisticated surveillance society. Perhaps this is why some surveys show that employees are generally in favour of secrecy: because they do not want their salaries discussed by their co-workers. Many employees are willing to trade off their curiosity about the pay of others in exchange for not having their own package revealed (Collela et al., 2007).

Seventh, secrecy may increase loyalty or, put more negatively, labour market immobility. If employees cannot compare their salaries they may be less inclined to switch jobs to those which are better paid. So you get what is called 'continuance commitment' through lack of poaching.

Clearly the cost-benefit ratio depends on different things. Much depends on the history of the organization, and the wider context. It is pretty difficult to 're-cork' the bottle if the genie has escaped. Dual salaries, for example, have been described as both a taboo topic and – simultaneously – an 'elephant in the parlour' for team relations (Carr et al., 2010). It also depends on whether good, up-to-date, accurate industry compensation norms really exist. What does, on average, a senior partner in a law firm, a staff nurse, a store manager or an aid worker get paid? The public industry norm information can have a powerful effect on organizations that opt for secrecy or privacy.

The next issue is how the organization determines or claims to determine criteria for pay allocation. Does it allocate payment for years of service, for level, for performance on the job or for some combination of the above? The more objective the criteria (number of calls made, number of widgets sold), the more difficult it is to keep pay secret. Next, appraisal systems strive to be objective, equitable and fair. The fairer they are, the less the need for secrecy. When objective criteria are used, staff have less concern for secrecy. So subjectivity and secrecy are comfortable bedfellows. When pay is secret, employees have to guess how they rank relative to others at the same level. That may be why high performers want secrecy more than low performers: they believe they are equitably being paid more and want to avoid jealousy and conflict. So if you believe you are well paid because of your hard work, secrecy is acceptable. Paradoxically, this may apply more to expatriate aid 'experts', and less to their local counterparts (MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010).

But what if they do not believe this? When pay secrecy is abolished, some people not only feel angry but also humiliated by exposure to relative deprivation. They feel unfairly dealt with and their easiest means of retaliation is inevitably to work less hard. Pay secrecy is not just a human resources issue. It relates to the organization's vision and values as well as to individual job motivation. Secrecy can lead to more management control, bigger differentials and less conflict. But can you enforce it? Paradoxically, the more enthusiastically an organization tries to enforce secrecy the more employees are likely to challenge the notion. Individuals and groups choose to, or not to, talk.

Once an organization has abolished or reduced secrecy the path back is near impossible. Next, if competitors have openness, they might undermine secret systems. For openness to work, an organization needs to be clear in explaining how pay is related to performance at all levels and to defend the system. It may have to change that system, for example, to move from a dual salary system to one based universally on merit.

However, the situation seems to be complex. In a sophisticated experiment Bamberger and Belogolovsky (2010) showed that the impact of pay secrecy on an individual's task performance was mediated and moderated by other factors, particularly a person's tolerance for inequity. It is because money is such a simple and 'objective' comparator that it excites such attention at work.

### **Restorative versus retributive justice at work**

Restorative justice has become a familiar concept in the context of rehabilitating prisoners by making them face their victims. There are various calls for victims to be more involved in setting punishments rather than leaving it up to the law enforcers. Few crimes are victimless. While at work most people would argue that it is more acceptable (and common) to steal from one's employer than a colleague, 'liberating' stationery is quite different from dipping into the till or another's wallet. Stealing from the customer by over-charging or under-delivering is also common. The question is how best to reduce this type of crime.

It has become fashionable to contrast two very different approaches to crime, delinquency and deviance, be they at school or at work. The contrast is between *retributive* and *restorative* justice. The former sees 'misbehaviour' in terms of breaking the law, the rules or the conventions, the latter as adversely affecting many other people. Restorative justice focuses on the needs of victims and offenders, rather than legal principles or calculating and exacting punishment. It aims at repairing harm and reducing recidivism. It follows a very different set of procedures.

The retributive approach focuses on establishing blame or guilt, often through some adversarial process. It is believed that the evidence argued over by prosecution and defence will (hopefully, usually) establish *who* did *what* and *when* and perhaps *why*. There may be, as part of this model, a lot of attention to due processes: following carefully and openly the proper procedures that ensure justice. It's a model that emphasizes head over heart: where argument and conflict of description and explanation are portrayed as abstract, impersonal and logical (Marshall, 1999).

The restorative justice model involves many more people: usually those who were affected by the behaviour – the 'victim', their friends and family, witnesses even. Their task is twofold – to express their feelings but more importantly to undertake a problem-solving attempt to prevent recurrence.

The objective is to fully attend to the victim's needs; to help reintegrate the offender and to get them to take real responsibility for their actions; and to recreate a healthy community and avoid escalating the costs of traditional legal justice.

The retribution model aims to deter by some sort of *punishment*: pain, exclusion, firing. The restorative model aims for the restoration of property and well-being by *reconciliation*. The latter approach is usually more about relationships, respect and feelings. It is not about the pain that the perpetrator should receive but the pain the victims feel. It is less about meting out the exact and appropriate amount of pain for that inflicted, and more about *repairing* the damage, hurt or injury to others.

Restorative justice assumes that people learn and change when they have a say in their behaviour: that is when things are done *with* them, rather than *to* or *for* them. Restorative justice is about engaging with the various parties involved: it is participatory.

In the retributive model the community (school, workplace) within which the problem has occurred sees justice done by being on the jury or being spectators to the whole process; hence the importance of representativeness of juries. The restoration model is rather more vague: Any, and all, of those in the community can and should be involved in the restoration project because all are affected.

Finally, there is the role of the wrong-doer. In the retributive model it is they who accept the punishment as 'fair exchange' for their crime and a deterrent to others. In the restorative model it's all about fully understanding the impact of their actions – all of the consequences of the act – and deciding how best to put things right.

In summary, the more traditional model is about apportioning blame, the analysis of motives and decisions about punishment. The restorative approach is more about truth and reconciliation – establishing who has been affected, how to put things right and what can be learnt from the process.

How an organization deals with misdemeanors sends very powerful messages. Some prefer a cover up, others a very public display of retribution. Some misdemeanors seem more abstractly victimless than others, such as theft or fraud, while others, such as interpersonal violence, attempted genocide, apartheid or political oppression, have clear victims. Some people are traumatized for long periods. Which type of process would best help their recovery? Would people prefer to be tried by a judge and two assessors, a jury of peers or a jury of victims?

It may be possible for organizations to give offenders a choice in the type of justice that is served. For example, organizations could ask wrong-doers if they would prefer to do a week or a month of community service or to meet their victims and their families face-to-face; offer them a chance to repair and restore goodwill or be sacked or go to prison. There are reviews

on all aspects of restorative justice (Marshall, 1999). There is also a growing research base which looks at outcomes including a victim's satisfaction and recovery, criminal recidivism and the costs of this method. But most of the work appears to have been done in schools and small communities, not in larger, more corporate workplaces. The question that requires further investigation is how well the method applies across a variety of workplaces and how successful it is. Those contexts include humanitarian work settings in general.

### **Focus on retributive justice/counterwork behaviour**

People at work often talk of particular types of injustice: unjustified accusation/blaming; unfair grading/rating and/or lack of recognition for both effort and performance; and violations of promises and agreements. Miller (2007) argues that the perception that one has been treated disrespectfully leads to anger. A number of factors affect people's reactions to injustice. These include the perception of the motives/state of mind of the wrong-doer (did they do it intentionally and with foresight of the consequences). Next, the offender's justification and apologies play a role, along with how others reacted to the unjust act. The relationship between the wrong-doer and the victim is also important, as is the public nature of the injustice. Victims of injustice want to restore their self-esteem and 'educate' the offender. Usually they retaliate by either withdrawal or attack. What is clear, however, is that people's perceptions of fairness and justice at work is a powerful motivator and demotivator and often a major cause of negative retaliation behaviours.

Most organizations assert fair treatment of all employees and try to provide some way of dealing with complaints because they believe it directly affects employee commitment, productivity and loyalty. There have been some very interesting studies that have examined employee 'revenge' as a consequence of perceived unjust behaviour. Lind et al. (2000) were interested in what led workers to complain that they had been 'wrongfully' terminated. They hypothesized that how fairly workers felt they had been treated during the course of their employment and in the termination process predicted the type of claim they made. Their study showed that three factors were directly relevant to whether people would claim wrongful termination: fair treatment at termination, their expectation of winning the case, and their perception of fairness/justice while at work. The results of this study, which involved interviewing 996 employed adults, have clear practical implications for all organizations, which include

1. Treat employees fairly throughout their employment and foster the impression that the organization is interested in justice (procedural and distributive).

2. When terminating people be honest and treat them with dignity and respect.
3. Being honest about the causes of unemployment resulted in a legal saving of around £10,000 per person.
4. The dignity and self-respect of those terminated can be enhanced by such things as providing transitional alumni status, symbols/gifts of positive regard and offers of counselling.
5. Attempts at litigation control through lobbying and particular settlement practices have only limited success.

Those interested in the 'dark side' of behaviour at work and counterwork behaviours (CWBs) have talked of the concept of retributive justice. Retribution is essentially about 'evening the score'. It is taking things (time, money, goods, information) from employers that are believed to be earned and justly theirs but not given. Thus the self-perceived unfairly paid employee may steal from their employer, so enacting retributive justice. This needs to be distinguished from retaliative justice, which is the philosophy of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'. Employees reciprocate behaviours they see in their supervisors. Thus if they perceive their employers as harming them and their colleagues in some way, they do likewise to the employer. If they see deviance in their employer's behaviour, they can feel justified to do likewise (Furnham & Taylor, 2011).

Of the many counterwork behaviours the most researched are fraud, sabotage, theft and whistle-blowing. Others have attempted to categorize counterwork behaviours based on dimensions like minor-serious or organizational-interpersonal. This yields groups of behaviours like production deviance (absenteeism, slow work, wasting resources), property deviance (theft, sabotage) political deviance (gossip, favouritism) and personal deviance. Research points to three common factors at work that influence the likelihood of an individual taking part in some retributive counterwork behaviours (Furnham & Taylor, 2011). The first is the nature of the individual themselves, specifically their personality and value system. Thus it may be expected that those with the dark triad (psychopathy, Machiavellianism and narcissism) (Furnham & Taylor, 2011) would more happily engage in counterwork behaviours even if they were not motivated by retaliative, restitutional or retributive motives which are only very subtly different. Individuals need opportunities, pressure and the ability to rationalize their behaviours. Second, there is the nature of the work group to which the individual belongs. Groups develop strong norms about all forms of behaviour in the work place. Group norms pre- and proscribe all sorts of counterwork behaviours. In humanitarian work settings, some of those norms may be related to lingering historical injustices, such as paying dual salaries in a postcolonial global era, and involve subtle forms of redress, such as not extending counterwork behaviours towards an expatriate in 'culture shock' (Furnham, 2010).



Thus in some settings they justify and normalize deviancy, while in other settings group norms act as a powerful deterrent. Thus there are in-group norms for 'withholding effort' (go slows, work to rule) and norms for being 'on the take'. There are unhealthy organizational group alliances which accept hostility and inactivity. The third factor is the national cultural rules, morals, etiquette and sheer economic necessity surrounding counterwork behaviour. What is considered bribery, corruption and fraud in one country is often considered quite different in another. Thus it becomes possible to distinguish between things such as 'normal' theft versus abnormal theft, and corruption versus just coping or moonlighting (Ferrinho & van Lerberghe, 2002; Van Lerberghe et al., 2002).

### **Motivational factors that influence counterwork behaviours**

It is possible to identify three separate but overlapping sources of motivation to 'misbehave' at work. First, the *individual's personality and profile*: This looks at how the biography, personality and values of an individual shape their very particular motivational pattern. For example, greed, vanity and instability can lead to very strong motives in the work place. Second, the *relationship between the individual and his or her employer*: Does the individual feel positively or negatively towards his/her employer?; does he/she feel loyalty or resentment?; will he/she leave or will he/she try to exact revenge? This is sometimes called leader-follower exchange and looks at the nature of the relationships at work that are often a function of the leader's style. These relationships can be trusting and supportive, which is associated with motivation and satisfaction, or the opposite. Third, there are many *external influences*: Are there others outside the organization influencing the employee? These can come from many sources, hence the importance of work-life balance. People can be distracted and appear demotivated because of personal issues and problems (addictions, relationships). Changes in the economy can effect motivation, particularly if people are worried about the future of their organization. Friends, head-hunters, media people and global health worker recruiters can all influence employees and their behaviour (Taylor & Furnham, 2005).

Rarely does a single motive, experience or issue encourage an individual at work to react negatively. Many dynamic factors motivate individuals who may or may not be able to articulate their feelings. These complex motives can also change over time. The final, extreme acts of leaving, thieving, deceiving or simply disengaging and withdrawing are nearly always the *culmination of a number of factors and influences*. Some work experiences *trigger* bad behaviour, while others simply provide a tempting and easy opportunity for 'mischief' of many kinds. Equally, some individuals have a heightened propensity to counterwork behaviours, while others have better internal controls. Some critical incident may trigger an overwhelming

feeling of revenge and the inevitability of retaliation is set. It is not unusual for people to feel angry and vengeful at work after a bad experience. The issue is how frequent and intense these triggering incidents are and, more importantly, how they are dealt with (Furnham & Taylor, 2011).

People are likely to go through a number of processes before they are ready, emotionally and intellectually, to take action. There seem to be four factors or processes that lead from specific work incidences to serious counterwork behaviours.

First, there are drivers or susceptibilities in an individual and their circumstances that predispose him or her to counterwork behaviours. There are the needs that come from poverty, despair and greed. There are needs stimulated by hatred, resentment and anger. There are essentially ideological needs. These individual qualities and factors interact with the organizational culture, management style and work of the organization. In the early days of a job the individual is usually optimistic, sometimes a little apprehensive: Am I up to the job? Will I like the people there? As the job continues, then the individual can measure their expectations against reality. The organization is doing the same thing, often called the 'probation' period. It is all about fit: the fit between what was promised and what is delivered, between leader and follower, between team members. People's expectations can be disappointed for a host of reasons. Many should be but are not made explicit before entry. If the individual asks the right questions and if the organization is honest about its business, the nature of the work and the rewards on offer, people are more likely to have realistic expectations. However, both parties at an interview are eager to impress the other and vague promises are given. Further, it sometimes happens that the person who will supervise or lead the candidate is not even present at the interview. The management of expectations is fundamentally important, such as expectations about promotion, training, salary increases and a career development path. These are often invisible in many low-income settings, such as classrooms and health services, where resources and promotions are in incredibly short supply.

The second factor is the organizational culture, which may cause or condone various forms of counterwork behaviour. But a more difficult issue arises when there is change (restructuring, mergers and acquisitions, change in the reporting line). Change is always said to be necessary and linked to either survival or progress. However, it is often crudely done and deeply angers, frightens and depresses many people. The temptation to commit counterwork behaviours is nearly always at its highest in times of change. Emotions run high, trust and justice issues come to the fore, particularly when it comes to 'internal communications' that are more PR than the truth. Once people see management communication as little more than 'spin', they can easily be tempted to react, from vengeful whistle-blowing to increased absenteeism. Two key issues that affect an individual's satisfaction

rating, in a company at least, are how well the company matches up to the expectations of the employee and how well it manages change. If the organization fails on either of these counts, the individual's loyalty will be weakened, resulting in some form of negative reaction (Furnham & Taylor, 2011).

A third factor is the presence of an additional catalyst. Most people are subject to some form of outside influence; for some it is subtle, for others it is overt. Job advertisements are ubiquitous. Many specify salaries. How many people when feeling unhappy at work turn to the job vacancy pages? Others may be approached by head hunters, journalists or others seeking to prey on an employee's discontent. Finally, after constant provocation, the employee may take some action. Initially it may be a loss of enthusiasm, an unwillingness to put in the extra effort to complete a task or find new jobs which could be done. It can also lead to more counterproductive activities.

There is no clear moment when someone moves from stage to stage and for some it is possible to leap a stage. Some endure frustrations stoically; others flare up quickly. This is partly a function of the type of organization and the sort of people it employs. Thus those in the health sector may show a rather different pattern of reactions to those in the manufacturing sector. Individuals' attitudes and motives can change as they absorb new experiences and come into contact with new people. The power of the group, or of an inspirational leader or friend, cannot be overestimated.

People can both be saved by others or encouraged by them to commit a variety of counterwork behaviours. Similarly, being bullied or seeing someone else being badly treated as, for example, they leave an organization can have a lasting impact on the individual. Being humiliated by your boss deeply affects commitment to the cause.

Some recent papers illustrate these issues. In a study of employee response to personal offence Aquino, Tripp and Bies (2001) analysed the relationship between victims of personal offense and the pursuit of revenge or reconciliation. They studied responses from 141 government employees who believed they had been the victim of personal offense. Respondents could choose between acts of reconciliation or revenge and most chose revenge. Where the hierarchical status of the victim was low, employees who blamed were more likely to seek revenge.

In a study of abusive supervisors' effects on subordinates' attitude to the organization Zellars, Tepper and Duffy (2002) analysed responses from 373 respondents in a military environment. Abused subordinates were more likely to stop helping co-workers, behaving courteously, and speaking approvingly about the organization, all non-punishable and what some researchers call a 'low-intensity type of revenge'. In a separate but related piece of research Tepper (2000) found evidence that abused subordinates are more likely to leave their jobs.

Schwarzwald, Koslowsky and Sharlit (1992) found that failure to get a promotion was associated with feelings of inequity, decrease in commitment and increase in absenteeism. They examined the impact of promotion decisions on a sense of equity, commitment and behavioural outcomes. A total of 191 subjects completed a survey and the researchers were able to measure such outcomes as lateness and absence before and after the promotion decisions. Positive promotions increased commitment. Bayram, Gursakal and Bilgel (2009) found that white-collar workers who felt that they had a good relationship at work, fewer constraints on them doing good work and a light workload committed fewer counterwork behaviours.

Everton, Kenexa and Mastrangelo (2007) reviewed literature on four forms of deviant behaviour: absenteeism, employee theft, incivility and violence. Their research showed that managers can do much to reduce such behaviours by being fair and equitable towards their staff. Equally, leaders with controlling styles create stress and reduce performance and job commitment.

Offerman and Hellman (1996) examined the perspectives of 343 leaders and subordinates using 360 (all-round feedback) assessments. Leaders who have non-participative, controlling styles, who fail to clarify organizational goals and responsibilities and who exert undue pressure are expected to have work groups who report greater tension and stress. Such enhanced stress levels have organizational as well as individual ramifications, as groups with greater stress have also been found to have lower performance and job commitment.

There are a number of poor management practices which significantly impact disaffection or lack of commitment and engagement of the workers. Such practices include general lack of management supervision, a failure to address individual issues in the workplace (e.g., absenteeism, anti-social behaviour), resulting in those behaviours becoming more frequent or extreme and a failure to address workplace issues (overwork, boredom or specific grievances), all adding to disaffection. Various common-sense models have been proposed and tested linking 'good leadership and management' with desirable outcomes. These outcomes have also been called organizational citizenship behaviours (OCBs) such as courtesy, conscientiousness, civic pride, altruism and mutual help, all of which are the precise opposite of counterwork behaviours. The idea is that transformational leaders who inspire productivity and satisfaction tend to have happy relationships at work and motivated employees (Ngodo, 2008). Importantly, there are two corollaries to this: Not being a good (transactional) leader/manager means fewer desirable outcomes (trust, sense of justice, productivity). Being a bad leader (selfish, inconsistent, unpredictable, hypocritical) leads to the opposite organizational effects: to a sense of mistrust, injustice and counterwork behaviours; that is, bad management, just like bad parenting, causes serious long-term problems for all concerned (staff, share-holders, customers, etc.).

## Preventing counterproductive work behaviours

Managers have two main roles in preventing counterwork behaviours. First, they are at the front line in *identifying* counterwork behaviours and participating in any actions against the individuals. Second, they have to generate an atmosphere and environment which generates engagement (commitment, satisfaction), loyalty and a strong work ethic, not distrust and alienation.

Information is usually available to employees about company executives, senior civil servants and ministers. Inconsistencies and mistakes are highlighted and often publicized. The Internet makes such information widely available, but more significant for organizations is the proliferation of the intranet, some including provision of chat rooms for staff to air their views. Whether the information that people have about their organization is accurate or not, it is often a source of immense dissatisfaction. Often policies like chief executive or expatriate pay, closing down plants or even something as simple as delayering or switching to open plan offices or empowerment models can be a source of major discontent.

It is part of most societies' culture to train young people to say thank you and show gratitude for things done or given. Failing to show gratitude to those who deserve it offends the norms of society. The unrecognized person in the workplace soon becomes dispirited. The prevalence of unrecognized employees is all the more extraordinary because it costs nothing to say thank you. Recognition and praise is cheap and when done effectively and judiciously can be particularly motivating.

Most staff opinion surveys report that staff feel unappreciated and that they do not feel valued. It is not a question of money; it is in many cases a lack of courtesy. Recognition and appreciation comes in other forms – job titles, certificates, pictures and interviews in the in-house magazine. For some, status is important because they want others to know they hold a senior position or have a particular expertise. Labels mean something to them. The issue is the reciprocity of ingratitude. The spurned, ignored employee might take their case to someone who does give them a reward; hence the appeal of whistle blowing. It has also been shown that employees treat their customers as their boss treats them; hence rude, disdainful and unhelpful staff working for managers of a similar nature (Furnham & Taylor 2011).

It comes as a surprise to many managers that money is not the only major factor in people's motivation (Furnham & Argyle, 1998). Money acts as a dissatisfier when the employee perception is that he/she is not receiving a fair day's pay for his/her work and the definition of fair is influenced by many things. In the first place a worker needs to satisfy his standard of living – this may have little to do with what is sufficient to live, but more to do with the repayments on a large mortgage, a new car, a larger family or his annual skiing holiday. The salaries of friends or colleagues at work

might also play their part in influencing someone to believe they are not being paid enough.

## Strategy for managers

Having reviewed the multiple factors that can influence employee motivation and perceptions of justice in the workplace, managers may benefit from the following guidelines aimed at creating a more just workplace and reducing counterproductive work behaviours.

## Codes and rules

Many organizations have a statement on values and standards sometimes described as an ethical code. They also write vision, mission and ethical code statements which they may broadcast as much for PR as serious implementation. Some do simple but important *Codes of Behaviour* which are somewhere between rule books and etiquette books.

The emphasis is often on the positive: designed to encourage teamwork, professionalism, drive and other qualities to ensure customer satisfaction, productivity and profit – though the latter is rarely mentioned in such statements. Staff need to know *what is and is not acceptable*. The ‘rule book’ should be accessible and readable. Performance can be accountable. The main themes should be clear and easily repeated. Organizations like to have a catchy phrase, preferably alliterative. The danger is that it becomes too catchy and is therefore easily dismissed as superficial. Davies (2000) notes, ‘Organisations which successfully promote high standards of ethical conduct have a lower incidence of fraud and find out about fraud incidents earlier’ (p. 257).

## Procedures

Most organizations assert fair treatment of all employees and try to provide some way of dealing with complaints because they believe they directly affect employee commitment, productivity and loyalty. Typical procedural justice systems include *grievance procedures*, where an employee can seek a formal, impartial review of a decision that directly affects him or her; This is central to the humanitarian work psychology message; *ombudspersons*, who may investigate claims of unfair treatment or act as intermediaries between an employee and senior management and recommend possible courses of actions to the parties; *open-door policies*, where employees can approach senior managers with problems that they may not be willing to take to their immediate supervisor though this may not be appropriate in all cultures *participative management systems*, which aim to encourage employee involvement in all aspects of organizational strategy and decision making; *committees*, which

poll employee input on key problems and decisions; *senior management visits*, where employees can meet with senior company officials and openly ask questions about company strategy, policies and practices or raise concerns about unfair treatment; *question/answer newsletters*, in which employees question and identify concerns – these are submitted to a newsletter editor and investigated then openly reported to the organizational community; and *toll-free telephone number help lines/whistle-blowing sites*, where employees can anonymously report waste, fraud or abuse.

The key characteristics of making any of these systems work are their simplicity (easy to use by everybody); accessibility (open and comprehensive); good administration (follows ups and corrections); responsiveness (to needs and on time); and non-retributive nature (i.e., that they are non-punitive).

## **Human resources**

### **Recruitment**

Many non-profit organizations rely on agencies, head hunters or referrals from staff or others to identify potential candidates, particularly for very senior jobs. This may produce good results, but only if the recruiters know exactly what they are looking for to *select in and select out* people. Regular, detailed, explicit briefings are a prerequisite, but good feedback on the referrals is also important. When they have proposed someone who has fallen significantly below the standards required those making the referrals need to know; where they get it right they should also be told.

### **Vetting/integrity testing**

Organizations interested in selecting those whose integrity is fundamental to the job would like a simple, valid test to help them select in those with integrity and select out those without. Unfortunately, there is no single test which guarantees anything like 100 per cent success. We are left with a series of instruments which can help in identifying potential areas of concern, but which leave the HR department having to make a judgment based on the probabilities, not the certainties.

There are good and bad psychometric tests: those which have been properly devised and validated and those which are ‘quick-and-dirty’ attempts to make publishers a lot of money. In general, test results can usefully *aid* decision making; that is, with test results and *other corroborative evidence* it is possible to significantly improve the probability of detecting those who have, or will, commit counterwork behaviours.

Many people who commit counterwork behaviours have no history of lack of integrity. They are often ‘pushed over the edge’ by their work situation: the bullying boss, team pressure, clear inequity as well as resource constraints at work such as one typically finds in many public sector organizations in lower-income settings and developing economies. There are also

very often serious resource constraints at work. There are also those with a long history of disregard for the law, others' rights and company property both at the individual and the company (multinational) level. There are correlates of integrity and these we can measure and do so well. Those in the business of selection then need to consider carefully the issue of integrity testing and attempt a sensible route between rejection and naïve acceptance if they want to select out those individuals likely to commit which in lower-income setting might include theft and excessive absenteeism.

### **Induction and training**

The first few days in the office make a big impression on staff. They are usually apprehensive, excited and emotionally charged up. This is the moment that all trainers look for, when staff are at their most receptive and there is great opportunity to convey messages about acceptable behaviour. If, however, there is no clear message about security and related issues and the new staff member is met by an indifferent attitude to security by their line manager, that impression will carry forward, and be difficult to change. Trainers and security personnel should think carefully about their objectives and how to achieve them.

### **Exit policy**

Threats can occur when people become outsiders: they have been dismissed, fired or sacked. How a company treats staff who leave, for whatever reason, speaks volumes about that company's attitudes to its employees. An overriding principle for employers is summed up in one word: dignity. If an employee leaves and they feel badly treated, ignored or unappreciated, their already negative feelings will be compounded. It is perhaps too much to expect staff who leave to remain loyal to their former employer, but with the right handling and after care their propensity to be disloyal can be limited.

People who leave 'under a cloud' have been called *terrorists*, while those who leave with dignity and on good terms have been called *apostles* (Furnham, 2009). Terrorists, as their name suggests, happily spread the word of their bad experiences, seeking to damage the company's and non-profit organizations' reputation.

### **Handling resignations**

However important the person is, or however critical he or she is to the organization's work, the principles of handling their departure are the same:

The overall aim is to make the individual feel that their departure is a loss and that their work in the organization has been valued. The purpose is twofold. Whatever the professed reason for leaving, there is a reasonable chance that their departure has something to do with failed expectations. They may be feeling disillusioned or unhappy with the organization or their current boss.



Assuming the decision is final, the departure procedures should do nothing to reinforce any negative feelings. If possible they should reverse them. Having left the organization, the individual will speak about the company to prospective investors, customers, clients and possibly competitors. They may have useful information for others. It is possible for people to remain loyal to previous employers and if they depart with dignity the chances of them not bad-mouthing the company or NGO and not passing on confidentialities are higher.

The second reason is even more compelling. Those staff who remain in the organization will be watching how the individual is treated on departure. The departing individual will have friends who are left and they will express their feelings forcefully. How those are treated on departure sends a strong message to the remaining employees about how the company manages its staff. Everyone leaves at some stage, even if it is retirement.

### **Enforced departures**

Employees can be forced to leave for essentially one of four reasons: *retirement, redundancy, inefficiency or disciplinary*. The professionalism of your managers and personnel department when managing these events is very important.

- (i) Redundancy: The early and unexpected sacking of people, because the company no longer needs those staff, is one of the cruellest turns of the employment hand of fate. It may not happen that often in a low-income setting but would, as a result, be particularly hurtful. Sometimes these events are predictable and staff will have some warning, but either way it is an uncomfortable experience for all concerned. The numbers involved may affect the precise details of how you manage the news, but the principles are the same whether for 20 or for a thousand (the law in the UK, for example, defines redundancy as 20 or more over a six-month period). The principles here apply equally for any number of staff being asked to leave a company for structural reasons. Management needs to communicate well and fully to those who are leaving *and* to those staying. Sackings can be one of the most disruptive influences on productivity. People fear they may be next and will be looking even more carefully at the way the company treats those affected. The trade union, if it exists, will need to be consulted at some stage.
- (ii) Inefficiency: It is a major part of a manager's job to maximize the output of those working for him or her. 'Managing poor performance' is a management competency that is frequently found wanting. Failing to act should not be an option. Staff in the affected section will become disgruntled because they have to carry an employee who is not pulling their weight. Alternatively, they will see that misdemeanors or poor performance are condoned and might follow their example. Sacking is the final option.

- (iii) Sacking: To avoid resentment, staff members who are not up to the job need to be told in clear terms how they are under performing and be given the opportunity either through training or coaching to improve. This may indeed cause major offense to be singled out particularly in a collectivist culture. The processes have to be followed and each company should have clear standards about how to manage inefficiencies. This may not mean written regulations but managers should explain what they are doing and be consistent. Written procedures can often help to ensure consistency and manage expectations. ACAS (Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service) in the UK, for example, produce useful guidelines on what to do and how.

If the rules are not clear and are imposed inconsistently, staff will have cause for complaint. Once the procedures have been exhausted and there is no alternative to sacking, managers need again to adhere to the minimum standards already outlined. Who does what may vary. The personnel manager might need to administer some, the line manager others. More senior people might have to be involved. But a plan of action needs to be drawn up and followed.

A well-administered sacking need not lead to any resentment; sadness probably, but not a feeling that the individual has been hard done by. When handled professionally, staff can leave expressing gratitude for the way they had been treated and expressing the view that this is the best option for both parties.

## **Conclusion**

Employees are very sensitive to being treated fairly at work. They want distributive, informational, interpersonal and procedural justice procedures, processes and practices. The now-extensive literature on organizational justice shows the following: First, when people feel a sense of injustice, they will attempt to do something about it. While there is a long list of counterwork behaviours, from arson to whistle-blowing, the causes are surprisingly familiar. They depend partly on the character of the individual and partly on the opportunity they have to commit particular counterwork behaviours. The solution to these issues lies partly in selection as well as management.

Second, the manager/supervisor-employee/worker relationship is crucial for the morale and engagement of individual and intergroup relations. While managers may not be responsible for many aspects of an employee's 'pay and conditions', the way they manage can have a dramatic impact on a person's day-to-day well-being. Managers are often a significant cause of stress, demoralization, lack of trust and perceptions of injustice. Badly managed people are the most common cause of turning a good worker into a threat to the organization.

Third, *organization* policy and culture also play a part in all insider threats. Every organization has a culture, or more often cultures, which are patterns of behaviour and shared beliefs. Some of these can condone certain counterwork behaviours, like unjustified absenteeism, 'liberating stock' and 'getting even' with bosses. These are difficult to change and there needs to be clarity about what is acceptable and not acceptable, which all managers should ensure that they model.

## Thanks

I would like to thank John Taylor, my friend and co-author on various publications, for both inspiring me but also allowing me to use some of our joint material in this chapter. I would also like to thank the other two editors, Stu and Mac, for the kindness, insights and energy in creating the Humanistic Work Psychology Group.

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# 4

## Facilitating the Process of Globally Distributed Development-Focused Research Teams

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### Summary

International research collaborations are increasingly common, and particularly perhaps within aid projects and programmes, where those from the so-called developed (higher-income) nations work alongside colleagues from the so-called developing (lower-income) nations. International research provides a multitude of challenges, many of which we will touch on throughout this chapter, not least the considerably diverse disciplinary, socio-political, -economic and -cultural backgrounds from which different team members originate. In this chapter we reflect upon some of the key lessons learnt during a recent successful international research collaboration, which comprised a diverse team of researchers spread across nine countries, themselves characterized by political, economic and cultural diversity.

Fostering success within highly diverse teams can be complex (Webber & Donahue, 2001), and in an aid-related research context, perhaps even more so. Aid workers are often characterized at an informal level by themselves and others into groups like ‘expatriates’ and ‘locals’. Such labels reflect, for instance, large socio-economic (and socio-political) differences (in salary), overlaid with differences in culture and tradition (Carr et al., 2010; MacLachlan & Carr, 2005). Further, characterizations (by both themselves and others) into these groups are often implicitly underpinned by power and can create divisions between workers that often reflect uncomfortable issues of dominance, injustice and feelings of undermined identity (MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010; McWha, 2011). Within international aid work such divisions can undermine relationships between aid workers working alongside one another in a team or project. Relationships, however, are central to project success, as well as to the success of capacity development initiatives and potentially poverty reduction goals more generally (Crossley & Holmes, 2001; Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007; McWha, 2011).

Development-focused research projects, that is, those research projects which focus on lower-income settings and have an overall goal of poverty

reduction, are necessarily guided by two key international documents: a set of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and a set of principles known as the Paris Declaration.

The MDGs were set in 2000 and reiterated at a global summit in 2010. There are eight goals (see Figure 4.1): (1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; (2) achieve universal primary education; (3) promote gender equality and empower women; (4) reduce child mortality rates; (5) improve maternal health; (6) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; (7) ensure environmental sustainability; and (8) develop a global partnership for development (<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>). The setting of these goals marked an important historical milestone whereby nation states and international organizations agreed to work together to reduce global poverty by the year 2015.

A *process* for reaching the goals was set forth in the Paris Declaration in 2005, and reiterated in Accra in 2008 at the Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)-Development Assistance Committee, 2006; OECD, 2009). The Paris Declaration is based around five mutually reinforcing principles (see Figure 4.1): (1) *ownership* by lower income countries of their development policies and strategies; (2) *alignment* by donors with recipient countries' national development strategies; (3) *harmonization* among donors by better coordinating their work and avoiding duplication; (4) *managing for results* in terms of making a tangible difference in poor people's lives; and (5) *mutual accountability* of both donors and governments about their use of aid funds. These five principles are not only important and relevant guidelines for improving aid effectiveness, but also valuable guidelines for building successful globally distributed development-focused research teams.

The Millennium Development Goals	The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;</li> <li>2) Achieve universal primary education;</li> <li>3) Promote gender equality and empower women;</li> <li>4) Reduce child mortality rates;</li> <li>5) Improve maternal health;</li> <li>6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases;</li> <li>7) Ensure environmental sustainability;</li> <li>8) Develop a global partnership for development.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) <i>Ownership</i> by lower income countries of their development policies and strategies;</li> <li>2) <i>Alignment</i> by donors with recipient countries' national development strategies;</li> <li>3) <i>Harmonisation</i> amongst donors;</li> <li>4) <i>Managing for Results</i>;</li> <li>5) <i>Mutual Accountability</i> of both donors and governments.</li> </ol>

Figure 4.1 The Millennium Development Goals and the five mutually reinforcing principles of the Paris Declaration



This chapter reflects on an international interdisciplinary research project whose *content* explored the extent and impact on work performance of one obvious, but relatively unresearched, aspect of inequity within aid organizations: pay disparities between local and international staff. While the content of the research findings is of potential value in improving the effectiveness of aid (by highlighting the importance of fair and equitable pay for all aid workers), in this chapter we take a step back from the results of the research (which are outlined in Chapter 1, this volume). Specifically, we explore the practical aspects of managing and coordinating the *process* of a globally distributed research team. Humanitarian work psychology may have a particular contribution to make to process skills, as these often relate to the dynamics of human relations between partners within complex work environments, especially when these involve working with multicultural groups in low-income environments (MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2003).

### **The research in brief: Project ADD-UP**

Project ADD-UP (Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance?) explored the extent and impact of pay differences between local and expatriate workers across the government, aid, commercial and education sectors of six countries: the island economies of Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, the land-locked economies of Malaŵi and Uganda, and the emerging economies of India and China. The six project sites were selected for inclusion in the project in order to represent three regions of the world, both geographically and also economically. We hoped that by including these six country sites in the project we would be able to obtain insight into the trends within and across these different ‘types’ of economies and regions of the world.

Though the findings of the project are described in detail elsewhere in this book (Chapter 1, this volume), a brief summary of the research and its findings may be useful here to give context to this discussion. The aims of the study were twofold, the first being to measure the extent of pay differences between local and expatriate aid workers, by asking workers to report their salary and benefits packages. We found an overall pay ratio of 4:1, where expatriate workers were earning on average four times the salary of their local counterparts. This ranged from 10:1 in the Solomon Islands sample and 8.5:1 in Papua New Guinea, to 1.9:1 in China (Marai et al., 2010; Zhou et al., 2010). Respondents reported that some difference (mode=2–3:1) in pay between the groups was tolerable. However, the actual ratio clearly exceeded what was considered to be tolerable. We also asked respondents whether their pay was sufficient to meet their everyday needs, and while 81 per cent of expatriate workers reported that it was enough, 80 per cent of local workers said their pay was not sufficient to meet their everyday needs.

The second aim of the research was to assess the impact of the pay differences on various indicators of work performance. The indicators included self-assessed ability, comparison of pay with others, feelings around pay justice, pay-related motivation, turnover thoughts and thinking about moving internationally. The measures were developed on the basis of MacLachlan & Carr's (2005; see also Carr et al., 1998) Model of Double De-motivation, and critical incident analyses undertaken in the six country sites in the first year of the project. We found that local workers reported comparing their pay more than their expatriate colleagues, and that local workers reported feeling more injustice and de-motivation due to the differences in pay between the two worker groups. Pay disparities do exist, then, and may be particularly detrimental to local workers.

The study ran for three years, and was primarily coordinated out of New Zealand, with key collaboration from researchers in Ireland and the UK. In year one, prominent researchers who were located at research institutions within each of the six project sites were identified and invited to join the research team based on their interest in the research topic, and based on the intent to include researchers from a variety of different disciplines in the project. A decision was made early in the project to have an interdisciplinary team in order to ensure the research was informed and enriched by a variety of perspectives, as well as promoting its accessibility to a variety of researchers, not just psychologists (MacLachlan, Carr & McWha, 2008). A coordinated interdisciplinary approach to poverty reduction is essential for ensuring sustainable large scale change (Carr & MacLachlan, 2008). Disciplines represented in the research team included education, management, economics, development studies, sociology and psychology. These researchers formed in-country teams to work together on the project, often including graduate students.

We took a collaborative approach to designing, piloting and revising the methods that were utilized, and one of the key advantages to having an interdisciplinary team was that different team members were able to provide input and advice regarding the most appropriate ways forward when issues arose as the project developed. An example of this relates to the unforeseen complexities involved with comparing salaries of local and foreign workers across six countries, but with involvement from many more currencies. Oftentimes, in the internationalized world of development individuals from higher-income countries working in lower-income settings continue to be paid according to the higher-income country economy, and often continue to be paid in the currency of that economy. Based on advice from the economists on the team, we used the World Bank's measure of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) to translate different currencies into an artificial 'international currency', enabling us to meaningfully compare salaries across countries while taking context into account.

In year three we returned the data to its rightful owners by holding workshops in five of the six country sites (unfortunately the China workshop

was unable to go ahead due to travel restrictions caused by the outbreak of the H1N1 virus). The workshop participants included policymakers, aid organization representatives, government officials and other key stakeholders identified as appropriate. This final stage of the project included publication of the results, which was an essential element of developing capacity of project staff, as well as a valuable avenue for communicating the research results.

## **Studying globally distributed research teams**

Industrial and organizational psychology has made important contributions to the literature on working in teams, identifying characteristics of various different team configurations, including multicultural teams (Cox, Lobel & McLeod, 1991; Elron, 1997; ; Kirkman & Shapiro, 2005), virtual teams (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006; Kirkman et al., 2004) and more recently globally distributed teams (Kayworth & Leidner, 2000; Maznevski & Chudoba, 2000; Leung & Peterson, 2011). With the advent of new technology, such as online networking and programmes such as Skype which enable face-to-face communication through the Internet, barriers to international collaboration have been lessened and globally distributed teams have become more common (Godbout, Glavey & Gloss, this volume).

A globally distributed team ‘involves members located in multiple nations having different cultural backgrounds, information, knowledge and skills, whose collaboration is facilitated by a variety of media tools supported by information and communication technologies.’ (Leung & Peterson, 2011, p. 781). This definition builds on earlier definitions of different types of teams, including ‘virtual teams’, which focus on a reliance on electronic communication media; ‘distributed teams’, which focus on the value of the unique skills each team member can bring to the team; and ‘dispersed teams’, which focus on physical location of team members. The definition of a globally distributed team incorporates the characteristics of virtual, distributed and dispersed teams, but extends these definitions to include characteristics of cultural diversity and the presence of sub-groups within the team.

In a recent review and integration of the team literature, Leung & Peterson (2011) proposed a general framework for studying globally distributed teams, which offers a useful theoretical tool for exploring and discussing the practical issues involved with managing Project ADD-UP. The framework is presented in Figure 4.2 and covers five broad categories of variables that influence the processes and outcomes of a globally distributed team: (1) human resource issues, which we refer to as ‘team formation and development’ in this chapter. This category draws heavily on the human resource management (HRM) perspective, reviewed by MacDuffie (2008), and covers traditional HRM areas such as selection, training and performance

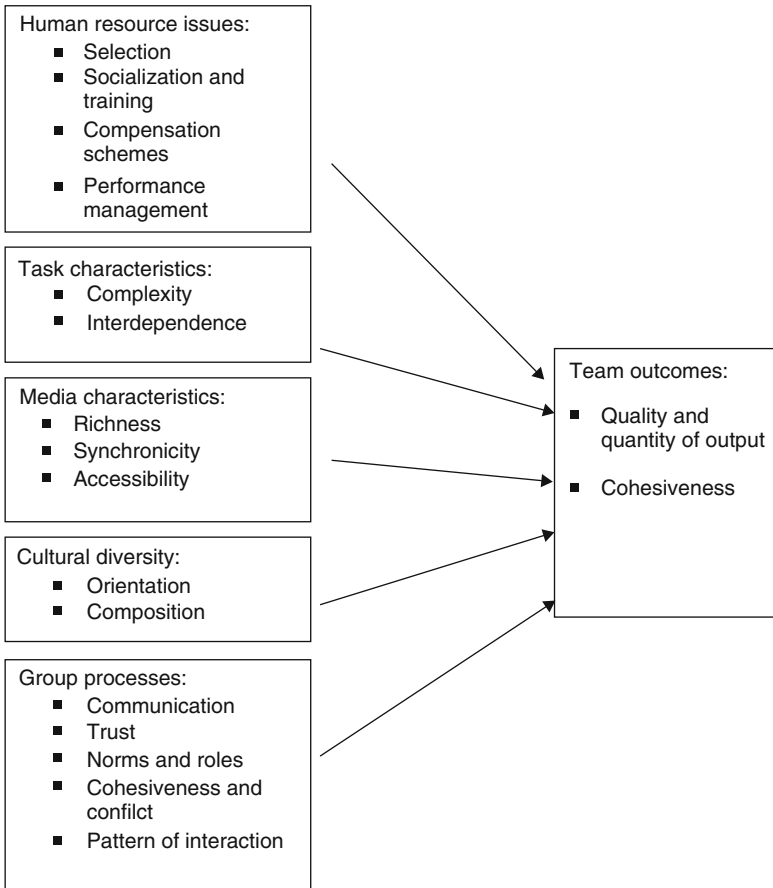


Figure 4.2 Leung & Peterson's (2011) general framework for studying globally distributed teams

management; (2) task characteristics, including task complexity and interdependence; (3) media characteristics, including accessibility of technology to support virtual interaction; (4) culture, including both cultural orientation and composition; and (5) group processes, including communication, trust, norms and roles and cohesiveness.

In this chapter we use these five categories, and interface them with the five principles of the Paris Declaration introduced earlier in the chapter (see Figure 4.1) to guide our exploration of the process through which Project ADD-UP progressed and developed, as a practical example of a globally distributed team addressing poverty reduction.

### **Team formation and development: the importance of 'alignment'**

The research team working together on Project ADD-UP consisted of the principal investigator and the project manager based in Auckland, New Zealand; the chief collaborator based in Dublin, Ireland; an international advisor based in London, United Kingdom; and country coordinators based in each of the project sites (including two joint coordinators in Kampala, Uganda, and one each in Zomba, Malawi; Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea; Honiara, Solomon Islands; New Delhi, India; and Wuhan, People's Republic of China). The core team therefore consisted of 11 researchers across nine very diverse country settings. Additionally, in the project sites the country coordinators often formed local teams of researchers to assist with various aspects of the research process. These in-country team members were also often involved in communicating directly and regularly with the project coordinators in New Zealand. Therefore, though the team was officially made up of 11 researchers, in actuality it consisted of at least 20 members. Ensuring alignment between all members of such a large, highly diverse and highly distributed team was challenging, but particularly critical, perhaps, given the nature of the topic being researched.

In a review of globally distributed work teams from a human resource management perspective MacDuffie (2008) identified some of the key characteristics which should be considered when forming and developing such teams in order to be successful. They explored issues of selection, training and development, task design, compensation and performance management, and identified four important considerations in forming and developing a globally distributed team: (a) structuring compensation systems appropriately in order to motivate team members; (b) selecting staff with high self-management and tolerance of ambiguity; (c) adapting performance management procedures to suit globally distributed teams, such as through using peer assessment; and (d) providing training to team members to help them function in a global team, for example, around using technology to communicate, and/or working effectively cross-culturally (Atkins & Foster-Thompson, this volume; Gloss, Glavey and Godbout, this volume)..

Of the characteristics identified by MacDuffie (2008), one of the most relevant for this research project was the need for an appropriate (a) compensation system to motivate team members. The motivating effect of pay on performance has been long studied by organizational psychologists (Latham, 2007; Locke & Latham, 2002). As well as motivating employees, however, pay can also negatively affect motivation, for example, when your pay is incongruent to your inputs at work, or the pay of those around you (Equity Theory, Adams, 1965; Bloom, 1999), and has been linked to diminished collaboration and to that extent reduced organizational performance (Siegel & Hambrick, 2005). Within an aid context, however, where issues of inequity are already at the fore, and where local and international workers receive vastly different (*'un-aligned'*) salaries, the negative impact of pay

diversity may become more deleterious and marked (Carr, 2003; Carr et al., 2010; MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010).

While we suspect that individually fair and socially equitable pay is important for motivation and satisfaction in all work settings, it is likely to be particularly salient for this project team where the subject of the research was explicitly linked to the existence and implications of pay disparities between local and international workers. Thus the process of our research team in some ways represented a microcosm of the very issue we wanted to address. A critical question both in terms of organizational justice and with regard to our own authenticity was how to constitute individually fair and socially equitable pay in the context of a globally distributed research team where team members were based in economically, politically and culturally diverse settings. This also, of course, related to how outsiders (including participants, key stakeholders such as local and international civil society organizations and in-country policymakers such as local and national government) would view the research and its implications for policy.

We opted to place all team members on a New Zealand-based salary, regardless of their country context, thereby seeking to achieve equality, rather than equity. While equity is based on the provision of resources relative to need, equality distributes resources in the same proportion to all. Without sufficient reliable data to fairly establish equity requirement across very different situations, we sought to adopt a standard that was likely to be, if anything, more beneficial to colleagues in low- and middle-income countries, than it was for the project leaders, in relatively higher-income countries.

While on paper, salary alignment across the team may seem to be the fairest approach within the context of the research team itself, as the project progressed, some concerns were raised by team members over the actual value of the salaries within the local country contexts. For example, within the Pacific context when the salary was converted into local currency, it was high, and able to cover the costs of multiple researchers working on the project. Within India and China, however, the actual local value of the salary was far more limited and, particularly when it came to organizing the consultation workshops in year three, the two teams reported that the scope of the workshops had to be limited due to the available funding. Once the local context was taken into consideration, therefore, the actual values of the salaries varied quite considerably.

Post-project feedback from team members suggested that an alternative approach to funding could be useful; for example, it was suggested that there may be some merit in using the World Bank's PPP measure which we used to compare salaries of participants across the research sites themselves (above). This measure translates currencies into an 'international currency' on the basis of the value of a given basket of goods in each country context. By controlling for spending power, the PPP could perhaps be used to calculate research team member salaries so that they may be seen as both

equitable in comparison to other team members, but also aligned within local contexts. It should, however, be noted that the PPP method itself is not without criticism (e.g., Reddy & Pogge, 2005), and research into this and other alternatives is essential, as a transparent approach has potential for promoting a sense of work justice across diverse teams (Furnham, this volume; Lefkowitz, this volume).

The balance between contextual equity (what is seen as fair locally) and international equality (treating people equally regardless of their origins) is certainly not an easy one to strike, especially among often very mobile research team participants, who may in fact see their reference market group as being outside their own country. For example, Zambia was originally one of the land-locked economies identified to be part of the research. However, the local researcher who we had identified as an excellent potential collaborator was unwilling to work for the New Zealand-level salary, wanting instead a higher level of pay within the 'international market' with which he identified his own labour value. Such challenges for managing globally distributed teams are not new, but were particularly salient for us given that our research explored the psychological impacts of this exact challenge. Future research which explores and compares teams who successfully align their compensation with organizations who are less successful may begin to identify methods for addressing and overcoming the challenge of salary alignment.

The remaining three characteristics identified by McDuffie (2008) as important for team formation and development (selection, performance management and training) may be less relevant within the context of an international research project like Project ADD-UP where team members are drawn from numerous institutions rather than falling within one organization.

For example, team members were not (b) selected on the basis of individual characteristics they may possess, but rather on the basis of having already attained a level of prominence in their field. By virtue of this prominence in their field they would have normally had experience collaborating on research projects and may therefore have already tended towards self-management and independence; however, we did not specifically select for this.

The importance of using (c) appropriate performance management procedures may also be less applicable to a team characterized by collaboration between researchers from multiple institutions. The nature of the research project was such that we did not include formal performance management procedures; however, each team was required to meet mutually agreed deliverables every three months, on the basis of which they received their next instalment of funds. Such deliverables included, for example, gathering critical incidents, giving feedback on the survey instrument and forwarding the full country dataset within a standardized Excel spreadsheet.

Due to the wide dispersion of the team, and lacking a common institutional framework, we were unable to undertake (d) formal training with team

members. What was perhaps more important was to establish shared ('aligned') expectations about the processes underlying the research, and the inputs expected from (and by) all team members, including the coordinating team. It was crucial for the development of the Project ADD-UP team to have face-to-face communication at the outset of the project, as previous research has suggested (Maznevski & Chudoba, 2000; Kiesler & Cummings, 2002). Where the principal investigator had not previously collaborated with a country coordinator, he travelled to that project site to meet with local researchers, introduce the project and discuss collaboration opportunities. These site visits were essential for obtaining buy-in from local researchers, building trust between team members and obtaining feedback as to the appropriateness of the research in each context, and as to potential country-specific adaptations which might be required. We were, however, unable to bring the whole team together to meet and discuss the research, and this could have been of great value for stimulating further and ongoing online discussion among team members.

At the end of the project the project manager, principal investigator and chief collaborator were able to travel to the project sites to assist the country coordinators to facilitate workshops with key stakeholders. This was again hugely valuable in terms of discussion, feedback and consistency. A full team meeting at the end of the project would have provided an excellent opportunity to present and discuss country-specific findings alongside trends across all country sites. This could have strengthened linkages and collaboration between team members, as well as stimulated explanations for the research findings, and identified avenues for future research. From a mutual capacity-building perspective this could have been invaluable; however, financially such a meeting was impossible.

The importance of the face-to-face meetings was epitomized in one of the project sites when, just as the data collection phase was beginning in earnest, the country coordinator resigned from his position to take up a promotion overseas. Though he recommended a colleague to take on the role, this person was extremely hesitant due to heavy existing workload commitments, and the project stalled in that country site. Chances were very high that we would have to drop this site from the project altogether. At this crisis point it was crucial that the principal investigator travelled to the project site to meet the potential new country coordinator, and discuss the scope of the research and expected workload, as well as offering assistance with establishing linkages and setting up procedures for moving forward with the project. Had this face-to-face meeting not occurred we would likely have lost one of the country sites, which would have been a great loss for the project. As it was, because of the face-to-face meeting we were able to bring on board a highly competent replacement whose vision and coordination drove the project to success within that site.

In summary, alignment between all team members was crucial in two key ways for the success of Project ADD-UP generally, as well as playing



an integral role in team formation and development. First, ensuring salary alignment between team members was critical, particularly perhaps given the nature of the topic under research, and future research should explore alternative methods for attaining economic alignment across, and within, multiple country contexts. Second, alignment of team members' expectations and values was also important for the success of the project, and face-to-face meetings were essential for establishing this.

### **Task characteristics as a vehicle for 'managing for results'**

Project ADD-UP utilized a structured administrative approach underpinned by consensus decision making, ensuring interdependence between researchers. While such an approach sometimes caused delays, collaboration by all team members was a key to the completion of the research. It enabled the research focus to be as relevant as possible to participants across all six settings. This approach also ensured the project was in line with the Paris Declaration's principle of managing for results, which focuses on the applicability of tasks to the end goal of all development-focused research: making a tangible difference to people's lives, and contributing to poverty reduction via improving aid effectiveness.

Research using a grounded theory approach has suggested that globally distributed teams tasked with more complex and interdependent tasks require more complex models of organization (Maznevski & Chudoba, 2000). Further, standardizing and structuring work tasks reduces the need for extensive interaction, enabling team members to work relatively autonomously knowing that their work will ultimately synchronize (MacDuffie, 2008; Martins, Gilson & Maynard, 2004). In line with this research, teamwork was inherent in the day-to-day running of Project ADD-UP, but within the context of a well-structured project plan with clear deadlines. At the start of the research project, subcontracts were developed between the host institution (Massey University, New Zealand) and each partner institution. These subcontracts contained deliverables which were identical for each in-country team. These were milestones for the project, to ensure that we progressed in line with the overall time scale of the original research proposal, but also to ensure that each country team was working on the same task at any given time, and could discuss difficulties and challenges faced, or offer suggestions to each other.

We decided early on in the project to utilize the Delphi technique throughout the research. This technique facilitates consensus decision making by ensuring involvement in the decision-making process from all team members, as subject matter experts (Adler & Ziglio, 1996). Our approach was often based on discussion and consensus among team members and on ensuring the project was grounded in the reality of the research context, and relevant to the end goal of poverty reduction. In practical terms this worked well: teams gathered critical incidents in the first place, on the basis

of which (alongside previous research) items were generated to develop a comprehensive questionnaire. Numerous iterations of the questionnaire were sent to the project teams for feedback and discussion regarding the scope of the items, and which measures should be included. Once all teams were satisfied with the questionnaire it was piloted in each project site; this threw up further issues, including item redundancy and translation difficulties of particular words within some items. The questionnaire was further revised on this basis, and sent out to the team for feedback as many times as was required until all team members were happy with it.

The benefits to using the Delphi approach were numerous, including participation by all team members in key decisions, ensuring the questionnaire items were as appropriate as possible to each context, and maintaining buy-in from team members throughout the process. There were, however, also drawbacks to using such an approach, most notably that it was often overly time consuming waiting for feedback concerning each iteration of the questionnaire, and on each decision to be made before it was made. Unreliable access to email in some country sites contributed to these delays.

For simplicity and consistency the overall data analysis was undertaken by the project coordinators in New Zealand, but project sites were able to undertake analysis of their individual country data as desired. In the final year of the project, team members were encouraged to publish individually, and with other team members, as much as possible. The project was set up with joint intellectual property vested with all parties to the research throughout the period of research. It was further agreed that on completion of the research, and having been cleaned and screened to ensure anonymity is maintained, the full data set would be (and indeed was) deposited online (at <http://www.esds.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=6610&key=/&flag=true>), giving all researchers, including those external to the project, open access to the data, and ensuring maximum utilization of the data.

### **Accessibility of technology to support virtual interaction and 'harmonization'**

The accessibility of virtual communication, and the technology to support it, becomes particularly crucial when face-to-face communication is not possible (Zakaria, Amelinckx & Wilemon, 2004). Cooperative relationships and strong ties are important for team performance, and harmonization of the research process, but without physical contact members of globally distributed teams often struggle to establish these (Kiesler & Cummings, 2002; Martins, Gilson & Maynard, 2004). We have already discussed the importance of face-to-face communication for the development of our research team; however, as mentioned, one key limitation was that we were unable to bring the team members together to meet each other (see also, Atkins & Foster-Thompson, this volume; Gloss, Glavey & Godbout, this volume). The

communication pattern, therefore, was perhaps more like a bicycle wheel, with the coordinating team in the middle and the project teams at the end of each spoke, rather than a fully integrated model of communication between all members.

Knowing that technology use is more likely to be effective when groups are cohesive, we focused on developing a shared team identity, albeit within a virtual context. This included establishing an ADD-UP email list solely for team members, as well as a project website with information about the project and a shared area for team members to post and download documents for discussion. Additionally, on the project website information about each team member's research interests was posted, along with a photograph, in order to put a face to each name. As well as this when the project started the project manager sent an informal email letter of introduction to the team members, along with a photo, and encouraged other team members to do the same. Although this did not substitute for face-to-face interaction, it was hoped that it would help break down some of the barriers caused by physical dis-location. Finally, the project manager sent regular messages to the group in a newsletter style in an attempt to encourage and maintain open communication and rapport among team members.

Despite these attempts, using technology for team building is challenging within the context of a research project focused on humanitarian work psychology. On more than one occasion in-country teams became disconnected from the rest of the group due to a loss of Internet within the host institution, theft of computing material or unreliable email providers. On other occasions team members became disconnected simply because they were out working in the field for weeks at a time with no Internet access. Such disconnections proved to be challenging from a project management perspective, particularly when the consensus approach utilized in the research was delayed due to the inability to contact some project sites. However, on balance, although this added unforeseen delays, the input obtained from using such an approach was invaluable.

Effective communication between team members is crucial for harmonization of the research process. Where researchers are not only globally dispersed, but also based in developing countries with limited access to technology to enable in-depth communication, managing an international research project can become challenging. In Project ADD-UP we made little use of technology such as Skype, and future research projects may explore its potential value for developing closer connections between team members (for more detailed reviews and prospects, see Atkins & Foster-Thompson, this volume; Gloss, Glavey & Godbout, this volume).

### **Culture and 'ownership' in development-focused research**

The impact of culture may be even more salient within globally distributed teams than in other teams by virtue of the diverse geographic locations

of the team members (Martins, Gilson & Maynard, 2004; Maznevski & Chudoba, 2000). Culture can affect teamwork at an everyday level, for example, around expectations of completion of tasks, meaning of deadlines (as firm or flexible), communication styles, and approaches to time management. Culture can also affect teamwork from a broader societal level through cultural orientation, including individualism/collectivism and issues of power distance, for example, around norms of appropriateness of questioning and/or critiquing the ideas of team members perceived as more senior than oneself (Carr, 2004; Richardson & Smith, 2007; Zakaria, Amelinckx & Wilemon, 2004). It should be noted, however, that many other types of distance can impact interactions within teams, including cultural, administrative/political, geographic and economic (MacDuffie, 2008). Cultural differences can make it difficult to establish norms around communication and performance in globally distributed teams. Cultural diversity can negatively affect team functioning and performance by creating barriers to establishing a shared identity, but at the same time can enhance team performance through the diversity of knowledge and perspectives present in the team (Stahl et al., 2010; Leung & Petersen, 2011).

In Project ADD-UP the impact of culture was apparent in every facet of the research, including among the individual team members working together on the research, as well as the research participants themselves. For example, there were challenges around power distance and creating an environment in which all team members felt equally empowered to contribute, as well as around cultural norms of 'saving face'. To try to overcome these challenges it was important that we took time building group processes, including trust and norms of equality within the team – these processes will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

In line with the Paris Declaration principle of *ownership*, in conceiving this research we sought to ensure maximum inclusion and active participation from researchers in the six country sites. To ensure the relevance of the research to each country context we recruited researchers in each country. Further, to maximize ownership of the research by the in-country teams we utilized a participatory approach to the research design process, obtaining input and feedback from in-country teams throughout, to ensure local relevance and acceptability.

We took a reflexive approach to managing cultural differences, calling on our own cultural competences from having worked internationally, in lower-income settings, and as members of multicultural teams. It was critical that we recognized that although we were the coordinating members of the team, with coordination responsibilities and duties, we were in fact facilitating the gathering of data relevant specifically to each country context while also trying to ensure the comparability of that data. We had a responsibility to ensure that, on one hand, what was being undertaken in each country was appropriate for that country site, and, on the other hand, that the

processes and content of the data were consistent across the contexts to enable cross-country comparisons.

Ultimately, management of this type of research required considerable respect and understanding for the country team's local knowledge and expertise, for the diversity of their approaches to the research process, and their needs within it. This diversity strengthened the research immensely, and added great value to the real-life relevance of the research itself. Again, this highlighted that 'equivalence' in different cultures cannot necessarily be achieved using exactly the same approach, but rather may be promoted by navigating different challenges in different ways, so as to achieve comparable outcomes (MacLachlan, 2006).

It must, however, be clear that despite our participatory approach, and our best efforts, this research project was primarily conceived and coordinated by researchers in higher-income settings, thus ultimately limiting the potential for ownership by collaborators in lower-income settings. This is not to say that the research was not informed and driven as much as possible by earlier research into the consequences of dual salaries (for example, Ila'ava, 1999; Marai, 2002), and that there was ownership by local groups by virtue of the resonance of the dual salary issue in their context. However, future research projects should formally include lower-income researchers in the conception process as much as possible, and research capacity within lower-income settings should be developed and harnessed so that future research is coordinated from within those countries.

### **Group processes: establishing 'mutual accountability'**

When highly diverse teams are geographically dislocated, developing effective processes for the everyday functioning of the team can be challenging. Leung & Petersen (2011) discuss five variables which may reduce the negative effects of diversity and geographic distance on group processes. Establishing (1) trust between team members, and (2) norms about quality and quantity of communication among team members early in the life of a team may set the team up to be more resilient to geographic distribution (Jarvenpaa, Shaw & Staples, 2004; Gibson & Gibbs, 2006). Establishing (3) team structure, supported and promoted by active leadership, is important for guiding interactions and establishing role expectations (Baba et al., 2004). The fourth variable refers to the development of a shared identity among team members, and has been linked to lower task and relationship conflict in globally distributed teams (Hinds & Mortensen, 2005). Finally, variable five identifies the need for a shared understanding by team members of issues and expectations, the absence of which can reduce satisfaction, motivation and trust, and increase conflict (Bosch-Sijtsema, 2007). Systems should be in place to ensure that all team members feel involved and important in the research process, thereby at the same time ensuring that they are mutually accountable for the project and its outcomes.

In Project ADD-UP we focused on establishing norms of trust and communication early on in the project, in order that this might mitigate some of the negative effects of the highly dispersed nature of the team. As discussed earlier in this chapter, we did this through creating online tools, including a website and email list, and encouraging and facilitating regular email communication. As well as this, and in order to promote a shared group identity, we created a name for the group – ‘ADD-UP’ – and developed a group logo. We hoped to engender a sense of ‘belonging’ in the group, as well as maximizing team member buy-in to the group itself, and therefore to the goals of the research project.

Communication via email can be particularly challenging within a multicultural context. Different cultures may have different preferences for how they communicate, and individual communication styles can also play a role (Zakaria, Amelinckx & Wilemon, 2004). In terms of managing the project across multiple cultures, with different preferences for communication styles, our cultural competences were again called into play. It was essential to identify how different team members preferred to communicate, and to work with them on this basis to build relationships individually and informally. It was crucial that at an individual level team members felt open to discuss any project-related concerns or ideas they might have and to offer advice and insight to other team members. At the team level, however, we adopted a more formal style of communication, particularly with relation to project management issues, such as payments, deliverables and other contractual agreements.

Culture is likely to affect team members’ preferences for how a group should be structured, for example, whether a hierarchical or a more egalitarian approach is preferred (Martins, Gilson & Maynard, 2004). In general, however, within the context of a globally distributed team, establishing a well-developed structure for guiding interaction, alongside active leadership, has been shown to be beneficial (Baba et al., 2004). In Project ADD-UP we purposely opted for an administrative structure which was flat, but centralized, and utilized a consensus approach to decision making whereby key decisions were proposed to the team as a whole and discussed until a mutually agreeable decision was reached; the visual map or mantra for the project was a circle, a round table in fact. For example, early in the project a list of potential constructs and measures was proposed and feedback sought from all country coordinators. With relation to project procedures and interactions between team members, we established a clear structure early on in the project through establishing project deliverables and actively stimulating online interaction. We sought to prevent administrative exigencies that required management through a single central institution leading to implicit dominance in scientific discussions, where managerial contingencies should be irrelevant, and all team members mutually accountable. In practice such an approach is incredibly challenging, given the need for one

institution to take a leadership role in communicating with funders, and as will be discussed in the next section, given the power disparities inherent in poverty-related research.

## **Reflections on power in humanitarian work psychology projects**

Throughout Project ADD-UP we attempted to remain grounded in the lower-income settings in which the research was undertaken. As project coordinators, we strove to be reflexive to the ongoing feedback we received from in-country team members, as well as through pilot testing and gathering critical incidents, and by utilizing a consensus approach to decision making (as described above). However, despite this the nature of the research process is such that it is inherently underpinned by power disparities. The research was managed by researchers based in higher-income settings, and the funding for the research had been approved before the in-country collaborators were brought on board. The research was therefore conceived by and led by researchers in richer countries, albeit ones that had also lived in lower-income countries, and presently live in countries that have a history of colonization and of economic marginalization. It may well be that such factors promote greater reflexivity in terms of the process of project management; however, there is a real need for research to be driven from lower-income settings, by lower income researchers, in order to maximize ownership (OECD, 2009).

International research is a considerable industry worth billions annually, and powerful research institutions, governments, civil society, industry and universities in rich countries compete for and are often dependant on it. These interests are, therefore, often reluctant to diminish their sizeable share of such funding. However, funding relatively higher-income institutions to research issues within lower-income settings may be perpetuating power differences, and in fact impeding the development of capacity among those equivalent institutions in lower-income settings. There is an urgent need to address issues of research governance from the perspective of low-income country researchers, in addition to acknowledging the importance of high-income country research perspectives, and their necessarily vested interests. Perhaps one way of addressing this would be a greater emphasis on developing 'networks of research excellence' rather than identifying single institutions as being 'excellent hubs' in the rather abstract and unrealistically isolated way that some international research ranking systems do. It is not, after all, an institution's bricks that constitute 'excellence', but rather the associations that people form, which in turn can promote excellence in research. Such excellence is, however, facilitated by adequate funding, and, we would argue, funding that is more equitably shared.

We would suggest that networks or alliances should be strategically developed which include researchers, policymakers, practitioners and other

users of research, both in high- and low-income countries, with an explicit agenda to promote distributed expertise across such networks, including the transfer of skills, lead roles and funding from more to less well-off countries (Atkins & Foster-Thompson, this volume; Gloss, Glavey and Godbout, this volume). In a very real sense, as Gandhi remarked, this challenges the research community – at least those involved in research on development – to ‘be the change we seek’.

## **Towards best practice in humanitarian work psychology project management**

To our knowledge, Project ADD-UP is the first large-scale international research project grounded (albeit along with other disciplines) in humanitarian work psychology. It worked across diverse cultures and contexts on a sensitive – in fact often taboo – topic which is implicit but almost never discussed in many international aid projects. We have therefore sought to learn from the process of that project and to try and contribute that learning to the broader literature. Below we summarize some of the key points from Project ADD-UP as well as other international projects in which we (the authors) have been involved.

1. **Show face, give face:** The face-to-face interaction in initial site visits is essential for building trust between the coordinating researchers and the in-country researchers. However, in addition to this a meeting of all team members – ideally in one of the in-country research sites – helps to foster a stronger social network and promote more egalitarian interaction between team members. Such interaction may in turn stimulate more online discussion and collaboration between research team members, and especially ‘South-South’ collaboration.
2. **Clarify management procedures:** At the start of the project explicitly establishing expectations around project procedures, approach to decision making and management, and interaction between team members is essential. This can be formally agreed upon within contracts, and/or informally discussed using an online forum. The operational details of more central management should be explicitly distinguished from the value of more collegiate and collective leadership concerning the science of the research.
3. **Establish identity:** Developing an overarching shared identity between team members at the start of the project is essential. This stimulates buy-in from members to the team and project outcomes, and encourages linkages between members. This can include a name, logo and website. The website can have an area offering restricted access to consortium members and allow for sharing of research papers and other materials that might have copyright restrictions preventing them from being more



publicly posted. The website is also, of course, an important vehicle to disseminate the research findings.

4. **Distribute justly:** Careful consideration of an appropriate compensation system must be made at the outset of the research, and must take the needs and contexts of all team members into account. Above all it must be seen to be as fair and equitable as possible. The need for perceived distributive justice refers not only to personal remuneration but also to the division of overall funding between the participating partners and institution.
5. **Value diversity:** Diversity in general, including cultural diversity, can and should be considered a strength for international research projects, particularly for a research project like ADD-UP where the research was undertaken within the context of team member diversity. A facilitative and open management style from project coordinators is essential for staying open to different types of learning and using different types of methods to capture this.
6. **Consult with stakeholders:** Embracing research stakeholders who will ultimately determine the extent of research utilization is essential. This applies both to the outset of the project and to the later stages of it when feedback workshops constitute not just 'information giving' but also 'information checking' ('Do the results resonate with participants' experience and do they address issues in a way that participants find useful?'), dissemination and utilization planning ('What are we going to do with the findings?') and research development ('How can we build on this research?'). Sharing findings with local stakeholders and policymakers, as well as participants in the research, is essential to promote the project's authenticity. In Project ADD-UP we used in-country workshops which not only successfully enabled feedback to be given to those who do not read academic journals, but also, and importantly, provided an opportunity to garner feedback from key stakeholders as to the meaning of the findings within their context, and their suggestions for ways forward to implement the findings and create positive change.
7. **Agree outcome protocol:** Establish early on in the project what the likely outcomes are expected to be and to what extent different team members are likely to feature in such outcomes. For instance, in terms of publication expectations, team members should have discussed likely products from the project and be able to anticipate those they are likely or not likely to be involved in. In our view it is also important that project coordinators not be involved in all project products, and that some papers be authored only by low-income country researchers. Without making such expectations explicit, institutional dominance can – often unwittingly and by default – determine who is on what papers and who is placed where in the authorship of those papers.

8. **Promote progression:** Participants in a project should have a reasonable expectation that their involvement positions them well for elevated roles in subsequent consortia on related topics. As a key part of capacity building those who were only participants in certain work packages might expect to lead a work package as part of a subsequent submission. While this may be implicit in some consortia its implicit nature can sometimes be problematic – who decides when a research partner is ‘ready’ to lead a work package within a larger project? These aspirations should be explicit and could form part of a consortium agreement.
9. **Cultivate realistic expectations:** Notwithstanding point 8 above, in any consortia there will be some individuals who are better able (because of training/linguistic competence/ability/motivation or other factors) to manage and to publish the results of research than others. Conflating the need for capacity building with the need for producing excellent products from a project can create great frustration – a pretence of equality on all tasks can undermine those in whom the need for capacity building is greatest.
10. **Respect customs but challenge assumptions:** In many cultures there may be well-established work-related customs that are inequitable – for instance, for men to lead research projects, for senior people to do very little on a project but take most of the credit, and so on. This may be the case in both lower- and higher-income countries. Any project is potentially an agent of change within the countries where it is working. Sometimes ‘outsiders’ can question assumptions that it is difficult to question from the ‘inside’. Sensitive and genuinely constructive questioning can help to promote an atmosphere of openness and joint learning that can add to the authenticity and enjoyment of the project.

## In conclusion and looking ahead

While the points we summarize above have emerged from our own experiences with Project ADD-UP and other similar research projects, we hope it is apparent to all readers that many of the issues raised are applicable far beyond research alone, and can be of value to international teams in all areas of humanitarian work psychology. Consultation with stakeholders, capacity development of team members and early clarification and development of team identity and processes are critical for all humanitarian work psychology-related teamwork (indeed perhaps for all teams generally). Also crucial is a true commitment to fairness and equity, and to challenging the imbalances of power and dominance which are inherent in many teams focused on poverty reduction. By being mindful of the five principles of the Paris Declaration, humanitarian work psychology-focused researchers and the interdisciplinary teams they form can focus on developing priorities in

line with lower-income countries' needs, and on improving the efficiency and effectiveness of their project through coordination and transparency.

## Acknowledgements

We would like to extend our thanks to all team members and participants from Project ADD-UP specifically, but also from other projects we have worked on which have informed both this chapter and underpinned the ethos in Project ADD-UP. Thanks also to UKAID (formerly the Department for International Development; DFID) and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for funding Project ADD-UP through the Joint Fund for Research on Poverty Reduction. Thanks to the School of Psychology at Massey University, for funding many presentations on the project, and to the Centre for Global Health, Trinity College Dublin and University College London for supporting the launch of our final project milestones in Dublin and London. Finally, we are grateful to Lori Foster-Thompson for the reference to Leung & Peterson (2011).

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# 5

## From Humanitarian to Humanistic Work Psychology: The Morality of Business

*Joel Lefkowitz*

### Summary

The first instances of humanitarian work psychology (HWP) have consisted of the application of the knowledge and methods of work psychology, as currently conceived, to avowedly humanitarian enterprises in which they have not previously been applied. It is suggested that that represents an unnecessarily self-limiting conceptualization of the field, and that we should strive to develop an expanded normative model of work psychology itself characterized by humanistic values. It is argued that such a model is not incompatible with furthering the ends of private sector corporations as their fundamental societal justification is also moral.

Is a humanitarian work psychology possible in the absence of socially conscious, humanistic business organizations that respect and value the worth of their employees and provide them with decent work and working conditions?

Instances of the first applications of humanitarian work psychology include performing *pro bono* industrial and organizational (I-O) psychology in organizations in developing countries (Carr, 2007, 2010a; Lefkowitz, 2010b), and applying sophisticated I-O psychology theory and human resource (HR) practices in non-governmental and/or not-for-profit organizations (NGOs) including the United Nations (Carr, 2010b; Carr, McWha, MacLachlan and Furnham, 2010).<sup>1</sup> The focus has been on the application of the knowledge and methods of work psychology to organizations, populations, societal problems and/or sectors of an economy in which it has not previously been well represented, such as healthcare, teaching, disability, poverty reduction, international aid, disaster response, etc (cf. elsewhere, this volume). This is not an implicit criticism of such good work; I have myself lamented the lack of professional attention we pay to such organizations, issues and employee groups – in contrast to the private sector corporate world in/for which most

work psychology is performed (Lefkowitz, 2005b). Improving the effectiveness of humanitarian organizations is obviously a good thing. However, it reflects a limited model of humanitarian work psychology that, if allowed to represent the totality of the field, could greatly attenuate its potential value and influence.

If my observation is correct, why have the initial applications of humanitarian work psychology been limited in that fashion? Given the many egregious examples of corporate fraud in recent years (cf. Rockness & Rockness, 2005), perhaps those of us who have begun to think of ourselves as humanitarian work psychologists view the business world as appreciably immoral (Reynolds, Leavitt & DeCelles, 2010) and inhospitable to the accomplishment of our objectives, so that humanitarian work psychology can be practiced only in avowedly humanitarian organizations. If such views are prevalent it behooves us to consider the moral foundations of business – if for no other reason than as a justification for extending the domain of humanitarian work psychology. Hence the title and primary focus of this chapter, and the importance of the issue. Perhaps such an extension will be facilitated by the belief that any kind of reputable organization can and ought to be *humanistic* in nature, even if its core objectives are not *per se* humanitarian. Consequently, we should explore the meaning of the label *humanism* as it might apply to a more broadly conceived humanistic work psychology, and the implications of how we currently conceive of humanitarian work psychology.

## **Humanism**

A brief consideration of what is meant by humanism may be helpful in coming to an understanding of how it could be reflected in work psychology. There appear to be two relevant origins. By far the oldest, broadest and more varied is from philosophy; the more recent and focused is from psychology. *Philosophical humanism* is primarily a world-view reflected in a number of normative value ideals, while *humanistic psychology* is a demarcated domain of study focusing on personality theory and personal counseling/psychotherapy, but which also has spurred the field of *organization development*.

## **Philosophical humanism**

Edwards (1989), a former director of the American Humanist Association (AHA), lists eight varieties of humanism: literary humanism, Renaissance humanism, cultural humanism, philosophical humanism, Christian humanism, modern (scientific, or ethical) humanism, secular humanism and religious humanism. It seems obvious after reading the capsule definitions of each that these are overlapping categories, contributing to the semantic ambiguity of the term. The American Humanist Association (American

Humanist Association (AHA), 2010) offers the following general description: 'Humanism is a progressive philosophy of life that, without theism and other supernatural beliefs, affirms our ability and responsibility to lead ethical lives of personal fulfillment that aspire to the greater good of humanity' (p. 1). In its *Manifesto III* the AHA (2003) offered a consensus of beliefs:

Knowledge of the world is derived by observation, experimentation, and rational analysis....

Humans are an integral part of nature, the result of unguided evolutionary change....

Ethical values are derived from human need and interest as tested by experience....

Life's fulfillment emerges from individual participation in the service of humane ideals....

Humans are social by nature and find meaning in relationships....

Working to benefit society maximizes individual happiness...

(pp. 1–2)

## Humanistic psychology

In contrast to the long philosophical tradition, humanistic psychology is generally dated as beginning in the 1940s and 1950s, crystallizing in 1962 with the publication of *Toward a psychology of being* by Abraham Maslow (also see Maslow, 1987). However, the student of personality will recognize in Maslow's work many concepts elaborated by the philosopher G.W.F. Hegel around the turn of the nineteenth century (cf. Arrington, 1998) and the neurologist Kurt Goldstein in the 1940s (cf. Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Sahakian, 1965). From Hegel we get notions of *alienation*; the *self-concept*, *self-identity* and *self-realization* through social relations; and the importance of meaningful work as a means of attaining such. Goldstein concluded that 'the drive which sets the organism going is nothing but the forces which arise from its tendency to actualize itself as fully as possible in terms of its potentialities' (cited in Sahakian, p. 307), and that *self-actualization* influences the relations among people so that 'the individual is primary in all social organization' (p. 317). 'Normal society means a type of organization through which the fullest possible actualization on the part of all individuals is assured' (p. 318).

From the beginning Maslow meant to enlarge the scope of psychology by presenting a 'third force' in addition to psychoanalysis and behaviorism. He was critical of psychoanalysis as a model stemming from the study of disturbed, rather than healthy people. Hence the focus on growth motivation like achievement, rather than a deficiency model of needs. He was critical of behaviorism as mechanistic science that was unsuitable for studying the whole person. It needed to be supplemented (not supplanted) by



‘a humanistic science [that] would deal with questions of value, individuality, consciousness, purpose, ethics and ‘the higher reaches of human nature’ (Hall & Lindzey, 1978, p. 270).

This view can also be characterized as prospective and optimistic in the sense that the major motivational force is healthy future growth, rather than reactions to past traumas or one’s history of operant conditioning. That is the orientation of the last major humanistic psychologist to be considered here, Carl Rogers (1951, 1961). Although Rogers is perhaps best known for his therapeutic endeavors (‘nondirective’ or ‘client-centered’ in nature) his model of therapy, i.e., personality change, is reflective of his holistic theory of personality. The theory is *phenomenological* in nature, that is, focusing on the totality of experiences of the person at any point in time (unconscious as well as conscious), in contrast with external reality. It means that ‘the best vantage point for understanding behavior is from the internal frame of reference of the individual himself [*sic*]’ (Sahakian, 1965, p. 480). And, as with Maslow, ‘the organism has one basic tendency and striving – to actualize, maintain, and enhance the experiencing organism’ (Sahakian, 1965, p. 477). What is meant by the somewhat ambiguous term ‘self-actualization’ is ‘the tendency of the organism to move in the direction of maturation.... In the direction of greater independence or self-responsibility.... In the direction of an increasing self-government, self-regulation, and autonomy.... [and] in the direction of socialization, broadly defined’ (Rogers, 1951, as cited in Sahakian, 1965, p. 478). An important point, relevant to our role as work psychologists, is that Rogers (1974) conceived of all people as having the resources to accomplish all that, but that ‘*these resources can be tapped if only a definable climate of facilitative attitudes can be provided*’ (p. 116, emphasis added). Rogers’s person-centered therapy illuminates the nature of that climate as consisting of three main facilitative attitudes which generalize to any constructive social encounter when communicated to the other person(s) (Rowan, 2001): *empathy*, so that the other feels accepted and understood; *genuineness* – being in touch with one’s own experience as it impacts the social situation; and *non-possessive warmth*, which allows the other to be honest and to develop trust.

## Two models of work psychology

To return to the issue raised at the outset of this chapter, it seems to me that there are two essential ways to think about a humanitarian work psychology.

### The application of work psychology to humanitarian enterprises

As noted above, this is the model I infer is held currently by many early adherents (see also, Carr et al., this volume). The belief reflects the fact that although work psychology has contributed substantially to the effective

functioning of large companies in the private sector, our expertise has not been nearly so applied to a wide array of NGOs, philanthropic and humanitarian organizations, labor unions, etc. Even in terms of organizational research, a recent 10-year survey of articles published in the *Academy of Management Journal* ( $n = 639$ ) revealed that only 12 percent studied non-business settings (6 percent not-for-profit organizations) (Bamberger & Pratt, 2010). That is not at all surprising given the salience of the positivist-oriented scientist-practitioner (S-P) model that guides us – especially as articulated within I-O psychology in the United States. Our theoretical and knowledge base (i.e., our science) has been conceived erroneously to be ‘value-free’, so that it may then be applied in professional practice in a supposedly unbiased fashion in organizational settings. However, while all of the variants of humanism and humanistic psychology reflect a strong (humanitarian) values position, the organizational settings in which we practice are mostly corporate entities governed largely by a traditional business value system that enshrines productivity, profitability and shareholder value above all else. (Nothing wrong or immoral about that *per se*, but it’s certainly not neutral, unbiased or ‘value-free’). I have previously pointed out the inadequacies and disingenuousness of the scientist-practitioner (S-P) model – for example, insofar as that business value system *de facto* guides even much of our ‘scientific’ work – and so there is little need to dwell on it here except to emphasize one particularly relevant point. Our misplaced zeal in precluding potentially contentious social values issues from the scientific aspects of our enterprise (including science-based professional practice), because such values are presumably subjective and unscientific, has had in my opinion the effect of precluding *all* values from consideration – such as those reflected in a humanistic approach. This, in turn, has helped create a moral vacuum in which unacknowledged corporate business values in fact hold sway under a facade of neutrality. It is an example of what the philosopher of social science Rosenberg (1995) warned about more generically:

*A social science that sought to efface the moral dimension from its descriptions and explanations would simply serve the interests of some other moral conception. It would reflect values foreign to those that animate our conception of ourselves.*

(p. 205, emphasis added)

As noted earlier, there is nothing inherently wrong with applying good HR and business techniques to non-business organizations so that they might function more productively and effectively – as long as those applications do not result in undermining the primary goals and values of those enterprises (Burt, this volume). For example, might making public schools more ‘efficient’ and teachers more ‘accountable’ actually subvert the educational enterprise? And it may be that the cultures of such organizations make them

most receptive to humanistically oriented work psychologists, so it is not surprising to see the earliest work being done in such settings (Carr et al., this volume).

However, this model of humanitarian work psychology implicitly locates the desired humanism as an attribute of the targeted enterprise or organization, rather than as an inherent aspect of the nature of our professional practice as work psychologists. If humanitarian work psychology evolves entirely according to this model, it will have restricted itself to a limited domain of organizations (altruistically oriented, mostly non-business organizations, with humanitarian values and objectives) – those perhaps deficient in sophisticated HR procedures, but least in need of what a broader conception of humanitarian work psychology has to offer. There would be other limiting features of this model as well. It virtually obviates any need to define what is meant by humanitarian work psychology – other than to recognize the worthy humanitarian-focused organizations with which we should be concerned. If humanitarian work psychology consisted of only this what would be the nature of the education and training of such work psychologists? No substantive changes would be needed from current educational practice in traditional work psychology; we need merely advocate that students should apply their knowledge and skills to a wider domain of clients and employers than has traditionally been the case. But there is another potential model.

### **Work psychology as an inherently humanistic profession**

An alternative conception of humanitarian work psychology conceives of it as a field characterized by a substantial re-conceptualization of the dominant values and objectives that currently guide all of work psychology. The *Preamble* of the Ethics Code of the American Psychological Association (APA) suggests that psychologists are committed to the use of the knowledge we create ‘to improve the condition of individuals, organizations and society’ (APA, 2002). Those who have reflected on the matter have concluded that we – especially in the United States – focus much more on directly improving the condition of organizations than of individuals (including employees within those organizations) and society (cf. Baritz, 1960; Katzell & Austin, 1992; Kornhauser, 1947; Zickar & Gibby, 2007). Consequently, I have previously advocated supplanting the ubiquitous, but critically unexamined, (S-P) model with a scientist-practitioner-humanist (S-P-H) model that would encompass epistemic scientific values, ethical and instrumental values of sound professional practice, as well as the socially conscious and employee-centered values of a humanistic approach (Lefkowitz, 1990, 2003, 2005a, 2008, 2010a). For example, a universalist, multiple-stakeholder approach can be taken to even an activity as avowedly organization-centered as employee selection, so that one considers not only traditional practice issues reflecting ethics in employee selection, but also

the ethics of employee selection (Lefkowitz & Lowman, 2009). Similarly, Huffman, Watrous-Rodriguez, Henning, & Berry (2009) have shown that a concern for environmental or sustainability issues can be reflected in a variety of traditional work psychology activities (selection, training, recruitment, leadership, compensation, etc.).

The difference between contemporary work psychology and a putatively *humanistic* work psychology is one of values orientation.<sup>2</sup> It reflects one's core professional identity, by which in this context is meant '*your beliefs, goals and meta-objectives concerning what it is you intend to accomplish in the organizations with which you work, and how you prefer to go about accomplishing them*' (Lefkowitz, 2010a, p. 294, emphasis in original). Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi and Damon (2001) have lamented 'Why is it that experts primarily teach *techniques* to young professionals, while ignoring the values that have sustained the quests of so many creative geniuses?' (p. x). Members of an occupation that is deemed to be a *profession* (cf. Kimball, 1992) thereby enjoy many benefits. For example, professional status means that society views what one does as important, defers to a profession's expertise in appropriate areas, and gives its members considerable latitude with respect to determining the qualifications to enter the profession and regulate its practice. In return, those members are expected to behave as 'professionals', i.e., responsibly, and to utilize their expertise for the benefit of the entire society, not simply to benefit only their direct clients.

In particular, I have suggested that an 'expanded vision' (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 281) of work psychology would include greater emphases on the following four perspectives, which seem commensurate with the humanistic orientations reviewed above:

- (i) A broader values model for the field, supplanting the S-P model with the proposed S-P-H model, as reflected implicitly throughout much of this current volume. More recently, and more specifically, it was proposed that in addition to our traditional concern for promoting organizational effectiveness, '*A fundamental objective of research and practice in organizational psychology is to assure that organizations are safe, just, healthy, challenging, and fulfilling places in which to work*' (Lefkowitz, 2010a, p. 297, emphasis in original; also see Muchinsky, 2006);
- (ii) A greater interest and concern for the individual employee, along with our focus on organizational needs, goals and perspectives. A similar concern has recently been voiced by Weiss and Rupp (2011), although their primary concern is with respect to the field's research orientation as opposed to normative issues (Lefkowitz, 2011);
- (iii) An expanded criterion of effectiveness for our own work that goes beyond technical competence to include a consideration of its wider organizational, community and societal consequences; and

- (iv) Inclusion of an avowedly normative (i.e., moral) perspective, in addition to our current scientific and instrumental perspectives. That is, based on our general education and training as social scientists, and on our knowledge, expertise and experience as work psychologists in particular, to step outside of our traditional 'value-free' scientific role, to advance a notion of what organizations *should* be like with respect to their employees, the community and the commonweal. Who better to voice and promote such aspirations than we?

As alluded to earlier, on the assumption that it would be at least painfully inconsistent, and perhaps impossible to implement such a humanistic enterprise within an immoral social system, let's consider the case for business as an intrinsically moral enterprise.

### **Business as a moral enterprise**

To be sure, recent years have seen the business community racked by extensive fraud (Rockness & Rockness, 2005), resulting in a substantial increase in government regulations and laws and public disdain (Lefkowitz, 2006). Even a pro-business ethicist like William Frederick (1995) laments:

The normative bill of particulars brought against American corporate business is lengthy, shocking, and saddening .... Greed, selfishness, ego-centeredness, disregard of the needs and well-being of others, a narrow or nonexistent social vision, an ethnocentric managerial creed imposed on nonindustrial cultures, a reckless use of dangerous technologies, an undermining of countervailing institutions such as trade unions, a virtual political takeover of some pluralist government agencies, and a system of self-reward that few either inside or outside business have cared to defend as fair or moral – all of these attributes have been credited to the business account.

(p. 277)

As a result, organizational scholars concerned with business ethics have attempted to understand the antecedents and determinants of such misbehavior (Andreoli & Lefkowitz, 2009; Ashforth, Gioia, Robinson & Treviño, 2008; Kish-Gephart, Harrison & Treviño, 2010; Lefkowitz, 2009b; Mishina, Dykes, Block & Pollock, 2010; Umphress, Bingham & Mitchell, 2010; Vardi & Weitz, 2004). An assumption implicit in those scholarly investigations is that there are specific (hopefully generalizable) factors relating to individual motives, circumstances, organizational attributes and/or social influences that foment misconduct. In other words, it is not necessarily ubiquitous in, or intrinsic to, the business enterprise. In fact, business has frequently been described (or justified and defended) as a moral enterprise.

Before reviewing that perspective, two caveats are in order:

- (a) Those moral descriptions occur in the literature at a variety of levels of theoretical analysis: for example, musings on the nature and necessity of work or commerce for human beings in general, regardless of the circumstances or how it is organized; macro-level sociopolitical comparisons of economic systems (e.g., free-market capitalism versus Marxism); the appropriate role and responsibilities, if any, of the business organization or corporation in society (i.e., its external relationships); the treatment by business organizations of their employees (internal relationships); and attempted explanations of individual misconduct – usually of managers.

I wish to note four points regarding these varied analyses: first, the following discussion is in general terms and does not strain to maintain those distinctions in level of theory. Second, there are often contradictions among the various levels, which are beyond the scope of this chapter to deal with.<sup>3</sup> So I will attempt to present a modal view. Third, I will not acknowledge much the vast tendentious literature regarding the inherent immorality of capitalism (or communism) as charged by Marxists (or free-marketeers), and attendant moral superiority of one's own system. Many of those treatises are ideological diatribes by authors unable or unwilling to acknowledge the weaknesses of their own champion or any positive attributes of the other (cf. Hendrickson, 1996). In any event, those arguments are largely moot as there has never been, to my knowledge, a prominent modern society comprised of either a totally free market system or a fully-realized Marxist economy.<sup>4</sup> Fourth, in order to proceed, I will simply accept that businesses are moral entities or agents, and can be held to the same moral considerations as individuals. Most businesses themselves assume 'that no distinction must be made between the morality of the company and individual morality' (Vardy, 1989, p. 55), and it is common to use the term 'organization' or 'business' (as in the preceding sentence) or the name of a specific company to refer to the actions of particular individuals, or of all individuals within it.<sup>5</sup> As pointed out by Lavoie and Chamlee-Wright (2000), even *markets*, generally treated as abstract forces or mechanisms, are comprised of 'meaningful...human activity' (p. 2) that can be appraised in moral terms. Therefore, I will proceed on the assumption that

when we make a moral judgment about the actions of a firm or of a nation, we need not know who within the firm is the person or persons responsible. We can hold the firm as such responsible, from a moral as well as from a legal point of view.

(DeGeorge, 1982, p. 393)

- (b) Although, as stated, business has frequently been described or justified as a moral enterprise, that should not be taken to mean that there is a uniform consensus about the substance of that morality. In fact, there are alternative popular moral conceptualizations, and none of them is without its critics – usually adherents of a competing view. There is not sufficient space in this chapter to delve deeply into such criticism, although, as will become apparent, the alternative moral positions do not seem to be equally compatible with the humanitarian orientation advanced in this volume.

The great bulk of what has been written about the morality of business has been from one or the other of two main perspectives: the individualist-oriented classical liberal model of free-market capitalism (nowadays referred to more frequently as Libertarian); and the more social- and societal-oriented neoliberal model of a free enterprise system attenuated by mechanisms of social concern. One frequently encounters religious arguments as well. But as these are usually couched in terms supporting one or the other of the two main perspectives – usually the former – I will consider them only in passing.

### **Morality within the classical free-market perspective**

This is the view that venerates individual responsibility and authority and asserts that it is right and good that, as long as one remains within the letter of the law and adheres to the basic ethical norms of society, one should act whenever possible only in one's own self-interest. For example, using one's property only for one's own ends, or (if one is a manager of a publicly-held company) always acting so as to maximize shareholder profits. In fact, any other use of corporate resources, such as for the common good, would be considered immoral (Friedman, 1970). It reflects two historical meta-theoretical positions in moral philosophy: *ethical egoism* – that the only justifiable moral position is the pursuit of self-interest (e.g., Younkins, 2010a, b, c) – and *the social contract* – that political freedom necessitates the right to freely enter into agreements with others, unimpeded by outside (e.g., government) interference.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the proper role for government is *de minimus*: providing for the national defense and enforcing laws (which should be as few as possible; primarily the law of contracts). With regard to morality, the only appropriate role is protecting citizens from harming one another.

Golembiewski (1989) also points out that this *individualistic ethic* (especially with respect to the relationship between the organization and its employees) fit well in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the distortions and rationalizations of social Darwinism, or survival of the fittest: 'The Individualistic Ethic proposed both a morality and a science

of individual selfishness' (p. 40). Thus an authoritarian, even exploitative, approach by management to employees is appropriate. Religious scripture, too, has been used frequently to rationalize this perspective (see below).

Some adherents assert the moral superiority of the free-market libertarian view because of the mistaken belief that altruistic, beneficent behavior towards others undermines being able to lead a productive, meaningful and independent existence oneself (Rand, 1964). Others, apparently disregarding the high incidence of corporate corruption in recent years, believe that the conduct of business in this fashion promotes virtue: 'The pursuit of profit reflects the presence of many of the virtues. The free market rewards polite, accommodating, tolerant, open, honest, realistic, trustworthy, discerning, creative, fair-dealing businessmen [sic]' (Younkins, 2010a, p. 5). Still others believe that restricting market freedom to any degree is tantamount to curtailing political freedom (Friedman, 1970; Michelin, 2003). From that perspective the state's establishing a minimum wage is immoral because it eliminates complete 'freedom of choice on the part of all traders' (Machan, 2000, p. xv). This view seems to be invoked less, however, when the state's infringement benefits the business organization – as with subsidies or price supports for particular products and commodities.

By far the most frequent moral justification for the free-market system is an instrumental or utilitarian one, based originally on the views of Adam Smith (1776/1976). That is,

wealth is produced by the efficient utilization of capital and labor, is sought by all as a reflection of merely following one's own self-interest, and it results in the aggregation of maximum benefits for the entire society. In other words, under ideal free-market conditions the egoistic pursuit of one's own concerns will result in maximizing overall utility.

(Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 242).

Ironically, then, the major moral justification in the classical framework is largely epiphenomenal. It has been expressed nicely by Lavoie and Chamlee-Wright (2000):

In the study of markets and business, where does morality come in? From the very origins of political economy in the work of classical liberal moral philosophers, the moral defense of the market rested not on the individual's ability to intentionally improve the lives of others and the community in general, but rather on the idea of unintended consequences – that such benefits are conveyed despite the individual's interest in promoting his or her own interests. *Yet the question of whether the unintended benefits of market activity relieve business from further obligations to serve society is far from resolved.*

(pp. 104–5, emphasis added)



Moreover, not only does the putative morality of the free market fail to be based on trying to ‘intentionally improve the lives of others and the community in general’, such activities are viewed as foolish at best and potentially immoral (Friedman, 1970). It’s worth noting, however, that Adam Smith is sometimes interpreted unfairly as having presented an extreme (i.e., unbridled) notion of egoism, whereas his views are probably more accurately characterized as *enlightened egoism*. He was quite clear on the necessity for trust, honest dealings and a sense of fair play in order for the market to operate effectively. Moreover, he even recognized that major threats to the free operation of markets came not just from potential inefficiencies associated with governmental regulation, but from the greedy monopolistic tendencies of business people themselves. (Ironically, it was and continues to be the monopolistic and/or unethical actions of influential business leaders that has spawned much of the reactive government regulation we have today.)

### **Morality within the revisionist neo-liberal mixed-economy model**

A very different sort of morality was spawned following the excesses of the ‘robber barons’ during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the US, followed shortly thereafter by the great depression of the 1930s:

Among the things that crashed in October 1929 along with the stock market was any residual belief in the self-regulating and self-correcting nature of free markets. Even the massive unemployment of the 1930s was not sufficient to bid down the price of labor, increase hiring, and stimulate production, as predicted by the free-market model.

(Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 263)

The view began to take hold that government could – indeed, had an obligation to – intercede when necessary to maintain relatively free-market conditions on behalf of the general welfare. Many of us now take for granted (even in the United States.) government’s constructive role in fiscal, monetary and trade policies, and even as a major employer. The new economics and model of political economy was as much or more a reflection of John Maynard Keynes (1935/1964) as Adam Smith. The business ethicist John Danley (1994) makes the point that the classical, currently called Libertarian, view has abandoned its most significant [albeit, epiphenomenal] moral justification, whereas, ‘Revisionist Liberals recognize that human well-being requires more than merely leaving individuals alone to compete in the market, and that interference in economic freedom for the sake of improving the conditions of general welfare is a trade-off that is sometimes defensible’ (p. 269).

Moreover, even accepting the conclusion that markets are wonderful, perhaps the best, mechanisms we know of for promoting individual creativity,

risk-taking and entrepreneurship, and for producing economic growth that benefits society (Ahlstrom, 2010), they have long been recognized as also producing great disparities in income and wealth – to a degree that in recent years has been staggering and seen by most as unjustified (Collins, Hartman & Sklar, 1999; McCall & Percheski, 2010). Correspondingly, trade-offs like taxing income at graduated increasing rates, and creating social safety nets which benefit primarily the ‘have-nots’ have been seen as morally appropriate government actions. The classical view emphasizing *liberty* above all else – i.e., freedom from unwarranted interference, especially by the government – provides for many people very little freedom to .... It is a morally anemic political stance. Among the more debilitating aspects of poverty is the paucity of choices available to people. As expressed famously by Anatole France (1894/2009): ‘The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread’ (Chap. 7).

In the familiar terminology of moral philosophy and professional ethics, the classical view may recognize (to limited degrees) the common ethical principles of *nonmaleficence*, *responsibility* and *integrity*, but it ignores *beneficence* and, especially, *fairness/justice* (APA, 2003; Furnham, this volume). The qualifier in the previous sentence is necessitated, for example, by the classical model’s emphasis on the inviolability of agreements or formal contracts entered into freely by two or more parties. No consideration is given, however, to the fact that the parties may differ vastly in wealth, power, influence, and other relevant circumstances that often are reflected in the (unfair, perhaps coercive) terms of the contract (cf. Barry, 1989; Rawls, 1958, 1971). How ‘free’ were you to bargain for favorable terms in your contract with your Internet or cell phone service provider? Or for the interest rate you receive on your savings bank deposits? How ‘free’ are typical job applicants to negotiate their terms of employment – especially in tight labor markets?

The neoliberal model accepts the value of the capitalist free-market system but, analogous to its revisionist political economy – that is, a willingness to accept government involvement on behalf of enhancing the common good – it emphasizes the importance of social relations as it attempts to redress inequities it perceives as intrinsic to an unbridled egoist approach. Golombiewski (1989) points out that whereas the *individualist ethic* at the core of the classical model utilized a distorted Darwinism to justify individual greed and rationalize the resulting poverty and maldistribution of wealth (i.e., it was viewed as a natural phenomenon), an evolving *social ethic* looked upon such social conditions as due to ‘the injustice of society, not the niggardliness of nature’ (p. 43).

This view in part reflects a very different metaethical position in moral philosophy: that of *universalism*. Rachels (1993) pointed out that unrestricted *egoism* is merely a version of prejudice – that is, it is in a class of moral positions that makes *a priori* distinctions among various peoples and views as justified treating them differently based on those distinctions

(e.g., racism, sexism, ageism, anti-Semitism). In the case of ethical egoism, the distinction is simply between one's self and everyone else! He goes on, 'We can justify treating people differently only if we can show that there is some factual difference between them that is relevant to justifying the difference in treatment' (p. 88). The controversial utilitarian moral philosopher Peter Singer (1995) adds: 'Self-interested acts must be shown to be compatible with more broadly based ethical principles if they are to be ethically defensible, for the notion of ethics carries with it the idea of something bigger than the individual' (p. 10). So, no one's interests and concerns take *a priori* precedence over anyone else's, although differential treatment of individuals or groups can sometimes be justified ethically (e.g., to fulfill one's duties and obligations, or to achieve equity or fairness). I believe that one of the interesting distinctions between humanitarian work psychology and traditional work psychology is the extension of a concern for justice from an entirely within-organization perspective (Cropanzano, 1993; Gilliland, Steiner & Skarlicki, 2008) to a more macro-societal level.

The general reflection of this perspective in the world of business is most often referred to as advocating *corporate social responsibility* (CSR): 'the increasing power of corporations must be balanced by a corporate conscience' (Cavanagh, 1984, p. 63).<sup>7</sup> More specifically, to achieve a complete moral picture of a corporation's existence, we must consider not just its capacity to produce wealth, but rather the full range of its effects upon society: its tendencies to pollute or to harm workers, or, alternatively, its tendencies to help employees by providing jobs and other benefits for society (Donaldson, 1982, p. 38).

In other words, in addition to responsibilities to its primary stakeholders (e.g., producing quality products or services for consumers at optimum prices; other appropriate obligations to employees, suppliers, shareholders, etc.), *multiple stakeholder theory* asserts, in its normative version, that the corporation has moral and social obligations to secondary stakeholders with whom the organization has only indirect and/or unintentional relations – for example, the general public (Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Freeman, 1984). Using the stakeholder model in the context of moral universalism suggests that there is no necessary reason that the interests of one stakeholder group (e.g., the company's shareholders) should *always* take precedence over those of all others (Carr et al., this volume). Vardy (1989) points out, however, that even though

a company does owe a duty to the community in which it operates ... it is not always easy to set out how this duty should be fulfilled or when the company has done all it can reasonably be expected to do.... What is clear, however, is that the moral duty is a positive rather than simply a negative one. It is a duty to seek involvement, to actively promote the good of the community and not simply to be passive and to refrain from ill-doing.

(p. 179)

It has been observed that companies that ‘embody the idea that profit and prosperity can and must go hand in hand with social justice and environmental stewardship ... practice conscious capitalism’ (Conscious Capitalism Institute, 2010, p. 1).

Nevertheless, advocates of CSR have not always acknowledged the potential difficulties for a corporation to behave in that fashion and remain economically successful. One who has given the matter some thought is Delios (2010):

... the nature of industry and the institutional environments in which organizations exist jeopardize the competitiveness of organizations that implement such practices. Further, globalization amplifies the economic risks to the organizations that dare to care. Organizational leaders thus need to proactively change the nature of their competitive environment to one more supportive of social responsibility. Organizational leaders can do so through their influence on policy makers and other organizations that shape the formal and informal norms of business practices across world regions.

(p. 24)

On the other hand, it should be noted that there is considerable empirical evidence accumulating that behaving in a socially responsible manner actually contributes to corporate financial success (Orlitzky, Schmidt & Rynes, 2003).

An interesting observation is that following the extension by the classical liberal economists of the notion of the social contract from the domain of moral philosophy to political economy (as a justification for the inviolability of voluntary agreements, as among shareholders to act in their own self-interest), it is now used in the neo-liberal model as the mechanism by which the very existence of the corporation should be justified morally. The justification consists of the relationships between the corporation and society that permit its creation in return for an obligation to help solve social problems, minimize harm, and consider the interests of its many constituencies or stakeholders. These obligations, in addition to their ostensible business purposes, are occasioned by the power, size and impact of the organization on the citizenry.

### **A note on religious interpretations<sup>8</sup>**

Perhaps it is a tribute to the comprehensiveness of religious scripture – or a reflection of its ambiguity and inherent contradictions – that conservative adherents of the classical individualist model (e.g., Michelin, 2003) as well as liberal proponents of the revisionist social model have both found justification in religious teachings. An example of the former is Chesher’s (2000)

discussion of ‘the ethics of employment’ through the parable of the vineyard owner in need of workers, from the Gospel according to Matthew:

The owner strikes a bargain with some men early in the day and makes the identical bargain several times later with other men, as the day progresses. At the end of the day, all of the workers discover that they have been paid the same sum, to which they had initially agreed, regardless of the hours worked. Those who worked the least were paid the same as those who labored for the entire day. Those hired earliest complained of unjust treatment, to which the vineyard owner replied, ‘Friend, I do thee no wrong; didst not thou agree with me for a penny? ... Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?’ No doubt in contemporary American society the aggrieved workers would cry ‘exploitation’ and take the owner to court. But from a moral point of view, the complaint is groundless.

(p. 21)

It seems to me that the complaint can be viewed as morally ‘groundless’ only if one ignores the unfairness of the employment contract as a consequence of the workers’ apparent ignorance of going wage rates and/or their lack of bargaining power, and if no credence is given to the moral relevance and importance of *equity* considerations involving social relations. As noted earlier, *justice* concerns are not a salient aspect of the classical individualist model.

In contrast, Gronbacher and Sirico (2000) quote an Encyclical Letter of May 15, 1891 from Pope Leo XIII:

A just wage is the legitimate fruit of work. To refuse or withhold it is a serious injustice. In determining fair pay both the needs and contributions of each person must be considered. *Mere acknowledgment of the consensual nature to an agreed-upon wage between parties is insufficient to justify morally the amount of an employee’s salary.*

(p. 55, emphasis added)

Bowen (1954) extends the case by citing the conclusions of a study committee of the Federal Council of Churches regarding goals relevant to economic life. These include that people should enjoy security and well-being, fellowship, dignity, creativity, freedom and justice. And of course there are the examples of *The Catholic Worker Movement* (Forest, 2010), founded during the great depression in 1933, and *Liberation Theology* (Gutierrez, 1973), both working for human rights and protesting against social injustices, unfair labor practices and unjust economic and political conditions – all through the perspective of Christian (especially Catholic) theology.

## Conclusion

Humanitarian work psychology might garner from the philosophical humanism tradition a set of values that includes: a naturalistic (i.e., scientific, non-supernatural) approach to understanding the world, emphasizing the importance of systematic investigation and reasoning; belief in ethical standards that derive from human as well as deistic origins; belief in the importance of the interpersonal and social aspects of human existence such that altruism and compassion are self-rewarding. Humanitarian work psychology might gather from humanistic psychology the focus on self-awareness and understanding; a holistic and experiential approach that often requires qualitative research methods; a positive orientation that views potential growth as a dominant human motivation reflecting, to the extent feasible, individual choice; and the importance of providing in our organizations social and cultural climates that facilitate those choices. A broadly conceived humanitarian work psychology that prompted all kinds of social organizations to treat employees and other stakeholders from a humanistic perspective would reflect long-recognized ethical principles of respect, dignity, trust, supportiveness and care.

These traditions are especially important as guiding values within the context of a model of humanitarian work psychology that envisions an employee/community-centered approach as contributing to our potential work with all organizations – some of which, however, may not be so inclined. Hopefully, it will become recognized more widely that treating employees in such fashion pays off. It is now known that employee perceptions of being treated positively in those ways related to work issues and relationships ‘cause future organizational outcomes such as employee retention, customer loyalty, and [positive] financial performance’ (Harter et al., 2010, p. 387). It may even be that the positive effects of such ethical/humane treatment are more widespread than we recognize. For example, it is commonly believed among work psychologists that job candidates are more accepting of Assessment Center exercises than of paper-and-pencil tests because the former have greater *face validity* – that is, the assessment stimuli are made to resemble actual job characteristics and to elicit overt job-related behaviors (Thornton & Rupp, 2006). Perhaps, however, the key mediating variable is not the perceived face validity of the exercises *per se*, but that they contribute to the experience of being treated fairly, respectfully and with dignity, like a mature and valued prospective employee?

It is clear (from a vast literature beyond that reviewed here) that both perspectives on the moral basis of business, steeped in contrasting meta-ethical assumptions and divergent views of political economy and socio-political relations, have enthusiastic adherents and numerous critics. And clear support can be found for either in the Judeo-Christian religious tradition. But irrespective of whether one feels more in tune with a traditional

conservative morality emphasizing individual liberty and responsibility, or with a progressive liberal morality emphasizing social responsibility and justice, the important point is that taken together these perspectives seem to represent a large majority view among those who have given the matter some thought. There are not many people remaining who view business as an enterprise inherently lacking in moral justification irrespective of the particular social, economic and political relations by which it is organized. This is not to say, of course, that the world of work lacks serious misconduct. But thus free of that potential generic taint, it should be embraced by humanitarian work psychologists as a domain that is within the global moral community to which it is worth contributing what they have to offer. Notwithstanding that, it is clear that organizations – indeed perhaps even different components within any single organization – will differ in their receptivity to humanistic objectives.

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### **Notes**

1. In various parts of the world one or another of the terms *organizational psychology*, *industrial-organizational psychology* or *work psychology* are in common usage, referring to essentially the same profession – although there are some differences in emphases and practice that reflect differences in regional, national and business cultures. Hereafter, I will use the term *work psychology*, in keeping with the topic of this volume, except for instances in which quotations include one of the other descriptors.
2. Values can be defined as ‘relatively stable cognitive representations of what the person believes are desirable standards of conduct or generalized end states. They have affective and evaluative components in that they are experienced in terms of their relative importance in the person’s ideal self-concept; they have a motivational component in that they serve to initiate and guide people’s evaluations, choices, and actions’ (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 139).
3. Take the instrumental value *competition*, for example. It is generally a venerated part of the capitalist, free-market ethos – at an abstract macro level. However, individual business organizations and managers often can be counted on to act in anti-competitive, monopolistic fashion.
4. Although, as a strictly empirical economic question concerning successful *approximations* to each ideal, there seems to be little room for doubt about which has fared better.
5. As in ‘Toyota recently recalled tens of thousands of Camrys because of defects in the accelerator’, or ‘ABC Tobacco Co. is known for its philanthropy in the community’.

6. *Ethical egoism* is frequently based on an assumption of *psychological egoism* – that humans are motivated predominantly if not exclusively by selfish concerns. That is, however, clearly an empirical question. It is also not to be confused with mere *rational egoism* – that is, the belief that it is often reasonable to act in one's own self-interests, although that may not be the moral or even the wisest thing to do in a particular situation. One sometimes encounters the term '*enlightened ethical egoism*' or '*enlightened self-interest*,' by which is generally meant the pursuit of self-interest tempered by a concern for the well-being of others and/or recognition of the advantages to be had by promoting more cooperative relationships with others (Barry, 1989).
7. See Carroll (1999) for a concise history of corporate social responsibility in the United States.
8. Scriptures from most, perhaps all, of the world's great religions have something to contribute to the topic. For brevity, I have limited the discussion and particular exemplars to the Western Judeo-Christian tradition.

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# **Part II**

## **Applications**

# 6

## The New Diplomacies and Humanitarian Work Psychology

*Raymond Saner & Lichia Yiu*

### Summary

This chapter contributes to the theory of humanitarian work psychology (HWP) by addressing change and transformational aspects of multistakeholder engagement and alignment of change processes across institutions involved or impacted by a large scale change project. It proposes to link organizational and industrial psychology with New Diplomacies whose core competencies are essential for the success of humanitarian work psychologists in promoting or implementing a pro-social change agenda in an international context.

Important challenges confront the humanitarian work psychologist working in international development namely poverty, social inequalities and aid effectiveness which in turn effect the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This article offers two case examples that illustrate the field of New Diplomacies and humanitarian work psychology and show how the related new skills and knowledge areas can provide crucial support for the internationally active humanitarian work psychology professionals.

Large scale social change in international humanitarian and development work requires acquisition and application of competencies pertaining to the field of New Diplomacies. These competencies are needed to orchestrate coherence and alignment of actions in order to bring about desired change in the development arena. They are also part of the prerequisites for humanitarian work psychology professionals which are needed to achieve greater social and humanitarian resilience and agility of our societies, be they part of the developed or developing family of nations.

### Introduction

'New Diplomacies' is a term increasingly used to describe international relations in today's world, which has evolved from national boundaries

and national diplomacy to one characterized by multi-stakeholder, multi-institutional, multi-actor and supranational realities (Quo Vadis – Supply, this volume). National sovereignty and representation of a state by traditional diplomats have been overtaken by a multitude of interactions through which state and non-state actors engage in cooperation or conflict. Non-state actors could, for instance, be a globally active multinational enterprise or an equally transnationally active non-governmental organization (NGO) (Saner & Michalun, 2009, pp. 1-38). Competencies related to the New Diplomacies are fundamentally *socio-political* skills which are needed to successfully manage the interface between, for instance, government ministries and departments, business organizations, multilateral agencies, and NGOs. Humanitarian work psychology practitioners working for either international organizations or NGOs are often called to mediate between conflicting objectives and interests in order to achieve political and social objectives. Their interventions are often undertaken through projects they design and oversee but are implemented by others, or through policy orientation they represent, or through personal interactions in the field when negotiating technical assistance or common advocacy positions. Humanitarian work psychology practitioners are part of the social process in bringing about social, economic and political development. Consequently, humanitarian work psychology practitioners working on development assistance projects and societal development issues in developing countries need to know how to provide much-needed professional help to people involved in humanitarian actions and/or related policies, which increasingly demand the mindset and skills of the new diplomat in combination with the mindset and competencies of the industrial psychologist and organization development expert.

When applied to nation building and rebuilding in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Ethiopia, or in the wake of the recent terrible earthquake disaster in Haiti, assistance and relief work and rebuilding broken institutional infrastructures should not be left to military commanders who are trained to conduct warfare or manage logistics, but are arguably inept in reconstructing societies, managing transitions and working with the social psychology of human beings in often unfamiliar cultural environments. For instance, steering the transition process from conflict to peace and avoiding being seen as a 'humanitarian extension' of a foreign power will require high levels of mastery of New Diplomacy skills. Haiti, for example, would benefit from a holistic design mix encompassing physical reconstruction and economic-social and political development/change processes that goes beyond the patchwork of well-intentioned humanitarian assistance. However, this reconstruction will not be successful without governance reform, which cannot be imposed by outside actors, but might instead emerge through skilful diplomacy of humanitarian work psychology workers who are positively embedded in the international community and in situ.

Humanitarian work psychology professionals, who apply organizational psychology and related know-how for the purpose of facilitating transitions, alleviating chronic poverty and deprivation, and promoting pro-poor economic development, need to know how the New Diplomacies are played out. From a systemic point of view, none of the sectors, be it private, public or social, are operating in a vacuum; rather they are interconnected and interdependent. Therefore, a mutually enhancing approach to managing these interfaces and network relationships is a must. Diplomacy, as defined in Wikipedia, is 'the *art and practice* of conducting negotiations between representatives of groups or states'. It deals with the issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics, culture, environment and human rights through intercession of professional diplomats. Although humanitarian work psychology professionals are not formally designated as 'diplomats', their day-to-day practices often verge on diplomacy when they work to bring consensus and to ensure these objectives.

Humanitarian work psychology professionals need to organize their professional work and interventions in the most efficient and effective manner in a social system where boundaries are often highly permeable. Concurrently, humanitarian work psychology professionals need to know how the New Diplomacies can facilitate the creation of mid-term and longer-term solutions to humanitarian crises as well as long-term development issues. Some development issues, such as malignant forms of poverty or climate change adaptation, cannot be solved through single actor or single country interventions. For development to take place in a sustainable manner, the humanitarian work psychology worker needs to apply New Diplomacies through either intervening at social system levels or laying the foundation for paradigm shifts that would support the gradual emergence of innovative solutions. The arenas for potential application of New Diplomacies by humanitarian work psychology professionals are vast and vertically applicable at different aggregate levels, from a single project in one locality to a national system, to a multilateral context. The focus of this chapter and the case studies presented will focus on the policy dimension of humanitarian work psychology work and at the systemic level in achieving the broader development agenda (Berry et al., 2011). Policies, ranging from preservation of local culture, of environment, of biodiversity to development trajectory, to trade, to jobs, are constantly negotiated at field, national and international levels through the representatives of different interested parties.

Humanitarian work psychology practitioners, in the headquarters or in the field, have to respond to such demands by consulting and coordinating vertically and horizontally with different political, social and economic actors in order to bring about the achievement of the Millennium Development agenda and its corresponding goals. Power, in this context, is often not concentrated in the hands of one actor but is rather distributed



among a multistakeholder group of actors. No single actor holds all the cards. Diplomacy, the art of dealing with people in a sensitive and effective manner, has to be deployed by humanitarian work psychology practitioners in order to avoid negative confrontations which in crisis situations could lead to loss of innocent lives and other undesirable outcomes. Often, as well, humanitarian work psychology practitioners can find themselves in the challenging position of having to mediate among interest parties holding opposing world views and having to find ways to work through the stalemate.

### **Dynamics of new diplomacy**

Similar to the humanitarian work psychology field, the concept and study of the New Diplomacies has continued to evolve since the first article was published on international economic diplomacy (Saner, Yiu & Sondergaard, 2000; Saner & Yiu, 2003). Post-modern mutation of classic diplomacy has seen an increased involvement of the non-state actors, multinational corporations and international non-government organizations (I-NGOs) in the international relations arena. This trend towards multi-party has affected roles of humanitarian work psychologists and impacted the formulation of international governance architecture and consensus. This new phenomenon needs to be viewed as the direct result of democratization of the international 'policy space' driven by globalization and its twin change driver, i.e., the explosion of information and communication technology in the 1990s. Competent 'participation' of stakeholders in the increasingly complex policy arena has become crucial for the success of humanitarian work psychology interventions in the field of humanitarian development.

The application of New Diplomacies needs to be examined from a system perspective, for instance, in regard to policy making, and can be subdivided into six processes (Figure 6.1), each with different combinations of stakeholder interactions and focal points of action. This contrasts with the traditional understanding of policy making as being linear. The processes described below do not always follow the path illustrated. Instead, certain processes can sometimes be omitted or multiple processes can take place concomitantly, but the basic circularity shown below underlines the dynamics of the New Diplomacies applied to policy-making process.

### **Reframing**

Before interactions take place between stakeholders in the international policy space, a preliminary process is often initiated for consultation, leading to (a) a reframing of contested issue domains through proposals of new sense making; (b) development of relevant concepts and working tools that link policy processes; and (c) identification and alliance building with potential proponents and opponents. This is a unilateral action in principle, although

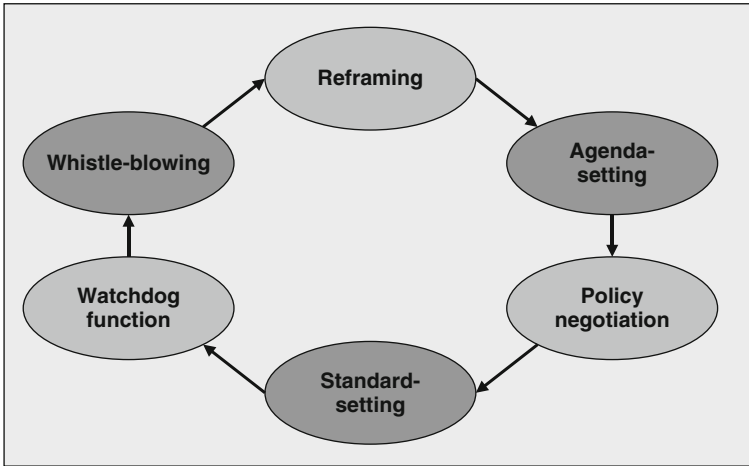


Figure 6.1 The international policy space and the new diplomacy skills

certain alliances can already be moulded at this stage as actors realize that they share the same viewpoints or interests.

The Kimberley Process (KP) (World Diamond Council, 2000; Natural Resources Canada, 2011) focuses on resolving the ethical issues surrounding the blood diamond trade (further discussed in the 2006 film *Blood Diamond*) and is a good example of this reframing process. In the case of blood diamonds, reframing eventually led to the controlling of the origin of diamonds by international certification requirements. The Kimberley Process is a joint government, industry and civil society initiative to stem the flow of conflict diamonds – rough diamonds used by rebel movements to finance wars against established governments. The trade in these illicit precious stones has fuelled decades of devastating conflicts in countries such as Angola, Cote d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone. The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) imposes extensive requirements on its members to enable them to certify shipments of rough diamonds as ‘conflict-free’ when these requirements are fully complied with. As of December 2009, the Kimberley Process has 49 members representing 75 countries, with the European Community and its Member States counting as an individual participant (Kimberly Process, 2003).

Reframing enables stakeholders to build a coherent perspective or ideology on multiple issues by linking personal belief systems and culture with strategic thinking. For a later agenda to resonate, a problem has to be identified and responsibilities or the causes for the problem attributed to actors, whether individuals, institutions or countries. I-NGOs and social movements have been very active and innovative in this field over the past

decade, but governmental actors and multinational corporations are starting to catch up through reverse learning, a term borrowed from the psychology of dreaming (Bulkeley, 1997).

## **Agenda setting**

As a result of the framing process, actors prioritize certain issues over others, thereby creating an action strategy and its rallying point. At first, this process takes place in an internal and exclusive space through the elimination of dissent among subgroups and the consolidation of the agenda around the core issues that a stakeholder wants to put forward. As the urgency of the matter increases, the process is taken to an external audience of critical actors, thereby eliciting a public contention that often turns out to be ardent and vociferous. Even though the demand to bring about change to an existing agenda or to create a new one with regard to emerging issue-domains might be unilateral at the outset, once the media has engaged in extensive and 'loud' coverage, it often is not only the stakeholders that are involved but also the different opinion makers that participate in rather inclusive debates through multiple social networks and information exchange mechanisms. Thus, the public opinion has shifted to this new broader and more encompassing interpretation of issues. The process of changing perceptions and swaying public opinion must be managed competently if the humanitarian work psychology projects are to succeed. The debates elicited before the start of the 2009 Copenhagen Conference on United Nations Convention on Climate Change is a good example of such public attempts at questioning and delegitimizing the credibility of the scientific evidence on climate change just weeks ahead of the meeting. Compounded by the subsequent discordance of scientific opinion, the impact resulted in an inconclusive gathering of heads of states and a stalled process.

The agenda-setting process has been seen as a non-recurring debate rather than as a negotiation process per se. It is a winner-takes-all issue and is often a matter of serious and sometimes violent contention, as was the case in Seattle in 1999 (World Trade Organization) and in Genoa in 2001 (G10). However, some negotiations may still take place at the end of the agenda-setting process, as a consolidating measure, thereby engaging reformative international NGOs to some extent. Such negotiations would be distributive in nature, as the agenda-setting process, in its broad definition, is not sufficiently iterative; it rarely involves multiple layers of integrative bargaining that would allow for alternative solutions to emerge. Instead, it tends to lead to a predominance of power relations whose major features are alliances, power blocks and stakeholders' framing and dissemination of information. These two categories of tactics, i.e., alliance and framing, are sharpened and illustrated by the media's magnifying glass selectively amplifying opinions and turning them into dominant topics or paradigms. Agenda setting can

galvanize dissipated energy and fragmented constellation of actors and lead to renewed resolve to tackle complex issues.

### **Policy negotiation**

Once an agenda has been created, specific issues within it involving different stakeholders need to be negotiated. This can happen on a regular basis, and the different alliances become more amendable to making concessions as they realize that there is compensation for 'losing-now and winning-later' through trade-offs and 'social accounting'.

The policy negotiation process is characterized by a secluded environment from which information should not be disclosed except through deliberate 'leaks'. As negotiations require compromise and trust in order to be successful, stakeholders privilege their opponents with selective involvement, information dissemination and limited political space for influencing.

A successful case of changing an international agenda was the concerted effort by Eurodad (European Network on Debt and Development, a network of 58 NGOs from 19 European countries) to galvanize public opinion by requesting the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to substantially increase their debt forgiveness of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) (Saner, 2005). Eurodad was able to legitimate its own agenda and effectively demand greater social and international solidarity from the Bretton Woods Institutions. Prior to the campaigns by Eurodad, the IMF and the World Bank, faced with the staggering indebtedness of the HIPCs, thought that limited debt relief would make the debt of these countries 'sustainable' and allow them 'to grow out of' their debt through economic growth – an objective which was not achieved through the Structural Adjustment Programme put in place by the IMF and the World Bank, in place since the 1970s. However, the persistent and well-coordinated influence of Eurodad led international financial institutions to adopt a poverty alleviation-based debt policy. The use of such tactics in close monitoring policies of international financial institutions, sharing relevant information with other NGOs, coordinating public pressures and promoting alternative policy frameworks, and negotiating text revisions with representatives of the financial institutions and national governments constitutes an excellent example of development diplomacy.

### **Standard setting**

Standard setting is usually a unilateral, non-interactive process, which for a long time was restricted to the economic sphere only. Although they often operate in the background and do not frequently receive public attention, rating agencies such as Moody's and Standard & Poor's exert enormous influence on the business world by setting standards for the credit eligibility

of companies and countries alike. Their professional and consistent approach helped them gain powerful reputational capital and dominance, which gave them the capacity to set standards without any backing from governmental actors. Standard setting as a 'private' tool is particularly useful in times of political stalemate, when stakeholders are not prepared to engage in consensual action and when governments are not keen on introducing legal provisions.

A classic example is the creation of Transparency International (TI), which ranks countries on an annual basis for perceived levels of corruption. Transparency International is a global network including more than 90 locally established national chapters and chapters-in-formation. These bodies fight corruption in the national arena in a number of ways. They bring together relevant players from government, civil society, business and the media to promote transparency in elections, in public administration, in procurement and in business. Transparency International's global network of chapters and contacts also use advocacy campaigns to lobby governments to implement anti-corruption reforms. Since its founding in 1993, Transparency International has played a lead role in improving the lives of millions around the world by building momentum for the anti-corruption movement. Transparency International raises awareness of corruption, diminishes apathy toward and tolerance of it, and devises and implements practical actions to address it (Transparency International, 2010). Its Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) forms part of the key benchmarking measures for good governance in rating national governments' capacity to manage their domestic public affairs for international concessional finance and aid. The Corruption Perceptions Index has now been widely used as one of the key indicators for multiple performance measures of governance, ranging from doing business assessment of the World Bank (International Finance Corporation [IFC] & The World Bank, 2003), to other investment related advice.

International NGOs have also started to take similar measures to influence international economic policy. Although they certainly do not have an economic leverage comparable to that of credit rating agencies, international NGOs successfully developed labels and certificates ranging from environmental protection (e.g., the 400 or so Ecolabels; Global Ecolabel Monitor, by Big Room & World Resource Institute, 2010) to workers' rights (e.g., the Child-Labor-Free Certification of the GoodWeave Label) to trading conditions (e.g., 'FAIRTRADE' labels for coffee, cotton, bananas, to name a few). These are efficient tools to publicly pinpoint those governmental actors and transnational companies (TNCs) who comply with certain minimal standards and those who do not. Many of these labels and certificates focus on fair trade or biological food production, certifiable sustainable wood production, or the energy efficiency of major appliances. The power of standards is strongly tied to the accumulation and management of reputational capital by the entity issuing them and this in turn requires extensive commitment

and loyalty to one's audience in addition to the ability to garner the confidence of the general public.

### **Watchdog function**

An important function of international policy governance is monitoring and safeguarding the interests of the most vulnerable populations and poorest countries in order to reduce human suffering and achieve the MDGs. This watchdog function is vital, especially when it comes to the evaluation and re-evaluation of any implementation of existing agreements. Compliance with negotiated agreements should not be taken for granted, as some stakeholders need to be reminded regularly about what they agreed to do during a previous stage. This is particularly true in terms of financial contributions. New leaders may try to disengage from earlier agreements and ignore existing practices due to change of political demands or change of economic landscape. A case in point is seen in the pledges made by donor countries at the 2008 Gleneagles G8 meeting to contribute 0.79 percent of the national GDP for overseas development aid. Most countries have fallen short of this and have therefore not honoured their own pledges. A review process of the implementation of such a policy decision is helpful, even for those stakeholders who are bystanders to the change. External experts, often staff of international NGOs, can provide observations as well as constructive critiques in order to facilitate continuous improvement and institutional learning. Without the continuous public criticism by important international NGOs, the under- or non-performing donor countries can file away their broken promises with impunity and revert to 'business as usual'.

Another way of fulfilling the watchdog role is to monitor the behaviour and the actions of stakeholders, including by establishing (negative) ranking lists. These are used effectively by international NGOs such as Covalence (corporate social responsibility), Transparency International (anti-corruption), The Earth Institute (global environmental scorecard) and Human Rights Watch (human rights violations). These 'alternative methods' of gaining public attention create a similar, though inverse, effect compared to the credit ratings published by Moody's or Standard & Poor's.

Being ranked high on such lists means that the designated multinational company has shown evidence that their business behaviour has caused negative impacts in the field of social and environmental impact. Negative rankings are used beyond the domain of finance and corruption to guide consumer behaviour (Saner, Yiu & Sondergaard, 2000) and influence potential new recruits' career choices of functional areas. The availability of jobs in the field of corporate social responsibility has expanded dramatically, representing a 37 percent per year increase over the period of January 2004 to June 2007 (Net Impact and Ellen Weinreb CSR Recruiting, 2008). Additionally, they are now applied to international NGOs themselves. Examples of such

can be seen in the Sphere Project, initiated at the global level to promote the Sphere Humanitarian Charter and the Minimum Standards in Disaster Response by a group of humanitarian NGOs and the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (The Sphere Project, 2010). Together, the two processes of monitoring and safeguarding are characterized in Figure 6.1 as a New Diplomacy skill termed 'watchdog function'.

The Financial Times/Dalberg partnership rankings are a pioneering effort to provide a detailed assessment of the quality of the NGOs and United Nations agencies with which private sector companies have established long-term working relationships (Jack, 2007). Another similar attempt has been carried out by AccountAbility, which provides solutions to corporate social responsibility and sustainable development issues by performing third party certification based on AA1000: AccountAbility Principles Standard (2008).

On the aid effectiveness front, a new voice has emerged. It is the alliance between university think tanks and insiders of international aid organizations. 'Aid Watch Blog' performs its watchdog function by inviting interested citizens to participate in the debate and by asking governments to address specific questions regarding their aid related activities. Their work is based on the idea that 'the more aid will reach the poor the more people are watching aid' (aidwatchers.com, 2010). This particular forum also illustrates greater democratization of the policy space by inviting conscientious citizens to participate directly in policy debates through a watchdog stance, thereby gathering the voices in order to monitor promises made and actions taken by the governments. An example of such an NGO watchdog function is the budget tracking tool 'Ugatuzi', developed by the Social Development Network (SODNET), a Kenyan NGO. At the grassroots level, the Integrity Watch Afghanistan set up by the Aga Khan Foundation in Afghanistan for the water infrastructure development, is another example where citizens take action to monitor the investment promised in the water sector and to blow the whistle whenever discrepancies have been identified.

## **Whistle-blowing**

The process of whistle-blowing has a long history in citizens' movements and in public protest. However, the process of whistle-blowing has undergone radical change by appearing for the first time on a global scale at the turn of the new millennium within the anti-globalization movement. Whistle-blowing attempts to activate the 'supervisory' responsibility of the general public, by reporting on 'wrongdoing' or sub-optimal or non-fulfillment of public responsibilities.

Modern social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, MySpace and other blogging facilities, have revolutionized the environment in which information is transmitted, leading to significantly higher mobility and increased interactivity by the 'end consumer' with both domestic and international

economic and social policies. A concerned citizen equipped with an iPhone or a digital camera can instantly upload an eye-witness account of abuse, relapse and other phenomena which violate the accepted norms, commitments or standards of society for all to see and to use for political bargaining. The Arab Spring youth revolt, initiated in Tunisia and Egypt and later spread to other Arab States, has elevated the power of social media to a new height. Through information sharing and its mobilization capacity, disfranchised youth in Tunisia and Egypt were able to oust entrenched dictators who months earlier were considered invincible.

Although this process does not include international NGOs as participants, one can consider it to be a first step toward their subsequent involvement. Once individual citizens' concerns are bundled together, the international NGOs can generate a social movement or even create a new NGO/international NGO and formalize and institutionalize it afterwards. Critical attitudes taken by citizens, and especially the new interactivity and connectivity that accompany them, are key aspects of this emerging international NGO activity. One recent example of the influence being gained by citizen reporting is the Global Voices network, which works to help *all* voices to be heard by seeking to 'aggregate, curate, and amplify the global conversation online – shining light on places and people other media often ignore' (Global Voices: About, 2010). The network's online reporting on the chaos and disorganization after the earthquake in Haiti contributed to the efforts to improve the coordination of humanitarian aid distribution (Bunz, 2010).

### **Boomerang effects of new diplomacy**

There are millions of people blogging, podcasting and uploading photos, videos and information across the globe on a minute-to-minute basis. As transaction costs in information sharing have decreased, the entry threshold is now low. Information is transmitted at almost no cost and reaches potentially infinite numbers of individuals in all corners of the world (Atkins & Foster-Thompson, this volume; Gloss, Glavey & Godbout, this volume). Coalitions can be quickly formed to exert pressure on wrong-doers. This instant transparency creates a behaviour similar to 'grassroots mobilization', in which concerted actions by citizens impact the policy-making process in a direct manner, circumventing governmental actors as representatives of constituencies, and transforming previously unidirectional top-down processes to an ever-more-circular form of feedback process and amplifying the felt discontent. Consequently, whistle-blowing has become a key process enabled by the information and communication technology (ICT) while combining circularity with democratization of the international policy space. From Figure 6.1, this New Diplomacy skill mediates between and thus connects the process of (5) playing watchdog with the process skill of (1) (re)framing.



The mushrooming of watchdogs, mostly in the form of public-private partnerships and independent think tanks using indexing and other rating schemes to measure performance or business ethics, is the most visible manifestation of this new circular mode of international policy making. Watchdogs are the key element that enables international NGOs to move from a linear interpretation of policy making to a circular one by connecting outcomes with (3) standard-setting with expectations, and (5) whistle-blowing (Figure 6.1). However, relationships among international NGO networks can also be highly problematic, and can adversely affect the integrity and effectiveness of their advocacy campaigns, thus leading scholars to call for measures of political responsibility and accountability.

### **Theory in motion**

What follows are two case examples of how humanitarian work psychologists can attempt to influence the multi-actor field of international development through the use of New Diplomacies. The first example describes how the Decent Work campaign, initiated by the International Labour Organization (ILO), has, over time, exhibited all processes of the New Diplomacy in its attempts to influence the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) planning of the Bretton Woods Institutions. The second example pertains to a New Diplomacy process that consists of multiple actors promoting aid effectiveness through different donor-recipient interactions and patterns of aid relationships. While the first case illustrates the New Diplomacy from a single agent perspective, the second demonstrates a multiple agent perspective based on shared vision and loose alliance in order to carry out all aspects of the New Diplomacies in Figure 6.1.

### **New diplomacies: case example 1**

#### **Negotiating for inclusion of decent work in PRSPs**

In 2002, the ILO decided to start an initiative aimed at increasing the Decent Work content of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) commissioned by the World Bank and the IMF. While significant progress was achieved in raising policy awareness of the link between employment and poverty reduction, there remained a need to take the process one step further in order to trigger a significant reframing of the PRSP debate and a shifting of its boundaries. This step involved a partial repositioning of the ILO's partnership building within the PRSP process, and an effort to move beyond the traditional tripartite constituency at the ILO, where every member country is represented by a tripartite delegation encompassing the respective Ministry of Labour, the employers' federation and the workers organization. The ILO realized that it had to build more systematic alliances with other segments of the civil society, as well as with other global poverty

reduction advocacy groups in order to succeed in trying to influence the global financial policies in poverty reduction strategies.

### **The PRSP initiative**

One of the MDGs (United Nations, 2000) is to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger by halving the proportion of people living with less than US\$1 per day. To achieve this goal, the development community has been supporting the initiative of the PRSPs, an effort that has been spearheaded by the World Bank and the IMF. Launched in 1999 as an instrument to improve the situation of the poor in low-income developing countries, the PRSPs represent different strategic intentions such as: a policy device to achieve poverty reduction through social inclusion; a framework to coordinate bilateral and multilateral development assistance; and a driver to integrate low-income countries into the global financial and trade architecture (Craig and Porter, 2003).

Six core principles had to be adhered to in the preparation of the PRSPs (World Bank/IMF, 1999 and 2002a). These six principles stipulate that the PRSPs must be:

- *Country-driven*: promoting national ownership by involving broad-based participation of civil society;
- *Results-oriented*: setting goals for poverty reduction that are tangible and monitor-able outcomes – for instance, universal primary education;
- *Comprehensive*: stressing the need for integrating macroeconomic, structural, sectoral and social elements, and aimed at ensuring that policies in these areas are consistent with the goal of poverty reduction;
- *Participatory*: requiring that all stakeholders in the country participate actively in the process of choosing poverty reduction strategies in a transparent manner;
- *Partnership-oriented*: involving coordinated participation of development partners such as the beneficiary government, the domestic stakeholders and external donors;
- *Informed by a long-term perspective*: reforming institutions and building capacity.

The PRSPs are to provide the basis for assistance from the World Bank and the IMF as well as debt relief under the HIPC initiative. Initially, Joint Staff Assessments provided the ground for recommendations made to the World Bank and the IMF regarding specific country PRSPs. However, after the 2004 PRSP progress review (World Bank/IMF, 2004) the Joint Staff Assessment was replaced by a Joint Staff Advisory Note. Unlike Joint Staff Assessments, Joint Staff Advisory Notes do not have a final paragraph recommending that the IMF and World Bank boards take the presented assessment as a satisfactory basis for concessional lending.

According to the World Bank, this change was introduced to help address the perception that Washington 'signs off' on a country's PRS to enhance the candour and focus of staffs' feedback on a country's PRS; to increase transparency in how World Bank and IMF concessional assistance is aligned with a country's PRS; and to encourage better alignment of the PRS process with existing domestic processes.

In any case, to use the World Bank's own words, these modifications 'do not change the fundamental underpinnings of the PRS initiative' and leave intact the policy matrix intended to inspire the autonomous development of national poverty reduction strategies – a matrix that is summarized in the 2002 PRSP Sourcebook (World Bank/IMF, 2002b).

The PRSPs' key point of departure from other development instruments previously supported by the Bretton Woods Institutions is a strong emphasis on the centrality of national ownership along with extensive civil society participation. Recipient countries are – at least at the level of stated principles – encouraged to take 'the driver seat in the PRSP process' ('Countries in the Driver's Seat') and urged to give their citizens a greater role in both the policy planning and implementation process (World Bank/IMF, 2002b).

Although there has been much criticism regarding the legal foundation of the conditionalities imposed by the World Bank and the IMF (Saner & Guilherme, 2007) in addition to the participation process itself, several actors opted to join the PRSP process, reckoning that the PRSPs could present genuine opportunities for like-minded organizations to come together and influence macroeconomic policies at the country level. Many have felt that the PRSP process could provide an entry point for alternative policy advice, while the PRSP social dialogue component may offer opportunities to assert influence in the policy debate and to take up significant roles in the monitoring, implementation and assessment of the policy impact of poverty reduction strategies. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers as a policy intervention instrument have now become a flagship policy used to harness international support for the poorest countries of the world.

## **The decent work agenda**

In an effort to reframe the poverty debate and to reposition the place of work in society, the ILO devised a 'powerful tool in selecting the path to the attainment of the interrelated goals and human development outcomes of the Millennium Declaration' (ILO, 2003a: p7). This 'powerful tool' is the Decent Work Agenda. Introduced at the 1999 International Labour Conference (ILO, 1999), the Decent Work framework is based on using the work lever to promote inclusive economic growth and fair globalization. As explained on the website of the ILO, Decent Work involves 'opportunities for work that are productive and deliver a fair income; security in the

workplace and social protection for families; better prospects for personal development and social integration; freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives; and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men' (ILO, Decent Work for All, 2010).

The International community has reaffirmed on several occasions its commitment to the implementation of the principles contained in the Decent Work Agenda. Just to give a few examples:

- The consensus achieved at the Special Session on Social Development of the United Nations General Assembly in June 2000 recognizes the need to 'reassess, as appropriate ... macroeconomic policies with the aims of greater employment generation and reduction in the poverty level while striving for and maintaining a low inflation rate' (United Nations, 2000: para. 32).
- The 2005 United Nations World Summit resolved 'to make the goals of full and productive employment and decent work for all, including for women and young people, a central objective of our relevant national and international policies as well as our national development strategies, including poverty reduction strategies, as part of our efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals'

(United Nations, General Assembly Resolution 60/1, 16. 2005: para. 47).

However, implementation of the Decent Work Agenda requires concerted effort and policy interventions on multiple levels – including those meant to cut across the global economic structure, international and national institutional arrangements, societal norms and gender relations. In addition, focusing national strategies on Decent Work has many policy implications that are likely to generate both structural and philosophical opposition and resistance since such an employment friendly proposition does not fit well with the prevailing Washington Consensus (Williamson, 1993) nor the hierarchy of ministries within domestic power arrangement (ministries of finance and economics in leading position and ministry of labour mostly at bottom of hierarchical pyramid).

The campaign for the implementation of a Decent Work Agenda and integration into the PRSPs illustrates the use of New Diplomacies as depicted in Figure 6.1.

## Re-framing

To reframe the issue, the ILO put the spotlight on the millions of working poor around the globe and on their inability to escape from the poverty trap. This image of the 'working poor' is powerful. It confronts and disqualifies the often unspoken belief that the poor deserve to be poor because they

are supposedly lazy and have only themselves to blame. This message of 'working poor' was later on connected to the policy narratives and images of the Decent Work Agenda.

Since 1999 the ILO has promoted a new paradigm, which states that poverty is the direct 'consequence of social exclusion' and highlights the underlying structural causes which induce and perpetuate exclusion, including lack of democratic and legal systems, markets, welfare state provisions, and family and community. Rights, resources and relationships are all part of this poverty equation. 'After all, the poor do not cause poverty. Poverty is the result of structural failures and ineffective economic and social systems. It is the product of inadequate political responses, bankrupt policy imagination and insufficient international support' (ILO, 2003b: 1). This reframing was rooted in the work of different individuals such as Amartya Sen, Simon Maxwell and organizations like Development Assistance Committee (DAC/OECD) and Overseas Development Institute (ODI). By launching a Decent Work Agenda, the ILO took on powerful international financial institutions and requested them to pay more attention to the plight of the poor and the collateral damage of their one-sided poverty reduction strategy.

After the first years of the PRSP experiment, many observers pointed out that employment creation and other key elements of the Decent Work Agenda were not included in the great majority of the PRSPs. Echoing these assessments, the ILO articulated three specific sets of concerns regarding the Decent Work content of the first generation of the PRSPs (ILO, 2005: para.6 but also ILO, 2002a:7 and ILO, 2002b, particularly para. 6 and 29) and proposed the following policy actions:

- The PRSPs need to include a more thorough analysis of employment and other aspects of decent work;
- Labour ministries and employers' and workers' organizations need to be more systematically integrated into the PRSP participatory processes;
- More attention should be placed on equity in addition to growth in the PRSPs.

This review initiated the next phase of policy debate by highlighting that the right to participate in the policy formulation was not sufficient in redirecting the development agenda. Active influencing and negotiations were needed concurrently at the international level and at the country level. As a result, capacity building for the ILO staff and its constituencies were initiated to strengthen the organization's advocacy capability.

### **Agenda-setting**

The strategic choice made by the ILO for the purpose of achieving progress on the above points was one of constructive engagement with the national

economic policy makers through its Decent Work Country Programmes (DWCPs) , and was based on the conviction that the PRSP process constitutes a vehicle through which the voice of the ILO and its constituents can be heard at the level of national planning and budgeting. The Decent Work Country Programmes have two basic objectives. They promote decent work as a key component of national development strategies, while simultaneously organizing ILO knowledge, instruments, advocacy and cooperation for the purpose of putting this knowledge at the service of tripartite constituents in a results-based framework to advance the Decent Work Agenda in the field.

A Decent Work Country Programme is the expression of the ILO Programme and Budget in a country and is organized around a limited number of country programme priorities and outcomes, which are further detailed in an implementation plan. Monitoring and evaluation guidelines complement this approach. The country programme priorities and outcomes reflect the strategic results-oriented framework of the ILO, adapted to national situations and priorities. In turn, Programme and Budget strategic outcomes and indicators are based on Decent Work Country Programme outcomes.

The Decent Work Agenda has four pillars (Somavia, 2002):

- Employment – Creating greater employment opportunities for women and men to secure decent income;
- Security and social protection – Enhancing the coverage and effectiveness of social protection for all;
- Rights at work – Promoting and realizing fundamental workers' rights;
- Representation and dialogue – strengthening dialogue on an inclusive and participatory basis.

On the basis of these four pillars, a national strategy for *working out of poverty*, in the spirit of *Decent Work for All*, should include the following (ILO, 2003b):

- *Skills development for sustainable livelihoods* (i.e., refocusing on vocational education and training and the skill needs of people living in poverty);
- *Investing in jobs and the community* (i.e., employment-intensive community-based programmes);
- *Promoting entrepreneurship* (i.e., small and medium enterprise creation and supportive services by the government);
- *Making money work for poverty reduction* (i.e., micro-financing and micro-credit-related law, regulations, and banks);
- *Building local development through cooperatives* (i.e., a new model for local participation, inclusion and combating poverty);
- *Overcoming discrimination* (i.e., the right to equality of opportunity and treatment in respect to employment);

- *Working to end child labour* (i.e., an integrated gender-sensitive family-centred strategy calling for adequate educational alternatives for children, access to income and security for their parents and stronger laws and enforcement mechanisms);
- *Ensuring incomes and basic social security* (i.e., an adequate level of social protection as a basic right for all, and a people-to-people Global Social Trust);
- *Working safely out of poverty* (i.e., occupational health and safety).

Within this framework, an initiative was developed that first provided support to five pilot countries (Cambodia, Honduras, Mali, Tanzania and Nepal) and then was expanded to several others. This initiative was based essentially on preparing, in collaboration with the national authorities, an analysis of the role of employment and of the various elements comprising decent work in poverty alleviation, and organizing tripartite meetings in the countries to discuss the PRSPs. These country pilots demonstrated the economic gains of implementing the core conventions of the ILO, which is transmitted through its Decent Work Agenda, by creating employment with minimum social protection through the PRSP policy choices.

International Labour Organization staff, once they were armed with such evidence-based arguments, were able to gain support from the economic and financial sector ministries in considering the employment benefits in a broader inclusive growth context.

## **Policy negotiation**

'Decent Work and Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) – An ILO Advocacy Guidebook: A supplement to the PRS reference Manual' (ILO, National Policy Group, 2005) was developed to help strengthen institutional capacity in policy negotiations with powerful domestic financial planning and management ministries and their international counterparts. Staff of the Policy Integration Unit at the ILO, the focal point of the manual, was asked to attend a workshop aimed at honing their negotiation skills and mastery of alliance building in the national policy-making arena on the PRSPs. Regional staff of countries where the Decent Work Agenda was piloted was also engaged in a similar training process together with their social partners in 2004–2006. A more recent publication on 'Decent Work Issues in Poverty Reduction Strategies and National Development Frameworks' (ILO, 2009) was added to the toolbox.

To the ILO's credit, wherever dedicated efforts were made, the PRSPs' inclusion of Decent Work increased. The reviewed evidence (particularly Ghai, 2005, but also the ILO Governing Body, 2002 and 2005, and the International Labour Conference, 2003) indicates that the ILO's advocacy efforts produced various positive outcomes bearing direct relevance to the concerns listed

before. In all the countries where the ILO was actively engaged with the PRSP process the Decent Work Agenda – previously virtually absent in PRSP documents – was addressed, the constituents’ involvement in the preparation of the PRSPs sharply increased, and competence in linking Decent Work and poverty reduction was built up among key ILO counterparts.

## **Standard-setting**

However, one must ask to what extent the Decent Work perspective has really managed to become an integral part of the PRSP policy matrix globally. Or, in other words, to what extent have efforts to promote the Decent Work Agenda been successful in bringing about a substantive change in the philosophy and practice of the PRSPs? This question – which underpins the following sections of this case example – is felt to be particularly relevant, as experience shows that in the long-term, employment creation and labour rights protection must be meaningfully included in all sector programs in order to ensure that poverty reduction strategies generate significant and sustainable impact.

For several years now, the ILO has been active in establishing the ISO 26000 Guidance on Social Responsibility. This is a major engagement aimed at getting the international standard accepted by other actors through the use of voluntary commercial mechanisms rather than resorting to international conventions alone, as has been tried before with less than satisfactory results. While the ILO continues to monitor the legal provisions concerning labour affairs in various countries, such monitoring has not yet achieved significant impact. This change of tactics, evidenced by the ILO’s joint work with the International Organization of Standardization (ISO), demonstrates a new departure in the setting of conduct norms regarding working conditions.

Today, a decade later, the newly published Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) launched by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) suggests a new and alternative international measure of poverty. The Multidimensional Poverty Index will gradually replace the traditional income-based measures of poverty in the next UNDP Human Development Report. This is a good example of New Diplomacy at work in that stage 4 (Figure 6.1) is being applied through the setting of new standards as to how one should study, monitor and tackle poverty. Additionally, this concludes the process of paradigm shift by reframing the causes of poverty. This new standard setting will in turn strengthen the ILO’s campaign on inclusion of Decent Work and its related policy agenda.

## **Watchdog functions**

Monitoring and assessing progress towards Decent Work at the country level has been a long-standing concern for the ILO and its constituents.



Against this background, the 2008 Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization details that member States may consider 'the establishment of appropriate indicators or statistics, if necessary with the assistance of the ILO, to monitor and evaluate the progress made' (Paragraph II.B.ii.). In the past, countries have repeatedly called for ILO technical cooperation inputs to support their efforts to monitor and assess progress towards decent work.

A recent watchdog project, initiated in 2009 and scheduled to end in 2013, serves its purpose primarily through its MAP sector (Monitoring and Assessing Progress on Decent Work), which is financed by the European Union (ILO, 2010). MAP works with government agencies (including ministries of labour), national statistical offices, workers' and employers' organizations and research institutions to strengthen the capacity of developing and transition countries to self-monitor and self-assess progress towards decent work. The first set of 21 indicators developed by the project for the Asia-Pacific region has been put in position to become operational.

In addition to defining the statistical measures for monitoring and assessing the Decent Work Conditions in its member states, the ILO continues to act in its capacity to monitor the multidimensional factors that contribute to poverty and deprivation. Equally, if not even more effective, are NGOs acting as watchdogs to check whether the PRSPs include the Decent Work Agenda in the different sections of Least Developed Countries' (LDCs') national development plans. What follows are a few examples of sector-focused watchdog functions, which were undertaken by civil society organizations.

## **Whistle-blowing**

The theoretical framework underpinning the first generation of PRSPs was largely based on studies confirming the link between trade and growth, as well as the notion that trade protection creates distortions by transferring income from the poor to the rich (Hoekman, Michalopoulos, Schiff & Tarr, 2002). The World Bank recognized the negative impact of trade liberalization on the poor during the early phases of trade liberalization; however, it emphasized that the adjustment costs are typically short-term and that trade liberalization should favour labour in developing economies, since their exports are typically labour-intensive. As a result, some of the corrective measures envisaged in the context of the Decent Work Agenda have been neglected.

This point is made by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which, in its *Least-Developed Countries Report* (UNCTAD, 2002), criticized the first generation of PRSPs for over-emphasizing short-term stabilization in lieu of long-term development and pointed out that trade issues are not treated seriously enough in the PRSPs as an

important aspect of long-term development strategies with the potential to build productive capacities and generate livelihoods.

The ILO's 2001 research admits that it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions regarding the relationship between changes in trade regimes and growth and employment performance. However, the Decent Work Agenda recognizes the considerable adjustment cost related to trade liberalization, and consequently recommends the following policies:

- *Improving the governance of labour markets* by respecting the fundamental rights at work as defined in the ILO Declaration;
- *Moving up the value chain in terms of exported goods and services* by improving the skill sets and productivity of the workers;
- *Strengthening the competitiveness of national companies* by encouraging the strengthening factor conditions through appropriate employment and industrial policies;
- *Increasing the employment intensity of growth* pursuing active labour market policies to facilitate adjustment to changes in the structure of production strategy brought about by trade liberalization, and the strengthening of social protection.

Today, the accepted wisdom in the international development community is that 'inclusive growth' is needed for job and employment creation. It has been a long journey and it took the revolt of the Arab youths to drive this message home.

### **Back to the beginning: reframing**

By a large number of accounts, despite the ILO's significant efforts (and achievements), the full integration of the Decent Work perspective into the PRSPs' policy matrix was, in the first generation of PRSP, far from complete. This matches overall assessments of the Decent Work content of first generation PRSPs (especially Ghai, 2005; Global Unions, various years; ILO, 2002a, Rizwanul, 2004; World Bank Operations Evaluation Department, 2004; World Bank Independent Evaluation Group, 2006). By and large, the first generation Poverty Reduction Strategies have not sufficiently drawn on the Decent Work Agenda. They usually analyse employment at length, but give limited consideration to social protection and often ignore rights at work and social dialogue altogether. Employment creation and other Decent Work elements, such as education, health, environmental conservation, rural development and governance issues, have been treated as add-ons without being thoroughly embedded in pro-poor growth strategies.

Thanks to the perseverance of NGOs acting as watchdogs and whistle-blowers, PRSPs are being revised and re-evaluated and the new generation of PRSPs shows indications of more adequate inclusion of the Decent

Work Agenda. Hence another round of New Diplomacies are needed to help reverse the trend and strengthen the inclusion of Decent Work into future generations of PRSPs and other economic development instruments. Throughout this process, technical and subject experts spent more time and energy in fostering a conducive environment. This helped development actors and national government to realize that the ILO should be engaged in the PRSP process and to have its DWA incorporated in the thinking of domestic and international policy makers for economic policies.

## **New diplomacies: case example 2**

### **Strengthening monitoring of aid for trade**

A number of aid instruments have been implemented by donors and the international community – for example, through humanitarian pool funding, multi-donor trust funds, national budget support and specific technical assistance programmes. However, the actions of these instruments have not been satisfactory in delivering development results due to the lack of coordinated and sustained effort by the donors and lack of ownership by the recipient countries ('Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness', Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2005).

Within the trade sector, there are two major programs that are implemented at the multilateral level. These are Aid for Trade (AfT) and Enhanced Integrated Framework. The former is for developing countries in general, the latter especially for the least developed countries. These trade-related technical assistance programs are also yet to deliver the broader results that are expected to improve the living standards of growing populations through improved trade performance in lower-income countries.

There are many factors that contribute to the current disappointing outcomes of both programs. In terms of Aid for Trade, 'recent evaluations of Aid for Trade programs highlight, in particular, the absence of a results-based design in most projects and the poor use of monitoring and evaluation tools' as the causes of sub-optimum utilization of the valuable development resources (OECD, 2006). While such observations are not surprising, they nevertheless remain disappointing, particularly in light of the limited time left in achieving the MDGs.

Debates abound in identifying appropriate and effective pathways to breaking through the impasse presented by the limited progress made by most countries regarding the majority of the MDG targets. One particular approach to finding such a critical path is to apply chaos theory and a system perspective to the management of the development process. It is suggested that by tuning up the feedback signals from the development actors and processes, possibilities for improvement and innovation will emerge. Therefore, this group of actors has called for strengthening the monitoring component of the development management and governance structure and

has urged the international community to provide sufficient funding for the development of a robust and user-friendly monitoring architecture in order to move beyond the existing input-oriented monitoring approach and beyond relying on country reporting (as undertaken by the Development Co-operation Directorate (DCD-DAC) of the OECD). The Global Aid for Trade Review is an example of this type of monitoring architecture.

To strengthen monitoring systems and to align the monitoring process with the international development cooperation process and domestic policy governance structure requires putting New Diplomacy strategies and expertise to use. The same applies to the trade capacity building field in order to achieve more effective and more efficient Aid for Trade. The case example presented in the following section is intended to capture the emerging process of a frame-shifting campaign where New Diplomacies has been deployed to ensure that two of the precepts of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, i.e., managing for results and ownership, can be translated into day-to-day practice.

### **Reframing**

Aid for Trade is one of the attempts by developed countries to improve economic development through trade in developing and least developed countries, with the goal of achieving reductions of poverty in these areas. The Aid for Trade initiative was launched at the World Trade Organization's (WTO) Hong Kong Ministerial Conference in December 2005 and is intended to help developing countries, particularly least developed countries, build the trade-related skills and infrastructure necessary to implement and benefit from WTO agreements, boost their trade levels, and improve on economic development and poverty reduction. To this end, Aid for Trade aims to help developing countries, particularly LDCs, develop the trade-related skills and infrastructure that are needed, both to implement and benefit from WTO agreements and to expand their trade. The success of this initiative depends on creating closer cooperation in national capitals between trade, finance, and development officials of WTO member governments. This needs to be matched by close cooperation at the international and regional level among intergovernmental organizations with core responsibilities in these areas and their member governments.

Recognizing the importance of strengthening the national execution capability, Pascal Lamy (2009), Director-General of the WTO, indicated the need to engage the national authorities in finding specific policy solutions fitting national contexts, as well as in monitoring and evaluating trade-related development investments:

We have...recognized the need to move from this macro-level monitoring to more national, regional, and sub-regional-level assessments of Aid for Trade flows as a means of monitoring how each country or region is

progressing in assessing its own individual needs for more trade-related capacity and how those needs are being integrated into their overall development or poverty reduction strategies.

(Lamy, 2009)

This shifting of ownership and accountability for aid performance is of particular importance. It is hypothesized that making countries accountable for their own development outcomes would increase the effectiveness of the development process. Yet the problem of weak institutional capacities continues to plague many LDCs and requires substantial interventions. The international community has been attempting to strengthen this weak link, either through repeated capacity building support or through projects aimed at decentralizing the public administration and deregulation and privatization of public services, while simultaneously working on the international front to improve market access for the trading of goods and services.

The Aid for Trade and Enhanced Integrated Framework (EIF) programs were the result of the Development Round negotiations that took place in Doha in 2000. Members of the WTO recognized that the pivotal issue for international trade development and globalization was not only a concern for market access and non-discriminatory treatment, but also of taking into account the trading capacities of the participating members. Thus the reframing of the international trade negotiations took place on two levels: one technical, the other political. Technically, the focus of the Doha Round negotiations has been complemented by the inclusion of the Aid for Trade programme for Developing Countries (DCs) at the Ministerial Meeting in Hong Kong in 2005. Aid for Trade consists of technical assistance and capacity building for Developing Countries that are members of the WTO. For the Least Developed Countries, the WTO membership decided to create a technical support facility called Integrated Framework in 1997, which was enlarged in 2007 and is since called the Enhanced Integrated Framework (EIF).

With these two programs in effect, the ability to trade and to compete has been internationalized. National competitiveness, in terms of products/services on offer and their price-quality ratio, was reclassified from being a 'domestic' concern to being an internationally 'shared' concern. Because of this, the need to effectively provide operational feedback so that institutional learning and continuous improvement can take root in partner countries has become pivotal. The perennial 'aid dependence' syndrome can only be alleviated if decision-making processes are supported by sound information gathered through an integrated monitoring system with an acceptable degree of transparency. Therefore, a third reframing needs to take place. This reframing entails viewing monitoring as quality management of the aid programs, not inspection; and as an institutional learning process, not as controlling. Its scope should cover *all* actors, not only recipients of aid. This is the campaign!

## Agenda setting

The most recent OECD 2008 Survey on 'Monitoring the Paris Declaration' states that '*Less than 10% of countries have sound frameworks to monitor and assess development results. While some progress has been made since 2005, an enormous effort will be required to meet the target of 35% by 2010*' (italics added). Without effective monitoring systems, aid programs and projects such as Aid for Trade, EIF and Trade-related Technical Assistance (TRTA) could be in jeopardy due to a collective deficit in contextualizing international best practices, an inability to generate institutional learning and knowledge at the country level, and the lack of a mechanism to enable continuous improvement and operational analysis.

Calls were made by various actors to assess the impact of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) and to show the results of Aid for Trade's implementation of the goals of the Paris Declaration, which aim to improve aid effectiveness. These calls culminated in a joint review of Aid for Trade by the DAC of OECD in 2007. As part of the feedback process, a round table discussion on this issue was organized by a Geneva-based NGO.

In conjunction with the LDC group of the WTO, the round table revealed that all the capacity-building activities in trade-related issues were not accurately followed, monitored or assessed using a set standard format and framework. Such a situation hinders effective continuation of trade-related capacity-building activities as they are often neither based nor designed upon correct data or information showing what has been done and what has been neglected by past activities. In addition, the recent study conducted by UNDP on 'Commodity Development Strategies in the Integrated Framework' (2009) calls for policy coherence, harmonized international development assistance, and for building robust national agencies with strong policy coordination and monitoring instruments for efficient and effective use of aid funding. Future work will include standardizing procedures, reporting criteria and demonstrating involvement of stakeholders.

A transparent monitoring system would enhance the transformational capacity of the system. At the same time, it would also expose the rent-seeking and self-serving behaviour of some actors. Resistance and reluctance of embracing such a quality management approach are strong and often equally strong on the donor, beneficiary and expert side.

## Policy negotiation

This need for a better *monitoring system* is ever more urgent in light of the ongoing triple crises of food, energy and finances affecting disproportionately the Developing Countries and the Least Developed Countries. Due to these concurrent crises, the development dividends of the last decade are being lost, making most of these countries vulnerable in light of renewed increases of hunger, poverty, social strife and conflicts. The already

vulnerable populations and countries of the world have been hit hardest by the worsening of global warming and its effects, leading to further deterioration of general wellbeing, as well as a weakening of already-limited trading capacities.

Resurfacing protectionist policy measures taken by developed countries as a consequence of the ongoing financial and economic crises have increased competition among lower-income countries for the dwindling customers in developed countries. This is due to the tightening of market access and creates the threat of a downward pricing spiral. Therefore, a strengthening of the overall monitoring capacity in the countries in question for effective management of AfT, EIF and TRTA is urgently needed. The 2006 OECD report titled 'The Challenge of Capacity Development: Working Towards Good Practice' calls for a

fundamental change in development practice, including focusing on capacity as an endogenous process, agreeing at country level capacity objectives and monitoring outcomes from the perspective of the beneficiaries. Such changes could have a substantial impact on development outcome.

(OECD, 2006, p. 3)

This call by the OECD for a 'fundamental change in development practice' cannot be implemented without serious political negotiations concerning the realignment of the power relationships manifested in the international governance structure, which is currently biased in favour of industrialized countries. This shift cannot be implemented unless recipient countries assume responsibilities in house cleaning, reaffirm corresponding social contracts and strive toward making independent policy decisions. This will be the most challenging step in making AfT and EIF more fitted to the actual needs and potential of the beneficiary countries.

Without successful negotiations at the practice level to deploy the newly defined underpinning patterns and principles of the development partnership, a monitoring system of trade-capacity building alone will not lead to enlightened partnership arrangements, as was suggested in the Paris Declaration (OECD, 2005) and later reaffirmed in the Accra Agenda for Action (OECD, 2008). However, a robust monitoring infrastructure aligned with the Accra Agenda could move the Paris Declaration forward. It would collect concrete evidence in regard to the 'saying-and-doing' gaps that have plagued the international development cooperation process.

This negotiation takes place in different policy forums, where NGO actors may not participate directly. Therefore, New Diplomacy is needed in building alliances for the purpose of strengthening the alternative voice in this regard. Negotiations seen from a civil society perspective are seen by proxy and through public opinion making and knowledge dissemination.

## **Standard-setting**

The 2007 OECD/WTO Survey reports the limitation of existing monitoring mechanisms by stating that ‘monitoring Aid for Trade based on OECD CRS proxies is probably more effective in assessing trends over time within agencies rather than comparing flows between agencies’. Moreover, monitoring aid flow addresses only the question of whether adequate resources have been made available to the recipient countries by the international community. It falls short of tracking the use and effectiveness of aid, in particular against national priorities, and sheds little light on the actual performance of aid in recipient countries concerning learning and continuous improvement. On this point, the OECD suggests an application of Paris Declaration principles to the ‘managing for results’ at a global level through the establishment of a ‘local accountability mechanism’ and a feeding of the country-level output into the Global Review Mechanism. The local accountability mechanism requires transparency and a continuous flow of information and data within the country in order to operationally define ownership and trade policy coordination. This data collection, storage and retrieval requires a well-designed monitoring system based on the quality assurance principles and unified IT platform.

An initial attempt at standard setting was negotiated in the context of the EIF, with the idea being to create a standardized template for monitoring and evaluating its trade-capacity building programme for the LDCs. The monitoring framework initially proposed in 2008 by an NGO think tank based in Geneva (CSEND, 2008) stressed the importance of ongoing process monitoring, document control and institutional learning of key organizational levels. As such, this monitoring system would have shed a strong light for stakeholders on the development policy choices made, as well as on their rationale and implementation methods. It would also have set a new standard, or code of conduct, in the field of development cooperation.

The proposal demanded a joint participation in the monitoring process to which donors and international organizations (IOs) are equally unwilling to agree for various reasons. Thus the mutual accountability requirement of the proposed 2008 Monitoring Framework was put on hold. Although the LDCs in general were favourable to such requirements, their sentiments were not sufficient to promote the 2008 Monitoring Framework as originally designed; instead, a more traditionally-oriented version with an ongoing focus on inputs and outputs measure was adopted in 2009. Nevertheless, this debate has resonated well with the general demand for more evidence-based aid management by the constituencies of the development field, including a small number of international organizations.

A debate has also been ongoing about what should be appropriate monitoring approaches centred on an ‘unspoken’ intervening element in the national policy process (see Figure 6.2). International actors often influence domestic choices during the first two steps of the policy process. However,



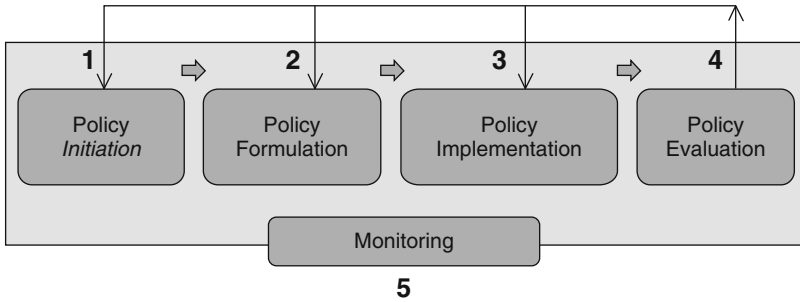


Figure 6.2 The process flow of a policy monitoring architecture

such policy influence tends to happen behind closed doors, where the drivers for specific policy choices are usually not known to the public. Such interference is not necessarily due to unsavoury interactions, but is more a reflection of ideological differences and a conventional formula of development cooperation.

### Watchdog function

An overarching monitoring architecture is needed to ensure effectiveness in capacity-building activities at the sectoral level and to ensure application of the principles of the Paris Declaration in the project management procedures. If such a monitoring architecture exists, it would then be possible to track the actual practices of technical cooperation and its outcome. Such a monitoring architecture would operationally define the stated goals as ‘managing for results’ and ‘mutual accountability’. Such monitoring architecture would also safeguard national ownership and other elements of the Paris Declaration by institutionalizing corresponding processes and procedures.

Donors, beneficiaries and experts should be encouraged to document their work and make it transparent for the benefit of all parties involved, including the public at large. Such a monitoring system would ensure continuous gathering of relevant data at critical paths through consistent and visible measures, which track progress against the broader set of partnership commitments and support accountability and efficient use of scarce development resources.

Without an internal self-regulatory function, recipient governments would not be able to break away from aid dependency and foreign experts. A management tool based on a well-articulated management information system would be the first critical step toward the *management of self-sufficiency* and evidence-based decision making.

The idea of ‘more-monitoring-less evaluating’ has caught the attention of the international expert community. Piecemeal construction of such a monitoring architecture at both national and global levels is evolving.

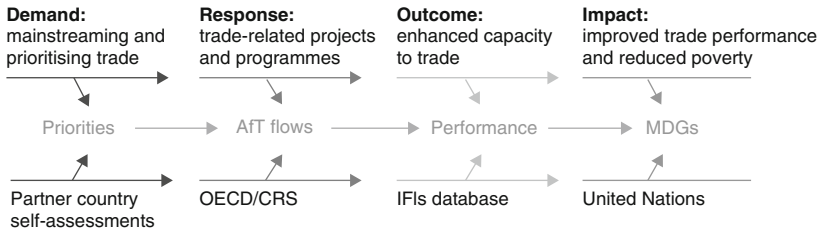


Figure 6.3 Logical monitoring and evaluation framework for the AfT Assessment (OECD/WTO, 2009).

Figure 6.3 illustrates the theoretical framework of such a monitoring and evaluation process for the Aid for Trade assessment. The watchdog function of humanitarian work psychology can be achieved by closely working with the civil society organizations or NGOs and by looking closely into the decision-making process of the national programming and budgeting process. Being able to show documented evidence would strengthen the effective use of aid resources, and eventually help achieve better alignment of Aid for Trade and EIF allocation of resources with the needs of the local communities.

### Whistle-blowing

Effective monitoring is essential for improving public sector management, ensuring transparency in decision making and holding policy makers accountable (Rwanda Ministry of infrastructure, Economic Development and Poverty Reduction [EDPRS], 2007). In order to support the implementation of such a more transparent monitoring system, CSEND – a Geneva based NGO – has put forward proposals to set up a monitoring information system that would involve five steps and control process components, namely:

- (i) documenting ongoing operations against established sets of procedures and criteria;
- (ii) reviewing whether there is any deviation or non-conformity to the procedures and detecting root causes for improvement through periodic internal audit;
- (iii) recording how a set of indicators changes over time;
- (iv) analysing and drawing conclusions from those recorded trends;
- (v) feeding these conclusions back into the policy process as well as the implementation cycle.

Once such a transparent monitoring system has been installed and made to work, all parties involved in AfT and EIF projects can verify the status of their project and take remedial action where needed. In this operational arrangement, whistle-blowing instead of an act of finger pointing, will be quite akin to the dials on the dashboard of a car indicating the status of oil,

temperature, and speed of the car. LDCs in such a scenario would be truly in the 'driver seat' in managing and directing their development process.

### **Back to the beginning: reframing**

NGOs active in trade and development issues suggest that data collection and proposed monitoring systems should be organized and managed at the country level. Programme implementation should be monitored by the partner country and data collected through a digitalized project management information system throughout the following stages: (i) defining the strategic interests and needs of the DC/LDC partner; (ii) initiating and formulating project proposals; (iii) appraising and approving projects; (iv) implementing the projects; and (v) evaluating the outcome of Aid for Trade/EIF/TRTA projects. In order to operationalize the proposed Monitoring Architecture, pilot projects in a few selected LDCs will be necessary. CSEND works to build alliances with like-minded donor agencies and partner countries in order to launch an initial cluster of pilot projects. It is hoped that through knowledge creation and concrete country experience the international community will be more inclined to promote and champion such an approach to enhance aid effectiveness. Figure 6.3 is a starting point but does not go far yet in rebuilding weak governance capabilities of the LDCs.

By putting the proposed aid-monitor architecture in place, benefits could be achieved on multiple levels. Such an aid-monitoring architecture would improve aid performance, achieve greater development results and complement the 'Accra Agenda for Action' (AAA), in turn leading to conformance with the Paris Declaration. In particular, an aid-monitor system would provide *evidence from LDCs* that can be fed into the global monitoring task of the DAC/OECD, thereby increasing its data validity for analysis. Most importantly, the aid-monitor system would foster 'ownership' and delivery of 'accountability' and make 'managing for development results operational' as stipulated in AAA – Managing for Development Resources (Task 3) through a transparent and *verifiable* tracking system. The new future will tell whether these advocacy calls for better aid-monitoring will be implemented by the aid donors and beneficiaries.

### **Conclusion**

The technology-enabled global system has generated a multitude of networks and actors who attempt to influence social systems and who champion partisan outcomes of global and national issues. Multiple interest groups are active in the field of development such as business executives of multinational enterprises, members of local civil society and representatives of international NGOs. The ensuing multi-actor participation in development work can result in a fragmentation of resolve and weakening of social actions by humanitarian work psychology professionals.

Seen from this perspective, it appears necessary that humanitarian work psychology professionals extend their role repertoire and master the art of being a 'development diplomat'. By so doing they will be able to steer the trajectory of political, economic and social policies in this global village. They need to be consciously active in this enlarged sphere of the New Diplomacies or political space and acquire the additional competencies (domain expertise) to engage other stakeholders constructively in policy dialogue concerning human, social, economic and political development. Examples of such new competencies have been described in professional journals in the field of industrial and organizational psychology (Saner & Yiu, 2008 pp. 85-104; Saner & Yiu, 2007).

Humanitarian work psychology practitioners engaged in promoting realignment of social-political and economic landscapes for the poor and underprivileged populations need to have the mindfulness of a 'change agent' when working in the political arena locally and globally. A crucial factor for successful approaches to multi-stakeholder work in the development field is the ability to build up social capital, create alliances with like-minded others and create the rapport with other allied actors to 'go across the dividing lines'. Like true diplomats, humanitarian work psychology practitioners need to communicate with and influence other professionals or constituencies who either share humanitarian work psychology values or go against values of others seen as destructive and non-conducive for sustainable development. Underlying these interactions, practising humanitarian work psychologists can aim at giving rise to transparency, new individual or group motivations, and organizational and societal capacities. Such a social movement cannot be the work of a sole humanitarian work psychology practitioner, but instead humanitarian work psychology practitioners need to know how to create collective actions facilitated and supported by other INGOs or IOs.

Social developments, such as poverty reduction, or the eradication of tuberculosis, take years to develop until they become successful. Alliance-building and continually reinforcing the shared vision and commitment require great efforts and skilfulness. Creation of meta-governance mechanisms, such as MDGs by 2015, the Human Development Index and other rallying points, is not possible without cross-actor cooperation and cross-boundary coordination. This chapter gives several examples of cross-actor alliance in different lengths of detail.

Cross-actor alliance building is about creating meta-governance mechanisms for joint actions. Glasbergen (2011) has identified four crucial determinants of successful private meta-governance roles and arrangements, namely:

1. Being inclusive, in the sense that they bring in the most important stakeholders in the issue field from civil society and business as well as from the North and South;

2. Creating legitimacy through a balanced, open and accountable decision-making process;
3. Keeping an open line to scientists working in the issue field and involving them in the development of standards;
4. Basing their activities on strategic thinking, which, among others, include a strong feeling for networking and the active development of working relationships with relevant governments at all levels.

These determinants highlight the crucial process features of the New Diplomacies. The humanitarian work psychology practitioners must constantly refresh these process features through the various steps of the policy-making cycle as illustrated in Figure 6.1. The tasks and engagement of humanitarian work psychology practitioners as change agents does not end when standards are established and motions are adopted. Instead, humanitarian work psychology practitioners need to work with other social actors and find ways to mobilize the citizens to take on a combined watchdog and whistle-blower role. Social development is about remaking of state and cultural institutions and humanitarian work psychology practitioners need to build capacities for the grassroots organizations and citizens to partake in the development process and do their part in sustaining the new 'reality'. Residents of a community and citizens of a society are the ultimate owners of the development process. Humanitarian work psychology practitioners need to think strategically in order to support this ownership transfer.

In the final analysis, sustainable development in the global context demands equitable representation and effective dialogue among multiple stakeholders. Relationships among these stakeholders are often intricate and web-like without being confined to conventional political or geographical boundaries. 'New Diplomacies' skills need to be employed by humanitarian work psychology experts to promote constructive and ethical views; to contribute to the resolutions of cultural differences, narrowing social-economic cleavages, generating collective motivations; to solve institutional capacity deficiencies and conflicts. Their role is to assist the humanitarian organizations in generating innovative solutions to larger societal issues and to articulate change strategies and negotiate a meta 'movement architecture'. While doing all these, humanitarian work psychology practitioners also facilitate learning at multiple levels in order to strengthen the capacities located in the situation of the problem issues.

Since the relationship between multiple stakeholders and constituencies can be difficult, it is of paramount importance that humanitarian work psychology practitioners develop literacy and competence in using this New Diplomacies skill set to navigate through the complex field of collective change at a local, regional and international scale.

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# 7

## Motivating the Teacher Workforce in Uganda

*Callist Tumwebaze & Malcolm MacLachlan*

### Summary

While many factors contribute to social, cultural and economic development, evidence suggests that education is one of the most crucial. While 'education' in itself is clearly of interest to educational psychologists, the combining of national and international initiatives and organizations in attempts to make education in low-income countries more effective, is also of great interest to humanitarian work psychologists. It is of interest first because it requires the interaction of international organizations involved in aid and development, and second because the effectiveness of education may well be determined by the motivation and performance of individual teachers. Thus international, organizational and individual factors are intertwined in attempts to improve education in low-income countries. In this chapter we tentatively explore teacher motivation in Uganda, its importance and some of its possible determinants. We highlight opportunities for humanitarian work psychologists to contribute to strengthening the education system in Uganda, thereby making an important contribution to national development and poverty reduction.

### Education and development

The International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA, 2008) has compared 120 countries over a 30-year period (1970-2000) and demonstrated a clear association between the investment a country makes in education – including secondary education – and their subsequent development status. They argue that more and better education should be afforded the top priority as it empowers people to help themselves; thus improving governance and reducing corruption: 'A concerted effort for much more primary and secondary education combining national and international forces would appear to be the most promising route out of poverty and towards sustainable development' (Lutz, Crespo Cuaresma & Sanderson, 2008).

Having made considerable progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goal Number 2 (Universal Primary Education [UPE]) of ensuring that by 2015, children everywhere will be able to complete a full course of primary education, some countries have set their sights on universal secondary education (USE) so that those graduating from primary education are able to continue with their education. Lewin (2004) maintains that in order to attain the first goal of universalizing primary access to and completion of education, countries must maintain and increase their transition rates to secondary education.

The push for universal secondary education is related not just to the right to education but also the recognition that in terms of national development, secondary education graduates are better able to contribute to the social and economic growth of their community and country, by being able to engage in more productive activity and address some of the more complex challenges of poverty (Lutz, Crespo Cuaresma & Sanderson, 2008). The United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) (2006) observed that as primary schooling becomes universalized, participation at the secondary level will become a major determinant of life chances and a major source of subsequent inequity, and that access to and success in secondary education will continue to be highly correlated with subsequent employment and income distribution patterns (UNESCO, 2006).

The relationship between education and poverty reduction is apparently clear: Educated people have higher income-earning potential, and are better able to improve the quality of their lives. Human capital theory asserts that education creates skills which facilitate higher levels of productivity among those who possess them in comparison with those who do not (Oxaal, 1997). The World Bank (1995) has shown that education in general helps reduce poverty by increasing the productivity of the poor, by reducing fertility and improving health, and by equipping people with skills they need to participate fully in the economy and society. The combination of increased earning ability, political and social empowerment, and enhanced capacity to participate in community governance is a powerful instrument for helping break the poverty cycle. The United Nations (1999) observes that education is the primary vehicle by which economically and socially marginalized adults and children can lift themselves out of poverty and obtain the means to participate fully in their communities.

Although there has been poor access to post-primary education in most African countries (UNESCO, 2006), it is apparent that the emphasis under both universal primary education and universal secondary education has been increased enrolment (quantity), but not necessarily the quality or efficacy of education (Lewin, 2004). It is therefore important to also focus on the quality of the graduates of universal primary education and universal secondary education and what competencies, skills and knowledge they are equipped with to contribute towards national development. We argue that

the quality of these graduates is closely aligned to the quality and work practices of their teachers – the human conduits of the education system – and that humanitarian work psychology should address the challenge of fostering motivated and productive teachers if we are ultimately to benefit from well-intentioned attempts to attain universal primary education and universal secondary education.

Adegoke (2003) suggests that education is a necessary condition for development and the teacher is the ultimate definer of its reality. This idea implies that the quality of education is critical if education is to enhance development. Teacher preparation, mentoring and motivation are critical factors in enhancing quality education capable of facilitating meaningful development. However, it is recognized that low teacher motivation, and its detrimental effect on student achievement, are central problems in educational systems in Africa (Michaelowa, 2002). Thus, one fundamental, but often 'ignored', factor in improving the quality of education is the 'motivated' teacher who is the source and facilitator of learning. There is, therefore, a need for low-income countries to establish optimal mechanisms and levels for teacher motivation as a key component of promoting universal primary education and universal secondary education.

## **Education and development in Uganda**

As noted, universal education is one of the Millennium Development Goals and these goals have been influential in government thinking on development policies and instruments. In Uganda, the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoE&S) aims to provide wider access to quality education as a development priority. The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) in Uganda focuses on education's capacity to contribute to economic growth (Juuko & Kabonesa, 2007). The PEAP treats education as a resource that contributes to human capital development, leading to higher incomes and sustained economic growth. The PEAP also notes that education plays a role in strengthening civil institutions, building democracy, empowering women and protecting the environment, and highlights the government's commitment in achieving the Millennium Development Goals through increasing funding for the number of children from primary to secondary schools and those going to vocational training after senior four. However, the PEAP also states that achieving the Millennium Development Goal targets will depend on the availability of resources and how resources are used. One such necessary resource is a well-motivated and performing teaching work force. Bennell (2004) observes that discussions about Education For All (EFA) and improving the quality of education have generally failed to recognize the pivotal role of teachers and that the key issues of teacher motivation and pay, in particular, have been skimmed over, and at times ignored altogether.

The Working Group of the Association of the Development of Education in Africa (2004) noted that in many sub-Saharan countries, teachers' conditions in terms of management, benefits and professional support are poor. They experience irregular and poor pay, crowded classrooms, and a lack of pedagogical support. The Working Group argues that these shortcomings greatly undermine teachers' motivation and performance and consequently this inhibits the provision of quality education.

The introduction of universal primary education in 1997 led to a substantial increase by 132 per cent in gross enrolment from the pre-universal primary education total of 3.1 million in 1996, to 7.2 million children in 2006. According to the national household survey of 2005/06 (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2007), the net enrolment ratio in Primary Education was 84 per cent, suggesting that Uganda is on the right path to achieving the Millennium Development Goal target of 100 per cent by 2015. In addition, the gender enrolment gap in primary education has narrowed, with the proportion of girls in total enrolment rising to 49 per cent in 2004 up from 44.2 per cent in 1990 (UNDP, 2007). Having made this progress in universal primary education, Uganda became the first African country to embark on universal secondary education in 2007.

### **Teacher motivation**

Motivation can be defined as an internal state that induces a person to engage in particular behaviours or a need/desire that energizes behaviour and directs it towards a goal (Steers & Porter, 1983). Conventional work psychology theories relate motivation to various factors, most commonly including a hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1954), intrinsic and extrinsic factors (Herzberg, 1959), specific reinforcements (Skinner, 1974), expectancies (Vroom, 1964), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986) and goal setting (Locke & Latham, 1990), among others. Johnson (1986) suggests that three theories had been influential in the development of instruments for assessing the motivation of teachers: Expectancy theory (people work towards anticipated attainable valued rewards); equity theory (people are dissatisfied if they perceive injustice in how they are rewarded for inputs, relative to others); and job enrichment theory (people are more productive if their work is varied and challenging). While these theories influenced the development of extrinsic reward systems (such as merit pay, promotion, work variety) they did not address the notion that many teachers enter the profession for its intrinsic rewards – such as helping children learn and develop – and factors that enhance these opportunities are the most valued by teachers (Frase, 1992). Frase groups these factors into context and content factors – the former relating to the broader teaching environment, such as class size, availability and quality of teaching materials, and discipline in the school,

and the latter to recognition, responsibility, empowerment, authority and opportunities for challenging and varied work.

However, it is important to note that all of these theories are rooted in Western concepts of the person and in Western psychology (see Carr and MacLachlan, 1997). While these ideas may resonate to some extent with aspects of teacher motivation universally, they may also be constrained by much broader contextual factors that are specific to countries and cultures, such as in Uganda. Such a consideration clearly makes a review of the general motivation literature on teacher performance beyond our scope or purpose here.

A number of studies have however shown that teachers, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, have low levels of job satisfaction and are poorly motivated (Bennell, 2004; Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007; Ramachandran, 2005; UNESCO, 2006). A study by UNESCO (2006) noted that over one-third of all the teachers indicated that teachers at their school are 'poorly' or 'very poorly' motivated. The study further notes that motivation levels appear to be chronically low in Ghana and Zambia. UNESCO (2006) concludes that most schooling systems in sub-Saharan Africa are faced with what amounts to a teacher motivation crisis. As a result of poor motivation, many teachers are reluctant to come to school and engage in the teaching-learning process wholeheartedly. In an impromptu visit to a nationally representative sample of government schools in India, for example, 25 per cent of teachers were absent from school, and only about half were teaching (Kremer, Muralidharan, Chaudhury, Hammer, & Rogers, 2004). Their report also indicates that with one in four teachers absent at a typical government school, India has the second-highest average absence rate among the 8 countries for which absence calculations were available – the highest being Uganda with 27 per cent. Teachers in India also indicated that their motivation would rise if they were paid extra for performing additional duties and given better training; if their unique skills and strengths were appreciated and if there was improvement in the physical facilities of the schools they worked in (Ramachandran, 2005).

Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) have observed that large proportions of teachers are poorly motivated because their basic needs, for example, food, housing and security, are not met. Thus, much as they may have love for teaching, they may only effectively teach if these needs have been met. In Uganda, for example, a primary school teacher's salary is approximately 200,000Ushs (\$100); equating to approximately \$3.3 per day. This is extremely low, particularly given that a typical African home may have five to six members dependant on this teacher.

In the next sections we consider how the African concept of the person differs from European and North American concepts and how this may relate to the construct of motivation; the relationship between pay and performance of teachers in low-income countries, and its salience to internationally

aided projects; the significance for 'brain drain' among teachers in Africa, and teacher motivation and performance in an environment of high HIV/AIDS prevalence, as is the case in Uganda.

### **Motivation in Africa: The Ubuntu philosophy**

It has been argued that unlike in the Western countries, Eastern and African notions of work motivation tend to go beyond the maximization of personal interests and satisfaction and are more collectivistic in nature (Shamir, 1990; Kao & Sek-Hong, 1997). Bandawe (2005) has discussed a common theme that pervades many African cultures, distinguishing them from many Western cultures. The notion of Ubuntu (although the actual term differs from one linguistic group to another) is conveyed (in this case in Chichewa) through the phrase 'Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu' (A person is a person through other persons). This is very different from the strong introspective individualism enshrined in Descartes' 'cognito ergo sum' ('I think, therefore I am'), a perspective that pervades so much of Western thinking about the self. Effectively Ubuntu refers to a social system of interrelatedness whereby people's humanity is determined less by their personal qualities, and more in terms of how they relate to others in their community (Boon, 1996). Ubuntu is a more interconnected way of being; locating people not as independent individuals striving for self-actualization, but as interdependent beings, part of a collective deriving their sense of identity and recognition through the contribution they make to the common good of 'all' (Mbigi & Maree, 1995). The concept of Ubuntu is not dissimilar to other collectivist concepts elsewhere but as an ideology differs sharply from individualist approaches so highly valued in the West (Mji, Gcaza, Swartz, MacLachlan & Hutton, 2011).

The idea of Ubuntu can of course be overly romanticized and/or fail to accommodate the fact that many Africans are required to work within organizations that have a much stronger individualistic motivation ethos. It may also be the case that some aspects of collectivism – such as a group resisting the wish of an individual to excel (see Carr and MacLachlan, 1997) – are less positive, and should perhaps be addressed. From the perspective of humanitarian work psychology there is a major challenge here to contribute to the development of teaching, supporting, motivating and managerial practices that are culturally and contextually appropriate to teachers in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa. For example, established psychometric instruments should not be used off-the-shelf. With concepts such as motivation and performance, a key issue will be if all aspects of a domain sampled by a particular instrument are relevant and whether it sufficiently covers the domain of salient factors in a very different situation. Qualitative exploration of 'Western' psychology constructs may be necessary, along with psychometric re-verification of the structure and properties



of instruments and techniques that have been used elsewhere. A systematic coordinated programme of work in this area represents a major opportunity and challenge for humanitarian work psychology.

## **Pay and performance of teachers**

We have already noted that pay is a salient issue among Ugandan teachers. Recently there has been considerable interest in pay-related performance within the teaching profession internationally. We consider just two recent reports here which convey the complexity of this issue. Combining country-level performance-pay measures with international achievement micro data, Woessmann (2011) reported that use of teacher salary adjustments for outstanding performance was significantly associated with pupil's math, science, and reading achievement across countries. However, this is just one aspect of the performance-pay relationship. Carr et al. (2011) have distinguished two relationships between pay and performance in the public sectors of low-income countries, including the teaching profession. One is where pay is contingent on performance-usually this operates as a bonus over-and-above base salary-and this may be referred to as pay-for-performance. The second is where base salaries are raised to provide a 'decent living wage' – with the hope that this will stimulate better performance – and this may be referred to as performance-for-pay.

Carr et al. (2011) reviewed over 28,000 non-specific records, identifying 143 previous reviews of the performance-for-pay literature, and 158 original empirical articles. Perhaps reflecting the complexities and difficulties of research in this area, 157 of these were ineligible for their review, chiefly because of inadequate measures of pay, or pay-variation, or the lack of a suitable control or comparison group. The single study that met the review criteria (Menezes-Filho & Pazello, 2007) reported a significant improvement in Brazilian students' grades when the base salaries of their teachers were higher, controlling for human and material resources. This was a large scale study with 15,844 students and 2,577 teachers at 38 public schools in Brazil, followed up over 2 years (from 1997-Time 1 to 1999-Time 2). Student grades in Portuguese, mathematics or science was the performance criterion, and an exogenous injection of funds from central government the intervention. The authors of the paper concluded 'the rise in relative wages across municipalities within the public system brought about by the reform had a positive impact on the students' proficiency' (ibid, p. 671). However, without measurement of possible intervening variables – such as motivation-it is not possible to stipulate the reason for these results. Combining the results of Woessman (2011) and Carr et al. (2011), it seems clear that pay is related to performance at least in some contexts, but that the vast majority of the research is not sufficiently robust (as least regarding performance-for-pay) to allow robust conclusion to be made. One reason for this lack of robust and

comparable research is the very different contexts, conditions and resources that are available to researchers and to those working as teachers in countries that have vastly different cultures, politics and socio-economic conditions. Again this presents an opportunity for humanitarian work psychology to explore these complex relationships in country contexts, while also being cognizant of comparative international research.

Before leaving the issue of pay, the issue of pay-related equity in internationally-aided education projects is important to mention. Carr et al. (2010) reported a study across six middle and low-income countries which found that the dual salary system employed by international aid agencies (paying foreign and local workers different amounts for doing the same or similar jobs) was related to perceptions of injustice and inequity in the workplace, and to expressions of interest in changing jobs or leaving the country altogether (see also, McWha et al, this volume). Munthali, Matagi and Tumwebaze (2010) reported that, in Uganda, locally-salaried workers were significantly more demotivated than internationally-salaried workers. Feeding back the results of their analysis to workshops in Uganda and Malaŵi, Munthali, Matagi & Tumwebaze recommended the implementation of performance-based pay for staff on internationally-aided projects, rather than pay based on place or origin. The salience of pay for dissatisfaction at work and for intentions to move to other employment - or to another country - links well to our next section, on brain drain.

## **Teacher motivation and brain drain**

The term 'brain drain' may be defined broadly as the migration of trained and talented individuals from one institution, or from one country or part of a country, to another, in search of better working conditions, and a better quality of life (Cohen, 2004). Some of the salient factors contributing to the exodus of skilled talent include poor conditions of service, human rights abuses, disregard for local talent, scarcity of jobs, limited access to education, and a high level of crime (see also Carr, 2010). In many African countries, research evidence on other public sector workers has indicated massive international migration and in-country migration (of professionals) between, for instance, the public and private health sectors, between urban and rural areas (McAuliffe & MacLachlan, 2005; Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1998; World Health Organization, 2004, 2005; Dovlo, & Nyongator, 1999). This migration is attributed to such factors as poor working conditions, characterized by heavy workloads, lack of equipment, poor salaries and diminished opportunities for advancement. The World Education Forum (2000) observes that real salary rates in many low-income countries, in addition to being very low, are not paid regularly, with delays often of several months.

In-country migration is clearly evident in the education sector in the movement of teachers between public and privately-owned schools, teacher

upgrading, and teachers leaving the profession to take up other jobs. This is attested to by Mulkeen (2006) who observes that in many countries, there are many qualified teachers in urban areas who are unemployed, while there are unfilled positions in rural areas. This suggests that teachers prefer to teach in urban areas and are less willing to teach in rural areas.

A Voluntary Service Overseas' report (2007) shows that teachers, especially in rural areas, are poorly paid and are increasingly shown less and less respect for the position they occupy. Their educational and training needs are neglected and they are stuck in bureaucracies that offer little in the way of support or career advancement. The report reiterates that teacher motivation is a critically ignored factor in educational management and policy formulation at all levels: school, regional, national and international. Due to the poor salaries and wages that characterize the teaching profession in many African countries, many teachers are forced to look for other jobs in addition to teaching and some are driven to leave teaching altogether. For some African countries, it has become almost impossible to convince good students to choose a teaching career, as the prospects of job security and adequate income are too uncertain (World Education Forum, 2000; Towse, Kent, Osaki, & Kirua, 2002).

Another demotivating factor for teachers in several low-income countries appears to be the very large class sizes. Many teacher organizations report class sizes exceeding 100 pupils (World Education Forum, 2000). Obviously, learning suffers under such conditions. Small classes allow teachers to use more personalized instructional techniques and develop and apply new teaching methods. Teachers with smaller classes may be less stressed and show higher morale and their turnover rates may also be lower. With the introduction of universal secondary education in Uganda, workloads for teachers are expected to double (Ahimbisibwe, 2007). Businge (2009) observed that the explosion in enrolment had put pressure on an already over-stretched education system, leaving the future of the country's education at stake. Schools were overwhelmed by large numbers of students turning up on the first day of the term, with the number of students doubling in many schools, and head teachers in Uganda complaining that there wasn't enough space to accommodate the students (Ahimbisibwe, 2007).

In their study among technology teachers, Wright and Custer (1998) found no predominant reason that teachers cited for leaving teaching. Among the reasons were salary, limited opportunities for advancement, and too much to do in too little time (Litt & Turk, 1985). According to Ladwig (cited in Wright & Custer, 1998), another common reason for leaving teaching is lack of support from the principal. Principals may frequently (although not deliberately) reduce or eliminate a teacher's opportunities for intrinsic rewards (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1979). Furthermore, factors such as low salary, low status, and excessive paperwork were found to be major causes of stress among teachers (Wright & Custer, 1998). However, the intention to

leave teaching was more related to their coping resources. Marlow, Inman, and Bentancourt-Smith (1996) indicated that common reasons for leaving include problems with student discipline, lack of student motivation, and lack of respect from the community, parents, administrators, and students. Clearly within the context of Ugandan education there may be additional reasons for teachers leaving the education systems, as noted above. Developing methods, strategies and systems for retaining trained teachers is therefore critical if aspirations for universal secondary education are to be in any way realized, and to do this will mean addressing those factors that contribute to their motivation.

### **HIV/AIDS and teacher motivation**

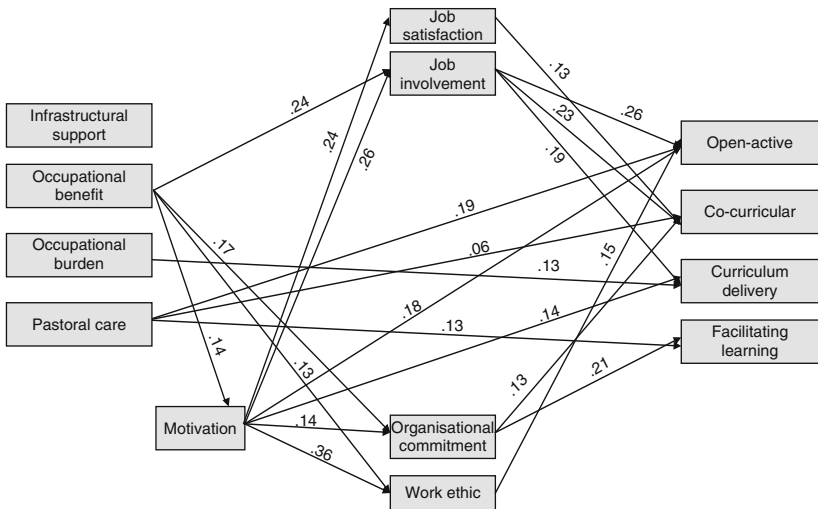
The poor health conditions in many sub-Saharan countries, especially the escalating levels of HIV/AIDS, are yet another factor that demoralizes the workforce. While school surveys in Botswana and Malaŵi found little evidence that low teacher morale and motivation could be directly attributed to the impact of HIV/AIDS (Bennell, 2004), there is research evidence that a number of employees have been dismissed from work as a result of HIV/AIDS (Henry, Penalba, Beguinot, & Deschamps, 1999) and that people symptomatic with AIDS are less likely to be employed (Leigh, Lubeck, Farnham, & Fries, 1995). This may point to the fact that employees, with or without AIDS, will live in constant fear of being terminated from their jobs. This is mainly because they take increasing periods of time off work, those with sick families take time off to attend funerals, or to care for the sick or dying relatives and they also suffer from related psychological effects of the pandemic (World Bank, 2000). Affected people are also stigmatized and often may be prevented from gaining access to social support mechanisms. Coombe (2004) notes that this HIV/AIDS-related stigmatization is responsible for social rejection, alienation, and can compromise employment, housing, schooling and childcare. In the educational/school setting, the fear of stigmatization may be particularly strong among teachers who live and work in rural areas or small communities, where confidentiality is problematic. Katahoire (1993), in an earlier study in Uganda, reports that teachers who are infected with the HIV virus may try to transfer to another area or, once visibly ill, disappear. From the studies available, therefore, it can be concluded that due to the devastating physical and psychological effects of HIV/AIDS on the person's health, such people may develop unfavourable attitudes to work, and this may also affect their motivation and their work performance.

In a recent study, Tumwebaze, MacLachlan, Shevrin and Adedimeji (under review) hypothesized that teachers' perception of the HIV/AIDS context has both direct and indirect effects on their job performance. They reported an empirically derived multivariate model based on a stratified sample of 400 teachers across urban and rural, private and public, single and mixed-sex

schools in Uganda. The emergent model (see Figure 7.1 below) indicated that there are three distinct mechanisms through which the context of HIV/AIDS in Uganda influences teacher job performance. The dimension of HIV/AIDS of ‘pastoral care’ directly affects three out of four job performance dimensions (open-active, co-curricular, and facilitating learning), ‘occupational burden’ directly affects the job performance dimension of curriculum delivery, whereas ‘occupational benefits’ indirectly affects all four job performance dimensions through the mediating variables of motivation, job involvement, organizational commitment, and work ethic.

These relational mechanisms make rational sense in that teachers who perceive the HIV environment as occupationally beneficial through greater social support or providing opportunities for pastoral work also show higher work motivation, whereas those who do not have such feelings and do not envisage much occupational benefit arising out of the HIV context are less motivated to work. Teachers with high levels of motivation are more likely to be actively involved in the actual teaching of students, to engage in co-curricular activities and to facilitate the teaching-learning processes which are a vehicle to development.

The model also shows that the dimension of HIV/AIDS perception of ‘occupational burden’ was negatively related to motivation and curriculum delivery (teacher’s actual teaching ability or delivery of subject matter). This also makes sense in that teachers who see working in the context of



*Figure 7.1* Standardized regression coefficients between HIV/AIDS perception, motivation, occupational attitudes and job performance  
 Note: Only significant coefficients are shown.

HIV/AIDS as burdensome will have less motivation to work. This may arise because they are given extra workload as a result of absent teachers who may be sick or attending to sick relatives or funerals. While Figure 7.1 illustrates the complexity of the matrix connecting HIV, motivation, occupational attitudes and self-reported performance, it also shows that in contexts of significant adversity work environments can be developed to engage with positive aspects of coping with these. Teachers can, for instance, feel they are performing better in their jobs if given the opportunities to provide pastoral care as part of their teaching role. Designing jobs in a manner that fulfils the needs of teachers is not incompatible with them working under very difficult conditions, and is an area where humanitarian work psychology may have much to contribute.

### **Motivating the teaching workforce in Uganda: What can be done?**

Delivery of quality education requires a well-motivated workforce. In a study conducted by Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) involving 12 countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, 4 key areas were identified as top priorities regarding teacher job satisfaction and motivation. These were (1) better incentives for rural teachers, including good housing with flowing water and electricity; (2) improved conditions of service, particularly increasing teacher pay so that teachers are able to meet their daily living needs; (3) attractive career structures to include promotion and up-grading opportunities; and (4) increased teacher accountability to school management, parents and the larger community. Similarly, UNESCO (2006) identifies a number of factors that affect teachers' performance, including teacher compensation (including salaries or other cash payments, food, training, or special assistance with housing, transport, etc).

While such compensation schemes need to be implemented with regard to their value, equity, contingency, visibility, and timing (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1994), the relationship between pay/remuneration, motivation and performance remains quite complex and has yet to be established on firm empirical ground, especially in low-income countries (see Carr et al., 2011 and Woessmann, 2011). This area clearly needs further exploration and suggests the possibility of comparative trails of Pay-4-Performance and Performance-4-Pay (Carr et al., 2011) being conducted in comparable locations and schooling systems in the same country.

Results from the ADD-UP Project (Carr et al., 2010; Munthali, Matagi & Tumwebaze, 2010) also suggest that the relationship between expatriate and local workers, including teachers, may be influenced by their comparative remuneration and that feelings of injustice may contribute to the demotivation and perhaps brain drain among teachers in Uganda. Thus while the way in which international aid support aligns with Ugandan values,

identity, sense of self, and so on (see MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010) are all of great importance, so too may be the extent of alignment of international aid worker's terms, salaries and conditions of employment with those of local teachers' employment.

The context in which many Ugandan teachers work is strongly influenced by the spectre of HIV/AIDS and its comparatively high incidence and increasing prevalence within the school community. Although HIV presents many unwelcome challenges to education in Uganda, Tumwebaze et al. (2010) have demonstrated that how schools respond to HIV/AIDS can potentially have a positive impact on teacher motivation and self-reported performance. Even in situations of significant adversity schools have the potential to become education and health-promoting environments and in doing so enriching teachers' work in a way that can contribute to work motivation and enhance performance.

The school, as an organizational entity, an organization that can contribute to the social, educational and health development of its pupils, and to the work satisfaction of its teachers, is a possibility that humanitarian work psychology can contribute much to it. Schools can strive to be pro-social, pro-health, pro-achievement and productive places to work in and learn at – the future of nations resides in the schools of today. If we are to stem the flow of teachers from schools then they must be good places to work in as well as to learn. Humanitarian work psychology may have a great deal to contribute to the motivation and performance of teachers in Uganda, and beyond, and therefore to national development more generally. Humanitarian work psychology's awareness of cultural and contextual factors in different countries; its engagement with the relationship between pay and performance; its engagement with perceptions of comparative justice in work environments; and its engagement with occupational health and performance issues, are all of applied relevance to the challenges to strengthening the education system in Uganda.

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# 8

## Quo Vadis Interviews in Practice – Demand

*Stuart C. Carr*

### Summary

*Quo Vadis*, as the name suggests, was originally conceptualized as a series of interviews that would capture new horizons for industrial and organizational (I-O) psychology, including its more socially responsive and especially humanitarian applications (Carr, 2007). Proposed to the APA's Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP) by the late Emeritus Professor Frank J. Landy, the series has been staunchly backed by successive editors of *The Industrial-Organizational Psychologist* (TIP), Professors Wendy Becker and Lisa Steelman. We are very grateful for this support, and for the consistent backing by SIOP, including permission to reprint a selection of interviews in this book. The selection process was very difficult, and more excellent interviews with leading figures and ground-breaking practitioners can be found online at <http://www.siop.org/tip/tip.aspx>. The present selection is divided into two main parts: the current chapter focuses first and foremost on demand, whereas the next chapter is more concerned, relatively speaking, with supply (after a distinction in Carr et al., 2008). The interviews quite literally speak for themselves, and in that sense need no introduction. However, they are each presented within a similarly layered structure, with interrelated but nevertheless distinct 'levels of analysis' (MacLachlan, Carr, & McAuliffe, 2010). These range from relatively macro-level, 'political' perspectives on the one hand to 'individual'-level analyses on the other; ranged in-between are organizational, occupational, community and institutional (inter-organizational) perspectives. To that extent, humanitarian work psychology – in its application – is inherently inter-disciplinary.

### Political demand<sup>1</sup>

Professor Louka T. Katseli is director of the OECD Development Centre in Paris. Professor of Economics at the University of Athens, Louka received her doctorate in development and international economics from Princeton

University in 1978, has spent most of her academic career at Yale University (1977–85), and the University of Athens (1988–present), where she was chair of the economics department from 1997 to 2001. She also has been associated with the Centre for Economic Policy Research in London as a research fellow since 1984. Her many publications have focused on issues such as the linkages between foreign investment and trade in developing countries, the economics of migration, public policy effectiveness and institution-building in developing countries, and exchange rate policy in emerging markets.

Prof. Katseli also has worked extensively with international organizations and her national government. She was a member of the United Nations Committee for Development Policy, where she has served as rapporteur and vice-chair, and served as Greece's representative to the international conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey in 2002. She has represented Greece at the European Union in a range of capacities, including as a member of the EU Monetary and Economic Policy committees and on the 'Comité des Sages' for the EU Social Charter. She has also worked as a consultant for the European Commission, United Nations and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

From 1982 to 1986, Prof. Katseli served as the director general of the Centre of Planning and Economic Research (KEPE), a Greek development think tank that provides economic development policy advice to the Greek government. She served as economic advisor to the Greek Prime Minister from 1993 to 1996, and as advisor to the Greek Minister of Education from 1996 to 1998.

Prof. Katseli is married and has two children.

*Tell us a little about your own background and the Centre*

The OECD Development Centre, which I have been directing for the past four years, is a unique organization. Created in 1962 to provide a bridge between developed and developing countries, it is viewed today as the OECD's knowledge centre on development. With 28 countries on its governing board – including some of the major global emerging economies such as Brazil, India and South Africa – it serves development policy makers through its evidence-based policy dialogue activities, comparative analyses of emerging policy issues and networking services among governments, think tanks, civil society and business. The objective of its activities is to contribute to development and poverty reduction through improved policy making and the effective implementation of reforms. The politics and economics of managing structural change and promoting reforms have been at the centre of my own interests for many years. Raised in Greece during the military dictatorship in the late '60s, I soon became intrigued by the links between institutional change, participatory democracy and the process of economic development. These interests guided my studies in public policy and economics in the United States as well as my professional career. As an academic economist

and university professor at Yale and the University of Athens, I have tried to analyse and explore the determining factors which shape developing countries' capacity to adjust to external and internal shocks and mobilize their available resources for development. As a policy practitioner while serving as director of the Centre for Planning and Economic Research in Greece or as economic advisor to the prime minister of Greece, I have experienced the difficulties of effective communication and policy implementation and have come to appreciate not only the need for setting up participatory processes in decision making and providing for monitoring and evaluation mechanisms but also the importance of managing people's expectations and providing sustained leadership throughout a reform process. It is these experiences that have spurred my interest in organizational psychology.

*Does the psychology of work play a role in these activities?*

Industrial and organizational psychology, including what has come to be known as the psychology of work, lies at the heart of the political economy of reforms and of development. Its focus on motivation and leadership, group and organizational behaviour, as well as managed change and organizational dynamics, provides invaluable insights into how 'people factors' influence behaviour, performance and outcomes. The same policy instrument can have very different impact effects if introduced and managed appropriately, namely with due consideration of the aspirations, expectations, capacity and incentives of the agents of change and the stakeholders of development. Unfortunately, such considerations more often than not lie outside the radar screen of policy advisors and policy makers.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your field?*

I think it is accurate to say that industrial and organizational psychology is not prominent in the study of economics. The same can be said for law and public policy studies. However, the issues tackled by industrial and organizational psychology are gaining ground in the context of institutional economics and certainly in business and management. As a public policy analyst and practitioner in development economics I wish I had received such additional training.

*How could it be more so?*

I am sure it could in academia, in international organizations and in public policy making. It would involve setting up programmes of study, teams, mechanisms and fora promoting more inter-disciplinary approaches to development issues, development cooperation and public policy. To give only two examples, I am sure that the delivery of development assistance would become more efficient and effective if aid professionals addressed systematically the psychology of aid and the interpersonal dynamics that shape the donor-recipient relationship. The same can be said for the management of migration

flows where the psychology of the migrant and the family left behind and the incentives provided to them are important drivers of success or failure.

*From your perspective, and with your experience, how could the profession help, do you think?*

Successful inter-disciplinary collaboration in tackling policy issues and effective dissemination of the positive results of such collaboration is probably the best practice in raising awareness and demonstrating the value-added of such an approach. The profession can also help by addressing a number of standard development policy questions from an industrial and organizational psychology perspective and highlight the insights and gains of such an outlook for practitioners and policy makers. It is not an easy task, but I think that the time is ripe for a more innovative approach to analysing what works and what does not work in developing and emerging economies.

Thank you for a most illuminating, thought-provoking and insightful set of reflections. I feel sure that TIP readers will find an abundance of food for thought in these high-level perspectives and experiences kindly given.

## **Individual demand<sup>2</sup>**

David McKenzie is a senior economist with the World Bank, Development Research Group, Finance and Private Sector Development Unit. He received his B.Com (Honours)/BA from the University of Auckland, New Zealand in 1997 and his PhD in Economics from Yale University in 2001. Prior to joining the World Bank, Washington DC, in July 2005, he spent four years as an assistant professor of economics at Stanford University. He recently was a core team member on the 2007 World Development Report. His current research interests include international migration, micro-enterprises, poverty traps, responses of households to aggregate shocks, and the development of econometric methods useful for working with data from developing countries. Contact information: Email: David McKenzie, c/o research@worldbank.org, <mailto:research@worldbank.org>.

*Tell us a little about your work*

My research work most closely linked to the interests of your readers is on micro-enterprise owners in developing countries, and on migration. In both cases I have recently been involved in detailed surveys: of small firm owners in Sri Lanka, Mexico and Bolivia; and of migrants from the Pacific Islands going to New Zealand, and of Japanese-Brazilians migrating back to Japan. In each case the surveys are being used to help understand the choices of individuals: of how much to invest in a business, or whether or not to migrate; and the economic consequences of these choices. Included are the effects of migration on incomes and health among migrants and

their families, plus the effects of entrepreneurial decisions on business profitability and growth. Several of these surveys are tied closely to the use of an experiment to help identify outcomes of interest.

For example, I survey Tongans who apply to migrate to New Zealand through a specific quota. A random ballot is used to select among applicants, and the group of Tongans who applied to migrate and lost in this random draw can then participate as a comparison group for the group who applied and won (these are the migrants). An illustrative finding from the research is that compared to non-applicants, Tongan applicants to migrate to New Zealand appear to be self-selected in terms of both observable qualities like education, and more difficult to measure, psychological concepts like perhaps drive and ability (McKenzie, Gibson, & Stillman, 2006). We find that applicants who later migrate earn more in Tonga than non-migrating applicants of the same gender, age, and educational level. And in a conceivably related vein, we find improvements in mental health with migration, compared to non-migrating applicants and non-applicants.

*Does the psychology of work play a role?*

Some aspects of psychology of work have long played a role in the study of economic decision making. Examples include risk aversion and the degree to which individuals discount the future in making decisions. The rise of behavioural economics has seen more attention paid to other psychological elements of behaviour, but the subject is still in its infancy. I have recently been trying to incorporate questions on entrepreneurial traits and skills into my micro-enterprise surveys, and questions on psychological determinants of migration into the migration surveys.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your field?*

The term I-O (industrial and organizational) psychology is never used by economists; but, as mentioned, aspects of it are starting to play a more prominent role.

*Could it be more so? How?*

It could certainly play more of a role. In particular, as an economist delving into the industrial and organizational psychology literature in order to obtain questions for surveys going into the field, several challenges have presented themselves and limited to some degree the ease of including industrial and organizational psychology.

*How then could our profession help, do you think?*

It could help in a number of ways:

- (a) There is a lack of guidance as to standardized measures of different traits, difficulty getting the exact questions used to measure different aspects of

personality, and frustration at the long length and repetitiveness of some of the survey instruments. It is difficult for someone outside the field to know where to start in accessing the literature. It would be nice to have an officially sanctioned web-page, which put together the different aspects of personality, described each, and provided the questions used in measuring each. Instead there seem to be a plethora of interrelated concepts, with articles often referring to difficult to access papers for the exact questions. In some cases where questions are available, I was surprised by them having 10 or 12 or 30 very similar questions to provide a measure of one trait. It is not clear to me the utility of having so many highly correlated questions – we experience problems with questionnaire length and with interviewee annoyance at receiving many almost identical questions. Indeed, rather than viewing a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.86 as a measure of validity in a 10-item measure, it appears to this economist as a measure of redundant questions.

- (b) Resolving uncertainty as to which psychological attributes are inherent and which change over time, through learning. Many of the surveys we use are one-off or of relatively short duration. Thus we may have to compare, for example, profiles of business owners to non-business owners (known groups). It is uncertain to us the extent to which particular attributes measured 'now' are also predictive at the time of deciding whether or not to go into business. For example, do individuals who are good at managing people start businesses, or does working in a business lead you to become better at managing people. Having well-documented evidence of which attributes are probably trait-like versus learnt would help guide our survey work. This is important because key agencies need to know in advance who to support directly and who might instead need preparatory training. A related issue is the degree to which preparatory training can substitute for inherent entrepreneurial ability, versus the extent to which the two are complementary.
- (c) Validity across countries: it seems that relatively few of the measures are tested or used in developing country contexts, let alone specifically designed for use with these populations. It would be useful to learn more about how transferable different concepts are across populations.
- (d) One of the concerns economists typically have with self-reported attitudes are the types of bias people have when answering such questions, and whether or not people answer truthfully. A good example comes from questions such as 'how would you evaluate your health? 1=v. good, 2=good, etc.' It is usually found that comparatively better-off people will report themselves in worse health than poor people, despite being in better health according to objective measures. One could think of similar concerns with some of the attitude/trait type questions. For example, Baum and Locke (2004) use as a measure of tenacity, 'I can think of many times when I persisted with work when others quit.' Such a question seems likely to be



answered differently according to the type of job one has, and the types of friends/colleagues with whom one associates. The question is whether one can obtain more objective measures of some of these traits, by, for example, playing games where real money is at stake. An example is having people play lottery games to measure risk aversion rather than ask them how risk averse they are. One can then validate hypothetical questions in part by comparing how well they predict performance in these games. A key question therefore is: To what extent are industrial and organizational psychologists moving towards this mode of measuring traits?

Thank You. Readers will no doubt write to address some of the fascinating and relevant questions you have raised.

### **Organizational demand<sup>3</sup>**

Ishbel McWha's interest in poverty issues was triggered in the course of her studies majoring in psychology and international relations. Later post-graduate work, with industrial psychology as a main focus, finally took her into the voluntary workplace. Her thesis had covered aspects of how to 'market poverty' in order for understanding and awareness to develop, and for genuine capacity building to result. So her first workplace was appropriate: For nine months she was a programme officer with a local NGO in Jaipur, India. At the time of this interview, Ishbel was about to carry out her last assignments for a capacity-building position with an NGO in Cambodia, found through Australian Volunteers International.

### **Please tell us a little about your work**

I am currently based in Phnom Penh working as a programme advisor for a local Cambodian NGO called Development and Partnership in Action (DPA) ([www.dpacambodia.org](http://www.dpacambodia.org)). My role is to improve the effectiveness of programme activities by working closely with staff on programme management, including proposal development, project implementation, report writing, and the monitoring and evaluation of project outcomes and budgets.

DPA transitioned from an international organization (Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la solidarité (CIDSE) Cambodia) in January 2006 to be a local Cambodian-managed NGO. CIDSE started working in Cambodia in 1979 following the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime. I work within the Integrated Community Development department, which involves working with local communities in four different and remote provinces of Cambodia. Activities include supporting and strengthening the capacity of communities to address food security, gender in development, natural resource management, primary health care (including HIV/AIDS), and education.

As programme advisor my job responsibilities are:

- Strengthen the capacity of the programme manager and team leaders by advising on, and assisting with, programme design, implementation and management.
- Liaise with current and potential international donors.
- Provide advice to the executive director on strategic planning and policy issues.
- Advise on methods for improving workplace practices and communication.
- Provide formal and informal training on various aspects of programme management.

The key in this role is that I consider and advise on methods to make the organization work more efficiently and effectively both on a macro (organizational) level as well as on a micro (programme and individual) level.

I have also spent a lot of time focusing on maintaining the momentum of the organization through the transition phase from international to local organization.

*Does the psychology of work play a role?*

The psychology of work plays a role in all work contexts. This does not exclude aid organizations; in fact there is a real need for the psychology of work to be applied to local NGOs in order to improve their effectiveness, for example:

Many organizations have become reliant on 'expatriate consultants' who have come in to the organization for short periods of time to do work. As a result many local staff members do not have the confidence in their own work, rather believing that there is a need to hire an expatriate to do important work for them. This is further reinforcing the lack of confidence in the staff of their abilities. There is a belief that locally recruited staff simply does not have good enough skills to do this work. This is where the psychology of work is so essential in development organizations. By building relationships with the staff I use industrial and organizational principles to find ways to build staff capacity and confidence through training, and over time by focusing on the value of the human resources of the organization slowly the organization begins to function more efficiently and effectively. This in turn provides positive reinforcement to staff and improves their confidence in themselves, and their buy-in/commitment to their organization.

Among my own KSAOs (Knowledge, Skills, Abilities, and Others), having a knowledge of team dynamics and leadership development is essential for the role. So too is skill in:

- Change management: helping to maintain the momentum of the organization as it transitions from international to local NGO.

- Cross-cultural communication skills are also essential for working in aid work. As a psychologist I have the skills to relate to people from many different backgrounds and to help them within the working context.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your aid-related job(s)?*

I make a point of utilizing industrial and organizational psychology tools in my work because I believe that those tools which are most commonly utilized in a business/corporate context can be easily and effectively applied to aid organizations. I take an external advisory role in my work, providing advice and support in the everyday activities of the organization rather than taking responsibility for tasks myself. However, even with this conscious focus on industrial and organizational psychology I am still constantly surprised at how often I call upon my skills as an industrial and organizational psychologist in my work, whether it be facilitating meetings and trainings, working with local staff to develop organizational policies, evaluating the effectiveness of project activities, or simply talking informally with staff about strategic issues.

As a psychologist I recognize the importance of gathering data before, during, and after implementing activities, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the work. My knowledge of how to use different quantitative and qualitative methodologies to gather the data has been invaluable in this work, the results of which have shed new light on issues affecting the community and the effectiveness of the organization's response to those issues. For example, through discussion with staff I can identify areas of training needs, stress, organizational development/strategic planning, etc.

*Could industrial and organizational psychology be more prominent?*

I have been lucky enough to work in an organization which is flexible and open minded and has allowed me to use my skills as an industrial and organizational psychologist. However, this is not true for many development organizations, and I believe there is a real need for industrial and organizational psychologists to become more involved.

*How? How could our profession help more, do you think?*

Industrial and organizational psychology tends to focus on the corporate sector, on assisting businesses to increase productivity and efficiency, have happier staff, and ultimately increase profit. The process is the same when applied to aid organizations. Aid organizations are in need of advice about how to be more effective, and how to have happier, more productive staff. But while the process is the same, the end goal is different. Rather than aiming to increase profit they are aiming to help those less privileged, to reduce global poverty, and in the case of local NGO staff to help their country develop into a fair global player.

Aid organizations receive a lot of funding earmarked for programme activities. Funding earmarked for programme activities is essential for the development of the country; however, what often gets lost is the need to develop those organizations in-country who are undertaking those programme activities. So often the focus is on using the funding for the community, with little focus on the tool through which the funding is implemented. Aid organizations are that tool, and it is essential to remember that developing local aid organizations also contributes to developing the country. The staff members at local aid organizations are extremely committed to the work being done, but there is a need for their own professional development that is not currently being met. Capacity building is a current buzzword in development circles, but many of those recruited, selected and placed to undertake capacity building do not have the necessary skills to identify how to best build the capacity of the staff. They cannot identify training needs, and many end up doing the work for the staff rather than facilitating their capacity to do it themselves. I believe industrial and organizational psychology provides the tools that aid workers need for effective capacity building.

In Cambodia in particular, it is apparent that there is a need to take an inter-disciplinary approach to development. By working together we can make the aid process more transparent, effective and ultimately more sustainable. Industrial and organizational psychology is an essential cog in the development wheel because building the capacity of local development organizations will result in empowerment of the local communities over their future, and reduce reliance on external/foreign aid (both monetary aid and aid in the form of international people coming to do the work for them).

Thank You!!

## **Occupational demand<sup>4</sup>**

How can industrial and organizational psychology assist with the global promotion of human rights to health and social inclusion? Professor Malcolm MacLachlan ('Mac') is with the Centre for Global Health, and the School of Psychology, Trinity College, University of Dublin. His research paradigm is inter-disciplinary social health science, with foci in disability, international aid and culture. Prior to becoming an academic, Mac worked as a clinical psychologist and as a management consultant. Before moving to Trinity College Dublin, he worked for three years at the University of Malaŵi's Chancellor College. Professor MacLachlan has held visiting positions at the University of Limpopo, University of Cape Town, the University of Malaŵi's College of Medicine and Harvard University's FXB Centre for Health and Human Rights. He is currently Extraordinary Professor of Disability & Development at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. He is a Member of the Royal Irish Academy. He has served on research and capacity development committees for the Irish National Committee for Development Education and Irish

Aid; has been chair of the National Committee for Economic and Social Sciences (NCESS) and on the Irish Research Council for Humanities & Social Sciences. He has over 200 publications, including 20 books. Mac has worked with a broad range of NGOs, or non-government organizations, including Concern, Academy for Educational Development, Finnish Refugee Council, American Refugee Committee, Banja La Mtsogolo, and multilateral agencies (including WHO, Unicef, UNHCR, OECD, UNESCO).

*Tell us a little bit about your background and the work of the Centre for Global Health*

The Centre for Global Health is directed by Eilish McAuliffe, who is a psychologist with an MBA. She focuses on health policy and strengthening health systems in low-income countries. The Centre's strength is in conducting multi-country comparative projects, and it is currently undertaking research in 15 different countries, with a strong focus on Africa. I am one of the members of this inter-disciplinary Centre, and I also have a background in psychology and management consultancy. The other disciplines in the Centre include sociology, economics, political science, and various health sciences. In fact, here I sit having just run with yourself a workshop on inter-disciplinary research for development. What is apparent in inter-disciplinary research is the undergirding influence of organizational influence, and of workplace behaviour. It is something of an irony that, through doing inter-disciplinary research, one finds the omnipresence of organizational behaviour. This workshop has been funded by New Zealand Aid and Irish Aid, and it is gratifying that they have put their trust in three psychologists (including Ishbel McWha) to promote inter-disciplinary research at a conference run by the *Global Development Network*. As far as we know, this is a 'first' for industrial and organizational psychology.

The Centre for Global Health has several programme grants focused on understanding and promoting motivational factors among the health workforce in Africa. This work includes exploring the role of what have become known as 'mid-level providers.' These are a cadre of workers that perform highly specialized tasks, although with a level of formal qualification that is considerably lower than would be conventional in more industrialized countries. What is particularly exciting about this is that it is becoming increasingly clear that it is possible to train people to undertake highly specialized tasks – such as certain types of surgery – which are performed with an equal degree of success as those with longer training. An example would be a C-section. In Ethiopia, for instance, such operations are being successfully performed by people who have had short intensive training, but without a medical degree. What is being shown there, and all over Africa, is that by developing appropriate job specifications, the training of health care professionals can be tailored to the jobs they are required to do. This of course is a huge challenge to professions globally, as research has shown

that people with such training are equally effective to those who have had longer training, e.g., in the United States.

*Does the psychology of work play a role in these activities?*

The psychology of work is often implicit in what I have described above. However, it is my belief that developing a more explicit role for organizational psychology could help to fine-tune the development of skills among health workers. This of course would provide health care to some of the poorest of the poor, at a much more economically sustainable level. In fact, at the Centre our major focus is on this new and exciting area of human resources for health (for a review, Negussie, Mc Auliffe, & MacLachlan, 2007). Another related area of work is looking at the effects of health worker migration on health services in sub-Saharan Africa. While respecting the right of individual health workers to mobility, the challenge is to develop work environments that are stimulating enough and rewarding enough to retain, and indeed pull back, some of those who have left home.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your field?*

One of the areas I am involved in is supporting NGOs in their advocacy work. For example, as a technical advisor to the Southern Africa Federation of the Disabled (SAFOD), I seek to support their capacity to undertake research which is emancipatory in how it is done, and empowering in its results. Ultimately such research is about positioning people within organizations and society so that they can have greater influence on promoting the rights of people like themselves. The intersection between industrial and organizational psychology and the psychology of marginalized groups, for instance, those who are 'disabled,' those from ethnic minorities, women, and the poor, is an area sorely needing systematic research, of an interdisciplinary nature, in which industrial and organizational psychology and health psychology will interact with other disciplines.

*How could industrial and organizational psychology do more?*

I think industrial and organizational psychology has much to offer to civil society, and international aid organizations. Much of my work with organizations such as IBM and Shell concerned issues that are equally relevant, both to small NGOs and to multi-lateral agencies. In fact, it is rarely appreciated that many NGOs are effectively trans-national organizations, working in a very competitive market. I am currently supervising research with Concern, which has over 4,000 employees worldwide and which seeks to promote mechanisms for organizational learning.

*From your perspective, and with your experience, how could the profession help?*

Firstly, industrial and organizational psychologists need to develop a forum that will allow them to look at what they can offer. This should be a forum with

a global output and a global input. Perhaps even a global task force. That task force needs to be outward looking, so that it is seeking to promote possibilities for poor and marginalized people, such as the disabled. I think the new initiative by SIOP, namely for a global task force to be launched at the forthcoming SIOP conference in San Francisco in April this year, is excellent and timely.

Thank you Mac, for a fascinating glimpse at how industrial and organizational psychology can be put to work in ways and places that many of us, I am sure, had not truly considered.

### **Community demand<sup>5</sup>**

Health Promotion in Angola and Rwanda: Lessons for a more Adaptive Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Dr. Karen Cheng has worked as a research associate for an industrial and organizational consulting firm in Los Angeles and as a human factors researcher at IBM's T.J. Watson Research Centre. She holds a PhD in the psychology and culture of groups from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Dr. Cheng is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Psychiatry and Human Behaviour at Charles Drew University of Medicine and Science (CDU), and a core scientist with the International Core of the UCLA/Drew Centre for HIV Identification, Prevention and Treatment Services. At Charles Drew University, Dr. Cheng directs a team that develops culturally-appropriate assessment surveys, as well as data collection and data entry strategies in low-resource settings, for CDU HIV/AIDS projects in sub-Saharan Africa. Her current work marries two passions: health promotion by not-for-profit organizations in low-resource countries, and how to strengthen HIV/AIDS programs in sub-Saharan Africa with culturally appropriate computer technology. Her work thus spans intervention and evaluation. She recently completed several studies assessing acceptability and cost-effectiveness – for not-for-profit organizations promoting health in Angola – when using handheld computers to collect self-reported sexual behaviour data. Dr. Cheng's human factors work builds upon years of research on cultural identity within social networks, including the cognitive processing of social information among bicultural and bilingual people, and how such processes interface with the assessment of human service projects in health and beyond.

*Please tell us a little about your own background and the Centre*

The mission of Charles Drew University of Medicine and Science is to meet the health needs of the underserved through excellence in teaching, research, and community service. The Drew Centre for AIDS Research, Education, and Services (Drew CARES) uses behavioural science to inform organizations that are fighting the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. Currently, the Centre has projects in Angola, Rwanda, Nigeria, and Mexico. We conduct

research to evaluate the effectiveness of HIV prevention programs and of treatment and care services given by not-for-profit organizations. We work with our non-governmental and governmental/civil service partners in low-resource countries to create evidence-based programs to serve people who are living with or may be affected by HIV. You could say that our work encompasses the industrial and organizational psychology of health service delivery in low-resource contexts. In addition, our work helps our partners to meet the Millennium Development Goals – especially around health; a discussion of these goals have appeared in your earlier interviews (e.g., with Prof. MacLachlan, above).

*Does the psychology of work play a role in these activities?*

Yes, it most certainly does. A primary research interest of mine is how to use computer technology to help organizations improve their delivery of health and education services in low-resource countries. As a psychologist, I want to ensure that the technology is implemented in a culturally appropriate way and in a way that enhances, rather than hinders, people's work. I recently presented some research at the annual ACM (Association of Computing Machinery) Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems that speaks directly to this issue. I conducted a study in Angola to compare the acceptability of using handheld computers to record HIV/AIDS-related survey data. Handheld computers offer the advantages of being small and easy to carry; they also eliminate the extra step of data entry and help with complicated skip patterns in surveys. However, handheld computers are not common in Angola, and people may not feel comfortable participating in a survey that uses handheld computers. In the study, I found that participants were more likely to give socially desirable responses when faced with an interviewer using a handheld computer versus an interviewer using paper-and-pencil. These differences may have been due to unfamiliarity with the technology or a perceived status gap between interviewer and participant due to the use of computer technology. The lessons I draw from this study are that 1) a technological solution is not always the best answer; 2) we have to learn and understand the socio-cultural context in which we are implementing technology; and 3) we have to have a clear understanding of the gaps that the technology is intended to fill, so that the proposed technology solution will be appropriate. I am happy to report that the paper was very well-received and was named 'Best of Conference' in the Technical Note category.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your field?*

Industrial and organizational psychology has a low profile in the field of HIV prevention, especially in low-income countries like Angola and Rwanda. During my first few years working in this field, and even now, it would have been helpful to access a network of colleagues with similar professional backgrounds who have done similar work. Much of this kind



of work is navigating the practicalities and logistics on the ground. The research findings I can read in a journal, but there needs to be another venue for learning from one another's day-to-day experiences.

*Could it be more so?*

I think, Stu, that you've started to encourage industrial and organizational people to share information through the creation of the Povio network. It is helpful to get email updates about relevant policy changes, new reports, new publications, etc. I think a good next step for Povio may be to have a website. It doesn't have to be a fancy one, but it would be nice to have website with links to other relevant sites.

*How? From your perspective, and with your experience, how could the profession help?*

From my observations on the ground, industrial and organizational psychology has much to offer to the field of international development. A key part of my job is to backstop the Drew CARES office in Kigali, Rwanda. That office houses 14 staff, including a physician, a psychologist, social workers, and financial and administrative staff. The majority of the staff is Rwandese; the country director is American. I have weekly communication with the country director, and I visit the office several times a year. I also communicate with our funders and implementing partners, as needed. There is a great need for research on effective management techniques and cross-cultural collaboration in low-resource countries. In particular, the power/resource differential between donor countries and host countries present unique challenges for work dynamics – e.g., between international aid agencies and local organizations (including local government entities), between ex-pat managers and their local staff. There is need for research on how to grow and motivate employees within NGOs, where funding is subject to yearly renewal and employees are anxious about their job security. Industrial and organizational psychologists can help to provide management and leadership training. There is also much need for industrial and organizational psychologists to help with personnel selection, and, in particular, evaluating whether ex-pats are a fit for the work environment in low-resource countries.

Thank you for this fascinating, as well as timely, insight into the relevance and practicality of industrial and organizational psychology 'on the ground'. I think TIP readers will hear your call for more support networks to help support interns and workers 'out there'.

## **Institutional demand<sup>6</sup>**

How can industrial and organizational psychology assist with the management of natural disasters and climate change? Here we speak with a globally

prominent industrial and organizational psychologist breaking new ground into an unfortunately burgeoning global concern. From his base at the University of Tasmania in Australia, Professor Douglas Paton has worked with colleagues at the US National Centre for Disaster Psychology and Terrorism (Stanford University) to develop multi-agency and inter-disciplinary aspects of disaster response management policy for terror events. In 2004 he was a member of a US General Accountability Office (Washington, DC) working party developing national standards for human resource aspects of disaster business continuity planning. In 2005, he was the Australian delegate to the UNESCO Education for Natural Disaster Preparedness in the Asia-Pacific Program. In 2006, he served on the Defence Science and Technology Organization task force convened to develop a strategy to develop resilience to natural and terror hazards in Australia. He has been a member of the working party operating under NATO auspices (chaired by Prof. Frank Furedi) to develop a European strategy to develop hazard (natural and terror) resilient communities and response organizations. Douglas currently works with the US General Accountability Office on guidelines for disaster resilience in public sector organizations, and with colleagues from the US National Tsunami Programme and Emergency Management Australia, developing community preparedness for tsunami hazards across the Pacific. He is an honorary research fellow to the Joint (Geological/Psychological) Disaster Research Centre in Massey University, New Zealand.

*Tell us a little about your own background and the Centre*

I work at the interface between industrial and organizational and community psychology. Our discipline and profession has a resource of theory for understanding and predicting behaviour in complex multi-level organizations, which can be readily applied to community groups and individuals under duress. My work applies in particular the trust and empowerment literature to building resilience in high-risk emergency and helping professions. I am concerned especially with global issues of climate change, natural disasters, wars and forced migration. I help to develop stress resilience training and maintenance in the face of such otherwise overwhelming extreme events. My work also focuses on the communities these workers serve, and the risks that they face. We are currently working, for example, to identify predictors of adaptability among the general population, especially towards accelerating global climate change and the disasters this will bring. Most of my work with policy bodies has in fact been focused on climate change, and how industrial and organizational psychology can inform policy development, through an evidence-based and inter-disciplinary dialogue.

*Does the psychology of work play a role in these activities?*

Yes, and very much so. Early work involved using schema theory to understand how disaster and traumatic events increased stress risk in search and

rescue and emergency services professions. This work led to the development, and testing of, training programs, designed for officers working in disaster zones. That phase in turn led to developing a research programme on occupational traumatic stress and its management. Such work highlighted the need for models to integrate person, team and organizational processes. Our current work uses the empowerment literature to develop such a model. The model is being tested with fire service, with police and with prison officer populations. Developing a sustained adaptive or resilient capacity in fire and police officers is important in the context of growing fears about civilian attacks and climate change. In Australia, climate change is forecast to increase the frequency and intensity of wildfire events. Responding effectively to such events calls for flexible and different approaches to organizing and managing. Because disasters entail prolonged exposure to high risk, it is essential to help officers to operate in high-stress work environments for prolonged periods. In a nutshell, the theory and evidence indicates we need to move from current, essentially autocratic risk management processes to more engagement/participative-based processes, if effective community change is to be pursued.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your field?*

There are some industrial and organizational-trained people working in this area, but nowhere near enough to meet demand. While industrial and organizational psychology generally has a strong representation within the organizational community, it does not have a strong presence in the important strategic areas of disaster readiness, response and recovery planning. In business continuity planning and risk management, which come closest to the major disaster planning, there is scope for probing the impact of major disasters on businesses and their staff. For example, research following 9/11 found that some 50 percent of businesses that had not considered the impact of major catastrophic events on them and their staff folded within 12 months. The foundations are present in risk management and well-being research, but we need to expand our horizons to accommodate the implications of hazard events that exceed by a considerable margin the capacity of systems to respond. Because disasters are sometimes slow onset, many of our stock-in-trade theories and techniques, from job specification and selection to training needs analysis, can be applied directly to helping build capacity to cope once the disaster-in-waiting actually happens.

*Could it be more so?*

Most work is in the area of decision making. Industrial and organizational psychologists working in stress are well suited to expanding their research into this area. There is also significant scope for those researching innovation and strategic planning. Work on disaster readiness and response also represents some new challenges for those interested in training, training needs analysis

and organizational development. When dealing with complex, rapidly escalating events, the roles, competencies, practices, procedures and organizational structures that prevail under normal circumstances are rendered inappropriate by the loss of usual systems as well as the utilities, infrastructure and societal mechanisms that normally govern social and organizational life. The complexity of disaster response planning also calls for a more integrated industrial and organizational response. No one area within the discipline has all the answers and the development of intra- and inter-disciplinary research teams will be essential if progress is to be made. The development of research programs in this area can have other benefits. Large-scale disasters can provide a natural laboratory in which all components of business life are stretched simultaneously, and over a relatively short period of time. With a well-organized research programme in place, the event can provide an 'opportunity' to examine many aspects of organizational functioning.

*From your perspective, and with your experience, how could the profession help?*

We can help by expanding the scope of its policy advocacy, and by being more active in promoting long-term, strategic thinking in organizations. While industrial and organizational psychology is well-represented in the organizational community, large-scale disasters and the consequences of climate change is a reality for our future. Even if the frequency and intensity of hazards remain unchanged, continuing infrastructure and business development in at-risk areas increases the potential losses that can be incurred if organizations are unprepared for potentially catastrophic events. Growing community reliance on these organizations for their social and economic well-being means that ill-prepared organizations can have significant knock-on effects for communities. A well-prepared society is one that calls for the integrated readiness of organizations and communities in ways that accommodate their interdependence. If industrial and organizational psychology is to apply its extensive expertise in this area it needs to be more active in lobbying key policy-making bodies. My own work with, for example, the General Accountability Office, NATO, and UNESCO, demonstrates that such bodies value industrial and organizational inputs and are receptive to the insights that they can bring to the policy-making table. Even more important, industrial and organizational psychology brings with it the expertise to convert a substantial body of theoretically rigorous, empirical research into practices that will increase organizational and community capacity to respond to, cope with, adapt to, and even develop from their encounters with the natural and climate change hazards. These are set to be ever-present demands on the organizational horizon, and we can and must respond to them.

Thank you so much for helping us to see more layers to industrial and organizational psychology. I am sure that our TIP readers will find much to reflect on from your observations and experiences kindly given.

## Notes

All interviews extracted with permission from *The Industrial-Organizational Psychologist* (Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, American Psychological Association).

1. Extracted in full with permission from Katseli et al. (2008).
2. Extracted with permission from Katseli et al. (2008)
3. Extracted with permission from Katseli et al. (2008).
4. Extracted with permission from MacLachlan & Carr (2008).
5. Extracted with permission from Cheng & Carr (2008).
6. Extracted with permission from Paton & Carr (2008).

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# 9

## Quo Vadis Interviews in Practice – Supply

*Stuart C. Carr*

### Summary

This chapter offers responses to the demand for humanitarian work psychology at multiple levels. At the political level, we learn about the knowledge, skills, and abilities required for new diplomacies, for example negotiating between different stakeholder groups in development projects and programs (see also, Saner & Yiu, this volume). At the level of individual dynamics, we hear about innovative applied research on mapping the psychology of corporate social responsibility. At the organizational level, we are introduced to the concept of using psychometric selection to ensure greater access to startup loans, for and by entrepreneurs who wish to develop enterprises in low income settings. At the occupational level, we meet a range of editors from a recent Global Special Issue on Psychology and Poverty Reduction, who are part of Psychology's own efforts to make more of a contribution in the humanitarian domain. At the community level, we hear about one major corporation's contribution to health Millennium Development Goals, through the establishment of community-based healthcare facilities, using digital records to enhance and enable higher quality health care services, in rural and remote areas in lower-income settings. Finally at the level of institutions, we are given a concise and informative overview of the United Nations Global Compact, which is a worldwide initiative designed to encourage and motivate multinational organizations and others to pledge their commitment to pro social goals, and to corporate social, global and local responsibility.

### Political supply: The new diplomacies<sup>1</sup>

Professor Raymond Saner teaches interinstitutional negotiations, trade and development in the Master of Public Affairs programme of Sciences Po, Paris, which has been since 2004 a collaborative masters degree with the London School of Economics and Columbia University. Professor Saner

also teaches World Trade Organization dispute resolution at the economics faculty of the University of Basle in Switzerland, since 1986. Raymond is an editorial board reviewer for the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences*, the *Journal of Managerial Psychology* and *Public Organization Review*. From 2002 to 2004 he served as a member of the executive board of the Organization Development and Change Division in the Academy of Management (AoM). He also chaired the advisory council to the board of governors of AoM (2001–2). Professor Saner holds a PhD in Psychology from UGS University Ohio, a Master in Education from Lesley University, Cambridge USA, and a Licence in Economics and Trade from Basle University. He has studied sociology at the University of Freiburg i.Br in Germany.

*Professor Saner, please tell us a little more about your work*

My work is highly interdisciplinary, with a home-base in social and organizational development/change. In addition to my academic work, I am currently director of Diplomacy Dialogue ([www.diplomacydialogue.org](http://www.diplomacydialogue.org)), and the co-founder of a Geneva-based non-governmental research & development organization, called the Centre for Socio-Eco-Nomic Development (CSEND, [www.csend.org](http://www.csend.org)). Diplomacy Dialogue focuses on the interfaces between business, politics, society and environmental issues. CSEND focuses on development work in developing and transition countries. Working as an industrial and organizational psychologist at the intersection of these domains, together, defines the *New Diplomacies*.

Examples of my work are two books which have been recently published, namely, *State versus Non-State Actor Negotiations* (Saner & Michalun, 2009) and *Inter-ministerial Policy Coordination of Trade Policy* (in press). Both publications are outcomes of inter-disciplinary research conducted for the Swiss Sciences Foundation and CSEND.

Other ongoing activities are institution development and change projects for international organizations and governments. For instance, we have developed a guidebook for the International Labour Organization on how to foster inclusion in employment, and promote Decent Work in the context of poverty reduction strategy papers (Yiu & Saner, 2005). These ‘papers’ are actually in-country plans for socio-economic development, national versions of goal setting. In theory they are also participative, designed by and within least developed countries or highly indebted low-income countries to get out of poverty. They include trade, labour market, and development strategies generally.

Another example is projects in the field of public administration reform, in transition countries. For instance, CSEND helped the Slovene government modernize its central government administration. The project included using industrial and organizational psychology to help diagnose administrative inefficiencies and ineffectiveness, and subsequently designing and implementing an on-the-job full-time educational programme – equivalent

to a Masters of Public Affairs (for human capacity-building). As an outcome of this institution development project, two new institutions were created, namely, an administrative academy and a management and organization effectiveness unit, for the Slovenian Ministry of Interior.

Having worked as a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross, I continue to provide inputs to the committee and other humanitarian organizations, both international multilateral organizations and non-government organizations. Applying the Geneva Conventions in war-torn societies requires knowledge not only in the field of conflict resolution and clinical psychology (treatment of torture victims). Designing recovery programs after armed conflict necessitates the participation of business, local and international organizations. A particular challenge in this work is finding ways to involve business organizations in the reconstruction work in a way that legitimate profit targets can be combined with socially relevant activities. These in turn can help war-torn societies to restart their economies, and mend conflicts between previously warring parties.

*Does the psychology of work and organization play a role in these activities?*

Yes, very much so. For instance, my current second year Masters of Public Affairs capstone project focuses on the effectiveness of transportation infrastructure for coffee exporting from Uganda, Rwanda, and Tanzania. The project includes assessing the effectiveness of institutional and organizational policies and practices, for example, Aid-for-Trade projects in least developed, developing and transition countries. Projects like that ultimately aim at improving existing institutional and organizational practices, including the application of principles in organization development to larger economic, political and social context than is often the case.

A similar, expansive attitude holds for working towards poverty reduction strategy papers, in which poverty reduction entails knowing 'how to' organize multi-stakeholder cooperation. New diplomacies like this one include, for instance, national governments, foreign aid agencies and international organizations. Each of them has its own policy preferences. That of course means creating sufficient common ground between approaches like the World Bank's and the International Monetary Fund's, including sometimes contentious 'financial conditions' for international loans and aid relief. It also includes other international organizations, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations' Development Programme (UNDP). These in turn tend to focus more on job creation and employment policies, which are terrains somewhat closer to industrial and organizational psychologists.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your field?*

Not much. My field has been a captive domain occupied by representatives of other academic disciplines, for instance development studies (macro-and micro



economics); peace studies, political science and military studies (reconstruction and nation-building; business consulting [reforms of international organizations]); and international relations. Typically my colleagues in industrial and organizational psychology work in more specialized fields, often at a relatively micro level. That includes, for instance, working on gender issues, team development, human resource development and prevention of discrimination at work (e.g., linked to AIDS, illiteracy, and other forms of social and organizational exclusion). These domains are all relevant to the new diplomacies.

*How could industrial and organizational psychology be more prominent?*

A twin-pronged strategy is required.

One prong pertains to the curriculum of industrial and organizational psychology. Most teaching in industrial and organizational psychology is based on influential textbooks written in North America. With one or two notable exceptions (e.g., Landy and Conte, 2010), textbooks in industrial and organizational psychology have tended to emphasize work psychology in private sector organizations, mostly in for-profit businesses. These same textbooks also – naturally enough – feature case studies that are country-specific.

A second, related prong concerns research. We lack teaching materials for work in multi-lateral organizations, particularly those operating in ‘developing’ (lower-income) countries. This means a shortfall in readily available autochthonous case studies, and theories. Because mainstream journals require citations of better-known theories, which are more accessible to reviewers and readers, publishing in the new diplomacies can be difficult.

*From your perspective, and with your experience, how could the industrial and organizational psychology profession help, do you think?*

Industrial and organizational psychologists interested in international work in the development field can broaden their own knowledge base. This can be achieved, for example, by adding additional degrees, or by taking continuing education courses in other fields, for example, political science, sociology, international relations and international law (if intent in working in international humanitarian field). Alternatively, people may seek internships and job postings in ‘development’ settings, and learn by direct experience (as has been shown in earlier interviews in this chapter).

Industrial and organizational scholars can make much-needed contributions by conducting research in private and public sectors inside developing economies. Especially useful may be a blend of qualitative and quantitative research, for example, survey and critical incidents analysis. Important steps in this direction have already been made recently in the study by Project ADD-UP, on disparities in remuneration between expatriate and local staff (<http://poverty.massey.ac.nz/#addup>).

In closing, I would recommend that industrial and organizational psychologists venture into this emerging field of large-system change,

which is multi-stakeholder, multi-institutional, and highly international. New diplomacies are located at the interface between government ministries and departments, business organizations, multilateral agencies, and non-government organizations. Complexity theory offers valuable insights to help practitioners working in such large-system projects to deliver much-needed professional help. Applied, for instance, to nation building and rebuilding in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Ethiopia, and of course in the wake of the recent terrible disaster in Haiti (for more details see for instance [http://sipa.columbia.edu/news\\_events/announcements/HaitiWitnessestoDisaster.html](http://sipa.columbia.edu/news_events/announcements/HaitiWitnessestoDisaster.html)), important development work should not be left to military commanders trained to conduct war but who are arguably inept in reconstructing societies and working with the psychology of human beings. Haiti would benefit from a reconstruction and development/change process that goes beyond the patch-work of well-intentioned humanitarian assistance.

There is an open call for papers on business diplomacy at the annual conference meeting of the European Institute for Advanced Studies in Management, Brussels, that was held in June 2010 ([http://www.eiasm.org/frontoffice/event\\_announcement.asp?event\\_id=739](http://www.eiasm.org/frontoffice/event_announcement.asp?event_id=739)). I would welcome participation from all parts of the world, and from the disciplines sharing this new domain, the *New Diplomacies*.

### **Individual supply: The micro-foundations of responsible management<sup>2</sup>**

Professor Maurizio Zollo holds the dean's chair in strategy and corporate responsibility at Bocconi University in Milan, and is director of the Centre for Research in Organization and Management (CROMA). He joined Bocconi University in 2007 after 10 years with the strategy department of INSEAD (the European Institute of Business Administration). Professor Zollo is currently the editor of the *European Management Review*, the official journal of the European Academy of Management (EURAM) and serves on the executive committee of the European Academy of Management as well as of the European Academy of Business in Society (of which he was one of the co-founders). He is also the programme chair of the Innovation and Knowledge interest group of the Strategic Management Society and a past member of the executive committee of the strategy division of the Academy of Management.

Professor Zollo holds a laurea degree in monetary economics from Bocconi University, and a PhD in management from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

*Professor Zollo, please tell us a little more about your work*

Well, I am currently wearing many hats. As director of the Centre for Research on Organization and Management (CROMA, [www.croma.org](http://www.croma.org)).

unibocconi.it) I help affiliated scholars develop multi-disciplinary collaborative research programs, and coordinate others. One programme focuses on the integration of principles of social and environmental responsibility into company strategies, operations and culture. This direction also forms part of my work (with Alfonso Gambardella) as editor of the *European Management Review*, which seeks to move the frontier of knowledge in management and become the first A-level management journal outside of the United States.

To achieve these goals it is crucial to break down disciplinary silos to promote collaboration across the broad management area, and with other social sciences. I try to do this also in my roles on the executive committees of the European Academy of Management and the European Academy of Business in Society (EABIS).

*Does the psychology of work and organization play a role in these activities?*

Yes, and increasingly so. Many of the programs at the Centre for Research in Organization and Management are characterized by what I call ‘micro-foundational’ components in their design. Essentially we focus on the individual manager’s psychological and neurological traits, as predictors of decisions and outcomes not only in individuals and groups, but also collectively at the organizational level. We work in collaboration with the Cognitive Neuroscience Centre at San Raffaele University in Milan, arguably the leading research hospital in Italy, and we are starting to see some results that are very promising. We just published the first article on what one could call ‘neuro-management’, the application of neuro-scientific concepts and methods to the study of actual managerial decisions and performance, rather than highly stylized abstract games typical of neuro-economics research. We think we are among the first in the world to use brain imaging techniques to understand how entrepreneurs differ from managers and from ‘normal’ individuals in the way they make innovation decisions. A next step is to neuro-image how leaders and managers make trade-offs related to the social and economic impacts of their decisions and actions.

*How prominent is work and organizational psychology in the corporate social responsibility field?*

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has been studied so far primarily as an organizational phenomenon. The emphasis was on how companies could understand better what their stakeholders expect from them, and what they should do to meet those expectations. Typically researchers focused on initiatives like the development of a code of ethics, the production of so-called ‘social reports’, the establishment of partnerships with NGOs and other institutional actors, and so on. No attention was paid to the individual decision-maker in these, as well as in any other initiatives and processes with potentially significant implications for society and for the

environment, except for primarily theoretical arguments on business ethics and moral philosophy.

I firmly believe this was a mistake. The fundamental challenges for advancing managerial theory and practice on these themes, in my opinion, are two. First, the challenge needs to be reframed as an internal change process, rather than an external communication and engagement effort. This is important because it puts focus on the role of organizational activities, structures and cultural traits. Even more importantly though, we must understand the problem as fundamentally determined by decision-making biases that business leaders and managers (unconsciously) have when it comes to framing business problems, searching for solutions and weighing alternative courses of action. Organizational (social and cognitive) psychology is critical to advance the study of corporate social responsibility along these lines. I believe your recent annual conferences and the last issue of TIP have featured corporate social responsibility, and this is very encouraging indeed.

*How could industrial and organizational psychology be more prominent?*

More attention can perhaps be paid to psychological factors in decisions and consequent behaviours which can have high impacts on the well-being of company stakeholders (employees, customers, suppliers and partners, investors and the communities in which the firm operates). In a recent paper, entitled 'The psychological antecedents to socially responsible behaviour', published in *European Management Review* in August 2008 and co-authored with Donal Crilly and Susan Schneider, we identify some of these factors in specific emotional dispositions, personal values and cognitive motives underlying the decisions made in some difficult dilemma situations.

The paper is just a first step. The field is wide open and eager to receive contributing ideas and expertise, conceptual and methodological, from industrial and organizational psychologists to help develop and test a more comprehensive model of corporate social responsibility decisions, as well as performance implications of the decisions at group and organizational levels. Corporate social responsibility research needs to start investing in experimental designs to tease out, under controlled conditions, personal, group-level and contextual explanations of socially responsible versus irresponsible behaviour by business managers.

By helping shift attention of corporate social responsibility scholars towards the 'micro-foundations' of business conduct vis-a-vis society, industrial and organizational psychologists will not only make their own expertise more relevant to the advancements in the field, they would also contribute towards positive change in the way companies tackle the issues, especially towards the diffusion of a culture of responsibility, transparency and sustainability within the organization.

*From your perspective, and with your experience, how could the industrial and organizational psychology profession help, do you think?*

First and foremost, industrial and organizational psychologists must take their place at the multi-disciplinary table to design the next generation of corporate social responsibility research. This is not easy. It requires a willingness to exit the comfort zone and work with scholars from diverse fields, different ‘languages’, methodological skills and epistemological assumptions. I would personally be delighted to know if there is interest in the industrial and organizational community.

The other way to help is by entering into the global debate on the role of business in society, from the point of view of the individual manager’s (or top management team’s) decisions and actions, stemming from psychological characteristics. In addition to key potential contributions in theory development and empirical validation, there are excellent opportunities to share collective wisdom accumulated in industrial and organizational psychology through specialized conferences and special issues of academic or managerial journals.

There is an open, online call for papers ‘Re-thinking the firm in a post-crisis world’, issued by the *European Management Review*, which could certainly be enriched by contributions from applied psychologists, alone or in multi-disciplinary teams ([http://www.palgrave-journals.com/emr/emr\\_cfp\\_re-thinking-the-firm.pdf](http://www.palgrave-journals.com/emr/emr_cfp_re-thinking-the-firm.pdf)). I look forward to seeing more such investments in research efforts and engagements in the global discourse. What a fabulous opportunity to get social scientists to finally work together for a high purpose: understanding and helping remove barriers to a healthy relationship between business and society, for the benefit of both.

Professor Zollo – Thanks so much for a glimpse at your innovative and intriguing work. I am sure it will continue to enrich your profession and ours, via the shared space in-between.

### **Organizational supply: Enabling capacity in the ‘missing middle’ by expanding roles for psychometric tests<sup>3</sup>**

Bailey Klinger is a co-founder and director of Harvard University’s Entrepreneurial Finance Lab (EFL), and a fellow at Harvard’s Centre for International Development. An economist by training, Bailey’s research focuses on entrepreneurial and small business finance, as well as trade, structural transformation and growth. He has consulted for the World Bank, United Nations, Inter-American Development Bank, and various country governments in Africa, Asia and Latin America. He received his Master of Public Administration in International Development and PhD in Public Policy at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government. Dr Klinger’s work at EFL focuses on enabling access to finance for would-be small and medium

enterprises (SMEs), and SME entrepreneurs, in lower-income settings. In these low-income economies, SMEs are sometimes referred to as a 'missing middle'. That is because SMEs fall between better-served micro-enterprises (like informal credit networks) on the one hand, and relatively macro-sized organizations, that is, corporations who have access to capital markets, on the other. In August 2010, however, the G20 (which includes, for example, the United States, India and South Africa) launched a competition to find models that best enable access to finance for these underserved SME organizations in low-income countries. From an international pool of 350 applicants, the EFL programme was selected as an eventual winner of this global 'SME Finance Challenge' (<http://www.efinlab.com/index.php>). EFL is also currently a competitor in the 'People's Choice' award, which closed November 8, 2010. Today, Bailey tells us more about the program, and an expanding role for industrial and organizational psychology.

*Bailey, Can you tell us a little bit more about the work at EFL?*

SMEs play a major role in economic development, particularly in 'developed' economies where they are the single largest contributor to employment and job creation, and account for a significant share of gross domestic product (GDP). One big constraint to Decent Work and poverty reduction worldwide is the lack of SMEs in low-income countries. For example, it has been estimated by economists that 3.6 trillion dollars of GDP is lost annually in the missing middle. Financing the development of SME organizations in low-income countries is therefore critical to global development. The process of financing often starts with a basic process of credit screening. Yet banks are often short of decision-making information, for example, a formal business plan or financial statements. Even if they did have access to these, their transaction costs for smaller loan amounts would be impracticably high. So what happens is that they have to rely on crude indicators, such as credit history and demographic information. This reliance unfortunately ends up locking out many potentially successful entrepreneurs, thereby constraining business and employment in the local community. EFL thinks that the screening process could be vastly improved. Instead of only lending to the small minority that possesses credit and other crude demographic indicators, our EFL programme asks: What new information can be easily gathered to more effectively, and fairly, enable access and opportunity for small businesses in lower-income countries?

*Where does industrial and organizational psychology come in to your work?*

We came to the issue as economists, not psychologists. However, within our discipline *behavioural* economics is on the rise. In that broad vein, initially we looked at lie detector and other physiological indicators. Eventually we arrived at psychometric tests. We were impressed with the amount of published validating research for many of those tests, including their predictive

validity in workplace settings generally. In addition, there is an extended literature using such tools to analyse entrepreneurship in ‘developed’ (for reviews, Ciavarella, Buchholtz, Riordan, Gatewood, R., & Stokes, 2003; Rauch & Frese, 2007) and also ‘developing’ (e.g., Frese, 2000) countries. We felt then that selection for funding SMEs might be an analogous problem, especially with extant parallels in the wider finance sector. So we decided to begin exploring the usefulness of psychometric tests of cognitive and psychological characteristics. They included, for instance, personality, honesty and character, fluid intelligence and applied business skills.

The first phase in our programme has really been mostly about piloting and gauging the applicability and validity of such measures (‘what works’). We have done this by working closely with team members and collaborators from a range of settings in Africa and Latin America. Aspects of the tests (like test norms) may need to be adjusted to suit culture and context, but on the whole we have found that some tools are robust at predicting outcomes (like business performance and loan repayment behaviour) across a range of country settings, *without requiring any credit history or collateral*. At the same time, it is really interesting to note that ‘which’ of the measures, precisely, actually predicts successfully varies across *type* of organization (especially business size, and activity). These findings may parallel new evidence from other sectors, such as international aid (Economic & Social Research Council, 2010).

All-in-all, the empirical evidence seems to be mounting that psychological tests have a role to play in enabling capacity in the missing middle, and that organizations themselves have a key role to play.

*How prominent then is industrial and organizational psychology in your field?*

Not really very active at all, at least not at the present time. We at EFL more or less stumbled upon psychometric tests during the early stages of the program. It is probably fair to say that economics has been quite closed to other disciplines in the past, working mainly with statistics and mathematics. The rise of behavioural economics is changing things, but industrial and organizational psychology nevertheless remains relatively new to other networks like ours, working in enterprise development and in lower-income settings. EFL is quite unusual by working with industrial and organizational psychologists in industry. For example, we purchase tests from pre-employment screening firms, and we work closely with the industrial and organizational psychologists working in those firms. As the EFL programme expands (for instance we are scheduled to conduct over 30,000 tests in the next year, across five African countries), we are going to need many more tools, and more underlying constructs and theory, to help us explore and attempt to evaluate the application of testing processes. I guess that means that there is going to be much more need for local and international industrial and organizational input, and advice, in the near to mid-term future.

*How could our profession help more?*

For us specifically, we are interested in deepening our connections with experts in these areas. We are looking for new forms of default test. We are constantly trying out new tests, and hoping at some stage to incorporate some of them into our growing EFL toolbox. Ultimately, the work we are doing at EFL fits quite well into the wider initiative being called *humanitarian work psychology*. This, I believe, is attracting growing interest globally across your profession (<http://www.humworkpsy.org/>). Our statistically validated tools are 'humanitarian' because they will make a large portfolio of small SME bank loans economically viable, and to that extent, available. Even now, some 4,000 SMEs in Kenya will have credit through EFL and its psychometric tolls. EFL's low-cost, automated screening tool will allow more and more banks to lend into the missing middle, thereby enhancing economic inclusion and fostering Decent Work and socio-economic development out of poverty.

*Do you have any take-home messages for the readers of TIP?*

The research behind EFL was based on economic evidence of high returns to capital for SMEs that the missing middle is not just caused by inefficient business environments and the cost of formality, but rather because finance is not reaching entrepreneurs. Enabling the context for high potential entrepreneurs can help to grow businesses, employment, and economic growth in local communities. Our strong feeling is that access to finance is a key driver for development in low-income countries, and that industrial and organizational psychology is a key component in that process. If you know of any research, instruments or ideas for opening up entrepreneurial finance, then we would like to hear from you at [info@efinlab.com](mailto:info@efinlab.com).

Thank you, Bailey, for a most enlightening, uplifting and encouraging discussion!

### **Occupational supply: Industrial and organizational psychology joins worldwide initiative: A 'global special issue'<sup>4</sup>**

In mid-2010, a dozen international journals released a set of publications focused on a single global topic. Industrial and organizational psychology was closely involved. Today we hear about the project from some participating editors. Their calls for papers are at: [http://poverty.massey.ac.nz/#global\\_issue](http://poverty.massey.ac.nz/#global_issue).

- Ajit K. Dalal, PhD, editor: *Psychology and Developing Societies* (Sage). Professor of Psychology at University of Allahabad India, Dr. Dalal is an ex-Fulbright senior fellow who has worked at UCLA and University of Michigan, a recipient of the UGC Career and Rockefeller Foundation



Awards, and an ICSSR Senior Fellow. Books include *New Directions in Indian Psychology*, and *Handbook of Indian Psychology*.

- Professor Dianna L. Stone, PhD, editor: *The Journal of Managerial Psychology*. Professor Stone is with the Department of Management, University of Texas at San Antonio. Prof. Stone is a fellow of the APA, APS, and SIOP.
- Dr Winnifred Louis, special issue co-editor: *Australian Psychologist*. With a PhD from McGill, and based in the School of Psychology at the University of Queensland Australia, Dr Louis is a member of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI), and an affiliate of the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.
- Professor Chris Burt, PhD, special issue co-editor, *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. Chris coordinates the Industrial & Organizational Psychology programme at the University of Canterbury in Aotearoa/New Zealand. His interests include publishing on the organizational psychology of fund-raising and social marketing.

*Please tell us a little about your understanding of the project*

DS: My understanding is that a number of journals are collaborating to promote research on how psychology can be used to reduce poverty around the world. This strategy will help encourage research on poverty reduction, and enable us to gain insights about the issue from a wide variety of perspectives.

AD: Reduction of poverty is a major challenge for all countries of the world, especially for the developing countries. Poverty is multi-dimensional and multi-sector, and countries are joining hands to meet United Nations Millennium Goals of poverty reduction by 2015. These essentially entail improving access to health and education, enhancing quality of life, freedom and human rights. As in many other social sciences, psychology has much to contribute toward poverty alleviation. This realization has brought psychology journals from across the globe together, to focus on psychological issues, implications, interventions and inputs in formulating effective strategies to deal with world-wide poverty. Many special issues at one point in time should help in consolidating the contribution of psychology – both actual and potential – and should provide new insights and understanding about human factors in poverty.

WL: By launching special issues addressing poverty and poverty reduction across every area of psychology, the project will create a huge boost of research attention and scholarly interest. It will motivate people to dust off and write up their data in the area, and it will bring new readers to the topic and perhaps lead people to do more research of their own.

CB: Psychology has a long history of investigating issues associated with poverty. However, this work is scattered across journals and decades. The Global Special Issue (GSI) will bring this work together through referencing, as well as setting the research agenda for the next decade. While the GSI may attract the attention of researchers and students, our real audience has to be the policy makers, and others who are in a position to make change. By creating a critical mass of work on this central topic, such individuals may take notice.

*Does the psychology of work and organization play a role in the project?*

WL & AD: Of course!

AD: There are government and non-government organizations which are actively engaged in interventions to reduce poverty. Much depends on the effective functioning of these organizations.

DS: I believe that industrial and organizational psychology will play a key role in this project because we have a great deal of knowledge that can be used to help reduce poverty. For example, we have a lot of expertise in the areas of training, motivation, and strategies for building individuals' self-efficacy and skill levels. We also have insights about leadership, cooperation in organizations, teamwork, and other issues that may be helpful. Many years ago, researchers in our field conducted research on training for the hard core unemployed. The results of this research may be a useful starting point for research on poverty reduction. Similarly, our research on strategies for enhancing individuals' self-efficacy may be quite helpful.

CB: The key word in the question is *role*. As we all know an objective is often achieved by everyone completing their role. The objective of poverty reduction is a massively complex endeavour and the systems surrounding it are complex. Individual organizations involved in poverty-related work undoubtedly face some of the same issues as for-profit organizations and any improvement in their ability to function through the application of industrial and organizational psychology knowledge should translate into an improvement in their key outcomes.

*What kinds of impact would you like to see from this project?*

AD: This collective endeavour should help in forging better international and inter-disciplinary collaborations in improving quality of life of the poor. It should lead to a more intense dialogue within the psychology discipline to create a new knowledge base to deal with poverty. I see many exciting possibilities of integrating cultural, social and personal perspectives into global strategies to bring people out of the poverty trap. Poverty is as much an economic challenge as it is a psychosocial one. Psychological

theories, research and practices have much to contribute in preparing viable action plans both at macro and micro levels. Such action plans should benefit from the rich field experience of the developing world, as well as from scientific and technological advancements of the West.

*DS:* I believe that this project will have important implications for reducing poverty around the world, and will also benefit our field. It may help promote research in industrial and organizational psychology on other important social issues, for instance, reduction of serious illnesses like HIV/AIDS.

*CB:* Generally research takes time to produce a real change. Thus I think *patience* is the key word when thinking about the GSI impact. If it gets the attention of key policy makers things may start to happen, which ultimately will have a true impact on poverty. Hopefully, key organizations engaged in poverty reduction work will pick up on some of the ideas that come out of the GSI, and attempt to implement them. The GSI should be considered as stage one of a multi-stage process – our research will only have an impact if adopted and implemented. The GSI will undoubtedly prompt further research efforts, which we all know will be years away from publication – again patience is the key. Poverty is not going away – so thinking that our endeavours will take time to have a true impact should not be discouraging.

*WL:* It would be great if the mass research attention and new findings created momentum for a new research-active community aimed at understanding poverty and helping individuals and groups escape it.

*How can industrial and organizational psychologists get behind it?*

*WL:* Some of the issues that are in the industrial and organizational domain concern the working poor – researchers could study organizations and workers affected by casualization, contract work and underemployment. It's my perception that marginalized workers attract very little attention in industrial and organizational psychology [See also Maynard & Ferdman, 2008]. When does work lift people and families out of poverty, and when does it lock them in? What institutional and organizational factors reinforce or weaken class inequalities? Many have commented that compared to fields like sociology and history, psychology has neglected the role of class and SES. And then there are evaluation research projects. Which projects aimed at recruiting people from disadvantaged groups into the workforce actually work, and to what extent?

*DS:* I believe that industrial and organizational psychologists have a great deal of knowledge that can be used to enhance the lives of people

throughout the world. We have focused primarily on private sector organizations, but many of the same principles can be used to increase the well-being of individuals. I think many industrial and organizational psychologists are just waiting for the opportunity to conduct and publish research on these key issues.

*CB:* If we divided industrial and organizational psychologists into two groups, academics and practitioners, we may get a better answer to this question. Academics need to produce research which is applicable to not-for-profit organizations. They need to truly understand the unique features of the poverty reduction industry. Only then will practitioners be able to translate research output into useful interventions.

*What else can, could or should the profession do, in the future?*

*AD:* Academic psychologists need to focus more on the widening gap between rich and poor, and on why the poor are getting poorer. There is a wide range of social-psychological ramifications of this changing scenario. We need to take cognizance of innovative, practical strategies which work and where the profession of psychology can make a difference. As journal editors we can contribute by way of encouraging and publishing poverty studies and by crystallizing issues for an ongoing debate. What we could do as editors and professionals is to organize various forums, workshops and discussion groups. We have to collectively think about the ways of promoting research on poverty and its proper dissemination.

*WL:* It's a wider question for psychologists – part of the bigger picture surely involves lobbying governments and universities to make sure there are incentives to do difficult applied research. This project is also a great initiative; I can imagine if it were repeated every few years it would help to keep the ball rolling.

*DS:* As noted above, I believe our profession should focus on the application of industrial and organizational psychology to other important social issues. For instance, the SIOP conference might include key sessions on social issues, and our journals might expand their coverage of these topics. Last year, Lois Tetrick, the president of SIOP, set the stage for this strategy by focusing the conference on issues of employee well-being. Therefore, I would encourage our leaders to expand the domain of industrial and organizational psychology to include its application to important social issues.

*CB:* Listen to those in need and those trying to help them and respond to their issues. They may be different (or in addition) to the concepts that we think are important.

Thank you for your valuable time and collective insights on a timely initiative.

### **Community supply: New diplomacies in corporate social responsibility<sup>5</sup>**

Mathian (Mat) Osicki holds a PhD in Industrial and Organizational Psychology from the University of Tulsa, and is based in New York, where she works for IBM. Mat's primary responsibilities have included assessment and consultation of corporate climate and culture via the design, implementation, and analysis of large-scale international employee surveys, such as the Global Pulse Survey. In the fall of 2008 she was accepted into a top talent programme called the Corporate Services Corp (CSC). In 2009 this programme accepted approximately 300 participants out of 10,000 applicants. The programme was set up as a way to help developing nations in need, while also helping to develop future potential leaders in IBM via three months of extensive cultural training and a month of pro-bono humanitarian work in a 'developing' economy. Mat went to Nigeria for one month. After 30 short days Mat realized she wanted to do more to help. After returning from the trip she found a way to continue helping the people of Nigeria. She leveraged her philanthropic work and her industrial and organizational skills to help negotiate a commercial contract between IBM and the Nigerian government – so she is going back to Nigeria to do more. Here is her story.

*Please tell us a little about your own background and work*

As you can see from my bio, I wear two hats at IBM, one more familiar perhaps than the other, but both of them global in outlook. In my more 'regular' industrial and organizational role, I have helped to develop and deploy employee and executive compensation cycles, talent management programs, performance management systems, and other HR-related topics for IBM. In my corporate social responsibility role, I can't stop thinking about the people of the Cross River State in Nigeria, in particular a little girl whose malnutrition was so bad she couldn't hold her head up. I went to Cross River in November 2009, with ten other IBM employees as part of our Corporate Service Corp initiative. The Corporate Service Corp programme gives IBM employees an experience of service-learning in lower-income settings, working on community-drive projects at the intersection of business, technology, and society. Something like what your last interviewee called 'New Diplomacies' (Saner & Carr, 2010).

We joined the Ministry of Social Welfare in Calabar Nigeria in the hopes of helping to get two social safety net programs successfully deployed (for more details, IBM Service Corps, 2010). Project HOPE was designed as a free healthcare programme for pregnant woman and children under the age of five (HOPE stands for 'Health Opportunities for People Everywhere'). Project

Comfort was a conditional cash transfer programme for the most needy people in the state. Conditions for receiving the cash included developmental criteria such as school attendance and adult vocational training (for more details on cash transfer programs in aid and development work, [http://www.adb.org/Documents/EDRC/Policy\\_Briefs/PB051.pdf](http://www.adb.org/Documents/EDRC/Policy_Briefs/PB051.pdf)).

These projects would broadly fit the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 4, 5 and 6 – reducing child mortality (15 per cent for children under 5 in Cross River State), improving maternal health, and combating diseases like malaria. On the ground, what we did was help with project management, change management, marketing/communications strategy development, and technology and data analysis to help improve the effectiveness of the two programs deployed in August of 2009. The programs were based on state-of-the-art technology ranging from networked health care centres operating on solar panel-enabled computer terminals to fingerprint readers and biodata cards for accessing and storing patient records. With my colleague Georgia Watson, I travelled to a variety of healthcare facilities across the state to assess local needs and develop a plan to better deploy the programs being rolled out.

*Does the psychology of work and organizations play a role in your work?*

I use the psychology of work in everything I do.

At the office, I have moved away from my area of specialty and am currently an HR generalist. However I still use my industrial and organizational psychology skills on a daily basis. For example, my clients are currently interested in how to keep their team motivated during these difficult economic times. So I provide them with insights from the industrial and organizational literature and research on motivating people during difficult times.

Not dissimilarly, in my Corporate Service Corp/corporate social responsibility role, the work in Project HOPE included training local personnel on effective data reporting as well as change and project management so they could build the necessary database skills, to eventually hold and report on vital health information for the State's population. People skills were crucial throughout. We had to establish trust, for example. To help us, we drew on lessons learnt from previous Corporate Service Corp teams, applying theories of organizational learning and memory. The main point we had to get across though was that government is trying to save lives. We also wanted to make the project sustainable. Corporate Service Corp projects generally aim to hand over control to local stakeholders after a month – although in some case the client wants more. This actually happened in Cross River State, where the Governor was sufficiently impressed with reactions to the philanthropic work that he has asked IBM back to continue helping them with their efforts, and possibly provide a model for the other 35 states in the country. Hence I am leaving for Nigeria again in two days' time.

*How prominent is work/organizational psychology in the corporate social responsibility domain?*

I know that industrial and organizational psychology is making progress and we can always be more prominent. It's not difficult to see how, or why. For example, the Corporate Service Corp is steadily changing the way IBM conducts business, as its pro-social ethos ripples through the various teams in the organization. For example, the next phase of the service corps is to focus on executives who are placed into smaller cities and urban areas. In their role, they can assess the local infrastructure and suggest ways to possibly upgrade transportation, communication, energy, water, health and education services. Sometimes the city is so poor that the project has to start from scratch. Leadership skills from business, especially relationship-building, can be helpful in these cooperative joint ventures (<http://www.ibm.com/smarterplanet/cities>).

*How could it be more so?*

I think we could build a closer connection between the business world and employee-centred research. There is a need for translation between the world of industrial and organizational psychology and the business community. The new Work Psychology (White Papers WPWP) series, being sponsored by SIOP, IAAP and EAWOP under the Alliance for Organizational Psychology is a right step in that direction. It seeks precisely to translate the findings from industrial and organizational research into policy suggestions, and everyday practice implications. The Corporate Service Corp is a living example of how businesses are changing and becoming more multi-faceted. Because they are working more and more in multi-faceted environments, they need evidence-based practice more than ever, too. We can help in that regard. We can encourage industrial and organizational psychologists to undertake research on corporate social responsibility, on New Diplomacies, and on what works, in what situations.

*From your perspective, and with your experience, in concrete terms how could the profession help more?*

Data on what works from projects like ours could be incredibly enlightening, not only for practice but also for industrial and organizational theory. One hurdle could be the method in which research findings are communicated. They need to be translated into something meaningful for the line. Organizations have policy needs like other bodies do, and the WPWP could perhaps keep multinational groups in mind as it moves forward. The final thing I would like to mention is that we are planning to propose a workshop at next year's SIOP meeting in Chicago, to address these very concerns about 'how' industrial and organizational psychologists can continue to make contributions to the field of corporate social responsibility, and humanitarian activities in general.

Thank you, Mat for this highly illuminating account of how New Diplomacies can intersect with corporate social responsibility in your industrial and organizational workplace. Of course many organizations are looking to make profits, and they can do well by doing good (Prahalad, 2010). Nevertheless they can also do good well. The United Nations has recently called on companies to responsibly align with wider aspirations for human development, like the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations General Assembly, 2010). As I think you and I and many at the recent conference would agree, we industrial and organizational psychologists can and morally should have a mindful, ethical and practical role to play.

### **Institutional supply: Corporate social responsibility has gone global: The United Nations Global Compact<sup>6</sup>**

Sean Cruse holds a PhD in Applied Organizational Psychology from Hofstra University in New York, and currently works for the United Nations (UN) where he is a research and communications consultant. Prior to working at the United Nations, Sean worked in the non-profit sector in New York, primarily conducting programme evaluation services for organizations that support individuals with disabilities. Sean's doctoral research focused on defining and exploring the construct of a 'global mindset'. Showing how he has developed this focus in his career he speaks with us today about working in the office of the United Nations Global Compact. Sean first heard about this project when it was introduced to TIP readers by Mary Berry, Walter Reichman, and Virginia Schein (2008). Where has the project progressed, and how can industrial and organizational psychologists make their mark?

*Sean, please tell us a little about your work*

Launched in 2000, the United Nations Global Compact is a strategic policy initiative for businesses that are committed to aligning their operations and strategies with 10 universally accepted principles in the areas of human rights, labour, environment, and anti-corruption. By doing so, business, as a primary agent driving globalization, can help ensure that markets, commerce, technology, and finance advance in ways that benefit economies and societies everywhere. These moves may also benefit the bottom line, particularly in the wake of disasters like the Gulf of Mexico.

The Global Compact is the only United Nations entity with a primary mandate of engaging the private sector. That makes the initiative unique. It can help to mobilize sustainable business practices, as well as contributions to global United Nations goals like poverty reduction and environmental protection. The Global Compact also helps the United Nations with outreach and partnership with companies. These mandates are huge, yet the



office is actually comprised of just a couple dozen highly-skilled and dedicated employees. So our roles and responsibilities vary quite widely!

For example, my own responsibilities include coordinating facets of the Global Compact annual ‘implementation survey’. This project essentially gauges what concrete *actions* companies are undertaking to advance human rights, labour rights, environmental stewardship, and anti-corruption practices, as well as how they are supporting United Nations development and humanitarian targets like the Millennium Development Goals (Annan, 2000). This year we received over 1000 responses (for a summary report, [http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/news\\_events/8.1/UNGC\\_Annual\\_Review\\_2010pdf](http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/news_events/8.1/UNGC_Annual_Review_2010pdf)). Interestingly, 94 per cent of respondents said that the relevance of participating in the Global Compact did not decrease last year in the wake of the economic downturn. In fact, 25 per cent considered the initiative even more relevant than before. So it looks like global CSR is here to stay.

*Where does industrial and organizational psychology come in, does it play a role?*

Yes, industrial and organizational psychology is vital. Companies that commit to the principles of the Global Compact indicate that they will ultimately embed its 10 principles throughout their operations. That commitment means planning strategically and operationally how organizations can improve their performance, in the wider sense. Companies also submit an annual progress report, which becomes publicly available. Analysing the steps the company has taken, and the subsequent impact they may have, is a space that would benefit from formal evaluation by practicing industrial and organizational psychologists. A good starting place is to become versed in the 10 principles through our available resource, the ‘library of guidance’ (see, [http://www.unglobalcompact.org/AboutTheGC/tools\\_resources/index.html](http://www.unglobalcompact.org/AboutTheGC/tools_resources/index.html)).

Participants in the Global Compact commit to taking steps to contribute to the United Nations Millennium Goals, which focus on global poverty reduction. This can be done in a variety of ways, from philanthropic gifts to initiatives at the strategic operations level. For example, a food and beverage multinational corporation provided training to local farmers in India on producing specific ingredients for their products; the same company also provides seeds and pesticides. The company now sources its ingredients from those communities, thereby providing jobs to thousands and stimulating the local economy. This is just one of many examples of companies using their influence and resources to support the eradication of poverty around the world.

Crucially for industrial and organizational psychologists, projects like this would benefit from strategic analysis and impact evaluation. We need concrete evidence that projects are beneficial, both towards the development goals and for the company’s bottom line.

*How prominent is industrial and organizational psychology in your field of work? Could it be more so?*

In practice, I would say that it is not prominent. Ironically though, industrial and organizational research is really in demand. With stretched resources there is only so much that can be tackled in-house. Questions of critical importance – such as a recent study of the business contribution to development over the past ten years – are outsourced to consultants from a range of professional disciplines. These are avenues where an industrial and organizational background and methodology could contribute towards high-quality outcomes.

Looking to the Millennium Goals, the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology recently hit the nail on the head:

Education occurs in schools, and depends on teacher (and pupil) motivation; gender equity depends on removing glass ceilings at work; reducing child mortality requires access to well-managed health service teams; maternal health depends on skilled/motivated health workers; combating diseases like HIV and malaria is as much about educational services as medical products; environmental sustainability depends on corporate social responsibility; global partnerships rest on inter-organizational harmonization and alignment

([http://www.un-ngls.org/spip.php?page=amdg10&id\\_article=2552](http://www.un-ngls.org/spip.php?page=amdg10&id_article=2552)).

Although we might not earn top dollar working in these areas, they are stock-in-trade domains where industrial and organizational psychologists can make a contribution. This has been suggested already in previous TIP columns.

*From your perspective, how could the industrial and organizational profession really start to help?*

There are many areas that would benefit from an industrial and organizational contribution. I recently conducted an exercise where I outlined specific areas of need.

First, the Global Compact has received well over 8,000 'Communications on Progress' – annual progress reports – since the requirement was introduced. Reflecting what companies are doing to advance the 10 principles, these reports are evidence bases to find common strengths and challenges. The database is replete with analytical opportunity. Our small office does not have the resources to conduct such studies. We rely on researchers to access the database and conduct them. Archival research – but fundamental to determining the best avenues for business to advance socially responsible business practice.

Second, it is clear that implementing the Global Compact principles poses different challenges for companies depending on the country, and even

community, where they operate. How does implementing the 10 principles differ by region and sector? We have the annual review, fine, but this is quite macro. A deeper, more localized dive would be an important step in gaining greater comprehension of what corporate social responsibility looks like at different coal faces.<sup>7</sup>

Third, companies that undertake projects in support of United Nations development goals have a need to track their projects' impacts. Partnerships between a company and other entity, be it the United Nations, NGOs, or universities, need several forms of evaluation. They include, but are not limited to, cost/benefit assessment, impact of project, and operations of the partnership. Empirical evaluation like this was the subject of your keynote at the International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP) (see also, [http://www.ted.com/talks/esther\\_duflo\\_social\\_experiments\\_to\\_fight\\_poverty.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/esther_duflo_social_experiments_to_fight_poverty.html)).

*Can you give us a take-home message for our community of practice in industrial and organizational psychology?*

Future advances in global integration, poverty reduction, protection of our planet and, ultimately, peace critically depend on our ability to collectively address the most pressing global challenges. Accelerating the practice of corporate sustainability and responsibility is an urgent task in these complex times. Crises – from financial market breakdowns to environmental degradation – are increasingly global and connected. The stakes could not be higher, given that climate change threatens the security of food, water, and energy. These are interlocking resource pillars for prosperity and the productivity of any economy. To bring about a new era of sustainability, business everywhere must put long-term considerations, comprehensive risk management, and ethics at the top of the corporate agenda. As industrial and organizational psychologists, the mandate is clear. We can help to galvanize resources, and efforts, to ensure that the case is made and acted upon – at all levels, including organizations.

Thank you Sean, for making accessible a fresh and innovative avenue for industrial and organizational psychology to support.

## Notes

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4. Reproduced, with permission, from Dalal et al. (2009).
5. Reprinted, with permission, from Osicki & Carr (2010).

6. Reprinted, with permission, from Cruse & Carr (2010).
7. An idiom that means dealing with real problems and issues on the front line rather than simply talking about them in an office.

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# 10

## Personnel Psychology for Disaster Response and Recovery

*Eddie Chi Wai Ng, Sally M. P. Chan & C. Harry Hui*

### Summary

Relief and rebuilding work after disasters involves a more extensive effort than traditionally assumed. It is more than the distribution of food and medical supplies. Workers will include people from relief agencies as well as from the local community. Compared to the general population, these people are more susceptible to psychological risk. It is agreed that proper selection and training are essential to protect them and to ensure work effectiveness. The reasons are discussed and elaborated in the first section. In the second part, we describe the knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics essential to this kind of work, and recommend that we start developing instruments for personnel selection. In the third part, we review training programmes for aid workers, and propose future directions. Finally, we identify a few areas in which industrial and organizational (I-O) psychologists can make valuable contributions.

### Introduction

A disaster is a severe event that affects a large number of people unexpectedly and suddenly, resulting in a situation that cannot be managed through routine procedures or with existing resources. It is lamentable and full of sufferings. Nonetheless, recovery from disaster can be an opportunity for societal change or even renewed lives. How the event is responded to personally and collectively also critically influences its major adverse effects on the individuals and the community struck (Society for Community Research and Action (SCRA) Task Force, 2010). When it happens in countries where manpower and material resources are sparse, the blow can be more apparent and longer lasting than when it happens in the developed world (Carr et al, this volume). That is why helping poverty-stricken places to build their capacity after disasters remains the primary focus of professionals with a humanitarian concern (see, e.g., MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2003).

From the vantage point of community and I-O psychology, this chapter attempts to further discuss how disaster response and recovery can be done professionally and ethically, to bring the greatest benefits to humankind. As the way a disaster is framed affects the response, in this introductory section we shall describe three dimensions along which disasters may be framed. This will be followed by a section on the psychological outcomes of participating in disaster relief work. The third section will be devoted to a discussion of how the positive outcomes can be maximized and negative outcomes minimized through proper selection of aid workers. The fourth section will be on another topic that I-O psychologists have just as much to offer, namely, training and development of the aid workers. Both sections contain discussions on what I-O psychologists motivated by humanitarian concerns can do to help.

## **Framing of the issue**

### **Individual versus community as focus**

While it is true that a disaster brings enormous suffering and loss to individuals and their families, some disaster scholars argued that 'the defining feature of a disaster is that it happens to an entire community' (SCRA Task Force, 2010, p. 4). Defining the disaster experience is the 'dynamic interplay of individual and community experience' (Kaniasty & Norris, 1999, p. 25), rather than the individual's or the community's alone. Therefore, individual victimization has to be understood within a context of social 'reality at all levels – environmental, psychological, social, political, and cultural' (Kaniasty & Norris, 1999, p. 26). The mental and social aspects of health cannot be totally separated from each other (van Ommeren, Saxena, & Saraceno, 2005). In other words, it is not only the loss of limbs, lives, or properties that creates problems, but also the loss of social networks, human relationships, environment, heritage, memories, and common identity that matters (Quo Vadis – Demand, this volume). Thus, intervention has to be at both individual/psychological levels as well as at higher levels (Saner & Yiu, this volume).

### **Outside professional support versus local strength and community mobilization**

It is often assumed that disaster survivors, having faced tremendous pain and hurt, should receive professional intervention immediately. Often with good intention, this thinking is not without its problems. Kaniasty and Norris (1999) observed that 'contrary to common belief about mass panic and chaotic disorganization, victims of most disasters quickly tend to regain a collective sense of determination and rapidly immerse themselves in the process of aiding one another' (p. 29). This is a coping strategy of those who experience loss. By helping each other, people shift their attention from their own trauma to 'making things better', thus an 'altruistic community' (Kaniasty & Norris, 1995) becomes discernible. Along this line, Echterling

and Wylie (1999) argued against framing disaster as merely a mental health problem, as that would limit the intervention to traditional mental health service (such as psychotherapy), and prevent the disaster survivors from participating in the building of their sense of self efficacy. Instead, Echterling and Wylie suggested framing the disaster issue 'as a measure of its (the community) resilience, coping, and competency' (p. 340). That local aid workers, whether paid or voluntary, are less costly to mobilize and that they are more culturally competent than personnel from outside are additional reasons why future disaster relief work will be undertaken by both outside and local people. However, including the entire community in the mobilization effort means that selection and training will have to be applied to more people than they had been before.

### **Short-term relief versus longer-term reconstruction/redevelopment**

Short-term relief, while necessary, often benefits people unevenly (Kaniasty & Norris, 1995). Communities should develop a long-term emergency management programme that protects the more vulnerable (i.e., the poor, the elderly, the less educated, and some ethnic minorities). This should include (a) mitigation activities to reduce the long-term risk from natural and human-made hazards such as the Japan nuclear crisis in 2011; (b) preparedness for responding to an emergency; and (c) recovery and restoration of vital life support systems to make possible a return to normal life (McLoughlin, 1985). A comprehensive reconstruction and development plan has to take into consideration the community's past history, cultural-religious beliefs, as well as its economic status, even though every disaster has its own unique context. Therefore, drawing on the community resources and strength for long-term reconstruction is not only rhetoric, but also a practical necessity.

### **Summary**

In sum, disaster response strategies have to take into account both the psychological and social dimensions of disaster. They have to make full use of the existing community resources and manpower, instead of being dependent on outside professionals, who one day will exit the affected community. Furthermore, instead of focusing merely on short-term relief, a long-term redevelopment plan is imperative for a response to be effective and sustaining. With this big picture in mind, and with the understanding that human resources play just as important a role as physical resources, we shall in the following sections discuss what challenges aid workers would face, what kind of people to recruit, and what training would be required. The diversity of aid workers – salaried and volunteer, national and international, working on a short-term or long-term basis – implies great diversity in strengths and competence, as well as potential risks they need to face. This underscores a critical need to fully utilize their broad range of strengths and provide adequate and necessary support to aid workers when problems arise. In the



next section, we shall describe what potential problems and challenges aid workers could face in disaster relief work.

## **Psychological outcomes of disaster relief work**

Aid workers engaged in disaster relief and rebuilding must coordinate among themselves and support each other. They are to cooperate with the local authorities, such that essential resources will be delivered in a timely manner to the victims, and the local people will be empowered to rebuild their communities. However, because of the breadth of work these aid workers need to carry out and the long duration of reconstruction, fatigue, burnout, psychological injuries, physical illnesses, or even loss of life are all possibilities. This section is devoted to a brief overview<sup>1</sup> of what we currently know about some of the consequences, namely compassion fatigue, stress, and burnout.

### **Compassion fatigue**

Many people who take part in disaster work are often intrinsically motivated and have what Wrzesniewski and colleagues (1997) describe as a sense of calling. Yet just as many who expend emotional labour in their civilian jobs would experience, aid workers, including those trained, are vulnerable to compassion fatigue, or 'vicarious traumatization' (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 2002).

Compassion fatigue can originate from many sources. For example, the mere experience of being in the midst of a large number of victims is exhausting. In fact, being empathic can be a double-edged sword. It benefits the victims by bringing them psychologically closer to the aid workers, but at the same time the victims' suffering would be deeply felt by the aid worker. The psychological demands on mental health personnel are even greater than on other aid workers. In most disasters, the former have to be standing by all the time to process daily experiences of both victims and other volunteers (Haskett, Scott, Nears, & Grimmatt, 2008). Listening to coworkers' experiences and sharing their sorrows can exhaust and numb even those professionally trained listeners. It is not surprising that mental health workers could suffer from just as much, if not more, compassion fatigue.

### **Stress and burnout**

Aid workers in the field are surrounded by traumatic stressors. These include 'experiencing or witnessing violence and its aftereffects; living with social, cultural and/or spiritual dislocation; constant exposure to health hazards, poverty and deprivation; facing moral dilemmas; and stress-exacerbating organizational practices' (McKay, n.d., p. 12). For people who provide humanitarian aid immediately after a disaster, stressors also include exposure to strong unpleasant smells, seeing victims (especially children)

separated from and searching for next-of-kin, seeing physical injuries, and seeing body parts. A study of about 200 World Vision workers revealed that 6 out of 10 had faced traumatic events, such as serious road accidents, threats of serious physical harm, and being near gunfire. About half of these workers experienced travel difficulties, threatening checkpoints and rough roads, conflicts among team members, deadlines, cultural tensions, language difficulties, pressure from funding sources and local bureaucracy, management difficulties, as well as feelings of powerlessness to change the external situation (Eriksson, Bjorck, & Abernethy, 2003).

The sense of powerlessness is ubiquitous. Because of shortage of supplies, especially during the rescue and recovery phases, an aid worker has to continually decline pleas from people needing help. Having to reject victims was the strongest predictor of stress in a multivariate study of stress in several hundred disaster-area personnel and home-based personnel (Thoresen et al., 2009). The feeling of inadequacy and having to let people suffer or even die can cause guilt feelings and apathy.

All of these stressors would lead to psychological discomfort. Even people with long-term professional training and generally thought to be psychologically well-prepared for disaster deployment (such as Peace Corps, soldiers, and veterans) still suffer operational or combat stress in different degrees (Mangelsdorff, 1985; Pearn, 2000). About a quarter of relief workers in a tsunami that killed several hundreds of thousands had post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Armagan, Engindeniz, Devay, Erdur, & Ozcakil, 2006). One of the PTSD symptoms is rumination, which includes intrusive thoughts about the trauma, recurrent trauma-related nightmares, flashbacks, distress, and physiological reactivity at reminders of the trauma. Another symptom comprises avoidance of trauma thoughts, psychogenic amnesia, loss of interest, emotional detachment, emotional numbness, and a sense of foreshortened future. The aid worker may also experience increased arousal, resulting in sleep disturbance, irritability, concentration problems, hypervigilance, and exaggerated startle response.

Psychological consequences may occur well after completion of the service. McCormack, Joseph, and Hagger wrote,

When international humanitarian workers return home, difficulties can arise in integrating back into families, societies, and communities. [...] As many as 33% have reported feelings of disorientation on return from mission, and 17% felt family and friends did not understand what they had experienced.

(2009, p. 110)

One difference between local workers and international workers is that the former have higher risks for stress during their first job assignment (McFarlane, 2004).

The long-term effects of the stressors are cumulative. Cardozo and colleagues (2005) studied 735 aid workers from 22 humanitarian organizations operating in Kosovo, and showed that depression can be predicted by the number of trauma events experienced. A study of Italian volunteer rescuers showed that 'every additional year of experience raises by 13 percent the probability of suffering from psychological distress' (Dolce & Ricciardi, 2007, p. 99). Obviously, relief agencies should be especially careful about career aid workers, whose cumulative traumatic experiences would outnumber those of one-time volunteers.

### **Summary**

Compassion fatigue and stress reactions prevent the aid workers from fully discharging their duties and providing help that primary victims need. Psychological morbidity is itself an occupational health issue. It is an irony that people who relieve other people's distress often suffer from distress. Resolving this problem successfully will restore the workers' peak performance; let the problem linger, the likelihood of the workers serving on a second mission will drop significantly, and so will their urge to encourage friends and relatives to join in future humanitarian efforts.

We believe that the relief agencies have the obligation to protect their workers and ensure their occupational safety. The multitude of theories and tools in I-O psychology that have been heavily applied in business or organizational settings can be translated to the disaster context. For example, relief agencies should provide social and organizational support as a means of reducing emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, the effectiveness of which has been demonstrated in a study of aid workers in a faith-based agency (Eriksson, Bjorck & Abernethy, 2009). In another study, Dolce and Ricciardi (2007) found that volunteers in teams of six or more have lower risks of psychological distress (odds ratio = 0.67) than those working in smaller teams. This finding may serve as a basis of policies assigning workers to large groups rather than letting them work alone or in small teams. More importantly, I-O psychologists may contribute to protecting aid workers and improving their effectiveness, through personnel selection and training. The application of this body of knowledge, however, in humanitarian work (like disaster relief) is scanty and still in the beginning stage. In each of the following two sections, we shall review what has been done in personnel selection and training to mitigate negative experiences and enhance positive outcomes. We shall also make recommendations on next steps that I-O psychologists can take.

### **Personnel selection**

Shortly after a catastrophe or a major disaster, a process of convergence occurs (Fritz & Mathewson, 1956), in which individuals and groups with

a heart for the victims quickly move towards and into the stricken area to help. Ironically, this spontaneous crowd sometimes unintentionally blocks aid from reaching those who need it, and may even misuse some of the scarce resources. Furthermore, it gives concerned groups and governments an illusion that there are plenty of helping hands. More seriously, without proper preparation and qualification, the volunteers can suffer in the process. One intuitive solution is of course to allow into the disaster zone only those people with the requisite skills and who are capable of withstanding the harsh working conditions.

Personnel selection, nevertheless, is easier said than done. There are no commonly accepted methods for selecting disaster relief workers. Some international NGOs, like Médecins Sans Frontières and International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, adopt a more comprehensive selection process. It comprises of several screening activities including application forms, self-report questionnaires, telephone interview, face-to-face interview, and assessment centre (Hong Kong Red Cross, n.d.; Médecins Sans Frontières, n.d.) over a period of several months. However, in some documented mental health training programmes, volunteers were rarely screened (Gelkopf et al., 2008; Vijayakumar & Kumar, 2008; World Health Organization, 2006). Selection decision was primarily based upon the volunteers' occupations and their length of service in the organization (Gelkopf et al., 2008; Vijayakumar & Kumar, 2008; World Health Organization, 2006), which in most instances tend to be irrelevant to one's capability to serve. After surveying some major international aid agencies, McCall and Salama (1999) observed: 'Selection procedures ranged from a single telephone interview to a multiple stage process of individual and group interviews lasting a full day as well as phone contact or personal visits to the site of the project' (p. 114). There is much variation in completeness and job relevance in the methods used: 'In acute emergencies, team members are more often found through less formal channels' (p. 114). Some volunteers may simply show up at the doorstep, and expect to be given something to do. McCall and Salama (1999) observed that most relief coordinators were frustrated 'at the lack of a sensitive interviewing instrument for predicting whether potential workers were likely to be successful in the field and admitted that they relied heavily on 'intuition'' (p. 114).

One reason for the shortfall is that the nature of disaster relief work is not sufficiently attractive to many people, thus limiting the pool of candidates. Not many people think about helping in a disaster when nothing has recently happened. Although there is the phenomenon of convergence as described above, the number of candidates at peaceful times is usually so small that decision makers do not consider it cost-effective to commission the development of a systematic selection tool. Secondly, some decision makers may consider any preset selection procedure insufficiently sensitive to the complexity and urgency of the disaster situations and therefore not

likely to predict who the successful aid workers will be. Thirdly, investing in a personnel selection system may mean additional administrative cost, something which many charities try to minimize in view of donors' desire for their dollars to be used entirely in the field. Hence, except for a few major relief agencies, most do not have a systematic selection procedure in place when selection is most needed.

We maintain, however, that an objective selection procedure is necessary. In order to be effective, relief agencies have to select suitable volunteers and place them in positions where their abilities and skills can be best utilized. Care should also be taken to avoid placing people in positions where they may inadvertently harm themselves or others. Furthermore, we should identify those candidates whose knowledge, skills, abilities and other characteristics (KSAOs) are not compatible with the needs at the disaster zone, and prevent them from being at the disaster zone.

The first step for establishing an effective selection method is to compile a list of KSAOs necessary for disaster relief work. This set of KSAOs, which hitherto has been unavailable, will also be useful for developing training programmes and evaluating performance. In the next two sub-sections, we shall integrate what we have found through our review of the literature on the personal characteristics presumed or demonstrated to be related to aid workers' effectiveness.

## **KSAOs for frontline aid workers in disaster relief**

A search of the O\*NET, the psychological literature, the disaster management literature, as well as news stories and relief agency websites revealed the following competencies considered important to most aid workers (see Table 10.1).

### **Educational background**

A study of 2,576 Italian volunteer rescuers showed that approximately 20.6 percent of them suffer a high level of psychological impairment (anxiety, panic, and stress). However, the odds of impairment for people with a high school diploma is less than half of the odds for people without (Dolce & Ricciardi, 2007).

### **Knowledge, skills and abilities**

Besides people with medical backgrounds and first-aid skills (Hackl & Pruckner, 2006), those with transportation knowledge and experience are often in demand in disaster zones, as many tasks are related to transportation of the wounded, food, water and shelter supply. Murray and Clarke (2008), in their study of short-term relief staff in the 2004 Southeast Asia tsunami, described that the roles of staff include operations, logistics, communications, strategic planning, engineering, finance, human resources,

Table 10.1 KSAOs for disaster relief volunteers and leaders

	DRVs	DRV leaders
<b>Educational background</b>		
• High school diploma	√	√
<b>Knowledge, skills and abilities</b>		
• Medical knowledge	√	√
• First aid skills	√	√
• Transportation knowledge and experience	√	√
• Psychological first aid (PFA)	√	√
• Operations	√	√
• Logistics	√	√
• Communications	√	√
• Strategic planning	√	√
• Engineering	√	√
• Finance	√	√
• Human resources	√	√
• Information	√	√
• Administration	√	√
• Counselling	√	√
• Public safety	√	√
• Clerical work	√	√
• Education and training	√	√
• Computing	√	√
• Planning and organizing strategic management	√	√
• Pump, generator, vehicles and construction equipment	√	√
• Water and sanitation system	√	√
• Radio and communication equipment	√	√
• Heavy and complex information exchange	√	√
• Problem solving	√	√
• Service orientation, coordination, social perceptiveness, learning, instructing, time management, and handling highly negative emotions	√	√
<b>Personality, work styles, and interests</b>		
• Positive personality traits (e.g., cooperation, self-control, dependability, etc.)	√	√
<b>Cultural awareness and sensitivity</b>		
• Understanding of local culture and customs	√	√
<b>Additional Skills</b>		
• Coordination and strategic thinking		√
• Endorsement of human rights and dignity		√
• Subscription to the needs and fairness principles		√
• Charismatic leadership		√
• Collaborative leadership style		√
• Emotional intelligence and sociopolitical abilities		√

and information technology. Of the most frequently reported activities in the same disaster, almost half of them involve personal and telephone contact with the next-of-kins. Planning and organizing strategic management, handling information, as well as registering the missing and deceased are next in importance (Thoresen et al., 2009). This list of tasks indicates a high demand for people with prior experience in administration/management, counselling, public safety, clerical work, computing, and training. Also desirable are skills in using equipment and tools (pump, generator, water and sanitation system, construction equipment, vehicles, radio, and communication equipment).

As important information has to be shared among people involved during the period of disaster response and recovery, one critical skill is communication. This includes empathetic listening, reading comprehension, speaking, negotiation, and using the mass media. Aid workers have to overcome such problems as information overload and cultural barriers. Therefore, the senders and receivers in the communication process must be capable of handling heavy and complex information exchange (Rietjens, Verlaan, Zaalberg, & de Boer, 2008).

Another valuable skill is problem solving, which involves critical thinking, judgment, and decision making. It encompasses managing information, evaluating and using it. For example, in disasters involving military conflict, aid workers must be vigilant not to use or divulge confidential military information that may jeopardize military operations. Other skills are service orientation, coordination, social perceptiveness, learning, instructing, time management, and handling highly negative emotions.

Although we mentioned earlier that mental health issues should not be the only concern in disaster work, we still believe that aid workers should possess some skills in psychological first aid (PFA). Developed out of the debate on the effectiveness of the debriefing practice, psychological first aid is an evidence-informed practice to promote and support individual and community resilience after a disaster (Forbes & Creamer, 2009; Uhernik & Husson, 2009; Vernberg et al., 2008). It is aligned with the value of 'doing no harm'. Its five basic principles are: promoting sense of safety, promoting calming, promoting sense of self and collective efficacy, promoting connectedness, and instilling hope. Built on the natural resilience and support system, PFA aims to enhance short- and long-term adaptive functioning and coping.

The above is not a complete list. In a team of responders to a disaster are many roles and tasks, each complementing the other. Therefore, it would be presumptuous and unrealistic to expect a single fixed list of KSAOs to embody all the characteristics required of an aid worker, and for all disasters. Neither should we assume that all of the above knowledge, skills, and abilities are essential for every disaster response position or in every geographical location. However, to be able to do some of the many tasks needed in the

disaster zone, one has to be in possession of at least some of them. However, we believe the characteristics listed in the next two paragraphs to be 'universal' and core, and have to be assessed in a selection setting.

### **Personality, work styles and interests**

Desirable personality characteristics are cooperation, self-control, dependability, concern for others, flexibility/adaptability, willingness to receive training, emotional stability, integrity, attention to detail, optimism, and stress tolerance (resilience). Space does not permit us to elaborate on each of these, but it suffices to say that all of them are positive personality traits. For instance, resilience is very important since it is a protective factor against mental health threats such as trauma (Hoge, Austin, & Pollack, 2007).

### **Cultural awareness and sensitivity**

An understanding of local culture and customs is a basic competency for aid workers (The Sphere Project, 2004). Cultural sensitivity is especially important for aid workers from outside the disaster zone, particularly for mental health workers, although it is less essential for aid workers recruited from the local community.

### **Additional requirements for leaders**

Aid workers usually operate in teams under the direction of leaders. Whether appointed formally or having emerged naturally, these leaders play an indispensable role in managing the disaster response and recovery. For instance, several benchmarks for disaster relief work specified in the Humanitarian Charter (The Sphere Project, 2004) require major contributions from the leaders. These include (1) initial assessment to gain a clear understanding of the nature of the damage and to identify the extent of immediate assistance required; (2) providing wide ranges of response to the unmet need, by maintaining good coordination among various stakeholders; (3) monitoring the effectiveness of the programme; (4) evaluating the humanitarian action systematically; (5) ensuring aid worker competencies and responsibilities; and (6) providing supervision, management and support to the aid workers. Paton and his colleagues (Paton & Flin, 1999; Paton & Jackson, 2002) also highlight that good teamwork, inter-organizational relationships, and coordinated responses from multiple agencies are crucial and fundamental to comprehensive emergency management. They will not only enhance effectiveness, but will also buffer the impact of stress on the aid workers. All of these speak to the importance of competencies in coordination and strategic thinking in multiteam settings (DeChurch et al., 2011).

Several important documents in the humanitarian sector describe attitudes and values essential for aid workers, the leaders in particular (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2007; International Federation of Red Cross



and Red Crescent Societies and International Committee of the Red Cross, 1994; The Sphere Project, 2004). These attitudes and values include the endorsement of human rights and dignity, subscription to the needs and fairness principles when distributing aids, involving the afflicted population, developing local participation into a diverse and representative one, and building local capacity. Holding these values will help build comprehensive community-based rescue work, as advocated in the introductory section of this chapter.

As for leadership style, two lines of work are relevant. First, Cohen and other scholars (2004) showed that people with a charismatic leadership style are more appealing to followers who had been reminded of their own mortality (as in a disaster setting) than those who had not been intimidated this way. The same study also showed that relationship-oriented leaders are less welcomed by the former than by the latter. Furthermore, the collaborative and relationship-oriented styles are generally not favored in Asia (Fernando, 2009). The implication is that front-line aid workers (especially those in Asia, where many disasters occur) may prefer leaders who are directive and authoritative. However, the followers' preference does not necessarily mean that such leaders are more effective in a disaster relief setting.

A second line of thinking emphasizes the importance of collaborative leadership style. Many researchers observed that the traditional command and control systems are unsuitable for managing disaster (Suparamaniam & Dekker, 2003; Waugh & Streib, 2006). This is because, as we argued earlier, disaster management has a broader mission than just rescue and relief activities. It is a distributed process that must be collectively performed by the community. Therefore, aid leaders (especially those who are at the more senior level) have the multiple responsibility to prevent or lessen the impact of the disaster (hazard mitigation), to encourage sound emergency planning and training in future (disaster preparedness), and to restore the basic services of the community (disaster recovery). They are to help develop a community strategy for risk management and to oversee its implementation (Canton, 2007). To do this, leaders have to manage their relationships with a wide range of stakeholders (including government officials, relief organizations, and the local community). For this, a collaborative leadership style is more promising than the traditional top-down hierarchical or authoritarian approach (Waugh & Streib, 2006).

Waugh and Streib (2006) nonetheless acknowledged that in certain situations, the responsiveness and security promised by a commanding leader may be required. This is usually the case during the rescue phase, when timeliness and speed are essential. Having said that, Waugh and Streib realized that collaborative processes or some combination of command and control and collaboration are essential. This emphasis is echoed in the experience of nurse leaders who fought through a health disaster. For them, emotional intelligence and sociopolitical abilities are crucial (Shih et al., 2009).

## **Future directions**

More research is needed to determine if the KSAOs we have listed above are indeed important predictors of positive and negative work outcomes, and whether the list can be expanded to include other characteristics. One suggestion of another characteristic is volunteer motivation. Clary and Snyder (1999; Snyder & Clary, 2004) distinguished among several motivations, such as: to help someone, to increase understanding, to gain career-related experience, to develop social network, to address personal problems, and to seek personal psychological growth. Future research should inform us if all or some of these motivations are related to performance and productivity of the paid workers and volunteers alike. Given that volunteer motivation has been linked to organizational citizenship behaviour, intention to stay (Millette & Gagné, 2008), and moral development (Derryberry, Mulvaney, Brooks, & Chandler, 2009), decision makers may want to consider if volunteer motivation should be included as a requirement on the KSAOs list, to ensure that disaster relief work is done ethically and efficiently. As for leaders, additional KSAOs may be identified through surveys, focus groups, or interviews with subject matter experts.

One thing sorely missing from our review is research on validity of methods for disaster personnel selection, despite the uniqueness and requirements of the work settings. Because involving the local community in relief work can benefit the victims by providing an opportunity for them to cope with the disaster, we should look for the best measurement methods that can be administered under a tight schedule and for both local people and incoming workers. Developmental work is beginning (Hui, Zhou, & Chan, in press). For more information about this new instrument, visit <http://www.psychology.hku.hk/disaster/> (Hong Kong University Disaster Relief Volunteers Screener Development Team, 2009).

## **Training and development**

### **Why are Training and development important?**

If, as we have proposed earlier, the whole community struck is to be involved in responding to the disaster and its aftermath, many more people must be engaged to do the work. These people, however, may not have the cognitive skills to fully master their own emotions (Dolce & Ricciardi, 2007). To protect aid workers from mental health hazards, pre-service orientation and psychological preparation are therefore necessary. Thoresen et al.'s (2009) study corroborated that 'specific preparation for the mission was significantly associated with lower levels of stress reactions in disaster-area personnel, even when other factors were controlled for' (p. 364). Dolce and Ricciardi (2007) found that workers who had not attended training courses 'demonstrated a higher probability of psychological distress (OR=3.3)' (p. 99).

There is another reason for providing training to aid workers – to preserve and enhance their motivation. Very often the settings in which aid workers serve are harsh and extreme. Obstacles appear insurmountable. Consequently, some volunteers' motivation may sharply decline after the vivid images of the suffering that have once brought them to the disaster area are replaced with the victims' slightly more 'normal' daily routines. Paradoxically, those workers who are continually exposed to gruesome scenes may be numbed as well. Motivation may also decline due to fear. One case in point was when the SARS epidemic broke out at the beginning of the century, some medical and nursing personnel were so afraid of contracting the disease or having to be quarantined and separated from loved ones (Cameron & Rainer, 2003) that they were paralysed. Fortunately, with knowledge and information, motivation may be preserved. Considine and Mitchell (2009) found that nurses with a postgraduate qualification in emergency nursing are more willing to participate in chemical, biological and radiological incidents: 'Willingness decreased, however, with unknown chemical and biological agents' (p. 482). The implication is clear – knowledge provided to aid workers in a timely manner in training programmes plays an important role in sustaining motivation.

### **What training to provide?**

Different types of training target disaster relief personnel at different levels and serve different purposes (Carter, 1991). For example, disaster management training targets the managers and senior officials. It aims to provide a master plan and overall picture and concept of emergency management. Skills training, on the other hand, is mainly for front-line workers who deliver specific services. There is also coordination training, targeting key persons in standard emergency services, government departments and non-government organizations. The purpose is to improve coordination among those units for better and more efficient disaster management actions.

There is not yet a consensus on the contents to be included in training programmes, even though the disaster response community has in recent years accorded very high priority to developing standards and guidelines for education and training. After surveying 12 leading aid organizations, McCall and Salama (1999) concluded that training programs for new field staff lack uniformity. Nevertheless, several ambitious attempts should be noted (Alexander, 2003; Prizzia, 2008; Seynaeve et al., 2004). For example, Alexander (2003) suggested that the primary goal of an emergency training course is to develop the disaster manager/planner 'to liaise effectively with representatives of all the professional and academic disciplines that participate in emergencies and disasters' (p. 120). Trainees will learn about the nature of natural, technological, and social disasters. Other key contents in the training programs include vulnerability, mitigation, general management skills, interpersonal relations, problem solving, and legal/regulatory

aspects. In the United States, the Federal Emergency Management Agency provides structured courses and programs to meet the many needs of a diverse audience that includes both government officials and local residents, in areas such as natural hazards, technological hazards, leadership, instructional methodology, exercise design and evaluation, information technology, public information, and integrated emergency management (Prizzia, 2008). McCall and Salama (1999) opined that to protect the relief workers' psychological well-being, training in stress management, conflict resolution, handling the media, working in different cultural settings, and team building are essential. Similarly, given the importance of teamwork in the overall disaster management, Schaafstal, Johnston, and Oser (2001) as well as Walsh (2009) suggested that the pre-disaster training to the volunteer should go beyond the training of clinical skills, but to also cover communication, coordination among teams and team building. All these efforts are directed to develop many of the KSAOs described in a previous section. In future, relief agencies may consider adopting the list of KSAOs for design of training programs, and at the same time be flexible to customize the training programs to the situation of the country or location (Carter, 1991).

### **The train-the-trainers model**

To pass on skills and knowledge to a large number of people and within a short time, the most common way is via multiplication through more trainers. Applying this train-the-trainers (TTT) model, the experienced professionals train selected, usually relatively senior aid workers, each of whom then conduct training for their subordinates and other members in the relief team. With this method, mental health/psychosocial services can be disseminated far and wide quickly to cope with post-disaster needs.

A few empirical studies offer preliminary and indirect evidence in support of this training model for disaster intervention. For example, a group of volunteers were trained with the TTT model to deliver help in the aftermath of the 2004 Asian tsunami. Findings showed that the affected Indians who had received intervention from the trained volunteers reported fewer psychological symptoms than the victims who had not received any intervention (Vijayakumar & Kumar, 2008). Disseminating knowledge and skills by TTT can be beneficial to the volunteers being trained as well. Gelkopf and his colleagues (2008) found significant improvement in trainees' self-efficacy and optimism in their personal future after being trained to help tsunami-survivor children in Sri Lanka. On the reaction measures (Kirkpatrick, 1994), more than 50 percent of trained aid workers evaluated the TTT workshop they attended as good or excellent (Rowlands, 2006).

Note, however, that TTT is not a panacea. According to a World Health Organization report on a psychosocial support programme in tsunami-affected population in India (World Health Organization, 2006), TTT was effective only when the training programme had structured guidelines for

trainers at different levels and when there was sufficient supervision on the dispatched trainers afterwards. This is because

inadequate training often occurs through training-of-trainer approaches in which skill levels become progressively diluted the farther one goes down the training cascade and in which there is little monitoring of quality of supports provided or ongoing mentoring and support for the trainees.

(Wessells, 2009, p. 849)

## **Future directions**

In a humanitarian context, training is done to prevent or reduce stress among aid workers, to enable aid workers to do their tasks under adverse conditions, to enable leaders to manage, and to provide cultural understanding. In the above paragraphs we provided an overview of training for humanitarian workers in some agencies. We have a few observations and recommendations.

First, most if not all of the training programs are preparatory. That is, they aim to build up the aid workers' capacity for service in the field. While this is laudable, work should be done to strengthen and expand remedial training programs. They are necessary to ameliorate negative outcomes such as workers' stress disorder and burnout.

Second, for the few systematic pre-service training programs, more work to uncover evidence of training effectiveness is needed. McCall and Salama (1999) noted that 'organizations relied on printed materials for preparing workers before deployment. They had little knowledge of how useful their workers found this material, or indeed whether it was read at all' (p. 114). Very few studies report evidence of positive effect of training. Some even raise doubt if training is useful for protecting the workers against psychological injuries (e.g., Jones, 1985). Paton (1994) found that the very specialized training provided to the professional firefighters could not adequately prepare them against stress. Clearly we need to understand better the key to an effective disaster relief training program. For example, whether a training programme is effective may be related to the 'extent to which it prepares workers for the physical and psychological demands that could emerge across a range of possible disasters' (Paton, 1996, p. 14). Thus, having training and practice in a broad range of disaster contexts (including previous emergency experience) may be critical, and may promote predictability, control and adaptability.

Third, questions may arise as to what disaster relief skills are trainable and what are not. Unfortunately, there is very little research on this topic. Until further research findings are available, aid organizations may have to operate on the assumption that all skills are trainable, and strive to enhance them with the most suitable method.

In summary, I-O psychologists can contribute in two ways. First, assistance should be given to aid organizations to evaluate their training programs, to understand the benefits of training in a disaster relief setting (see e.g., Aguinis & Kraiger, 2010). Second, with insights gained from training evaluation, the training programs should be refined. New training technologies can be introduced. Only with these can the training contents be delivered in the most timely and efficient manner.

## **Summary and conclusion**

Regardless of their nature and their aetiology, disasters are extremely destructive to many people's lives. To respond, the government and civic society should have as their focus the community in which the disaster has occurred. While there are individual sufferings, the human strength and resources within the larger community should not be ignored. In the longer term, they must be put into full utilization for rebuilding.

Involving a large number of people in the response and rebuilding process implies putting many people at risk of psychological injuries. To contain this, relief agencies and governments should start with better personnel selection and training. This effort is thwarted due to a lack of a clear set of humanitarian workers' KSAOs. To fill the gap, we proposed a preliminary list for future use, and encouraged research and development of valid instruments for selection.

In this chapter we also conducted a brief review of training efforts. Relief agencies have generally found training to benefit their workers. However, whether the wide range of available training programs are effective, and how they can be made more cost-effective, should be investigated more systematically.

Our search of the literature did not uncover much work on other HR aspects of disaster relief. For instance, academic publications on the performance management of humanitarian workers are scarce. There is also no clear guideline on the monitoring and management of the aid workers' performance. This is a major imbalance, in view of the large literature in mainstream I-O psychology on the topics. How the knowledge acquired in the for-profit and government sectors can be applied and evaluated in humanitarian organizations remains to be seen (Quo Vadis – Demand, this volume).

Two other areas in which mainstream I-O psychology can potentially contribute include job design and leadership development. On job design, there is already some preliminary evidence that the motivating potential (as in the Hackman and Oldham's job characteristic model) is related to disaster workers' motivation, satisfaction, and performance (Millette & Gagné, 2008). Researchers should continue to examine if interventions such as team building will provide the needed social support and motivation for enhancing workers' performance in the field. On leadership development,

the potential for I-O psychologists' contribution is even limitless. With some modifications to take into account the cultural differences, leadership theories (especially those evaluated in multinational settings) and methodologies for leadership development can greatly benefit communities struck by disasters, as they struggle to organize themselves for recovery.

### Authors' note

The three co-authors contributed equally to this chapter. We thank Walter Reichman and two reviewers for their useful comments on an earlier draft.

### Note

1. For a more detailed discussion on how international and local aid workers might differ on the risk factors and challenges they face (such as organizational support, cultural competence, and interpersonal relationship), see McFarlane (2004).

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# **Part III**

## **Building Capacity**

# 11

## Women, Work and Poverty: Reflections on Research for Social Change

*Virginia E. Schein*

### Summary

Issues of women, work and poverty have received scant attention within organizational psychology. Given psychology's mission of promoting the human welfare, social issues such as women, work and poverty seem well within the purview of the field (Carr et al., this volume). Humanitarian work psychology, with its prosocial focus, promises to open the doors to such research endeavours. As an emerging field, it can draw on existing organizational psychological knowledge and research approaches for its investigations. However, given the paucity of research on women, work and poverty in organizational psychology, humanitarian work psychology may well need to expand its repertoire and develop research foci more appropriate to its objectives.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe one such variation – social advocacy research – as it was used in two field studies of women, work and poverty. The first study focused on the work issues of poor single mothers in urban and rural areas of the United States. The second study involved poor women in work-related groups in Nicaragua. By presenting the back stories of these projects through a first-person chronological account, as well as research outcome examples, the key features of social advocacy research are illustrated. These characteristics include experiential idea generation, compassion in context and research for change. The chapter concludes with a discussion of research as an influence strategy and considers the implications of social advocacy research for graduate training in humanitarian work psychology.

### Overview

Exploration and idea generation processes are important when we are investigating worlds of experience quite different from our own. Ignoring these processes and jumping too quickly to the logic and rigour of hypothesis

testing can lead to insignificant or even detrimental research efforts. Many research streams may have become dried out trickles because investigators failed to first discover and understand the realities and complexities of the issues under study.

On the other hand, researching questions based on our own experiences often does not require new learning experiences, as we are already familiar with the complexities of the topic. We are the participant-observers and have a wealth of experiential data upon which to draw for meaningful ideas and insights. From such a foundation, we can move to the logic of hypothesis testing, with the hope that our research will have a significant impact on theory or practice. However, to the extent that our experiences encompass only a limited aspect of the world, our research scope remains similarly narrow and limited.

Within a field of study, one way this narrowness can be overcome is by expanding the diversity of the researchers, in terms of background, gender, race, ethnicity, etc., within it. My entry into the field of industrial and organizational (I-O) psychology illustrates this. In 1970 only 4.2 per cent of all industrial psychologists were women. Between 1965 and 1970 only 3.1 per cent of the articles in the field's leading journal, the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, were on topics pertaining to women or sex differences (Schein, 1971). In all likelihood, the male researcher was studying the familiar or what seemed important based upon his experiences, neither one of which was likely to include the problems, potentials or issues of women in the work force.

As one of the few women industrial psychologists in the early 1970s, I developed a research hypothesis about sex role stereotyping and requisite management characteristics and tested it in two major empirical research studies (See Schein, 1973 and 1975). My research ideas on women in management emerged out of my own experiences as a woman professional and manager in a 'man's field'. There was no need to observe, visit or interview other women managers and professionals in order to gain insight. I was living the issue every day. In fact, my stereotyping hypothesis seemed so obvious to me that I almost did not do the study, wanting to jump to the next question. It was only after conversations with numerous male executives, for whom my hypothesis was clearly not obvious, that I realized the need for the research. That the research has contributed to social-organizational changes enhancing the status of women in management and has been replicated worldwide suggests that using personal experiences as a hypothesis-generating approach enabled me to ask meaningful questions.

Diversity in a field, however, can only go so far in opening up new avenues of investigation. In all probability, few impoverished single mothers will rise up through the professional ranks to do research based on their experiences. The issues of the poor and other powerless peoples will still be excluded. Hence, to incorporate such perspectives into theory and practice,

researchers must move out of the familiarity of their own experiences and into unfamiliar territory.

## **Single mothers in poverty in the United States**

My first foray into the unfamiliar world of the poor and disempowered was in the form of two community volunteer experiences. I served as board president of a battered women's shelter. I was also a board member of the Job Training and Partnership Act's Private Industry Council, which distributed federal funds to local job training programmes for the economically disadvantaged. Many of the participants were single mothers on welfare trying to return to work. During this same time media accounts were vilifying women on welfare, painting them as lazy, not motivated to work and having babies to get more welfare money. Yet the women I was meeting were quite different from those portrayed in the press. For example, I recall one woman, around 30 years' old, with only an eighth grade education and three young children to support, who worked all day at a minimum wage job and spent every evening studying for her high school general equivalency diploma. Her efforts contrasted sharply with the media portrayals of lazy welfare mothers. On one occasion, while I was touring a job training centre, I noticed several women from the battered women's shelter using the back door, rather than the public street entrance. I was later told they were trying to hide their participation from their abusive partners, suggesting other obstacles to the women's efforts to improve their job skills.

These volunteer experiences surfaced my research interest in the work issues of poor single mothers; however, they could not supply the creative fuel. No longer armed with insights and intuitive hunches based upon my own experiences, my initial ideas and hypotheses seemed stilted and lifeless. If my research was to have a significant impact on their circumstances, I needed to gain a fuller understanding of the realities and complexities of the lives of the women.

## **Research backdrop**

I designed a research study which focused on idea generation, opening up the data-gathering process to as much life history and current circumstances as possible. I have termed this approach 'compassion in context'. I wanted to look at issues pertaining to poor single mothers and work within the context of their personal and social circumstances. The contextual approach puts outcomes in perspective and brings to the forefront various factors – individual, historical and societal – that impinge on a situation. A research process that considers life history and environmental context is essential when one is investigating unfamiliar phenomena. Discovery rather than outcome is the focus as you try to live in and learn from an unfamiliar world of experiences.

### **Qualitative approaches**

Since idea generation and learning from the women were the objectives, the interview approach was the main method of data gathering. Some scholars criticize qualitative techniques, such as interviewing, as too subjective and open-ended and arguments are made for the objectivity of traditional approaches. But the objectivity of quantitative approaches, such as experimental studies or quantitative hypothesis testing methods, may contribute to our lack of understanding or compassion for those in impoverished circumstances. Quantitative techniques require and thus encourage a distancing from the people under study. It is possible to draw assumptions and make generalizations without direct experiential knowledge of the people in the research (see arguments of Mulvey, 1988; Gardner, Dean, & McKaig, 1989, among others).

While the wide range provided by the extensiveness of quantitative techniques is appropriate to their purposes, the intensiveness of qualitative methods allows for a closeness that is appropriate to their purposes. Qualitative approaches provide an opportunity, albeit briefly, to see the world from another person's point of view. Such experiential knowledge is essential if we are to address problems from the perspective of those in need. The more removed the investigatory problem is from one's own experiences, the greater the need for qualitative research. It is a way to at least get close to the reality of those under study. Idea-generating methods such as qualitative research approaches become the methods of necessity. Indeed, qualitative proponents argue that greater closeness rather than greater distance underlies meaningful enquiry. According to sociologist Blumer (1970),

The task of scientific study is to lift the veils that cover the area of group life that one wants to study. The veils are not lifted by substituting... preformed images for firsthand knowledge. The veils are lifted by getting close to the area and digging deep into it by careful study.

(pp. 31–32)

In a similar vein ethnologist Irwin (1987) asserts, 'Human behavior and social existence is a subjective and willful construction and requires drawing close to subjects in their natural contexts and understanding the fundamental human process' (p. 41).

### **Home sites**

An important aspect of the research process was to locate and meet with the single mothers, most of whom were either currently unemployed or holding down a variety of part-time jobs, such as waitress, barber or file clerk. Engaging the women in the research process meant going into the field – visiting the women in their homes in rural areas, small and medium-sized towns and small and large cities. One rural woman lived miles from a town, her trailer court, with 12 trailers, surrounded by open fields. Another



woman lived with her children in the basement of her parents' home, at the end of a dirt road. A city participant lived in a low-income housing project off a busy thoroughfare close to factories. The visits enhanced my understanding of their lives and contributed to the experiential idea-generation process. These research sites were a far cry from corporate work stations or plush executive offices, reminding me of how issues of the working poor are left out of traditional topics in organizational psychology. Just as we limit our research topics if we only investigate that with which we are familiar, so too we limit our research if we only study those who are easily accessible within organizational settings.

### **Women's voices**

Another purpose of the research was to bring the realities of the women's lives as close to the reader as possible. The interviews were tape recorded so as to have access to the words of the women and to be able to present the research outcomes through the voices of the women. The research process drew from the phenomenological approach of Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and borrowed from the thrust of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory perspective. Although the analyses focused on category development, the voices used to determine and define these groupings were presented to the reader in full. The extensive presentation of the women's voices, as they illustrate the categories, also serves to authenticate the interpretive findings to the reader and provides an opportunity for additional viewpoints.

The voices of poor women are often buried in statistical reports analysing the success or failure of a programme. Or they are lost in stereotypes portraying welfare women as passive, disinterested in work or unable to hold jobs. Stereotypes and statistics can be ignored, real people cannot. By providing an opportunity for others, such as policy makers, to listen to the voices of impoverished mothers, I was bringing the realities of the lives of the women to their doorsteps.

The research project, then, was an adventure in learning for me. It touched my heart and ignited my anger over the inequities in the world. The unfamiliar can also be fearful, as I found driving up to a tumbledown house, surrounded by old tires and rusting cars, in the rural Appalachian Mountains miles from even the closest small town. The interviewee's family history of abuse and violence triggered a mix of real and irrational fears. On other occasions, fear was replaced with familiarity and warmth as I sat at kitchen tables, played with babies and listened to the women's stories. I used two tape recorders and in one interview a woman asked, 'Why two recorders?' I responded, 'One might break and your words are very important to me'. These words might open the hearts and minds of policy makers, change agents and the public in general to the realities of the women's impoverished circumstances and in so doing encourage serious consideration of opportunities to improve their lives.

### **Voices of mothers in poverty: Outcome examples**

I conducted in-depth interviews with 30 single mothers receiving some form of public assistance. Their average age was 31.6, with a range of 21 to 42 years. Approximately half of the women had one or two children and half from three to five children. Nine of the women were 'women of color' and the remainder were 'white' women. Their average annual income was \$7802. All had some form of work experience. What follows are samples of two research outcomes. A complete project description, including research outcomes and recommendations for action can be found in my book *Working from the Margins: Voices of Mothers in Poverty* (Schein, 1995).

#### **The A, B, C's of poverty**

The first outcome category of the research examined the questions: Why are women raising children alone almost as likely to live in poverty as not? Why are these women in need of society's help in order to survive? Three factors seemed to underlie the women's impoverished circumstances. These are termed the *A, B, C's* of poverty and the single mother. *A* is the absence of the education and training necessary to qualify for a well-paying job; *B* is the betrayal by the man, the father of the children; and *C* is negative childhood experiences and non-supportive family influences. The first two, in combination, precipitate a woman's decline into poverty. The third factor, when present, contributes to the decline and undermines efforts to climb out of poverty.

#### **Absence of requisite education and job skills**

Almost all of the women lacked the appropriate education and training necessary for jobs paying enough to support themselves and their families. It was not that the women did not work; it was the nature of the jobs that they were able to get that produced the problem. Most of the women had held a variety of jobs, usually minimum wage or low-paying ones. Their work histories usually began with 'I have always worked', and ended with 'I really like working'.

Sally: *I started working when I was 13, at a restaurant washing dishes.*

LaVerne: *I've baby sat, worked in restaurants, on construction, in sewing factories, food factories, a dog-bone factory.*

Marie: *When I was in high school I was a dishwasher. Even before that I cleaned school desks. I worked in a couple of fruit-packing companies. I was a waitress. You do what you have to do.*

#### **Betrayal by the mate**

The second common factor was the betrayal by the man, the father of the children. The men varied in the ways in which they failed as partners to the women and fathers to the children. Over one-third of the men were abusive, with physical abuse as the primary form of mistreatment. The others were

addicts, were poor providers, relying on the women for financial support, or were simply disappearing dads.

When he would go into one of his rages, I didn't know if I was going to live until the next morning or not. My mind would be clicking – how to keep safe, how to keep the kids safe. I would leave, but then come back. Then I couldn't leave... He said he would shoot the kids or me. He beat me and beat the kids. I was afraid to leave. I was afraid to stay.

Gloria

### **Childhood survivors**

There was a third factor – early years and family influences – that was a problem for some of the women, but not all of them. Some of the women experienced abuse early in their lives, had alcoholic parents or were raised in a household which fostered a sense of unworthiness and low self-esteem. Regardless of a positive or negative childhood, when the woman was placed in the position of being the head of the household, her family was rarely able to provide any financial help.

### **Work: Hitting the cellar ceiling**

Another research outcome looked at: What kinds of work did the women do? What jobs have they held? How did they experience these jobs? Considering all of the work stories, what emerged was a picture of the women as 1) marginalized from the working mainstream; 2) vulnerable and powerless in work systems; 3) in low-paying jobs; and 4) expressing a positive attitude towards working. They occupied jobs in the basement, working hard, only to hit their heads on the 'cellar ceiling'.

The jobs mentioned most frequently were factory work, waitressing and care giving. These are jobs out of the mainstream of occupations or organizations that provide advancement or opportunities for further training. The piece rate factory worker or the waitress can work hard and earn a little bit more money, but these efforts do not lead to a better job. For these women, starting at the bottom meant staying at the bottom.

Second, they are rarely in systems – organizations or occupations – that feel any sense of responsibility to them as employees. Any work disruption, such as a sick child needing attention, or health problem, such as swollen legs, and the woman was fired. Ironically, the women who need organizational help the most are often in jobs situations that lack supportive employee benefits.

Third, most of the jobs are those traditionally held by women. As with most 'women's work', they are low-paying ones. Although the women are the 'breadwinners' of the family, their annual salaries rarely rise much above the federal poverty guidelines for their family size.

Lastly, what emerged was a generally positive attitude towards both the jobs they do and working in general. For the women in the study, working

meant money, more control over their lives and a positive self-image. The women worked hard at jobs that had many undesirable aspects, yet they were able to maintain a positive attitude towards work and working.

### **Single mothers in poverty: A framework for action**

Looking at the work issues of single mothers in poverty within the context of their life histories and social circumstances produced a broad and multifaceted picture of their lives. An effective action framework needs to be holistic as well. The study proposed an action framework encompassing three components: income opportunities, social support and linking systems, and help and healing. An income opportunity is one that provides the possibility of earning a family wage with good benefits, offers a good chance of increased earnings over time and has possibilities for growth in skills and advancement. Ways to enhance income potential include post-secondary education, higher-paying nontraditional jobs, interest-based training and entrepreneurial opportunities.

The second component is a work and community support system that recognizes and facilitates the women's dual roles as mothers and providers. A broad-based system might include information networks, communal housing and resource sharing, leaning links between the women and community members and a work-family partnership perspective.

Help and healing is an aspect of the framework that has received the least amount of public attention. Even without the extreme brutalities of domestic violence, the psychological battering these women have lived with needs to be healed and a solid personal foundation rebuilt. The three components of the action framework are detailed in Schein (1995). Like a three-legged stool, all three legs are necessary to form a firm stepping stool out of poverty. The framework for a future facilitates the women's efforts to build a life – for themselves and their children – that is filled with hope and opportunities.

### **Characteristics of social advocacy research**

The research study of single mothers in poverty illustrates the three main aspects of social advocacy research: experiential idea generation, compassion in context and research for change. The research interest emanated from volunteer experiences and reflects experiential idea generation. Going into the field, in this case to the homes of the women, also illustrates an aspect of the experiential idea generation process. Compassion in context is shown by the consideration of all aspects of the women's lives, not just the topic in question. Employing the qualitative data gathering approach facilitates both experiential idea generation and compassion in context. Finally, as research for change, the study was designed to ascertain factors that could bring the women out of poverty and to influence others to make

these changes. The latter, done through the gathering of the voices of the women, is a unique feature of social advocacy research. It is intended to move the heart. By bringing these voices to policy makers, those unfamiliar with the realities of the women's lives are shown the complexity and difficulty of their circumstances. The poignancy of the voices may be able to move hearts in ways that statistical arguments cannot. It is this deep-felt understanding of another's suffering that is often the significant motivator to action.

### **Marginalized women workers in Nicaragua**

In Nicaragua I rode a mule across a river to meet with a women's community group. If my research on poor women and work in the United States allowed me to peek into unfamiliar territory, my study of women, work and poverty in Nicaragua flung the door to unfamiliarity wide open. The second field study, involving poor women in work-related groups, can also be characterized as social advocacy research and illustrates the components of experiential idea generation, compassion in context, and research for change.

As with the US research, the project idea came out of a volunteer experience. In this case, as a college professor I had volunteered to lead a small group of students on a two-week service learning project to Nicaragua. I lived with two Nicaraguan families, engaging in community development work with one and picking coffee in the mountains with the other. I also interviewed leaders of various women's groups, including those in a micro-enterprise development organization (See Schein, 1999).

These experiences prompted my interest in studying the functions of work group participation for poor women in developing countries. Research on these groups, such as microenterprise peer lending groups, tends to focus on economic outcomes, such as business success and loan repayment rates (i.e., Otero & Rhyne, 1994). Limited attention has been paid to the psychological functions that group participation can have for women. For example, what is the impact of participation on women's self-esteem, attitudes towards children and roles in the family, community and society at large? Are there changes in behaviours, such as in the relationship with the partner, community involvement or political participation? What are the attitudinal and behavioural outcomes of economic empowerment? What is the value added of participation in work-related groups and how do such outcomes enhance women's agency in 'developing' societies?

### **Research backdrop**

To examine these questions I used the interview approach as the main data gathering method. I wanted to learn from the women, allowing the

functions to emerge from the conversations with them. Eight work-related groups agreed to participate. These included two union groups, one of sex workers and one of domestic house workers, two workers' co-operatives, one for agriculture and one for weaving, one income-generating farm group, one community development group, one microenterprise development group, and one group of garment assembly factory workers.

Group interviews with women members of the work-related groups were conducted with the help of a translator. Employing compassion in context, other areas were also explored, such as economic situation, life in general, hopes for the future and the role of women in Nicaraguan society. My previous experiences (Schein, 1999) of living with families similar to those of the women supplied additional context, as did interviews with four women community leaders.

### **Work sites**

I met with the women, except in one case, in locations related to their work or work groups. To meet with a group of chicken and pig farmers I had to crawl under a barbed wire fence to get to their small farm. A river normally crossable by jeep was swollen by heavy rain the night before, necessitating the aforementioned mule ride to meet with a community development group. The interviews with the sex workers were held in a decaying union hall. I met secretly with the garment assembly factory workers in a community health centre on a non work day. If any of the factory owners or supervisors had been informed of their presence at the meeting, the women would have been fired.

### **Women's voices**

The research analysis process was similar to that of the United States study. The interviews were tape recorded and the voices of the women were used to illustrate the outcome categories. Poor women in developing countries would seem to be the most silenced of all groups. Their voices are lost amidst the political and policy dicta, not to mention the marginalization that results from living in poverty. As observed by Anthony Marsella (see Schein et al., 2011), in speaking of the way large international and national development agencies function:

...give us figures, percentages, charts, and curves. Unfortunately, by itself, this approach has shaped an orientation to global poverty reduction that has permitted policymakers, service providers, and wealth keepers and distributors to keep a distance from the suffering of people. It is time for a change... show them faces of starvation, words of want.

Presenting the research outcomes through the voices of the women provides the opportunity to bring the realities of their circumstances directly to such policy makers and relevant others.

### **Functions of work-related group participation: Outcome examples**

I met with a total of 57 women from 8 different work-related groups. The women ranged in age from 19 to 66, with the average age being 39.4. Twenty of the women were married, 6 lived with partners, 30 lived alone as heads of households, and 1 lived with parents. All of the women, except one, had children. What follows is a sampling of the research outcomes. A complete description of the research project, including outcomes, can be found in Schein (2003).

#### **Meaning of group membership**

Five categories emerged as reflective of the meaning of work-related group participation for the women: no longer marginalized; social and emotional support; group and organizing skills; technical skills; and rights awareness and protection, at least three other major categories emerged as...

##### **No longer marginalized**

- *Before coming I worked in my house cooking and cleaning. When you are in your house, you have no idea of the world outside, and here you can find a place to share and to learn.*
- *When the nuns came here they realized that we were working just in the house. We were marginalized, all alone in what we were doing in the house. They invited a group to teach us how to make soap. The nuns left and we called it the 'nun's soap'.*

##### **Social and emotional support**

- *In the group we talk about the personal problems and about problems in the group. We help each other and we understand each other.*
- *We are all the same. We are sisters. I feel these women are my family. There's trust.*

##### **Group and organizing skills**

- *When we are together, we have power. If we work together, we can help each other.*
- *We learnt how to live together and be organized.*

## **Changes**

Changes were evident in four areas: personal; interpersonal; community; and organizational and economic. Illustrations of two of these categories are as follows:

### **Interpersonal**

- *In the beginning, I did not speak up at all. I needed to speak up to get approval for the project. Now I give my opinion without problems. I've never had the opportunity to be with women.*
- *Before I let men mistreat me, but now I know how to defend myself.*

### **Organizational and economic**

- *I have a business at home and also another business in the street. I've built my house. Before I lived in a plastic house and now I have a real house. I want to keep on improving my life. I have 200 cordovas in savings.*
- *Because I was working in the weaving co-op I could pay for their studies. If I didn't, my children would be nothing now. One is lawyer and one is a mechanical engineer.*

## **Positive outcomes of work-related group participation**

Overall, the research reveals the variety of significant outcomes, beyond that of economic improvement, which can result from the participation of poor women in work-related groups. For example, social and emotional support enhances their personal development and sense of agency. The development of group and organizing skills allows them operate more effectively as equals in the world. New technical skills, awareness of their personal and work rights and being no longer isolated also help empower the women. While all of these outcomes are meaningful, they are even more significant within the context of the impoverished lives of women in developing countries, such as Nicaragua. Participation in work-related groups can be an important way to improve the quality of the lives of women in these countries.

## **Characteristics of social advocacy research**

The research study of marginalized women workers in Nicaragua illustrates the three main characteristics of social advocacy research: experiential idea generation, compassion in context and research for change. Similar to the US study, the idea emerged from a volunteer experience and reflects experiential idea generation. Going into the field – to the women living in remote locations – demonstrates another facet of experiential idea generation. The consideration of aspects of the women's lives beyond group participation



brings compassion in context into play and the use of the qualitative data gathering approach facilitates compassion in context and experiential idea generation. Finally, as research for change, the women's voices allow for an emotional appeal which can highlight the urgency and need to improve the circumstances of the women. The voices put a human face on global poverty issues, and inspire us to seek solutions.

### **Research as an influence strategy**

At the heart of social advocacy research is change. It is designed to improve work and life conditions by influencing key policy makers and other significant power holders. The purpose of the research on single mothers in poverty in the United States, for example, was to understand their situation and to use this understanding to develop a holistic action framework for change. But what does it take to move seriously and strenuously on all fronts of such an action framework for the future? The answer lies in listening to the voices of the women. By doing so we move beyond stereotyping and the distancing it promotes to see the women as individuals. The voices of the women reveal their strengths and allow us to embrace their heroic side. Neither victim nor scapegoat, they are women overcoming hardships to be mothers and heads of families. Serious consideration of a holistic action framework can be fuelled by a transformation of attitudes about poor single mothers, especially by policy makers and others far removed from their world.

The voices of the women, then, become a tool for influencing relevant others. Armed with these voices, we can become advocates for action plans to improve their lives. We can paint a picture of their circumstances, developed from research-based knowledge, which can sway the minds of the policy makers. Properly designed, our research becomes a bridge between the world of the poor and powerless and that of the powerful.

As observed by Sloan (1990), issues of poverty and social injustice require a psychological perspective that is change-oriented. A change approach challenges the positivistic research methodology and calls for a broadening of methodologies to include those more relevant to the study of complex social problems. Social advocacy research shares some of the aims of one such form of enquiry, that of action research. These commonalities include dealing with social problems, a concern for power and the powerless, valuing the knowledge and experience of people, often oppressed groups, solving practical problems and bringing about change that has positive social value (Eldon & Chisholm, 1993; Reason, 1994). Most action research, however, focuses on changes within the participants' social system, such as their group, community or organization, and engages the participants in this change process. Social advocacy research, on the other hand, looks outward and advocates for change on behalf of the participants, and those in similar circumstances. The research outcomes become part of an influence

process, designed to bring about changes at the policy level (Saner & Yiu, this volume).

This research-based strategy for change can build on and effectively use the organizational and business credibility of organizational psychology. For example, in my role as an organizational psychologist and professor I participated in the public policy debates on changing the welfare system. Through op-eds and radio talk shows, I was able to present my research outcomes, including the voices of the poor single mothers, and bring the realities of the lives of the women before the public. More recently, I was invited to write a case on leadership for a book designed for business students and managers (Schein, 2011). I used this opportunity to prepare a case, presented through the voices of women garment assembly workers in Nicaragua, about leading and motivating disadvantaged workers. The case moves hearts. It may also inform and influence leaders to encourage and implement more humane working conditions within the garment industry.

Is this a new role for research within organizational psychology? Yes, it is. But the field of humanitarian work psychology is also new. Its prosocial agenda is a good fit with social advocacy research (Carr et al., this volume). Research that seeks to influence others in order to promote social change meshes well with humanitarian work psychology.

### **Implications for graduate training in humanitarian work psychology**

Consideration of a social advocacy research approach as it relates to poverty and social change has implications for training in humanitarian work psychology. Most importantly, it requires attention to socially relevant issues. To do so, training needs to come from a perspective in which the focus is as much on the interests and concerns of the working person in society as it is on the interests of the organization. Along these lines, Zickar (2010), akin to the work of Lefkowitz (2003), calls for a humanistic movement within I-O psychology, one that addresses issues of social justice and worker well-being. In concert with social advocacy research, he points out the value of soliciting respondents outside of their workplaces and suggests that qualitative techniques may be more appropriate for the beginning stages of research on social justice and personal welfare.

Social advocacy research highlights the importance of designing learning experiences that build on student involvement in social issues. My ideas for both research projects on poor women and work came from volunteer experiences in poverty-related arenas. More importantly, they came from experiences in realms unfamiliar to me. An obvious first step is to encourage volunteer activities in socially relevant areas during or even before programme training. The current emphasis on service learning programs in high schools and colleges is helpful here. Many students come into graduate

programs with volunteer experiences in soup kitchens, abuse shelters and community organizing. They have built schools or worked in orphanages in developing countries. As idea-generating experiences, they can be used in the classroom as a basis to design and discuss project proposals for research.

But field work experiences need to go much further. It is one thing to have the experiences that may generate research topics; it is another to actually design and do social advocacy research. Research methods classes in both qualitative and quantitative methods must precede field work. Only after such grounding can idea-generating research approaches be appreciated and properly used. A transformative learning experience for students would be to observe and then later participate in the kinds of interviewing experiences I undertook in the United States and Nicaragua. No textbook or class lecture can substitute for observation of and guided participation in the onsite experience of meeting with and listening to the women. The knowledge gained experientially is as important as the cognitive learning.

It is the 'listening to' that produces the 'learning from'. As an empathic process, to the extent possible, we move beyond our own preconceived views and attempt to see the world through their eyes. The more we can walk in their shoes, even if briefly, the more confidence we can have in the authenticity of our interpretive outcomes. Similarities can help this process, such as in my case that of gender and single parenting. However, even more significant is the trust generated by the concern for and respect of the women. Overall, in both projects, it was the caring and respect for the participants that allowed for a meaningful discussion of their work and life issues.

In conducting the research, it was a personally intense and deeply gratifying experience to share in the lives of the women. I listened to the voice of LaVerne, a single mother in the United States, as she described her life:

*I don't know why life should be so hard. Life seems like I get on a boat and I get going and something happens and then I fall back again. Then I have to start all over again. Then I get back in the boat and work hard and then something happens and I have to start all over again. It seems like I never get anywhere but I work real hard. The big question for me would be to figure out how I could get somewhere and stay there and keep going. But I don't know how to do that.*

Similarly, I listened to the voice of Gabriela, a women's group leader in Nicaragua, as she described her life:

*I think the people of Nicaragua, we struggle a lot, but we don't give up easily. Nicaragua has had a lot of earthquakes, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions and we are always living. We're always looking how to come out of hell, how to progress. These natural disasters haven't allowed our self-esteem to fall down*

*nor have disasters that are manmade. We are not going to fall down because I think that this spirit of struggle is in our blood.*

Listening to LaVerne and Gabriela and understanding their circumstances can open up avenues of research that may help change their lives. The social advocacy research approach, with its emphasis on experiential idea generation, compassion in context and research for change, entails entering worlds different from our own and engaging in a research process that hopefully can make a meaningful difference. It fits well with the poverty and social change interests of humanitarian work psychology and can be a significant part of its arsenal of research approaches. As this field grows, so too will the use of social advocacy research. At the same time, social advocacy research can enhance and help to define the emerging field of humanitarian work psychology.

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# 12

## Online Volunteers and SmartAid

*Stephen G. Atkins & Lori Foster Thompson*

### Summary

Volunteer aid delivery is central to humanitarian work, whether the work is in response to an unexpected disaster or directed at poverty reduction and international development more broadly. Many times, volunteer work assignments are relatively limited in duration. Short-term international volunteer aid has generated a great deal of controversy, criticism, and concern over the years, some of it warranted. Challenges and opportunities abound for humanitarian work psychology (HWP), which is poised to address many of these concerns. This chapter focuses on how industrial and organizational (I-O) psychology and information technology (IT) can be combined to improve the effectiveness and well-being of those receiving and delivering aid. Such is the focus of an emerging programme of work within the HWP community, known as SmartAid. This chapter begins with an overview of various problems stemming from international volunteer aid delivery, followed by a discussion of opportunities afforded by emerging trends in online volunteerism. It then describes the SmartAid concept, which entails addressing concerns pertaining to aid work by combining information and communication technologies with I-O psychology principles and interventions.

Short-term international volunteer aid, sometimes called 'voluntourism,' is supplied through a variety of sources, some more organized than others. For example, church groups and religious organizations send volunteers to developing regions of the world to assist with a variety of service projects (e.g., construction projects, working in hospitals, assisting with orphanages, aiding school teachers). Similar work is sponsored by secular organizations and universities, which have systems in place to help arrange 'alternative spring break' and 'gap year' trips for students and young adults. Service clubs (e.g., Lions, Rotary) send volunteers too, as do various professions 'without borders,' which sponsor groups of volunteers to work abroad for limited periods of time. The growing popularity of corporate social responsibility

(CSR) programmes in work organizations has afforded employees opportunities for paid time off to engage in volunteer work as well. In addition, some individuals travel abroad to engage in volunteer aid work independent of any official sponsor.

While such enthusiasm is laudable, it does not guarantee good results. On 20 April 1968, Monsignor Ivan Illich delivered a highly critical address to the Conference on InterAmerican Student Projects (CIASP) in Cuernavaca, Mexico, which pushed for an end to so-called voluntourism. Nevertheless, short-term, organized, volunteer aid trips became increasingly common in the decades that ensued, with a particularly rapid rise in this phenomenon in recent years (Raymond & Hall, 2008). For example, at the time of this writing there are as many as 85 specialist 'gap year' providers in the UK alone, which have collectively placed more than 50,000 volunteers in over 90 countries to date (Birdwell, 2011).

In 2009, Daniel Guttentag published a review of the literature on volunteer tourism, suggesting that the increases in quantity have not been accompanied by increases in quality. Indeed, Guttentag (2009) highlights many of the very concerns which Illich expressed more than 40 years earlier. Suggesting that international aid volunteers can be more of a burden than an asset, Guttentag (2009) discusses why aid professionals and sites tolerate burdensome voluntourists, noting that in many cases the agency providing the volunteers is a significant funder of the aid site's work. Putting up with the volunteers, in effect, is the price the aid site pays for the funding.

One key concern expressed in the literature pertains to the lack of adequate training and preparation for short-term volunteers. Speaking to a group of volunteer tourism proponents, Illich (1968) accused, 'You start on your task without any training. Even the Peace Corps spends around \$10,000 on each corps member to help him adapt to his new environment and to guard him against culture shock'. Guttentag's (2009) literature review supports this criticism, suggesting that volunteer tourists are at risk for impeding progress and performing unsatisfactory work due to insufficient technical expertise and training for the jobs they endeavour to perform.

Beyond technical proficiency, inadequate cultural knowledge and skills can also be an issue; deficits here result in interpersonal gaffes and missteps when dealing with local populations. To illustrate, consider the problems that arose after the December 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia. In 2005, the Fritz Institute conducted an aid recipient survey, which included interviews with 1,406 affected people in 197 villages in India and Sri Lanka. In India, 55 per cent of respondents found the clothing delivery lacked respect for their dignity and 40 per cent felt that way about food distribution. In Sri Lanka, half of the respondents found the aid to be disrespectful. Families in both countries reported insensitivities, such as used clothing being dumped in heaps for tsunami victims to retrieve (Fritz Institute, 2005). The quality of the workmanship during the rebuilding efforts was also an issue. Only a

few years after the disaster struck, complaints began to emerge about shoddy housing which was put up in a hurry and had started to fall apart (Marks, 2007). While volunteer skill deficits may not be the only reason for such outcomes, they often play a role.

Although some contend that short-term aid assignments give volunteers valuable insights about themselves and the world around them, Illich (1968) suggests that the damage volunteers do is too high a price to pay for such insights. Under such circumstances, one might ask, 'Whose capacity is being developed?' It is difficult to justify the development of aid volunteers' capacity at the expense of local populations, and it is particularly troublesome to do so under the guise of developing local capacity in resource-constrained environments. Aid has to work for the people it is designed to help. Enhancing the development and well-being of its practitioners (e.g., volunteers) must come as a clear second to considerations of whether the aid meant to be delivered is effective, meaningful, desired and empowering. A fundamental question for any given aid agency or sending organization is this: Is volunteerism a means to an end, or an end in and of itself? Without keen vigilance, those implicitly or explicitly espousing the latter viewpoint may be especially at risk for developing volunteer capacity at the expense of local populations.

An additional concern pertains to the shelf life of short-term volunteers' attitudinal shifts, behavioural changes, and commitment to aid once they have completed their assignments. Oftentimes, volunteers who are committed while on site are said to show little interest in continuing their service once they have returned home (Coghlan, 2008). In I-O psychology parlance, this is akin to a 'transfer of training' problem, whereby the service orientation developed during an assignment fails to transfer beyond the environment in which it was shaped. In many cases, little attention is paid to the so-called 'transfer climate' back home. That is, few resources are devoted to programme alumni (i.e., volunteers returning from aid assignments) and post-placement support, despite the potential for a window of opportunity upon returning home whereby volunteers' newfound enthusiasm may be harnessed and channelled in productive ways that lead to a sustainable commitment to service and aid.

Another noteworthy issue pertains to a lack of interaction with representative members of local populations. In some cases, language differences prevent much if any communication between those delivering and receiving aid, thereby blinding volunteers to negative local reactions to their presence and their work. In other cases, the local people selected to interface with the aid volunteers are not typical of the broader population with respect to education, background, attitudes, agendas, capabilities, needs, and desire for aid. This can give aid volunteers a false and overly positive impression of how their work is received by the community at large (Illich, 1968).

On a related note, volunteer aid has also been criticized for a neglect of locals' desires – that is, the failure to align aid projects and/or delivery with



local populations' needs and values. In effect, the aid that volunteers believe the local population wants or needs is not truly wanted or needed. In some cases, aid can have damaging second-order effects, such as the instigation of unintended cultural changes (Guttentag, 2009). Anecdotally, young aid volunteers from relatively affluent nations have been accused of accidentally encouraging rural youth to aspire for Western fashion, Western diet, and Western materialism. This can decrease respect shown for the local culture's elders and for tribal traditions. Aid deliveries can also act to minimize the critical importance of parents and village leaders in the provision of life-sustaining food, water, and shelter, thus undermining village and family life and corrupting cultural traditions. As articulated by the aid organization Suas (2010), 'the problems of any community have to be overcome by the members of that community'. Failing to give communities voice in the aid process can result in wasted volunteer effort at best and damage to the local community at worst. Such a lack of alignment is in direct opposition to the practices for successful aid delivery outlined in the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2005).

In sum, a variety of noteworthy concerns accompany short-term volunteer aid assignments, including: (a) inadequate technical skills; (b) insufficient cultural preparation; (c) waning commitment to aid after returning home; (d) volunteer tourists' lack of engagement with representative members of local populations; and (e) the potential for poor alignment between volunteer aid projects and the needs/values of local populations. Although these are not the only shortcomings that can afflict short-term aid projects, improvements in these domains represent notable opportunities to help people in developing countries live healthier and more productive lives.

### **Smartening aid through technology and I-O psychology**

While the list of problems perpetuated and produced by international aid volunteers has not gone unnoticed, the concerns remain. The fact that these issues still exist in full force more than 40 years after Ivan Illich's (1968) cogent and well-publicized criticisms suggests that awareness alone is neither going to stop nor improve the situation at hand. Perhaps what is needed is (a) a realistic acknowledgment of the problems prompted by international aid volunteers, coupled with (b) a constructive appreciation of the tremendous potential for volunteers' good intentions, passion, optimism, energy, and enthusiastic efforts to achieve desirable aims, if channelled and managed effectively. Such a view enables forward movement towards systems that address the difficulties currently afflicting volunteer aid delivery.

At their core, many of the concerns described above fall squarely within the domain of I-O psychology, and humanitarian work psychology. To some degree, they are talent management – or rather talent mismanagement – problems.

For example, one implied issue is a lack of fit between the needs of local populations, the job assignments given to volunteers, and the knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics (KSAOs) of those performing the work. The concept of person-job fit is a central tenet of I-O psychology, one which points to the importance of a close match between the requirements of a job and the KSAOs of its incumbents. Clearly, empowering and improving the lives of local populations in underresourced communities calls for a wide range of duties and jobs which collectively require a diversity of worker KSAOs. Accomplishing person-job fit in the humanitarian aid arena therefore necessitates more than just sheer numbers; a steady supply of volunteers is not enough. What is required is a pool of volunteers with a wide variety of documented skills, talents, backgrounds and interests. This enables the identification of the 'right' people for the assignment, given the particular needs and requirements of the communities and jobs at hand.

SmartAid is an emerging programme of work which uses technology and I-O psychology to enhance the efficacy and impact of available talents in disaster, poverty relief, and humanitarian efforts. SmartAid is not a single solution or intervention. Rather, it is conceived as a variety of interventions unified by a common focus on applying emerging technologies and best practices in I-O psychology to improve aid delivery. While SmartAid attends broadly to humanitarian aid delivered by both professionals and volunteers, the present chapter focuses specifically on volunteers, who also command the attention of SmartAid's early operationalizations.

At present, SmartAid is very much a work in progress, still in its infancy (Carr et al, this volume). As detailed later in this chapter, near-term goals for SmartAid include the development of an online system that greatly advances the state-of-the-art in selecting and training volunteers for aid project teams. This involves the collection of 'needed talent' profiles for recurring or ongoing aid projects, along with information describing would-be volunteers' standing on the talent dimensions of interest. An online computer programme then assesses the degree of fit (versus misfit) between prospective volunteers and aid projects and gives each volunteer descriptions and contact details for their best-fitting projects. Similarly, with the volunteer's permission, the SmartAid system informs participating aid agencies of the most suitable volunteers, providing fit diagrams illustrating aid project compatibility with a shortlist of candidates. Mutual contact is facilitated by providing email addresses to both the agencies and the candidate volunteers. Online training is then offered to narrow remaining gaps between selected volunteers' knowledge and skills and the knowledge/skill profiles needed for successful performance of the aid assignment.

Longer-term goals for SmartAid are notably broader and farther reaching than the initiative described above. SmartAid's breadth, as well as its boundaries, is perhaps best articulated through a variety of concrete examples, such as the one provided above, which detail emerging and envisioned

interventions. Prior to offering such examples, a consideration of SmartAid's current technological backdrop is warranted. The trend towards online volunteerism, discussed next, is particularly relevant.

## **Trends and opportunities in online volunteerism**

The Internet is a dominant social change-agent of our time. Just as Internet technology has dramatically affected work being conducted in private sector, government, and military organizations, it has also created new opportunities for international development. Virtually all facets of humanitarian work psychology will be influenced by Internet-related technologies and/or will convey their benefits at least partially via these technologies. To this end, there is little doubt that the Internet will shape much of what humanitarian work psychology yields by way of enhancements to aid efforts. This will be especially true regarding humanitarian work psychology's engagement with online volunteerism, a realm where aid workers and recipients will find increasing opportunities for connecting with each other for humanitarian purposes.

Online volunteerism is a phenomenon in which people use Internet-based systems to contribute services remotely. With its reliance on telework and virtual teams, the business world has long recognized that personnel do not always have to be physically on site or collocated in order to contribute to a project or team. Online volunteerism operates on a similar principle. The services online volunteers provide vary immensely. For example, online volunteers have been deployed to fight poverty in rural Guatemalan villages by helping to market the products of local farmers through redefining product images. They have also been involved in designing brochures describing the benefits of organic foods as well as in designing logos for local stores (United Nations Volunteers, 2009). Online volunteers have been used to identify and contact prospective donors of sports equipment, as well as to streamline the process of collecting and shipping donated equipment to developing regions of the world (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). Other examples entail providing free online tutoring and academic resources to underserved communities (Learn to Be Foundation, 2011), offering online postsecondary correspondence courses to refugees (United Nations Volunteers, 2008a), and collecting, analysing, and interpreting satellite images through the Internet to assess the impact of climate change (United Nations Volunteers, 2009).

Examples such as these clearly demonstrate that the World Wide Web can effectively function as a medium through which aid providers, including highly skilled volunteers, engage in humanitarian work and international development. Perhaps this is to be expected. As suggested by Amichai-Hamburger (2008), online volunteerism

may be seen as part of a natural sequence of internet development, since the internet was conceived by a group of volunteers who believed that

knowledge should be speedily accessible and free of charge, and because, since its inception, the internet has sought to find a means through which infinite informative resources may be combined and shared for the benefit of the public.

(p. 2)

The University of North Carolina's 'i-Biblio' (a.k.a., Project Gutenberg) may technically be the oldest example of online volunteerism (Cravens, 2007), as founder Michael S. Hart has been using volunteers to digitize library materials since the 1970s. More recently, Richard T. Watson has linked the notion of digitized reading materials with poverty reduction. His 'Global Text Project' is designed to create free, open-content; electronic textbooks for students in developing countries (e.g., see Watson & McCubbrey, 2009). On a number of levels, the success of such work hinges on online volunteerism. For example, in developing electronic textbooks, the Internet is used to gather local examples, discussion questions, case studies, and exercises from a global range of professors and students willing to volunteer their ideas.

There are now numerous venues for initiating online volunteerism – with these venues providing varying degrees of structure. Cravens (2007) reported that this sector has grown substantially in the new millennium, such that there have come to be thousands of nonprofit organizations engaging volunteers via the Internet. Very likely, the largest present-day venue for virtual volunteerism is provided by the United Nations Volunteers, which sponsors an initiative known as the Online Volunteering Service (United Nations Volunteers, 2008b). This service includes a web site where a wide variety of aid, community, educational, or service organizations (essentially any organization working for sustainable human development) can advertise their needs for virtual volunteers. In turn, individuals wishing to provide remote assistance can search for available opportunities and request to be considered for assignments of interest. If they wish, prospective volunteers may tailor their searches according to their interests and perceived skills. For instance, they can limit their searches to certain types of context domains (e.g., the integration of marginalized groups, income generation and employment, youth) and/or certain types of task assignments (e.g., translation, writing/editing, IT development). They can also restrict their searches to specific regions of the world (e.g., sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean).

One of the most important aspects of the trend towards online volunteerism is its ability to reduce the barriers to participating in aid work. No longer are individuals required to travel away from jobs, family, and friends in order to contribute to an aid and development project. This in no way implies, however, that onsite aid workers are now unnecessary. 'Feet on the ground' will always be needed to assist with matters that cannot be handled virtually.

It is worth noting that outside of the aid and development arena, virtual volunteerism has been considered not only a labour source, but also a recruitment tool which can increase interest in and commitment to a subject matter. For example, the field of astronomy relies on amateur volunteers to assist with data analysis by classifying images of galaxies, captured using telescopes, into categories ('Following the Crowd', 2008). This initiative, called Galaxy Zoo, helps astronomers study how galaxies relate to one another and understand how they form (Baker, 2007). Within just a few months of Galaxy Zoo's launch in 2007, more than 100,000 volunteers had classified over 1 million galaxies – a task that would have taken a single astronomer several years to complete ('Spreading the Load', 2007). According to some reports, the problem, if any, has been coping with volunteers' appetite for work. Due to overwhelming public response, the directors of this project had to upgrade their servers and computer network to cope with the demand for images, which quickly reached peaks of 70,000 per hour ('Spreading the Load', 2007). In addition to providing a way for scientists to gain much-needed assistance for free, this initiative is intended to raise interest in astronomy and recruit future scientists to the field (Baker, 2007).

Certainly, there are fundamental differences between a project like Galaxy Zoo and humanitarian work. However, there are also notable commonalities. We highlight this example from astronomy for three reasons. First, it clearly demonstrates that people are willing to freely donate their time and talent online. Second, it provides a good example of carving out meaningful and necessary work that is well suited to the skills and preparation of those performing it. In the case of Galaxy Zoo, this means work that can be accomplished successfully by non-experts with minimal training. Third and finally, it suggests that virtual volunteerism can function as a recruitment tool.

The notion of online volunteerism as a recruitment tool is enticing. It suggests that rather than encouraging prospective onsite volunteers to stay home, online volunteerism may actually *increase* the number of people willing to work on the ground. That is, online volunteerism can function as a pipeline to onsite aid work, encouraging virtual volunteers – including those who have never considered the prospect of volunteering on site – to later transition to assignments which require their physical presence. Theories from social psychology (e.g., cognitive dissonance theory, the foot-in-the-door phenomenon; Myers, 2008) suggest that working as an online volunteer will increase participants' commitment to a cause. In addition, virtual exposure to an aid site may reduce unfounded fears about travelling to provide assistance in person, thereby making the prospect of onsite volunteerism less intimidating. Of course, it should be noted that virtual volunteers can substantially contribute to humanitarian efforts in their own right, regardless of whether they ever become onsite volunteers.

## Pools of online volunteer talent

Thompson and Atkins (2010) describe a number of contemporary computing trends with broad implications for poverty reduction, including among them the movement towards ‘social media’ and ‘Web 2.0 technologies’ – terms referring to a second generation of Internet-based communities and hosted services that facilitate sharing and collaboration among users (Anderson, 2007; Shin & Kim, 2008). This technological development can be expected to deliver to the aid world many expanded opportunities for harnessing geographically dispersed talents – opportunities which are further facilitated by the proliferation of ‘smaller, cheaper, faster’ handheld devices continuing to encourage social connectivity (i.e., societal intimacies). One can rationally hope that the increasing affordability and decreasing obstacles to online interpersonal connectivity will diminish social borders previously toxic or counter-productive.

Research suggests that most international aid volunteers are young, affluent, educated, white, and relatively low skilled (Birdwell, 2011; Sherraden, Lough & McBride, 2008). As noted by Sherraden, Lough & McBride (2008), ‘Older adults, people with low incomes, ethnic and racial minorities, people with physical disabilities, and those who cannot take time off their jobs may have less opportunity to volunteer internationally’ (p. 398). In this context, the world of aid and development has a chance to expand, diversify, and upskill its labour pool by promoting and structuring online volunteerism opportunities that bring together varied talents.

In particular, we see at least six distinct groups of prospective online volunteer talent which could be more fully and/or strategically tapped – to productive and beneficial ends. First, online volunteerism allows individuals whose everyday geographic constraints preclude on site volunteerism to participate in virtual aid work (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). This includes people living in rural areas or other remote locations.

Second, skilled immigrants or expatriates – including those working in jobs that do not utilize their expertise – could be actively recruited for online volunteer assignments. Such individuals may be interested in opportunities to contribute to their homeland, virtually, after moving away (as they already do by volunteering to work ‘on the ground’ – see for example, [http://www.ilo.org/dyn/migpractice/migmain.showPractice?p\\_lang=en&p\\_practice\\_id=26](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/migpractice/migmain.showPractice?p_lang=en&p_practice_id=26)). Engaging this population can help diminish toxicities from brain-drain – that is, the talent losses that can derive from economically-driven migrations. If advances in social media reduce the social distance resulting from geographical displacements, then the migrating professionals’ loyalties could yield earnest engagement with aid projects close to their original homelands (Thompson & Atkins, 2010). In this manner, online volunteerism may facilitate a sort of *reverse brain-drain*, where underresourced communities in developing regions of the world are able to capitalize on

expatriate talent following migration. Online volunteerism projects may greatly benefit from the cultural insights and connections afforded by expatriates recruited for such work. Connected to onsite humanitarian workers through the Internet, expatriate emigrants may be in a good position to provide cultural, technical, and even local guidance. For example, those who are familiar with the geographical area where a project is based could offer practical advice (e.g., where to go for supplies) if needed (for an analogous point related to onsite volunteer work, [http://www.unv.org/fileadmin/docdb/pdf/2008/TOKTEN\\_factsheet\\_01.12.2008.pdf](http://www.unv.org/fileadmin/docdb/pdf/2008/TOKTEN_factsheet_01.12.2008.pdf)).

Hopefully too of course, the expatriate's vocational realities can also improve in the process. For instance, the virtual volunteer work could benefit them by providing opportunities for work related to their career backgrounds, thus helping them form professional connections and bridge gaps in their résumés. This is especially important for those unable to obtain employment in their career fields after moving to a new country. In a sense, this form of volunteerism could serve as a mechanism to reduce brain waste, which refers to the unfulfilled promise of expatriated human capital once abroad (Duque, 2008) that happens when new settlers' skills are underutilized in their new country (Carr, Inkson & Thorn, 2005).

Stay-at-home parents comprise a third population of interest. A highly publicized 2003 article from the *New York Times* described a phenomenon that came to be known as the 'opt-out revolution' (Still, 2006). The author was referring to the growing trend for highly trained and educated women to set their careers aside in order to stay at home with their children. News reports highlight women planning to put their careers on hold after earning law degrees, MBAs, and medical degrees from Ivy League institutions (Cabrera, 2007). Meanwhile, journal articles dealing with this topic have offered targeted advice for those trading careers for full-time parenthood. Focusing on stay-at-home moms, Cabrera (2007) points out,

There are a number of things that women can do during their hiatus to keep their skills up to date and have something to put on their résumés. They should keep abreast of industry and technological changes by working on projects, remaining active in professional associations, volunteering ... and so forth.

(p. 232)

Online volunteerism could provide a viable avenue for stay-at-home parents looking for flexible work assignments which utilize their skills. It has been argued that the efficiency of the virtual medium can encourage volunteerism among busy people who might otherwise shy away from aid work due to time constraints (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). In addition, the online interaction itself can offer psychosocial benefits to the volunteers at hand. This view is supported by the ongoing tendency for stay-at-home parents to

build and join virtual communities as a means of interaction during periods of social isolation (Martin & Price, 2009).

Fourth, retirees and elderly individuals can serve as an excellent source of online volunteer talent. Some of these individuals have years of relevant experience and a wealth of domain knowledge to draw from, which could be utilized for a wide variety of aid projects, such as those requiring engineering, business, education, or medical skills. Older adults' continued participation in service clubs (e.g., Rotary, Lions) suggest that numerous members of this demographic are interested in giving back to society. Unlike many other forms of volunteerism, however, the virtual nature of online volunteerism does not exclude those who have difficulty travelling, such as individuals who need to stay at home to care for an ailing spouse. People in Internet groups reportedly experience a reduction in feelings of loneliness, indicating that the Internet has increased their opportunities for social contact (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). Thus, for some older adults, virtual volunteerism could help mitigate the negative effects of isolation by connecting them to others while involving and utilizing their talents for the benefit of society.

Fifth, the Internet allows aid projects to capitalize on the skills of individuals with physical limitations (e.g., deaf, blind, wheelchair-bound individuals), who can contribute to online volunteer projects in ways that would not be possible offline (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). A recent report, for instance, highlights the online volunteerism of an individual with cerebral palsy and spastic quadriplegia who uses the Internet to identify/contact donors of sports equipment and facilitate the collection and shipment of donated items to Zambia (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). Amichai-Hamburger (2008) argues that online volunteering can empower those with special needs, encouraging them to redefine and strengthen their identities. Under the right circumstances, the Internet can function as a social support conduit through which people who suffer from social stigmas or who have disabilities can more easily develop and maintain friendships in their daily lives (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008).

Sixth, and finally, young adults could serve as a viable pool of online talent to develop. Youth volunteerism, activism, and political consciousness have surged in recent years, with much of this upswing attributed to the Internet (Helman, 2008; Koch, 2008; Levy, 2008). Volunteerism is said to have become its own unique culture among contemporary teenagers and young adults (Helman, 2008). Youth movements today, however, differ from the ones that came before them. They are considered more globalized, networked, open, collaborative, and profoundly shaped by new information and communication technologies than their predecessors (Juris & Pleyers, 2009). Consequently, books have been written about how to leverage media such as blogs, Facebook, online maps, and virtual worlds in order to 'mobilize generation 2.0' (Rigby, 2008). Newspapers wishing to reach young audiences



have established Facebook groups, Twitter accounts, and YouTube channels dedicated to stories of interest (J. L. Thompson, 2009). Educators are advised to follow suit to further motivate their students to learn (Wilber, 2008).

The incorporation of such media into humanitarian initiatives may help to further engage young people in volunteerism. To this end, social networking sites have been established to urge younger generations to fight global warming, help Hurricane Katrina victims, and seek world peace. Already, young adults have shown a tremendous amount of creativity in using the Internet to do good works (Koch, 2008). Facebook pages, blogs, and Twitter feeds, for example, can be used by volunteers interested in mobilizing and organizing their friends to collect needed clothing donations after a natural disaster. While such work does not necessitate vast professional skills, it does require energy, enthusiasm, commitment, and social media 'know-how' in order to be accomplished effectively. Such work is a natural fit for many young adults, who are increasingly gravitating towards volunteerism and Web 2.0 technologies.

Online volunteerism can also function as a training pathway which helps develop the skills young adults can bring to bear on aid projects in the future, thereby equipping them to do more than organize clothing drives in their later years. This notion reflects an important distinction which warrants elaboration. Youth volunteers represent a unique group. Consequently, recommendations for making the most of this talent resource differ somewhat from recommendations for optimizing the utilization of the more experienced online volunteer populations described earlier (e.g., skilled immigrants, stay-at-home parents with advanced degrees). Students are likely to be limited in their skills. They are, by definition, still learning the ropes; their domain knowledge has not yet fully developed. Increasing the rate at which students and other inexperienced volunteers are utilized may not be the most important priority at this point in time. Perhaps the more important goal entails channelling their efforts appropriately while building the skills they have to offer the world of aid and development. In this regard, online volunteerism can function as a training ground which enables youth to develop skills that become increasingly valuable to humanitarian efforts over time.

University students with faculty oversight can serve as a particularly valuable resource. Involving students in virtual volunteerism may not only benefit aid projects, it can also contribute to students' education. This notion is consistent with the movement towards service learning, which refers to a method of teaching, learning, and reflecting that entails a community activity or project linking hands-on experience to course concepts (Steiner & Watson, 2006). Many disciplines are discussing the need to combine service learning with classroom curricula. For example, educators are concerned that engineering students do not receive enough practical knowledge in their training. They see service learning as a way to address this issue and have begun integrating service learning into their curricula ('Service-learning,'

2011). *Online* service learning projects could give students exposure to real-world challenges while preparing them for the world of work, which is increasingly collaborative and virtual. Such projects, of course, must centre on the delivery of meaningful aid. Damage can quickly result when developing communities are viewed as a low-cost training platform for students, or an arena where aid is regarded merely as a desirable byproduct of student development. Although it is unlikely that educators would espouse such a view explicitly, care must be taken to avoid implying it inadvertently in word or deed. Presuming the needs of aid recipients remain at the fore, however, service learning and online volunteerism can be a powerful combination which facilitates aid effectiveness. If, beyond expanding the benefits of aid (e.g., aid effectiveness or aid affordability), service learning also yields, secondarily, a life-long interest in these students for sincere volunteerism, all the better. Ultimately, this can feed back to encourage further capacity development in aid-targeted overseas areas.

In summary, online volunteerism can function as a training pathway for inexperienced individuals, helping them become increasingly valuable sources of online or onsite volunteerism as their professional expertise and aid delivery skills develop. Unique aspects of the online medium also open the door to individuals whose present life circumstances prevent them from participating in onsite assignments. In this manner, online volunteerism provides an avenue for drawing a large number of skilled individuals into a field that may otherwise be devoid of their experience and expertise.

In our opinion, the aid and development arena has not yet fully exploited the power of virtual volunteerism, despite noteworthy initiatives aimed at this goal. The six populations described above are viable pools of talent which deserve greater attention, particularly with respect to the recruitment of highly skilled individuals and the development of low-skilled volunteers. Through such recruitment and development, online volunteerism has the potential to expand, diversify, and upskill the pool of talent available for aid work. Theory and research from the field of psychology can play a key role in this process. Social exchange theory, for example, suggests that we implicitly calculate the costs and rewards of helping, and then engage in helping behaviours when the cost: benefit ratio is in our favour (Myers, 2008). Work by Clary et al. (1998) outlines a variety of rewards gained through volunteerism. Programs designed to recruit and engage skilled populations in online volunteer work may benefit from a close examination of these rewards. Recruitment and retention of skilled volunteers could be facilitated by concerted efforts to make the rewards of online volunteerism salient and to structure assignments so that the cost: benefit ratio favors both online volunteers and aid recipients. Such an ideal is far from impossible; the delivery and receipt of aid is not a zero sum game. Indeed, according to some scholars, the best and most effective volunteer programs focus on ensuring benefits to both volunteers and communities abroad (Birdwell, 2011).

## SmartAid: Emerging and envisioned interventions

In and of itself, the trend towards online volunteerism will not fix the problems accompanying volunteer aid work described earlier in this chapter. Combined with I-O psychology, however, the power of virtual volunteerism may be exploited to facilitate person-job fit, or more appropriately person-job-recipient fit, where 'recipient' refers to local populations receiving aid. This leads us back to the concerns and controversies prompted by international volunteerism, and the assertion that they can be addressed by concerted efforts to 'smarten up' aid. A particular passage from Guttentag's (2009) review is most encouraging:

Fortunately, the negative impacts associated with volunteer tourism are not necessarily inevitable, and can likely be mitigated when projects are properly planned and managed. For instance, McGehee and Andereck (2008) note various local volunteer tourism administrators they interviewed recommended regulating the sector and possibly reducing the quantity of volunteers, while matching volunteers' skills with the needs of the community. Additionally, Raymond and Hall (2008) recommend sending organisations 'should develop programmes which will be of genuine value for the local communities', should approach projects 'as a learning process rather than simply an 'experience'', and 'opportunities for interaction with other cultures should be deliberately facilitated'.

(p. 548)

The recommendations just quoted are of central importance to humanitarian work psychology (McWha, Carr & MacLachlan, this volume), and most are highly relevant to the ultimate vision for SmartAid. As noted earlier, SmartAid is a programme of work which focuses on using I-O psychology and information technology (e.g., online volunteerism) to improve aid delivery. Illustrations of the SmartAid concept, both near- and long-term, are provided next. While some of these initiatives are works in progress, others are envisioned possibilities which demonstrate what SmartAid could become with the help of collaborators interested in humanitarian work psychology. These illustrations are framed around several foundational areas of I-O psychology: job analysis; selection and assessment; profile matching; performance appraisal and criterion development; teamwork; training and development; and career development and progression.

### Job analysis

I-O psychologists make use of job analysis techniques to gather a thorough understanding of jobs and the KSAOs needed to perform them effectively. They then use this understanding for various purposes, including staff

selection, job design, the development of job descriptions, and workforce planning. Given the importance of carving out online and on site volunteer work that benefits and empowers the communities in which it takes place, job analysis is critical.

Job analysis methodology requires judgments from subject matter experts familiar with the work at hand. The Internet's inherent capacity for low-cost outreach and connectivity to subject-matter expertise yields a useful mechanism for affordably collecting job analysis data specific to recurring aid projects. Now in its early stages of development, SmartAid is currently focused on this arena, collecting aid experts' estimates of the competencies required for volunteer team success within specified aid projects. Data are collected through online questionnaires designed to help individuals with aid expertise describe the KSAOs needed for successful project performance.

The Occupational Information Network (O\*NET) is a project developed under the sponsorship of the US Department of Labour/Employment and Training Administration (USDOL/ETA). Its foundation is a large database, which is constantly being updated and available to the public free of charge. The O\*NET database contains information on hundreds of standardized and occupation-specific descriptors (<http://www.onetcenter.org/overview.html>). The O\*NET staff has spent years developing online job analysis technologies for traditional content domains. Rather than reinventing the wheel, SmartAid is currently working to augment O\*NET's free online offerings in a few fundamental ways: (a) adding teamwork enhancement systems; (b) focusing upon – and where necessary adding – content unique to aid work, including alteration of O\*NET's behavioural anchors to aid-relevant referents; (c) shifting O\*NET's work analysis item structure away from holistic ratings, attempting instead to affordably approach a somewhat more decomprised ideal (Gibson, Harvey, & Quintela, 2004), and then, ultimately, (d) integrating all of this job analysis capability into one user-friendly online system supported by dynamic databases. This online work analysis system is to provide an easy way for aid agencies to articulate, quantitatively, the talent mix they need for each major aid project. It is intended to be flexible enough to adapt to a range of humanitarian projects, regardless of whether they occur entirely online (e.g., maintaining the website of an NGO), partially online (e.g., a dentist instructing a dental assistant in Zambia via Skype), or entirely on site (e.g., providing afterschool activities to rural schoolchildren in India).

## **Selection and assessment**

Work organizations commonly assess job candidates on KSAOs of interest in order to determine which applicants are best suited for the job at hand. Similarly, assessments are used for placement purposes, such as when

military organizations assign recruits to jobs and specialties on the basis of test scores. I-O psychology has a long history of developing psychometrically sound assessment instruments which facilitate selection and placement by statistically predicting how candidates would perform if placed in various jobs.

Such data-driven, scientific approaches to assessment, selection, and placement are largely uncommon among aid volunteers, where assignments are often made without a systematic assessment of volunteer KSAOs. Sending organizations that do make attempts to assess volunteer KSAOs often do so without evidence of the psychometric quality or predictive validity of their instruments and practices. Other systems rely solely on self-assessments. For example, some of the more popular online volunteer portals are designed so that prospective volunteers can search for opportunities on the basis of their perceived or self-reported skills. Such self-reports may not reflect the reality of what a prospective volunteer is capable of handling. It would be unusual for the business world to rely solely on applicants' self-reports of their talents and skill sets when selecting and placing personnel. Instead, a more rigorous procedure would be used. Considering the nontrivial stakes at hand, volunteerism should be held to a similar standard. As described in Chapter 10 of this book, efforts to this end are underway by Harry Hui and his colleagues, who are working to develop and refine instruments for screening disaster response volunteers (Ng, Chan & Hui, this volume).

Ideally, such initiatives will advance in the days to come such that psychometrically sound online assessment instruments are made widely and freely available to evaluate and document the relevant skills, talents, backgrounds, and interests of a variety of prospective volunteers. Work is currently being conducted within SmartAid to facilitate this goal. Ultimately, the ambition is to apply item response theory (IRT) in order to enable computer-adaptive testing (CAT) that minimizes the assessment time required. Computer-adaptive testing algorithms selectively apply a smaller subset of the items available, these being the items that provide stronger assessment of the apparent levels of a volunteer-attribute or a job-requirement. Eventually, a SmartAid's computer-adaptive testing system should reduce the number of online questionnaire items that volunteers, and perhaps subject matter experts at aid agencies (Harvey, 2003), must grapple with when being assessed (volunteers) or specifying the KSAO levels required for aid project work (subject matter experts).

Assessments need not be limited to multiple choice tests and Likert-type rating scales. Other possibilities exist as well. For example, situational judgment tests (SJTs) could be offered to evaluate and provide feedback on prospective volunteers' cultural knowledge. Recent advances in I-O psychology have produced multi-media video-based situational judgment tests to assess cultural competence. These exams offer users the opportunity to watch a video depicting a realistic situation and then indicate how they would

handle the situation, thus providing a relatively safe environment in which to gauge a prospective volunteer's readiness for interacting with members of other cultures (Rockstuhl, Ang, Ng, & Lievens, 2011). Assessment center-style 'in-basket' activities could also be developed to provide a realistic preview of aid work while measuring prospective volunteers' ability to deal with challenges arising during assignments. These in-baskets could stand alone, or they could be incorporated into entirely aid-focused tests and/or aid-contextualized assessment centres.

Regardless of their form, such assessment tools will be especially useful when accompanied by automated scoring and reporting capabilities in order to minimize the time and work required to evaluate candidates. Computerized data tracking mechanisms are also essential. Once determined, candidate assessment scores should be automatically added to a 'talent database,' which describes volunteers and their capabilities and is continually updated as new volunteers are added and existing volunteers' capacities develop.

## **Profile matching**

As one virtual volunteer has noted, 'Your skills, no matter what they are, are just the ones someone has been looking for' (United Nations Volunteers, 2004, Will R. Wallace, para. 5). The challenge, then, is to connect supply with demand – that is, to identify the projects best suited to a prospective volunteer's skill set. This is an area in which I-O psychologists specialize and thus an opportunity for SmartAid to contribute. With a talent database (i.e., candidate assessment information) and a needs database (i.e., job analysis information) in place, algorithms can be developed and applied behind the scenes to facilitate the optimal placement of thousands of online and onsite volunteers onto teams and projects that suit and need their particular KSAOs. As noted earlier in this chapter, SmartAid is currently working on this problem.

Looking forward, intelligent agent technology may prove useful in profile matching processes. For example, data derived from volunteer assessment instruments could be supplemented with data gleaned through intelligent agent technology deployed to deduce relevant information about prospective volunteers' backgrounds, interests, and skills over time without requiring all information to be directly provided by the user. Moreover, intelligent agents may be used to extend, or perhaps more accurately reverse, the above described 'fit' approach in accordance with the way many e-commerce websites are increasingly choosing to operate. Sorting volunteers to assignments is discussed above as a process whereby would-be volunteers are assessed and then matched to projects that align with their knowledge, skills, abilities, and interests. However, this may not be the only method available as the computing landscape continues to change. Apple co-founder Steve Wozniak

maintains that the future of computing lies in customization (Martin & Cohen, 2009). That is, 'smart' systems will increasingly adapt to their users, offering suggestions that are tailored to individuals' needs, preferences, and experiences. Already, we see this with web sites that recommend books, music, and movies based on computer-deduced assumptions about users' habits and preferences. Perhaps it is not too much of a stretch to conceptualize a future where volunteer opportunities, tailored to an individual's skills, experiences, and interests, are proactively suggested on a regular basis. Thus, in addition to matching people to projects, as is the tradition in I-O psychology, projects could be matched to people (i.e., volunteers, aid recipients, and communities) as well. Such an approach may further encourage effective aid delivery by helping prospective volunteers identify opportunities that suit them, much to the benefit of humanitarian efforts worldwide.

### **Performance appraisal and criterion development**

Sound instruments for evaluating volunteer performance are needed in order to develop (i.e., validate) the abovementioned assessment instruments and provide feedback to online and onsite volunteers. Technology such as web-based forms, handheld devices for use in the field, and hardware/software which digitizes and translates qualitative and quantitative data collected offline can facilitate this process. The concept of multisource (i.e., 360-degree) feedback, well known to many business organizations, can be applied to solicit input from multiple stakeholders, including local community partners. Job analysis information can be useful in developing performance evaluation forms which evaluate relevant aspects of the work being completed.

In evaluating volunteerism, attention should be paid to the scope of the criterion domain under consideration. Evaluated criteria should move beyond volunteers' perceptions of their experience and even the quality of work being performed on site. Process measures (e.g., team processes and cohesion) will also be important. Post-deployment measures would be informative as well. As noted earlier, there are concerns about the shelf life of short-term volunteers' attitudinal shifts, behavioural changes, and commitment to aid once they have returned home. Outcome assessments could be designed to include evaluations of attitudes and behaviours (e.g., commitment and engagement) occurring after the completion of a given project. Other ideas for expanding the criterion domain include an assessment of the degree to which the aid provided is desired by and empowering to the community in which it is delivered. As noted, some aid sites put up with volunteers simply because their sending organization provides funding to the site. One litmus test for assessing volunteerism, then, may entail gauging whether the site would still want the volunteers even if the funding went away. Of course, this question is loaded with demands for

socially desirable responding; getting honest answers would require careful forethought regarding the administration of such a query.

## **Teamwork**

The business world has long recognized the benefits of teamwork, which can prompt synergy and creativity, allow members to compensate for each other's knowledge gaps, and serve as a conduit for assistance and social support during periods of high work load or stress. Similarly, a great deal of international volunteer aid takes place in teams. Future opportunities for SmartAid to expand and improve upon this concept are plentiful. For instance, there is a need for applied research to identify the optimal mix of team member KSAOs for success in a variety of volunteer aid assignments. Such work should consider, for example, the degree to which team member similarity versus diversity (e.g., with respect to skills, experience, personalities, and team roles; see Belbin, 1993) enhances international aid team performance.

Another important direction includes investigating the utility of blended teams consisting of online and onsite aid workers connected through Internet and/or mobile phone technologies. This could provide an opportunity to link low-skilled volunteers on site to rich sources of virtual expertise behind the scenes. For example, young adults on site could be virtually supported by retirees, stay-at-home parents with advanced degrees, expatriates, or other skilled individuals with domain knowledge or cultural expertise who are unable to travel to the aid site. The young adults on site could function as the team's 'eyes and ears,' providing valuable sources of contextual information, helping their online collaborators understand the day-to-day realities of the aid situation. The online volunteers, in turn, could function as critical sources of expert advice and guidance. The onsite volunteers could then act upon this guidance, now operating as the team's 'hands and feet' on the ground and reporting back on the outcomes of the team's work. When possible, such teams might also include an onsite member who is not an aid volunteer but rather a member of the local community.<sup>1</sup> In this manner, blended teams of online and on site aid workers can be formed and deployed to help with problems, provide social support, correct misperceptions, and manage expectations among short-term aid workers travelling abroad, resulting in aid work that is effective, meaningful, desired, and empowering to the community it is intended to help.

Blended teams of online and onsite individuals could also be supplemented with past and future onsite volunteers. Again, consider the example of young adults participating in aid trips abroad. Such individuals could be given the opportunity to work in teams that include future (pre-deployment), present (in-country), and past (post-deployment) volunteer aid workers, along with older online volunteers selected for their domain knowledge,



professional skills, and/or cultural expertise. While the post-deployment team member functions as a virtual peer mentor, the pre-deployment teammate is shadowing and training for his or her future work on site. Thus, each young adult's volunteer assignment is a three-step process: (a) virtual participation in advance, that is, online training/shadowing; (b) onsite volunteerism; and (c) virtual participation after the onsite volunteerism, that is, online mentoring. In this manner, rotating, blended teams could adopt a 'succession planning' approach to volunteerism, providing an opportunity to train and prepare future onsite aid workers and encourage their continuous engagement once they return home. In this scenario, post-deployment engagement is solicited up front, and at the latest, immediately after the onsite assignment, and it is also encouraged on a longer-term basis as young adults witness the expertise contributed by the more mature, professional members of the team (e.g., retirees, stay-at-home parents) who have incorporated online volunteerism into their everyday lives. By providing a favourable transfer climate that encourages volunteers to incorporate the service orientation developed abroad into life back home, this model has the potential to address the concern that overseas volunteerism is a 'one-off' event with little subsequent commitment to aid. In addition, the implementation of rotating, blended teams provides an opportunity to prepare future (pre-deployment) aid workers by giving them a realistic job preview, allowing them to observe challenges on the ground, and exposing them to the wisdom imparted by experienced members of the team prior to going overseas. Finally, if they include aid recipients, the blended teams proposed here provide an opportunity for community members from the aid site to have a voice in the work that is performed, offering local solutions to local problems, thereby increasing alignment between the aid site's needs and the volunteers' efforts.

## **Training and development**

Commenting on the December 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia, Perlez (2006) writes, 'Many of the hundreds of aid agencies that poured into Aceh in the aftermath of the tsunami displayed arrogance and ignorance and were often staffed by incompetent workers' (p. A3). A year later, Klaushofer (2007) noted, 'crises tend to generate legions of offers from well-meaning members of the public to go and volunteer in the afflicted area, without having the skills or resources to be effective' (p. 1). To the extent that it is not screened out through selection and assessment, arrogance, ignorance, incompetence, and skill deficits can and should be addressed through pre-deployment training.

I-O psychologists have much to offer in the domain of training needs assessment, design and delivery, and evaluation. Efforts in these arenas can be applied to prepare volunteers for their online and on site assignments.

Such initiatives should begin by systematically comparing volunteer work requirements with volunteers' KSAOs. Training can then be designed to address the gaps. The ultimate success of this approach, of course, requires prior design and analysis of volunteer work that is of genuine value to aid recipients and their communities.

When properly designed, effective training can be delivered to volunteers both online and off line. Moreover, a combination of the two approaches can occur such that classroom training is supplemented with web-based components. The SmartAid programme of work focuses especially on technology-enhanced training due to its potential to reach many volunteers efficiently without requiring resources such as classroom space and physical collocation among trainees. Other noteworthy features of such training include standardization of content and delivery, the ability to re-use or repeat modules for new groups of trainees at no or little additional cost, and, in the case of asynchronous training, the ability for learners to engage in training on their own schedule, at times that are convenient for them.

Great strides have been made in universities, businesses, government, and military organizations to apply new and emerging learning technologies to education and training. Lessons learnt from those settings can be adapted to volunteer training and development. At the time of this writing, the SmartAid initiative is exploring the possibility of providing online courses to help prepare university students for overseas service learning opportunities. While some universities and volunteer sending organizations already have extensive on site programs in place to accomplish this goal, others with fewer resources do not. Educational modules provided online and free of charge can help prepare all undergraduates for overseas service learning experiences, regardless of how small or underresourced their own school or sending organization might be. Granting university course credit for completion of the modules, where possible, may help motivate high-level thinking and mastery of the material. This can ultimately raise the standard of student performance and student behaviour in voluntourist settings.

In addition to aid education, more targeted training and preparation can be developed and evaluated using principles from I-O psychology and human resource management (HRM). Much of this training will need to be local and specific – that is, local to the aid site and specific to the particular work that volunteers will be asked to perform. It may, for example, teach job skills, provide important local health and safety information, and offer a realistic preview of the challenges to be expected at a given aid site. It can also help pre-acclurate volunteers for work in particular areas of the world, thereby minimizing cultural blunders. For example, online training materials could focus on avoiding cross-cultural gaffes or faux pas coupled with efficacious ways of sincerely and enduringly conveying respect. This could include behaviours specific to particular cultures, ethnicities, and/or regions. In the spirit of online volunteerism and Web 2.0 (e.g., wiki) technologies,

individuals located near, or working closely with, frequent voluntourist aid-sites can be given an opportunity to enter cultural information believed to be helpful for foreign volunteers, including YouTube video hyperlinks providing cross-cultural training and role-play episodes of cultural missteps to avoid. This information can be presented jointly with the latest demographic and cultural advice relevant to each nation, province, or region.

As implied above, technology-mediated training can offer more than a series of text-based web pages or static PowerPoint files posted online. Moreover, it needn't be entirely asynchronous and solitary in its orientation. It can be designed to include videos as well as real-time interactions with peers, trainers, previous volunteers, local community members, and others. It can also incorporate team building components to help build familiarity, trust, and team skills among volunteers who will later work together online and/or on site. As noted in this chapter's earlier discussion of teamwork, online volunteerism can function as a training pathway preceding aid work on site. Indeed, this sequential preparation of the voluntourist – where online pre-participation within the same aid agency and cultural area becomes the norm in advance of onsite voluntourism – is a prime SmartAid goal.

The United States' military employs web-based teletraining to teach language and culture skills to soldiers going abroad. PC-based cameras and microphones are used to connect trainees to instructors and peers in real time. Videogames are also used to build soldiers' foreign language and culture skills (Thompson, Surface, Watson, & Hess, in press). Similarly, virtual immersive environments such as videogames and Second Life have been used in recent years to teach school children (Mitchell & Savill-Smith, 2004) and to train employees (Colley, 2008). Such technologies could be incorporated into online instructional modules for volunteers as well.

The key with any of the training approaches suggested above is evaluation – to ensure the training is utilized, engaging, and effective in developing volunteers' skills and improving their performance. The incorporation of technology does not guarantee that training will be effective, nor does it ensure it will be inferior to what could be accomplished in a classroom consisting of collocated trainees. Regardless of the medium through which it is delivered, training built on needs assessment and sound learning principles has the potential to improve aid delivery by addressing volunteers' KSAO deficits early on.

## **Career development and progression**

We began our discussion of emerging and envisioned SmartAid interventions with job analysis, which can facilitate subsequent endeavours including but not limited to volunteer selection, training, and performance appraisal. In the business world, job analysis is also used to establish connections among jobs

in the form of career ladders and lattices, thereby assisting employees with career planning. Similarly, systems specifying the talent mix required for various aid projects could be linked to dynamic online databases (e.g., volunteer portfolios) which track volunteer assessment scores, training events, aid delivery experiences, and performance appraisals over time. Such a system can be used to help volunteers document their accomplishments and advance to higher levels of responsibility if they wish to do so. The system should provide a clear path specifying how to move from lower to higher positions. Mastery of lower-level positions and responsibilities would render the volunteer eligible for particular higher-level positions which capitalize on the knowledge and skills that have been attained. Case study research suggests that such a system of volunteer career management would be well received in certain aid contexts (L. F. Thompson, 2009). By actively managing and utilizing long-term volunteers' KSAOs, career management systems can provide challenge, encourage and capitalize on skill development, and improve volunteers' job satisfaction. Ideally, this will also improve retention – that is, it will encourage volunteerism that spans the course of a lifetime, rather than a single trip.

## **Conclusion**

SmartAid is a largely web- and IT-based research and development programme operating within humanitarian work psychology. It is an emerging initiative which combines the power of technology and I-O psychology to enhance the wellbeing of aid recipients through the effective management of aid work and aid workers. This chapter has concentrated particularly on short-term volunteers, providing examples of how SmartAid concepts can be applied to address various problems and concerns prompted and perpetuated by so-called 'voluntourism.'

SmartAid's intent is to assist and infuse the global arenas of online and onsite volunteerism, as well as traditional aid agency operations, with the benefits of modern human resource management and knowledge management technologies as they manifest in the twenty-first century. That said, it should be noted that many of SmartAid's initiatives are simply 'good I-O' – not so much a revolution as an acceleration of what should be a natural evolution in how aid arenas engage with volunteers. Holding volunteerism to the standards that have come to be expected in work organizations worldwide can contribute to aid that is locally informed, community sensitive, and ultimately effective – that is, meaningful, desired, and empowering to those receiving it. Although some sending organizations already apply principles from human resource management to the coordination of their short-term volunteers, room for improvement is evident as reports of performance inadequacies and cultural insensitivities among humanitarian aid workers continue to surface in the news (e.g., Boffey, 2011; Marks, 2007; Perlez, 2006) and in scholarly arenas (e.g., Bolton, 2008; Guttentag, 2009; Vaux & Goodhand, 2001).

SmartAid's roots in I-O psychology are evident as it endeavours to develop and offer solutions that are data driven – that is, evidence-based interventions built to address persistent problems in aid delivery. Its grounding in humanitarian work psychology is equally clear, as it maintains an ultimate focus on the aid recipient's wellbeing. To this end, care must and will be taken to ensure that any IT-driven solutions do not exacerbate power imbalances or promote unhealthy dependencies on aid providers and their technologies (Baguma, this volume; Carr et al., this volume; Furnham, this volume; Lefkowitz, this volume; McWha, Carr & MacLachlan, this volume; Saner & Yiu, this volume). That issue is particularly salient in situations where a 'digital divide' separates the aid provider and recipients' technology access and skills (Gloss, Glavey & Godbout, this volume).

SmartAid's initial focus is on enhancing the quality of short-term volunteer aid delivery through online job analysis, candidate assessments, profile-matching, blended teams of online and onsite volunteers, education and training, and performance evaluation. SmartAid's longer term goals are broader and more sophisticated than these early endeavours, expanding into areas such as volunteer career progression and incorporating innovative applications of social media and intelligent agent technology. Thus, SmartAid is simultaneously a reality and a vision, a work in progress as well as a challenge to the humanitarian work psychology community and funders interested in improving aid delivery, disaster relief, poverty reduction, and international development. A great deal of I-O psychology, humanitarian work psychology, and IT expertise will be needed to develop, operationalize, test, refine, and improve the SmartAid vision. Indeed, SmartAid's occasional fuller branding as 'SmartAid: Consultants without Costs' reflects the oft-repeated notion or ideal of the boundary-less *professional-as-volunteer* (e.g., 'Doctors Without Borders'). Opportunities for pro bono work as well as SmartAid theses, dissertations, and internships abound. Publicized, accessible avenues for contributing I-O expertise to initiatives such as SmartAid would serve the humanitarian work psychology community well. The establishment of such avenues warrants serious attention in the days to come.

### Author note

The authors would like to thank Alexander Gloss and Michael King for valuable insights contributing to this chapter.

### Note

1. In 2009, 62 per cent of the online volunteers participating through the United Nations Online Volunteering Service came from developing countries (United Nations Volunteers, 2010), suggesting that this is not an entirely unrealistic proposition.

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# 13

## Building Digital Bridges: The Digital Divide and Humanitarian Work Psychology's Online Networks and Communities

*Alexander Gloss, Sarah Glavey & Jeffrey Godbout*

### Summary

The Internet is central to what humanitarian work psychologists do and to who they are. This is the case because humanitarian work psychologists frequently conduct research online, communicate and collaborate online, and help to promote their field and gain new participants online. This chapter argues that humanitarian work psychologists' use of the Internet will help to determine the success of their field. In particular, if voices from lower-income settings are not included in their online networks and communities, then the field risks not being effective and ethical, it risks losing the opportunity to broaden psychology's global perspective, and it risks exacerbating global inequality. These claims are supported for the following three reasons: First, it is widely argued that humanitarian work is more likely to be effective when the people who are meant to benefit from that work are allowed to voice their perspectives and participate in the process (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2009). Second, psychology's global relevance hinges upon whether it includes diverse international perspectives (Gelfand, Leslie & Fehr, 2008; Marsella, 1998) – and such perspectives would almost certainly include those from lower-income settings that traditionally receive humanitarian aid. Moreover, humanitarian work psychologists' online networks and communities are important places for those perspectives to be included. Third, the nature of the digital divide may not only reinforce existing resource disparities between active Internet users and those who are disconnected, but it can also create new networking and informational inequalities (Van Dijk, 2005).

The digital divide presents real challenges to including individuals from lower-income settings into humanitarian work psychology's online networks and communities. However, opportunities to build meaningful digital bridges to and from lower-income settings do exist. This chapter

presents practical examples of how these opportunities can be implemented in humanitarian work psychologists' online networks and communities. These examples are developed from research in industrial and organizational (I-O) psychology, from information and communication technology development initiatives, and from the best practices of online community management. Similar to humanitarian work, the work of building digital bridges cannot be effectively and ethically undertaken unless those who are meant to benefit from digital bridges help to oversee and participate in the work. Because all participants in the field of humanitarian work psychology stand to gain from bridging the digital divide, this chapter does not advocate for one-sided assistance, but for willing partnerships between everyone involved.

Before considering the practical ways that humanitarian work psychologists can build digital bridges, we elaborate on: humanitarian work psychologists' use of the Internet, best practices in the international development system, the challenges and opportunities presented by the field of psychology, and the nature of the digital divide.

### **Humanitarian work psychology and the Internet**

Humanitarian work psychologists rely on the Internet to perform a wide variety of tasks and activities which prominently include supporting research, facilitating communication and collaboration, and promoting their field and attracting new participants. Three examples give a more detailed picture of how this happens:

1. Project ADD-UP (Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance?, Carr et al., 2010), was conducted in six lower- and middle-income nations and involved surveying 202 organizations (McWha, Carr & MacLachlan, this volume). The project assessed the effects of host-country and expatriate dual-salary systems. The project was led by coordinators from around the world who directed teams in the six countries of interest. The teams then directly liaised with the organizations undergoing study. Outside of brief and infrequent physical visits, the vast majority of correspondence and collaboration between the coordinators and the country teams was conducted via email. Email was used to collect and evaluate information and then return guidance and feedback to all of the teams simultaneously.
2. After the completion of Project ADD-UP, the University of Papua New Guinea began a review of its dual-salary system – in large part due to the findings of that project. When a professor at that university, an active humanitarian work psychologist, learnt of this development he sought feedback and support from his colleagues. He was able to communicate with an online community of humanitarian work psychologists via an electronic mailing

list entitled Povio (<https://lists.massey.ac.nz/sympa/info/povio>) which is devoted to the intersection of organizational psychology and poverty reduction. Within 24 hours, he received messages of advice and encouragement from humanitarian work psychologists on three different continents.

3. When an aid worker in South Africa realized that his ability to contribute to the success of a development initiative was reliant on gaining a better understanding of industrial and organizational psychology, he turned to the Internet to determine whether there was a discipline devoted to doing so. He found the website (<http://www.humworkpsy.org>) and the Facebook profile of the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology (Carr et al., this volume; Reichman & Berry, this volume), which connected him to several humanitarian work psychologists conducting research relevant to his work.

As can be seen by these examples, those involved in the field of humanitarian work psychology use the Internet for a range of different purposes. Project ADD-UP serves as an example of the Internet's importance to research. Research in the field of humanitarian work psychology is frequently conducted in locations remote to the researcher's workplace or conducted simultaneously in multiple countries or regions of the world. The importance of the Internet to research is also evidenced by the simple fact that several of the academic journals where humanitarian work psychologists read and publish (e.g., the *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, exist entirely online ([http://www.australianacademicpress.com.au/journals/details/7/Journal\\_of\\_Pacific\\_Rim\\_Psychology](http://www.australianacademicpress.com.au/journals/details/7/Journal_of_Pacific_Rim_Psychology)).

The use of Povio by the professor in Papua New Guinea highlights the importance of the Internet for facilitating communication and collaboration with colleagues. Because various forms of Internet communication like email are temporally asynchronous, they efficiently navigate the complexities of multiple time zones. In contrast, other temporally synchronous and data-rich technologies – like Internet voice or videoconferencing – have regularly been used by humanitarian work psychologists to acquire a greater approximation of the intimacy of face-to-face meetings (McWha, Carr & MacLachlan, this volume).

Finally, as indicated by the method in which the aid worker in South Africa became involved with the Global Task Force, having a presence on the Internet is a critical way in which the incipient field can promote itself and gain new participants. Humanitarian work psychologists have attempted to do this by, for example, establishing a website, publishing regular online editorials, and establishing pages on online social and professional networking sites.

This overview of the various ways that humanitarian work psychologists use the Internet highlights the numerous online platforms and tools that can become, and currently are, involved. These online platforms include

web sites or individual web pages, pre-existing online networking sites like Facebook or LinkedIn, the electronic mailing list Povio, Internet fora, and blogs. The online tools used by humanitarian work psychologists prominently include email and online voice and videoconferencing.

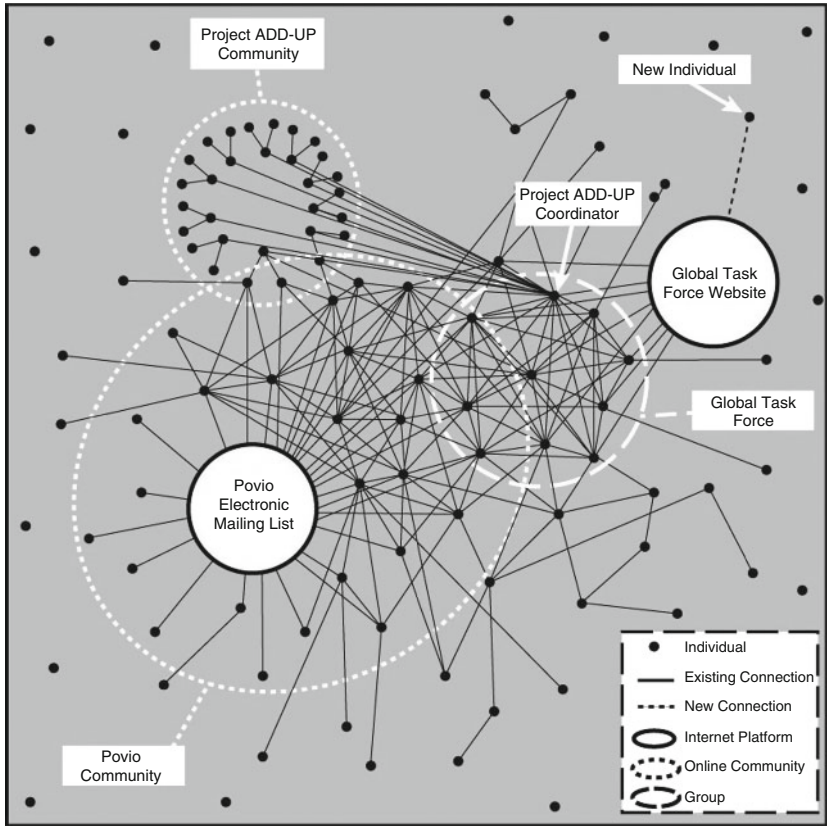
The interconnections between these platforms and among the individuals using these tools form larger online interrelationships within the academic field. We conceptualize these interrelationships as online networks. Building on Church et al.'s (2002) definition of international networks, we define an online network as a collection of digital interrelationships in which individuals are able to easily become involved, and in which they do not lose a substantial amount of autonomy by doing so.

To better understand the online networks of humanitarian work psychologists and how they have been structured to facilitate linkages between new and existing relationships, we reference Figure 13.1 using the earlier example of the aid worker in South Africa.

Figure 13.1 represents various individuals (black dots) who are connected to one another (by solid lines), to online platforms (represented by solid circles), and to the Global Task Force (represented by a circle with broken lines). By visiting the website of the Global Task Force, the aid worker was accessing a single node of a larger online network. In addition, because that website contained the email addresses of Global Task Force members, he was able to access additional nodes by directly sending messages to them. This process did not require the aid worker to become further involved or associate with the network, but it facilitated his ability to do so going forward.

Humanitarian work psychologists' online platforms and tools also support another form of online interrelationship – that of online communities. Preece (2000) defines an online community as a group of people who share a common purpose and who communicate and collaborate in virtual space amidst certain behavioural norms. Often, humanitarian work psychologists' online communities are based around a single platform. For example, the professor in Papua New Guinea participated in the online community formed by the Povio electronic mailing list. This mailing list can be considered a community in the sense that it has a defined population of users who share a general interest in the application of psychology to international development and a set of implicit professional and academic behavioural norms. However, online communities have also been formed by the use of online tools like email. For example, the regular exchange of group email messages among the coordinators and team members of Project ADD-UP constituted a close-knit, albeit temporary, online community with the project's coordinator playing a central role. Figure 13.1 visually demonstrates the formation of online communities (represented by circles with dotted lines).

Through Figure 13.1, it might be easier to see how humanitarian work psychology's individual online networks and communities form part of an interrelated whole. However, the full relevance of humanitarian work



*Figure 13.1* An illustration of the interrelationships in part of an online network

*Note:* The figure is not meant to communicate the actual number of connections or individuals involved but instead shows how such connections might form online communities within a larger network. Solid lines represent existing connections. The one black dotted line shows a new connection like that the aid worker in South Africa made with the network by accessing the Global Task Force's website. In addition, the central role of the Project ADD-UP coordinator as a link between that project's temporary community and the larger online network is shown.

psychologists' online activities can be more fully appreciated after introducing their wider context, including their relationships to best practices in international aid work, various aspects of the field of psychology, and the realities created by the digital divide.

### **Voice and participation as effective aid**

Humanitarian work psychology's participants are called upon to pursue the objectives and to uphold the best practices of the international development

system. One of the most salient current objectives of the international development system is to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations, 2010). The MDGs articulate the major challenges of international development and provide a framework for development activity. One of the overarching objectives of the goals is to halve extreme poverty by 2015 (United Nations, 2010). This is to be accomplished by addressing such wide-ranging issues as hunger, gender equality, child mortality, and environmental sustainability. However, the 2010 report on the MDGs' progress makes it clear that improvements in the wellbeing of the poor have been 'unacceptably slow' (United Nations, 2010, p. 3).

The poor progress towards development goals is at least partially a result of many ineffective processes in the international aid system (OECD, 2009). This system has traditionally been characterized as a two-tiered relationship between aid donors from predominately higher-income settings and aid partners from predominately lower-income settings<sup>1</sup> – aid partners who have sometimes been viewed only as passive aid recipients (MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010). Arguably, despite notable and important successes in improving the lives of millions of people (e.g., United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2010), the relationship between aid donors and aid partners has sometimes been fraught with inefficiency, social inequity, and tragic failures (MacLachlan et al., 2010). In direct reaction to the ineffectiveness of some aid relationships, the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness was promulgated in 2005 (OECD, 2009).

The Paris Declaration emphasizes adherence to five principles. These principles establish priorities of ownership, alignment, harmonization, management for results, and mutual accountability. A follow-up report to the Paris Declaration (OECD, 2009) emphasized that individuals, civil society organizations, and communities from lower-income countries, and not just their governments, qualify as aid partners and need to take *ownership* of the aid process. By doing so, it highlighted how aid donation efforts need to be *aligned* to these aid partners' systems, strategies, and objectives, *managed for results* relevant to them, *harmonized* with a wide array of existing efforts from civil society and the business sector, and placed in a working framework of *mutual accountability* (OECD, 2009).

The importance of the voice and participation of individuals, organizations, and communities from the predominately lower-income settings where aid projects often take place emerges from the above Paris Declaration principles. Easterly (2006) laments that this importance is often forgotten: He reiterates the imperative for those involved in the international development system to listen to the perspectives of people experiencing poverty, to let their feedback guide and drive aid processes, to be accountable for the effects of those processes, and to ensure that those experiencing poverty can take ownership for their own wellbeing (Easterly, 2006). As MacLachlan et al. (2010) point out, a widespread failure to do all of these things has

been partially responsible for innumerable failures in the aid system; and for exacerbating the interlocking dynamics of dominance, injustice, and identity that often plague it.

What also emerges from the above Paris Declaration principles is the complexity of the development system. As an example of this, and as a microcosm of the larger system, the field of humanitarian work psychology is made up of individuals who at various times: directly engage in development initiatives; influence existing aid donation efforts by higher-income governments, civil society organizations, and corporations; shape the nature of the aid system as participants in intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations; support aid partnerships in lower-income settings; lead lives that are directly affected by aid initiatives, and, as seen in the effects of Project ADD-UP in Papua New Guinea, conduct research that blurs the distinction between value-neutral science and social action. As Lefkowitz (2008) observes, it is a questionable claim that social science research can ever be value-neutral (also, Lefkowitz, this volume). Because research is inherently goal oriented it presupposes a particular set of values from which that goal is developed. This is especially relevant in the field of international development, wherein the goal of 'human development' is explicit (e.g., UNDP, 2010) and was produced from specific, and sometimes controversial, historical trends and philosophical assumptions about human progress (Shanin, 1997).

Because the field of humanitarian work psychology is reliant on, and intertwined with, the online networks and communities of its participants, adherence to the Paris Declaration's principles in humanitarian work psychology's online activities is warranted. If voice and representation of all participants, particularly those from lower-income settings, is not a prominent feature of humanitarian work psychology's online networks and communities, the field is in danger of contravening all five of the Paris Declaration's principles. Examples of the ways in which this might happen are displayed in Table 13.1.

This table shows a common thread running through the principles, how that thread plays its way out through each principle, how those principles can be applied to civil society organizations (including the Global Task Force), and examples of ways that the principles might be important to the use of the Internet by humanitarian work psychologists.

Of fundamental significance to humanitarian work psychologists is the fact that the priorities of the field are often set online. As an example of this, we need look no further than the effects of the aid worker in South Africa and the professor in Papua New Guinea discussing their experiences online. In both cases, their unique realities and perspectives were registered by other online participants, further discussed online, and eventually became case studies within university courses taught by humanitarian work psychologists.

Of further significance to considerations of Internet usage by humanitarian work psychologists is that when spending time and investing resources

*Table 13.1* Illustration of the relevance of the Paris Declaration's principles to humanitarian work psychologists' use of the Internet

Paris Declaration's principles	Common thread	Paris Declaration as applied to civil society organizations	Examples of the Paris Declaration's relevance to humanitarian work psychologists' use of the Internet
Ownership	The voice and participation from individuals, organizations and communities from lower-income settings	Ownership by individuals and communities affected by initiatives	Ownership is undermined if online activities are difficult or impossible to monitor and participate in
Alignment		Respect for the priorities and perspectives of local individuals and communities	Priorities are set online and often reflects the priorities of those who are online
Managing for results		Greater attention to institutional and social changes relevant to local individuals and communities	Attention is paid to institutions and social changes that can be registered online
Harmonization		Comprehensive approaches and coordination with existing efforts – especially from civil society	The makeup of humanitarian work psychologists' online networks influences who they communicate and collaborate with
Mutual accountability		Rebalancing of accountability in favour of local citizens and communities	Accountability is undermined when online discussions are invisible or inaccessible

*Note:* The principles and their application to civil society organizations are drawn from OECD, 2009.

into the field's online networks and communities, humanitarian work psychologists are often only surrounded by and engaged with a population that has access to the Internet, is technologically literate, and is motivated to use the Internet. The benefits and necessity of spending time online and investing resources in online activities in today's information-based and electronically networked society might seem obvious. However, as our discussion on



the digital divide will make clear, a desire, or the very opportunity to engage in Internet-based forms of communication, collaboration, and/or networking might be neither obvious, nor extant, for a great number of students, academics, development professionals, and community members that the field is called upon to engage with, respect, and listen to. Before further addressing this reality of the digital divide, it is necessary to briefly consider the relevance of humanitarian work psychology's academic pedigree in explaining current opportunities and challenges facing the field.

However, before this, it is worth mentioning that the importance of voice and participation within the Paris Declaration is somewhat ambiguously aligned to the concepts of voice and participative decision making in I-O psychology – an ambiguity that warrants further exploration. What can be said is that some I-O psychologists support the importance of voice – that is, an opportunity to express one's views – in helping to determine perceptions of fairness in organizational processes and procedures (e.g., Lind, Kanfer & Earley, 1990). In addition, it seems relevant and intriguing that I-O psychology has observed that the importance of wider participation to the quality of a decision – and its acceptance by others – depends greatly on the situation (Vroom & Jago, 2007). Therefore, even though there seem to be many benefits from participation in organizational decision making, the overall efficacy of participation across varied situations has sometimes been unclear (Brown & Finstuen, 1993). The results from I-O psychology on the importance of voice and participation provide intriguing avenues for further investigation but cannot provide any universal lessons for our purposes as further expansion of research into cross-cultural, cross-socioeconomic, and humanitarian settings is needed.

## **Psychology**

Because humanitarian work psychologists are grounded in the discipline of psychology and specifically the sub-discipline of I-O psychology, they are likely to import the values and traditions of this background into the international development system – with a wide range of potential effects. This is a particularly relevant point for relationships between aid donors and aid partners – relationships that are often characterized by unequal power dynamics (MacLachlan et al., 2010). As Mehryar (1984) observes, psychology might perpetuate, obscure, or exacerbate existing power dynamics. Also relevant is Marsella's (1998) point that psychology's origins and strengths are deeply rooted in the 'developed' [quotations are ours] world of high-income European and North American countries and that if the indigenous psychologies of many lower-income communities and societies are mentioned, it is often only in passing. In addition, while I-O psychology is rooted in a humanistic tradition, current research and practice has tended towards commercial and/or managerial interests and values (Lefkowitz,

2008). On this basis Carr et al. (2008) have called on the field to broaden its perspectives and to focus more on including pro-social and cross-socioeconomic concerns. Lefkowitz (2008) has called on I-O psychology to expand beyond the scientist-practitioner model and to create a new scientist-practitioner-humanist model that would turn attention towards underserved constituencies such as non-profit organizations. Moreover, Ager & Loughry (2004) have argued that concerns of dominant cultural biases in psychology are prominent reasons why the discipline has been underrepresented in the international development system.

Being associated with the broader tradition of psychology is by no means just a source of concern for humanitarian work psychology. There are notable ongoing moves, for example, within the subfield of organizational psychology, to incorporate global voices (e.g., Gelfand, Leslie & Fehr, 2008). Humanitarian work psychology can join with other sub-disciplines, like community psychology, which have focused for some time on relevant issues including cultural bias, inclusion, and the false dichotomy between research and social action (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). For example, humanitarian work psychology has drawn insight from community psychologists who have helped to reveal the importance, and nature, of participatory organizational change that transcends tokenism (Bess, Prilleltensky, Perkins & Collins, 2009). Indeed, this example is particularly relevant to the Paris Declaration's principles because tokenism is a dangerous distortion of accountability and participation (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). In these ways and many others, the broader field of psychology can assist humanitarian work psychology's efforts to build digital bridges. Now we turn to the challenges presented to those efforts by the digital divide.

## **The digital divide**

The digital divide is a metaphor used to explain a diverse range of phenomena relating to disparities in Internet use; but, the simplicity of the metaphor hides the complexity of the phenomena's causes, trends, and effects (Van Dijk, 2006). This chapter considers three dimensions of the digital divide – namely, the divide between countries, within countries, and within individual networks. Despite over 15 years of rapid growth in Internet availability, the digital divide remains deep between 'developed' and 'developing' countries (quotations are ours; Chinn & Fairlie, 2010). Although the digital divide is closing in some respects within higher-income countries, it is also growing in some ways in other regions and countries (Fuchs & Horak, 2008).

When comparing across geographic and political boundaries, disparities between higher- and lower-income countries are evident, but trends between and within regions are also pronounced. According to the 2010 MDGs Report (United Nations, 2010), in 2008 there were 68 Internet users per 100 people in 'developed' regions, whereas there were only 15 Internet users

per 100 people in 'developing' regions [quotations are ours]. Meanwhile, Internet penetration (the percentage of people accessing the Internet) varied from 62.7 per cent in Europe, to 19.1 per cent in Asia and the Pacific, to 7.5 per cent in Africa (International Telecommunications Union, 2010). As of June, 2010, while Internet penetration was at 71.6 per cent in Israel, 77.3 per cent in the United States, and 92 per cent in Sweden, the two largest countries in Africa by population give a picture of the diversity within that region: Nigeria's Internet penetration stood at 28.9 per cent and Ethiopia's was at 0.5 per cent (Internet World Stats, 2010).

Great disparity, and variability, also exists within lower-income countries. These disparities prominently include differences in Internet access between urban and rural households and along gender lines (International Telecommunications Union, 2010). For example, in Colombia, 16.4 per cent of urban households have Internet access, whereas only 0.1 per cent of rural households do; in general, this urban/rural disparity is much more pronounced in 'developing' countries than it is in 'developed' ones (quotations are ours; International Telecommunications Union, 2010). Furthermore, in many lower-income countries gender gaps in Internet use are pronounced; for example, less than 10 per cent of Internet users in Guinea are women and only 32 per cent of Internet users in India are; however, in some countries such as Mongolia, the Philippines, and Thailand, Internet penetration rates for women might exceed those of men (Huyer, 2005).

The variability in Internet penetration across regions and within countries helps to reveal that the digital divide interacts in dynamic ways with the particular social trends and existing resource inequities in individual societies (Van Dijk, 2005). The root causes of the digital divide prominently include considerations of economic, political, and social capital, age, family status, gender, ability, ethnicity, language, and geography (Fuchs & Horak, 2008). In this way, the digital divide is far more than a lack of access to computers or high-speed connections (Wilson, 2004) and its causal disparities are reflected in wide-ranging measures of development. For example, Fuchs and Horak (2008) observe that in Africa, 80 per cent of the countries with Internet penetration rates less than 1 per cent are considered to be among the least developed countries in the world as measured by the Human Development Index.

The digital divide is characterized by at least three broad inequalities. These are inequalities in access to Internet-enabled technologies, in the ability to effectively utilize those technologies, and in motivation to either access or use them (Van Dijk, 2006). The inability of certain groups of people to access the Internet is perhaps the most obvious surface-level manifestation of the digital divide. This inequality is often due to disparities in income, the availability of computers, and inequalities in information and communication technology infrastructure availability (Chinn & Fairlie, 2010, Van Dijk, 2005).

In addition to disparities in Internet access, the varying ability of individuals to effectively utilize the Internet for their purposes is also a feature of the digital divide. There are at least three clusters of variables identified by Chinn and Fairlie (2010), Van Dijk (2006), and Wilson (2004) that have a salient effect on effective utilization of the Internet. The first cluster includes the educational background and the technological, linguistic and social skill sets of users. The second cluster concerns the speed of Internet connections and the quality of the hardware and software available. Finally, wider social and political considerations (like those of legal regulatory frameworks; Chinn & Fairlie, 2010) determine who should, or can, access the Internet and in what ways they do so.

Finally, in addition to disparities in Internet access and effective utilization, disparities in motivation also reinforce the digital divide. In lower-income settings, the development of locally relevant content looks to be a factor in overcoming the digital divide (Fong, 2009). In other words, a lack of pertinent and/or interesting content could impact on motivation to access or use the Internet. With or without meaningful content, motivation might be further undermined when individuals from closely-knit or traditional communities encounter either the Internet's harshly individuated environment or content that might be culturally offensive (Van Dijk, 2005). Online communities can mitigate this by providing communal sources of support for members that includes feelings of identity, belonging, and significance (Howard, 2010); however, that same sense of support can be lost due to alien behavioural community expectations and social norms. Thus, even if someone is able to access and effectively utilize the Internet, a lack of motivation to do either might result in the same disparity that a lack of access or relevant skills would.

One of the potential repercussions of inequalities in Internet access, effective utilization, and motivation is the creation of new informational and networking inequalities (Van Dijk, 2005). This perpetuation and extension of inequality can put vulnerable populations, especially in the 'developing' world [quotations are ours], at greater risk of even further marginalization (Chinn & Fairlie, 2010; Thompson & Atkins, 2010). To illustrate how informational and networking inequality might result from the digital divide, we consider the use of Facebook by the Global Task Force on Humanitarian Work Psychology.

The Global Task Force established a profile on Facebook (<http://www.facebook.com>) – a popular social networking site – in an effort to promote the field of humanitarian work psychology, gain new adherents, and communicate and collaborate with a large group of interested individuals. At the time of writing, Facebook is estimated to have over 500 million active users (Facebook, 2010). Although the network was created in the United States and initially spread among university populations in that country, over 70 per cent of Facebook users are outside of the United States (Facebook, 2010). Therefore, the social networking site might seem fertile ground for promoting humanitarian work

psychology globally and for building online interrelationships among the field's dispersed participants. The Global Task Force's Facebook profile provides ways for users to post comments, engage in discussions, and share information. At the time of writing, the profile was linked to over 100 individuals – including students, academics, and development professionals.

Whether or not the central components of humanitarian work psychologists' online networks, like Facebook, actually exhibit great social and socioeconomic diversity is an open and somewhat subjective question that calls for further exploration. However, there appears to be a low likelihood that the informational and networking benefits of Facebook will be shared equally among world regions. For example, while over 70 per cent of Facebook users are not in the United States, nor indeed in North America, only 3.4 per cent are from Africa (Internet World Stats, 2010). Perhaps more telling is that the number of Facebook users in North America represents approximately 43 per cent of that region's total population; however, the number of Facebook users in Africa is only 1.7 per cent of that region's population (Internet World Stats, 2010).

The extent to which the geographic discrepancies observed on Facebook are due to issues of access, utilization, or motivation is again an open question. However, Van Dijk (2005) has observed that disparities have created categories of 'elite', 'participating', and 'disconnected' participants. We hypothesize that those involved with the field of humanitarian work psychology can themselves fall into these categories. We have adapted Figure 13.1 to demonstrate the potential presence of elites within a network core and participants within an outer periphery, beyond which, the disconnected lie (Figure 13.2).

A key aspect of this hypothesis is that humanitarian work psychologists' online communities and platforms might serve as anchors for such a core and might reinforce the number of connections among elites.

While such a core/periphery conceptualization of humanitarian work psychologists' networks is untested and probably simplistic, it helps to show how the digital divide can exist not just between and within individual nations and regions, but also within online networks. Therefore, in order to be most successful, digital bridges between higher and lower-income settings will have to account for the multidimensional (between and within regions/countries, and within networks) and multifaceted (access, effective utilization, and motivation) nature of the digital divide.

## **Bridging the digital divide**

While humanitarian work psychologists can hope to reduce the digital divide by positively engaging in the field of international development and thereby working to reduce the endemic resource inequalities that cause it, a more immediate solution is warranted. As demonstrated above, ensuring

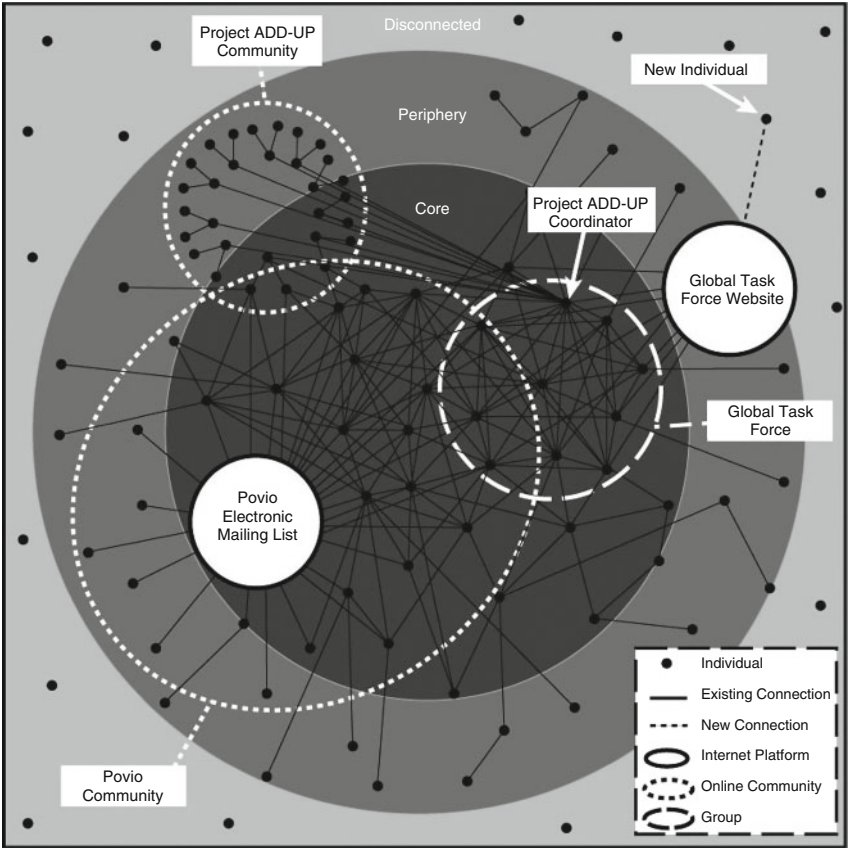


Figure 13.2 An adaptation of Figure 13.1 showing the conceptualization of a core and periphery within a humanitarian work psychology network

Note: Beyond the core and periphery lie disconnected individuals. The boundaries of such a core/periphery are somewhat arbitrary but reflect greater/lesser connectivity as measured by the average number of connections for each individual.

that diverse perspectives are prominently included in humanitarian work psychology's online networks and communities is a critical step for the field to be able to engage effectively and ethically in the international development system. To reduce the potential for importing foreign socioeconomic values in detrimental ways, and to assist in the growth of a global perspective within psychology, it is important to bridge the digital divide by including a diverse range of views that might otherwise not be represented.

The proposals included below are not just potentially important steps in this process, but also rare opportunities. Humanitarian work psychology

is in its infancy and its course as an emerging academic discipline will be greatly shaped by the online activities of those within it. Those online activities have the potential to meet convergent needs within international development, and the discipline of psychology (prominently including I-O psychology). Perhaps the first step in seizing such an opportunity is to be aware of it – an awareness this chapter has endeavoured to promote. Indeed, awareness can be a first step towards reducing an inequality (MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010). The importance of awareness is supported by the Paris Declaration's call for all participants in international development to regularly monitor their adherence to its principles and to promote openness and transparency in their processes (OECD, 2009).

Beyond self-monitoring and openness, the immediate causes of the digital divide suggest actions that can be taken by all participants in the field of humanitarian work psychology. These proposals for action have been gathered from trends in information and communication technology development initiatives, from the best practices of online community management, and from research in I-O psychology. The proposals are described briefly in Table 13.2. In that table, each proposal is cross-referenced to the facets of the digital divide that it primarily aims to address.

### **First steps**

A critical initial step in comprehensively promoting adherence to the Paris Declaration is to establish moderators over key components of humanitarian work psychology's online networks and communities. Moderators play an important role in the general health of online networks and communities by leading, regulating, and facilitating the activity within them (Preece, 2000). Healthy networks are in turn important because they exhibit forms of diversity, democracy, decentralization and dynamism (Church et al., 2002) which might resonate with the Paris Declaration's principles.

Another initial step in the process of building digital bridges between higher and lower-income settings is the establishment of committees with diverse social identities to oversee individual or multiple online networks or communities. Such committees are again important in online network and community management (Howard, 2010) and help to ensure that, for example, online community policies that promote transparency and mutual accountability are established in ways that represent the priorities of a diverse range of identities.

### **Supporting access**

We observe that at least two important trends in today's information and communication technology landscape, namely, the importance of broadband access and the astounding growth in mobile phone use, are both

*Table 13.2* A summary of the chapter's major proposals to create new, and access existing, 'digital bridges' to lower-income settings

Proposal		Targeted effect		
Summary	Details	Access	Utilization	Motivation
Reflection and transparency	Regularly reflect on adherence to the Paris Declaration's principles and on placing a priority on transparency	X	X	X
Establish moderators	Establish moderators to further implement recommendations and to monitor the health of communities and networks	X	X	X
Establish committees	Establish Committees that reflect diverse social identities to oversee progress and resolve disputes	X	X	X
Support low bandwidth	Supplement high bandwidth activities with low bandwidth and intermittent connection alternatives	X		
Include mobile phones	Devise ways to include mobile phone users into online networks and communities	X		
Directly support usage	Develop language support, assist technical usage and help to develop skills		X	
Facilitate social interaction	Facilitate social interaction via Web 2.0 technologies, goal-setting theory and the establishment of policies		X	
Include existing efforts	Actively seek out existing voices, organizations, and online networks and communities			X

*Note:* Each proposal is primarily targeted to address potential challenges to Internet access, utilization and/or motivation. For example, in the fourth proposal from the top, supplementing high-bandwidth activities (such as online videoconferences) with low-bandwidth alternatives (such as the opportunity to participate via text-based chat software) might help to ameliorate disparities in access.



directly applicable to building digital bridges across disparities in Internet access and to making better use of existing digital bridges (Atkins & Foster-Thompson, this volume).

Often, a key requirement for effectively utilizing the Internet is access to a high-speed connection such as broadband (Thompson & Atkins, 2010). However, there are several online platforms and effective tools that do not require high-bandwidth connections. Email and electronic mailing lists, for example, provide ways to communicate and collaborate despite intermittent and/or low-bandwidth connections. In addition, some platforms that are optimized for high-bandwidth connections provide low-bandwidth alternatives that are acceptable even for demanding professional activities (e.g., Norris et al., 2002). By ensuring that low-bandwidth and asynchronous options are available for accessing not just particular online networks and communities, but also particular online meetings or conversations, disparities in access can be mitigated.

Another particularly promising information and communication technology trend that has the potential to overcome some disparities in Internet access is the dramatic growth of mobile telephony. Mobile phone technologies can facilitate Internet access in a variety of ways: from text messages that register on websites to mobile-enabled Internet browsers (see Thompson & Atkins, 2010 for further examples). In these ways and others, mobile phones can play an important role in increasing Internet access penetration (International Telecommunications Union, 2010). The spread of mobile phones, including in lower-income settings, has been relatively rapid, and it is estimated that over 50 per cent of the world's population will use a mobile phone by 2015; indeed, while Internet penetration rates stand at 7.5 per cent in Africa, mobile cellular penetration is at 31.5 per cent (International Telecommunications Union, 2010). Therefore, finding ways that mobile phone users can access and contribute to humanitarian work psychology's online networks and communities is a promising way to build digital bridges. One possible way to do this would be to ensure that messages on electronic mailing lists like Povia could be sent and received via text message so that connectivity with humanitarian work psychologists who might not have computer-based Internet access in their location could be maintained.

### **Supporting effective utilization**

The fields of online community management and I-O psychology provide at least two types of ways that humanitarian work psychologists and the moderators of their online networks and communities can reduce disparities in the effective utilization of the Internet. First, the ability to effectively use Internet tools and platforms can be directly supported. Second, the ability to effectively communicate and collaborate in the unique social environments

of humanitarian work psychology's networks and communities can be facilitated.

The ability to use Internet tools and platforms can be augmented by providing forms of technical and language support. Basic language support, on a static website for example, can be facilitated by utilizing free online language translation tools or by manually translating entry points, like homepages, into at least a few major languages. Providing more meaningful and comprehensive language support might be more difficult, especially in 'local' languages that have fewer speakers. However, if harmonization with a wide range of existing online networks and communities is a goal, robust language support for non-English speakers seems to be critical. Consider, for example, that the overall proportion of English-speaking internet users has dropped from 80 per cent to 30 per cent between 1996 and 2007; moreover, while Africans accounted for 2 per cent of total Internet users in 2007, no more than 0.06 per cent of web pages were in local African languages (International Telecommunications Union, 2010). In addition to language support, the use of Internet platforms and tools can be assisted by monitoring user needs and developing, or providing links to, online help and resources. This task is far from trivial because it is possible that the digital divide is widening in terms of skill discrepancies (Van Dijk, 2006) and such steps are important components of proper online community management to begin with (Preece, 2000).

The effective utilization of humanitarian work psychologists' online networks and communities can also be supported by promoting the social interaction within those interrelationships (Preece, 2000). If voices from lower-income settings are included, but silent, then adherence is likely hollow. Online communities, like networks, are characterized by varying degrees of participation. In a simplistic categorization, community members can be users – those who regularly contribute, or lurkers – those who are still members but who do not contribute (Howard, 2010). Broadly speaking, the ability of online communities to deliver useful benefits can be threatened if lurkers abound (Beenen et al., 2004).

One way to promote social interaction is presented by Web 2.0 technology. The Web 2.0 transformation which has taken place gradually over the last 15 years undergirds the expansion of interactive online communities and networks (Thompson & Atkins, 2010; Thompson, 2008). Web 2.0 is characterized by a shift towards dynamic and interactive online technologies and is often just as much about users creating content on websites as it is about users consuming preexisting content (Thompson, 2008). For example, a salient example of the Web 2.0 revolution has been Wikipedia – the online encyclopaedia created and edited by users (<http://www.wikipedia.org>).

Web 2.0 technologies have the potential to enhance participation in international development by lower-income countries (Thompson, 2008).

Thompson and Atkins (2010) have provided several examples of the ways in which Web 2.0 technologies are interfacing with organizations involved in international development (e.g., Médecins Sans Frontières). However, even though Web 2.0 technologies have the potential to contribute to poverty reduction initiatives they can also exacerbate informational and network-position inequality. For example, it has been pointed out that a prototypical form of Web 2.0 interaction known as ‘crowd-sourcing’ – where the online input of a large number of individuals leads to the creation of resources or to the solving of problems (e.g., the creation of Wikipedia entries) – might exhibit forms of severe inequality (Shirky, 2008). More specifically, crowd-sourcing often exhibits what is called a power-law distribution in which the contributions, or popularity, of a small number of contributors/participants makes up a large proportion of overall popularity/contributions (Shirky, 2008). The presence of power-law distributions in Web 2.0-enabled online networks and communities might or might not promote the goals of prioritizing the ownership and perspectives of lower-income settings. Therefore, careful monitoring by the moderators and committees that humanitarian work psychologists establish will need to take place.

A tangible example of how Web 2.0 technologies could be used to promote sociability is the creation of a user-driven online forum or message board where individuals make posting and dialog with one another about relevant issues. This example provides a perfect setting for the discussion of another way to facilitate social interaction – namely through goal-setting theory (Locke & Latham, 2002). As seen previously, contributions to online communities, especially those utilizing Web 2.0 technologies can be skewed in favour of a select few. In order to enhance participation by a wide range of perspectives, it might be necessary to actively encourage certain groups or individuals to contribute. As observed by Thompson, Meriac, and Cope (2002), the establishment of goals in online tasks can enhance performance in pursuit of those goals. Moreover, contributions can be promoted in online communities by highlighting participants’ unique and identifiable contributions and their benefit to the online community (Beenen et al., 2004). Thus online community moderators could, for example, set goals and show members how their unique perspective could benefit the community in order to promote the involvement of various individuals or groups.

In addition to using Web 2.0 technologies and goal-setting theory, online sociability might also be supported by the creation of community policies. As explained by Vignovic and Thompson (2010), communication and collaboration via the Internet have both benefits and disadvantages. For example, as they explain, one advantage of Internet communication is that online interaction sometimes does not include the sort of visual and physical cues that can lead to unfair discrimination (e.g., based on

physical handicap or appearance). Thus, some sources of discrimination in face-to-face situations might be absent from online communication. However, this benefit can be offset to some extent when technical language violations and breaches of social etiquette in online communication lead to unwarranted dispositional judgments about the sender. For example, as Vignovic and Thompson (2010) point out, unintentional grammatical mistakes or socially inappropriate behaviour in online communication might discolour future interactions in a way that is difficult to correct. Indeed, unwarranted dispositional judgments of this type could lead to the sort of social discord in an online community that could turn users into lurkers (Howard, 2010), or convince users to disconnect from the community entirely if they have a perceived negative experience with a member, or feel wrongly treated by the entire group.

The results of Vignovic and Thompson's (2010) work highlights the importance of developing explicit policies for communication and collaboration that stress both the importance of suspending judgement on the dispositions of others, and clearly elucidating important unspoken norms or important aspects of social etiquette – etiquette that might be unfamiliar, or seemingly inappropriate to new users. Furthermore, as Howard (2010) points out, the establishment of such policies and their enforcement by a moderator are critical elements of a healthy online community.

### **Enhancing motivation**

Ultimately, one's motivation to access and utilize the online networks and communities of humanitarian work psychologists will rest upon a decision as to whether what goes on in those interrelationships is relevant and meaningful. However, a lack of diverse perspectives and identities in humanitarian work psychology's online networks and communities might undermine the perceived relevance of these interrelationships to lower-income settings, which might in turn undermine the presence of diverse perspectives and identities. One of the most promising ways to get around this problem is for moderators and committees to expend meaningful time and resources searching for and engaging with existing online efforts, networks, and communities from lower-income settings. However, the research of Eagle, Macy, and Claxton (2010), which has demonstrated that social network diversity correlates with the economic development of a community, seems to indicate that this might be difficult. Without high social network diversity, individuals in lower-income settings might exist within tight-knit online communities that are difficult for outsiders to locate. However, as Zuckerman (2008) indicates, individuals who do cross salient linguistic, cultural and national boundaries on the Internet not only exist, but play very important roles in bringing divided groups

within the Internet together. Thus, it will be important for those overseeing and participating in humanitarian work psychology's networks and communities to partner with others who have already built or who are building digital bridges from a diverse range of settings, especially from lower-income settings.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has argued that bridging the digital divide is an important step for humanitarian work psychology to take for three reasons. First, in order to become effective and responsible actors in the field of international development, humanitarian work psychologists' online networks and communities need to adhere to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness which prioritizes the voice and participation of individuals, organizations, and communities from settings that are most affected by, and involved in, aid and development efforts. Second, bridging the digital divide is important to minimize the socioeconomic and cultural biases inherent in the field of psychology and to assist in the ongoing development of psychology's increasingly global representation and perspective. Third, as Thompson and Atkins (2010) have argued, Internet technologies like those which undergird humanitarian work psychologists' online networks and communities have the potential to act as a social leveller, and as Van Dijk (2005) has argued, they also have the potential to reinforce existing inequality. We argue that an important element in ensuring the former possibility and avoiding the latter will be the building of digital bridges, and partnerships, across the digital divide.

This chapter has proposed practical, albeit largely untested, ways to begin building those bridges and supporting those partnerships. Further research into these proposals, and into the nature of humanitarian work psychology's online networks and communities, will help to yield insight into the confluence of information and communication technology, international development, social media, online community management, global knowledge flow, the field of psychology, and the sub-field of I-O psychology. The conceptual ground covered in this chapter indicates the interdisciplinary, cross-sector, global, emerging, and dynamic nature of humanitarian work psychology. Regardless of the number of factors involved, this chapter has endeavoured to focus on one key priority – building meaningful partnerships and relationships across the digital divide. This priority might need to reflect the insight of the aboriginal Australian social worker Lilla Watson. In Stringer's 1996 work (as cited in Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010, p. 29) Watson is credited with warning, 'If you've come here to help me, you're wasting your time. But if you've come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together'. It is in the spirit of this sort of partnership that we hope to build digital bridges.

## Notes

The authors would like to thank Lori Foster Thompson and the editors of this book for their kind and generous assistance.

1. Wherever possible, this chapter has followed the convention of other authors in the book by avoiding the use of the terms 'developed' and 'developing' in favor of the approximate designations of 'lower-income' and 'higher-income'.

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# 14

## The Importance of Trust to the Funding of Humanitarian Work

*Christopher D. B. Burt*

### **Summary**

There may be a natural reluctance to criticize non-profit organizations, as any attempt to do good for humanity is surely better than no attempt at all. However, 'doing good poorly' may undermine the public's trust in a specific non-profit organization, and in the non-profit sector in general. Many circumstances, including inefficiency of operations, failure to achieve outcomes, and fraud, can lead to the public forming the opinion that a non-profit organization is not doing a good job. A failure to develop and maintain the public's trust may lead to long-term difficulties for non-profit organizations to raise sufficient funds to support their work. In this chapter, the development of the public's trust in non-profit organizations is discussed in terms of organizational 'accountability' and 'efficiency'. The chapter discusses literature and describes research which offers suggestions on how non-profit organizations can build and maintain a trusting relationship with the public.

### **The non-profit sector**

The American charity database Charity Navigator (<http://www.charitynavigator.org/>) lists thousands of non-profit organizations, many of which are primarily reliant on donations (public support) to fund their activities. Furthermore, the number of non-profit organizations is growing, and at the same time the funds available to support their work are potentially declining as the global recession continues. Consequently, a focus on acquiring and sustaining public support must be given a high priority. Trust is a key component in this process: If the public do not trust the non-profit sector (or a particular non-profit organization) they are unlikely to financially support it. This reasoning is central to the United Kingdom's recent amendment to the Charities Act (2006), where they added 'increasing public trust' to the list of objectives of the Charities Commission (Opinion Leader Research,

2005). However, it is important to note that while trust is a priority area for non-profit organizations, the sector has not yet reached a 'crisis of confidence' (O'Neill, 2009). Arguably, on the other hand, the data which O'Neill used to reach this conclusion should not be used by non-profit organizations to downplay the importance of building public trust.

Trust relates to expectations of the behaviour of others, and its development has two key components: a dispositional or personality-related component, and a transactional component (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995; Williamson, 1993). The dispositional aspect of trust is an individual difference variable where people have more or less propensity to be trusting. Dispositional trust, while important to the development of the relationship between an individual donor and a non-profit organization, is not central to the focus of this chapter, and thus will not be discussed further. Transactional trust, on the other hand, can be readily influenced by a non-profit organization, is very much related to how they go about their operations, and is the central focus of this chapter. Transactional trust encompasses an individual's level of *certainty* in a transaction and how they expect others involved in a transaction will behave (Grabner-Krauter & Kaluscha, 2003; Wang & Emurian, 2005). Martens (2005) provides an interesting perspective on how 'uncertainty reduction' may be a key factor driving the development of aid agencies. Transaction-specific trust is strongly influenced by the behaviour of a non-profit organization, particularly by their behaviour after a donation is made. Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1995) note that transactional trust is dependent on the willingness of a party (the public) to be vulnerable to the actions of their transaction partner (the non-profit organization), irrespective of their ability to monitor or control that partner. Within the non-profit organization context, the core of the trust relationship is the expectation (a trust) that donations made towards a specific crisis, or need, will be used by the non-profit organization primarily to respond to that crisis, or need. Thus, transaction-specific trust forms in relation to two key areas within the donation framework: the crisis or need for which the public have donated funds towards; and what services or responses the non-profit organization uses the donations to provide.

Unfortunately, it is not very hard to find examples where transactional trust has been destroyed by the actions of a non-profit organization. For example, in 2009 the New Zealand media published articles which claimed that a non-profit organization had spent 80 per cent of the money that it raised on operating costs and administration. This translated into approximately \$1.5 million of the \$1.95 million raised in the year to December 2008 being spent on staff wages, advertising, public relations events and promotions (Van Beynen, 2009). Intense public scrutiny surrounded these issues, and donors voiced concerns that the non-profit organization could no longer be trusted to act in the best interests of their beneficiaries. At the centre of such cases is the concept of transactional trust, and the issues of non-profit organization accountability and efficiency.

Before examining the issues of accountability and efficiency in more detail, it is worth noting that while efficiency and accountability issues clearly impact on trust generation and maintenance, they are not the only issues influencing the publics' trust in non-profit organizations. Several authors have noted how fraud can heavily impact on the publics' trust in non-profit organizations (e.g., Holtfreter, 2008; Wilhelm, 2006; Zack, 2003). Indeed, Zack (2003) noted that the non-reciprocal nature of non-profit organizations' transactional operations can create unique opportunities for fraud. Put simply, it is not easy for the public to know how their donated funds have been used. Fraud undoubtedly has a similar impact to low efficiency and poor accountability. First, monies which have been donated do not reach those for whom they were intended (note that Holtfreter 2008 found that insider asset misappropriation was the most common type of fraud in non-profit organizations). Second, if such fraud is discovered, the negative publicity that the discovery generates is likely to decrease public trust, and deter the public from contributing more funds in the future.

### **Efficiency and accountability**

In order to develop and maintain public trust, a number of authors have argued that non-profit organizations need to be more transparent about their spending, how they are managed, and what they achieve with the resources entrusted to them (e.g., Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Ebrahim & Weisband, 2007; Gibelman & Gelman, 2001; Kearns, 1996; Young, Bania & Bailey, 1996). The fundamental assumption behind these calls for non-profit organization accountability is that for trust to be developed and maintained, the public need information or feedback about what has happened to their money. Furthermore, the public need to be satisfied with what they hear. That is, they need to feel that their donations are being used in the most efficient way possible. A public expectation of efficiency and accountability from non-profit organizations is quite consistent with what happens in other transactional relationships. In most transactions people receive feedback in exchange for their expenditure. For example, if one buys an appliance, the performance of the appliance either develops the individual's trust in the vendor (they are satisfied with the product), or undermines it if the appliance does not perform satisfactorily. People also may decide to purchase a particular brand of product because this brand has a good reputation (they trust it), and the idea of 'aid branding' is being developed in the literature (see MacLachlan, Carr & McAuliffe, 2010). In this example of a product purchase, warranties and legislation, such as New Zealand's Consumers Guarantees Act (1993), help protect the individual's transactional investment, providing a foundational base from which a positive outcome might be expected. In contrast, generally no such legislation or warranties protect monies donated to non-profit organizations.

Speckbacher (2008) provides an interesting discussion of *contractual incompleteness* in the non-profit sector as it relates to trust-forming expectations. Contractual incompleteness is the idea that all eventualities are not normally included in a contract. However, in most transactional relationships the most important eventualities are specified. As in the example above, when you buy a consumer product you expect to receive what you purchased, and there is a contractual obligation on the part of the vendor to meet this expectation. In contrast, far greater contractual incompleteness is currently the norm in the non-profit sector. That is, when the public donates funds towards a specific cause, they expect that those funds will be used in an efficient way for that cause, but they rarely can determine if this contract has been fulfilled. Furthermore, generally there is no way for the public to enforce this contract. The public's principle option, if they think the contract has been breached, is to lose trust in the non-profit organization and not to donate again.

The issue of accountability is unfortunately a complex one for the non-profit sector. In the commercial world a business can measure success by variables such as costs, profit, return on investment, or shareholder value creation, and communicate this information back to stakeholders. Such measures are not always transferable to the non-profit sector, where organizational goals (e.g., to alleviate human suffering) are likely to be vastly different from those found in the for-profit sector. Measuring the achievement of such a goal is more difficult than, for example, measuring the achievement of a production target. The problems which non-profit organizations face when attempting to measure success have been extensively discussed in the non-profit management literature (e.g., Bryson, 1995; Drucker, 1990; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Forbes, 1998; Oster, 1995). Ebrahim and Rangan (2010) divided non-profit organization operations into five categories: *inputs*, *activities*, *outputs*, *outcomes* and *impacts*. *Inputs* equate to fundraising; *activities* equate to administrative; *outputs* are what the organization is attempting to do; *outcomes* are the success of the outputs; and *impacts* are the changes which result from the entire enterprise. This classification is adopted in the following sections, as it provided a useful framework to consider in more detail how trust and non-profit organization operations are linked.

Depending upon which operational aspect is under consideration, accountability needs to be associated with either efficiency or achievement if public trust is going to be developed and maintained. That is, informing the public of *input*, *activity* and *output* costs will only have a positive trust-building effect if they are viewed by the public as acceptable and based on efficient processes. In contrast, *outcomes* and *impacts* should demonstrate achievement. Non-profit organization efficiency at the *input* and *activity* level (which are often mixed together) has been examined using a proportional variable labelled *price*. Price is defined as the amount of money needed from donors to obtain one dollar of output. As such, *price* is related to the proportion of

total inputs (donations) used for fundraising and administration (Tinkelman, 1998; Weisbrod & Dominguez, 1986). Research has found that lower *price* is correlated with higher donations (e.g., Callen, 1994; Greenlee & Brown, 1999; Tinkelman, 1998; 1999; Weisbrod & Dominguez, 1986). In other words, the public appear to be more likely to donate (or will donate more) to an efficient non-profit organization (one where fundraising and administration costs are not consuming a large amount of each donated dollar). Trust is undoubtedly a key variable mediating this relationship between *price* and donations.

An obvious question to ask is 'at what *price* does the public's trust in a non-profit organization begin to decrease?' While this value appears not to have been precisely defined, and may indeed vary depending on the type of non-profit organization, Warwick (1994) reported that individuals appear to consider a ratio between fundraising/administration costs and programme expenditure (outputs) of 20:80 to be acceptable. Harvey and McCrohan (1988) reported a lower ratio of 40:60, with nonprofits that spent at least 60 per cent of funds on programme outputs achieving significantly higher levels of donation. Understanding the public's *acceptable price* (the costs they accept before they begin to distrust the organization) could have great value for a non-profit organization, and might form the organization's *price goal*. If an acceptable price could be established, and as long as the non-profit organization operated within their acceptable price, the public's trust should be maintained and their financial support for the non-profit organization should continue. What the acceptable price is may require the organization to educate the public on what it really costs to raise funds and to do the type of work it is engaged in. However, the public are likely to demand efficiency, and a non-profit organization is going to be able to communicate a lower *price goal* if all aspects of its operation are efficient.

The need to communicate price information to the public is nicely discussed in Sargeant, Lee and Jay (2009). Although they use the term *cost*, rather than *price*, for consistency their reasoning and results are presented here using the *price* label. The paper summarizes recent UK government initiatives aimed at encouraging non-profit organizations to report fundraising price, and how various accounting practices can result in both misleading and 'hard to interpret' price information. Price information from 115 UK non-profit organizations is analysed in the paper, and this indicated that the mean price per £1 of *input* raised was £1.21 (stated in a different way, the organizations sampled were spending on average £0.79 of each pound raised on outputs). Significant variation in this price figure was found between organizations serving different categories of need. If we assume that these organizations were operating efficiently (and obviously there was some variation around the mean price value reported), this figure implies that *actual price* for the non-profit sector is probably in the region of £1.20. Interestingly, this price figure, although in a different currency, is similar to the \$1.28 reported by Chen (2009) from an examination of 730 US-based non-profit organizations.

A number of organizations are attempting to provide the public with efficiency information on non-profit organizations, such as Charity Navigator (<http://www.charitynavigator.org>) and the American Institute of Philanthropy (<http://www.charitywatch.org>), which provide detailed information for a large number of organizations on their efficiency and costs, etc. Charity Navigator, for example, provides ratings using four categories under the heading of organizational efficiency: programme expenses, administrative expenses, fundraising expenses and fundraising efficiency. The ratings are based on percentage calculations (e.g., programme expenses are the proportion of the total operating budget spent on the programs and services it provides), and these percentages are converted to a rating. Undoubtedly, such information is extremely useful as a foundation for donors to develop trust in a non-profit organization, but only if the public take the time to find and read it. Such rating information may also have another value in that it can provide a form of bench-marking information which non-profit organizations can use to assess their performance by. That is, they can compare their ratings with organizations working in a similar area.

The *actual price* figures cited above give rise to several important questions. Are these actual price figures acceptable to the public? (Interestingly, the American Institute of Philanthropy states that 60 per cent or greater is *reasonable* as the proportion of inputs spent on *outputs*). Would the donating public agree? And is this figure sufficient to generate and maintain trust in the non-profit sector? How do these non-profit sector price figures compare with the costs (price) of doing business in the for-profit sector? Can the non-profit sector do better? We can at least tentatively suggest that there is room for improvement in the case of many non-profit organizations, as clearly indicated by an examination of the range of ratings that can be found on the Charity Navigator site. Furthermore, it seems clear that any efficiency improvement which reduces actual price for a non-profit organization is likely to be positively received by the public, and is likely to help with the development and maintenance of transactional trust. Improved efficiency in the non-profit sector is also likely to help with the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (see Annan, 2000), and is consistent with the behavioural principle of 'harmonization' (well-coordinated activities between aid agencies) proposed by the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) (also see Accra Agenda for Action, 2008). In the following sections, research findings which suggest ways to improve non-profit organization efficiency are examined.

### **Input efficiency and trust**

Many scholars have commented on the importance of trust to the fundraising process (e.g., Bruce, 1994; Drucker, 1990; Kotler & Andreason, 1991; Sargeant & Lee, 2004; Mullin, 1995; Sumption, 1995). In line with this

chapter's focus on transactional trust issues, this section will examine how fundraising costs might be reduced, which should ultimately help develop and maintain trust. Traditionally, public appeals for financial support are conducted by collectors going door-to-door, or positioning themselves in prominent public places. Public appeals using collection envelopes are also common. Such input-raising activities are costly, and research has focused on the development of techniques to improve their returns, such as techniques like foot-in-the-door (where individuals are initially solicited to, for example, sign a petition, then solicited for a donation, for example, Bell et al. (1994); Gueguen & Jacob 2001); door-in-the-face (where the request is initially for an exaggerated amount, and then after refusal for a small donation, e.g., Gueguen 2003); low-ball (where a specific amount is requested, say 75 cents, then a further request is made to increase the donation by say 25 cents, e.g., Brownstein & Katzev 1985); and legitimization-of-small-donation (where fundraisers legitimize paltry donations in face-to-face contact, for example, Brockner (1984), to increase charitable contributions (see Weyant, 1997 for a review). Research also suggests that careful selection of the images used in charity advertising can have a low-cost positive effect on input generation (Burt & Strongman, 2005). In Burt and Strongman's (2005) studies, images showing moderately negative emotions generated larger donation responses. Clearly, if such research findings can be applied to a fundraising effort with a resulting larger level of funds raised, *price* will likely reduce and this will have the flow-on effect of maintaining the public's trust in, and support for, the non-profit organization.

While many costs associated with traditional fundraising activities are likely to be acceptable to the public (e.g., printing and postal appeal envelopes), many of these costs can be significantly reduced or completely removed through the adoption of the Internet as a core fundraising medium. The prediction that the Internet has the potential to facilitate philanthropy (e.g., Olsen et al., 2001; Powell, 2005), appears to be being realized, with a dramatic increase in the amount of funds that non-profit organizations are obtaining via online donating (Bennett, 2009). The increase in successful online fundraising may be due to non-profit organizations designing their web sites based on the developing literature on web site design (e.g., Burt & Dunham, 2009; Fox & Carr, 2000; Goatman & Lewis, 2007; Gueguen & Jacob, 2001; McWah & Carr, 2009; Powell, 2005; Richard, 2008; Sargeant, 2001; Sargeant, West & Jay, 2007; Water, 2007; Wenham, Stephens & Hardy, 2003). One issue which is apparent in this literature, and also in the e-commerce literature in general (e.g., Grabner-Krauter and Kaluscha, 2003; Hoffman, Novak and Peralta, 1998; Wang and Emurian, 2005), is the emphasis on developing transactional trust. Thus, in order to realize the potential of the Internet as a philanthropic tool, non-profit organizations are being specifically encouraged to consider the effects of their web site design on donors' development and maintenance of trust.

It is worth noting that transactional trust has two dimensions when inputs are requested online: *system-dependent* and *transaction-specific*. In the online donating framework, system-dependent trust is developed by the specific features of the technological system which is used for the exchange of information and money (Grabner-Krauter & Kaluscha, 2003). System-dependent trust will be reduced if there is any uncertainty surrounding the technology, such as technological errors or security gaps, which are beyond the direct influence of the donor within the transaction. Non-profit organizations attempting to undertake online donation transactions need to reduce this uncertainty through methods such as facilitating encrypted transactions, installing firewalls and utilizing authentication mechanisms (Pavlou, 2003).

The research discussed in this section clearly offers non-profit organizations some options to help keep the cost of fundraising to a minimum. If such strategies are applied, they may well reduce a non-profit organization's input price, and thus new (lower) price information can be systematically communicated to the public in future fundraising efforts. Thus a cycle of 'efficiency and gain' can be initiated, where reduced fundraising costs will in the long-term help maintain the public's trust, and this will facilitate their continued financial support.

### **Activity efficiency and trust**

It was argued above that information on activity costs, if accessed by donors and viewed as acceptable, is likely to help build trust. This hypothesis was supported by experimental work undertaken by Burt and Dunham (2009) which showed that activity efficiency was positively related to rated organizational trust. The experiment involved the design of two web homepages for the same non-profit organization. All information was held constant, except that in one (the *efficient* condition) a pie graph showed that the organization spent 95 per cent of raised funds on outputs (thus 5 per cent was spent on activities), and in the other (the *less efficient* condition) the pie graph showed that the organization spent 80 per cent of funds on outputs. As predicted, the efficient condition produced significantly larger ratings of organization trust. In a similar vein Chen (2009) empirically investigated whether meeting the charity accountability standards developed by the Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance (see <http://www.give.org/standards/newcbbbstds.asp>) would have an effect on public support (donations). They reported that meeting all of the standards, which include set cost proportions for fundraising and activity costs, and which would hopefully make the activities of the organization more efficient, predicted a 30 per cent increase in the total amount of public support.

Standards, such as those formulated by the Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance are aimed at increasing the professionalism, and ultimately



the efficiency, of non-profit organizations. The call for more professionalization of the non-profit sector is not new, with some authors arguing for more use of credentialed experts such as auditors and evaluators (Hwang & Powell, 2009; Power, 1999). There is also some evidence that non-profit organizations are increasingly using commercial business models in areas such as strategic planning, marketing, finance, information systems and organizational development to improve their effectiveness and efficiency (Sawhill & Williamson, 2001). However, despite the fact that non-profit organizations might clearly benefit from adopting business tools and management solutions that have been developed in the private sector, there are a number of issues which can make this difficult (Beck, Lengnick-Hall & Lengnick-Hall, 2008). It has been argued that non-profit organizations can be sufficiently unique, such that applying techniques to make them more successful (efficient) is either inappropriate or extremely difficult (e.g., Bozzo, 2000; Lindenberg, 2001). Cultural and institutional differences between for-profit firms and non-profit organizations have, in particular, been noted as issues which preclude the adoption of best practice solutions (e.g., Lewis, 2002; McPeak, 2001; Sawhill & Williamson, 2001). In this vein, Ridder and McCandless (2010) provide an extensive discussion of the relationships between the unique features of non-profit organizations and the adoption of different human resource management practices.

While the successful adoption of some management practices may be contingent upon the nature of the non-profit organization, other practices may be more generally applicable. For example, while controlling for fraud requires a range of strategies (Zack, 2003), many non-profit organizations should be able to adopt staff selection procedures which focus on integrity. Meta-analysis work, such as that conducted by Ones, Viswesvaran and Schmidt (1993), has suggested that integrity tests have reasonable criterion-related validity: with operational validities of .39 to .29 as a predictor of counterproductive employee behaviour. Clearly non-profit organizations might benefit from the administration of integrity measures in their staff selection processes. However, and as an illustration of the difficulties which the non-profit sector can face when attempting to introduce best practice initiatives, resistance to such an approach may well come if the staff are volunteers.

It is clear that non-profit organizations both need to consider ways in which they can improve their *activity* efficiency, and also address the range of issues which may make the adoption of best practice difficult. Purcell and Hawtin (2010) offer an interesting 'external peer review model' which could form a framework by which change in a non-profit organization could be initiated. The authors define peer review as 'a review by *others of equivalent status or standing*, involving one or more elements of an organization being evaluated by someone from outside the organization who understands its operational environment, challenges and opportunities' (p. 358). The

external peer review model, while not new, may well help a non-profit organization both understand the value of seeking the opinions of others and also offer a key framework for initiating efficiency-gaining change. Clearly, industrial and organizational psychologists could be involved in such peer review work.

## **Output achievement and trust**

Normally, the services provided by a non-profit organization for their target beneficiary group are not easily accessed by donors (Sargeant, Ford & West, 2006). Furthermore, outputs might be difficult to measure in terms of efficiency. In contrast, it is probably relatively easy to impose a degree of accountability on outputs. The public need to know or see that appropriate outputs are being achieved. Furthermore, it is reasonable to predict that if the public see evidence of the sort of outputs they expected from their donation, or from the type of non-profit organization that they donated to, that their trust in the non-profit organization should be maintained. This prediction was tested in an experiment reported by Burt and Dunham (2009) which manipulated whether an aid agency's web home page showed photographs of a crisis-need only, photographs of the crisis-need and the organization's response (outputs), or photographs of just the organization's response work. Results indicated that mean rated aid agency trust was significantly larger when information (photographs) showing both what crisis the organization was responding to, and their work (outputs), were included on its home page.

Many non-profit organizations already have links on their web pages to photo galleries showing their outputs. This strategy is undoubtedly a very low-cost solution, which provides the public with valuable information to allow transactional trust to be developed and maintained. It does, however, have at least one weakness: photo galleries have to be accessed by the donor. In other words the donor needs to search for the information. In recent work, Burt and Gibbon (2011) have conducted experiments where output information was designed into the 'donation button' on a web site. In such a condition, the donor is confronted with output information as part of the process of making a donation (no extra searching is required). The research compared organizational trust ratings for a web page with a donation button which included embedded output information, with a web page showing a standard donation button link, and found that embedding output information in a donation link significantly increased trust.

Another emerging trend, which has great potential for the development of transactional trust, is for non-profit organizations to give the public the opportunity to donate for a very specific output via a type of purchase agreement. For example, a donor can purchase a specific item, such as a goat, from a charity web site. The charity then undertakes to ensure a

beneficiary receives the goat (or a goat). This is sometimes referred to as the third-party-gifting approach, mainly because the donor can receive a certificate of their transaction which they can obtain in the name of a third party. As such, they can make the donation on the third party's behalf, and can give their donation as a gift (i.e., you give your sister a certificate for Christmas which states that she purchased a goat as a charitable act). In this transaction, the donor knows what output their donation is being used for. Very little empirical research has been conducted on third-party gifts. However, in a recent study Kemp, Richardson and Burt (in press) found that donors gave significantly higher trust ratings that a gift, such as a goat, or school books, would reach a beneficiary recipient, compared to trust ratings that a cash (money) donation would reach a beneficiary recipient.

The key point in relation to outputs which is made in the research discussed above is that non-profit organizations can gain significant trust-building benefits through the development of very simple and low-cost communication techniques. Major donors may take the time to search annual reports and examine photo galleries for evidence of satisfactory output achievement, but the general public may not be willing to make the time investment needed to find such information. Directly linking evidence of output achievement with the input process removes the need for extra effort on the public's behalf.

## **Conclusion**

Arguably non-profit organizations need to explicitly recognize that public trust is central to their success. The old adage 'all publicity is good publicity' perhaps does not apply in the non-profit sector, as any hint of inefficiency, misappropriation, or failure to achieve outcomes is likely to undermine the public's trust. There also needs to be an explicit recognition that non-profit organizations are accountable to their donating public, and must be seen to be accountable for all monies provided to them.

While there is a significant body of literature which makes a very strong call for non-profit organizations to be efficient and accountable, the pragmatic aspects of achieving this have received less attention. Thus, the guiding principle is far clearer than the path to achieving it. More research is required which addresses the micro changes which can collectively have an impact on the more macro goals of efficiency and accountability. A number of studies were reviewed which do offer very specific strategies that appear to have good trust-building potential. Clearly, there is a challenge here for researchers, and in particular, organizational researchers, to explore specific strategies which can be adopted by non-profit organizations. Part of this challenge will be to ensure that organizational best practice which has been developed for the for-profit world can be adapted to the rather unique non-profit organizational environment (Carr et al, this volume).

Finally, it is extremely important to acknowledge that trust is not the only factor which determines giving behaviour. Thus, an exclusive focus on trust building would not be in the best interests of a non-profit organization. On the contrary, non-profit organizations need to consider all of the factors which have been shown to have relevance to giving (Baguma, this volume). A number of excellent integrated models, which address the multiple determinants of giving, have been developed (e.g., Bendapudi, Singh & Bendapudi, 1996; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2007), and these provide good guidance for non-profit organizations.

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# 15

## Attributions for and the Perceived Effects of Poverty in East Africa: A Study from Uganda

*Peter Baguma & Adrian Furnham*

### Summary

The study had the following objectives: To elicit poverty causal attributions among Ugandan university students; assess beliefs about the role of organizations in the causation of poverty, the role of organizations in poverty reduction, the effects of poverty, ways of reducing poverty, and assess how organizational psychologists can help to reduce poverty. A convenient sample of 236 Ugandan university students were opportunistically selected, and completed a questionnaire that assessed background characteristics, attributions for poverty, effects for poverty and its reduction, and role of organizations in the causation and reduction of poverty. Data was analysed using percentages. Causes of poverty were categorized as individualistic, fatalistic, structuralist, third world governments, international exploitation and conflict. Poverty was reported to have serious effects on people's social lives, on the families and on mental health. Ways of reducing poverty by government, development partners, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and organizational psychologists, and above all ways of dealing with poverty attributions, were reported.

### Introduction

Poverty may be defined as: 'A human condition characterized by sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights' (United Nations Committee on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, 2001). Yet little research has been done on it in the 'developing' world. This chapter examines East Africans' perceptions of the causes of poverty, and how to alleviate it.

The study of public thinking about poverty is linked to attempts at poverty reduction and therefore considered important (Bolitho, Carr & Fletcher, 2007; Bullock, Williams & Limbert, 2003; Burt, this volume). Explanations for the



causes of poverty are linked to beliefs about its reduction, and the willingness of people to contribute time, money, and taxes for that purpose.

For over 40 years social scientists from different backgrounds have studied how people attribute or explain the causes of poverty (Lepianka, van Oorschot & Gelissen, 2009). Some of these studies have been done in low-income countries like Malaŵi (Campbell, Carr & MacLachlan, 2001) and Ethiopia (Tache & Sjaastad, 2010), as well as middle-income countries like Malaysia (Halik & Webley, 2011). More recent studies have looked at children's ideas about poverty (Chafel & Neitzel, 2005; Pitner & Astor, 2008). Some studies have attempted to examine individual difference factors associated with poverty attributions – like age, education and social class (McWha & Carr, 2009; Robinson, 2009; Weiner, Osborne & Rudolph, 2011).

As a result of all this research dispersed across a very wide spectrum of academic disciplines (and therefore difficult to assess) attempts have been made to review and compare the studies in the area. Ten years ago Furnham (2003) reviewed 20 studies in this area, mostly done in the last millennium. They are shown in Table 15.1.

More recently, Lepianka, Gelissen and van Oorschoy (2010) published a paper that examined explanations for poverty across 28 European countries. The sort of explanations people gave were luck, laziness or lack of willpower, injustice in society and a fatalistic belief that poverty was the result of modern progress. They concentrated on five very specific predictors of these attributions in the different countries: awareness of the existence of poverty; personal experience of disadvantage; personal values; socio-demographic background; as well as structural/cultural level statistics. They found that explanations were related to living in a country with a Catholic tradition and a high level of poverty, their (subjective) experience of disadvantage, and personal values. They noted that within most countries 'injustice in society' was the most popular poverty attribution, while luck was rated least important.

Attributions for poverty are influenced by a number of factors. They have been found to be influenced by world beliefs (just-world hypothesis), ideological systems, culture, actor and observer differences (Ross, 1977), personality, demographic factors (Heaven, 1994) age, and political ideology. Other factors include context and stereotypes (Jost & Kay 2005). Ramzi Nasser (2007) showed, for instance, that Lebanese youth (secondary school and university students from public and private school) found that the socio-economic variable of parents' education was the only significant predictor for the causal attribution for poverty.

This study was done in Africa and there seem to be very few studies on this issue from that continent. Bolitho, Carr & Fletcher (2007) found that Australians and Malaŵians differed significantly on all five factors, with Malaŵians blaming poverty more on situations and less on the poor themselves, compared to Australian counterparts. Carr and MacLachlan

Table 15.1 Studies specifically looking at attributions for poverty

Author	Country	Participants	Findings
1 Feagin (1972)	USA	1017 Adults	There seemed to be three classes of explanation for poverty (individualistic, structural, fatalistic). Preference for explanations were shown to be related to age, education, income, religion and race.
2 Feather (1974)	Australia	667 Adults	Australians were less likely than Americans to blame the poor. Once again, attributions for poverty were linked to age, sex, education, occupational status, income and religion.
3 Singh & Vasudeva (1977)	India	Punjabi students	Societal explanations for poverty were judged to be most important by persons of lower educational attainment and income. There were very few differences between Hindus' and Sikhs' attributions.
4 Furnham (1982a)	Great Britain	202 Adults heterogenous sample	Confirmed Feagin's three-factor structure. Also found right-wing voters more likely to give individualistic explanations, while left-wing voters give structural explanations.
5 Furnham (1982b)	Great Britain	90 School children (50 public and 40 private school)	Public (fee paying) schoolboys estimated the income of the poor higher than comprehensive schoolboys. Public schoolboys found individualist explanations for poverty more important while comprehensive schoolboys found societal explanations more important.
6 Furnham (1982c)	India	72 Students at University of Bombay	Different religious groups (Christian, Hindu, Moslem, Parsi) tended to offer different explanations. Compared to British data the Indians seemed less individualistic and more fatalistic.
7 Pandey, Sinha, Prakash and Tripathi (1982)	India	30 left wing; 30 right wing students	Left-wing activists attributed poverty significantly more to governmental policies and economic dominance of a few, but less to self, than fate compared to right wing activists.

- 8 Rim (1984) Israel 137 Students in Haifa  
 Looked at personality, intelligence and ethnic group differences in explanations. Less intelligent people and neurotic extraverts gave more individualistic explanations. Western Jews, women and people from smaller families tended to give fatalistic explanations.
- 9 Payne & Furnham, (1985) Barbados, Dominican 354 Barbadian school children, 149 Dominican school children 675 students  
 Barbadians rated societal and fatalist explanations for poverty higher than did Dominicans. Prevailing conditions in the respective countries clearly influenced perceptions of the causes of poverty.
- 10 Guimond, Begin & Palmer (1989) Canada 675 students  
 Social science students attributed more to situational and less to dispositional factors than science of administration students. Unemployed people blamed the poor and the unemployed themselves more than social science students.
- 11 Harper et al. (1990) Great Britain 138 people (1/3 students)  
 An 18-item scale investigating the causes of third-world poverty found four factors: Blame the poor (dispositional), Blame Third World Governments, Blame Nature and Blame Exploitation. People who believed in the just world tended to favour the dispositional attributions.
- 12 Zucker & Weiner (1993) USA 112 students  
 Subjects rated the attributions of cause of poverty as well as of controllability, blame, effects of pity and anger. Conservatism correlates positively with a belief in individualistic causes of poverty, controllability, blame and negatively with societal causes, pity and intention to help.
- 13 Morcol (1997) Turkey 550 Adults in Ankara  
 Factor analysis confirms Feagin's three categories. Income, gender, age and education were important determinants of explanations for poverty.
- 14 Carr et al. (1998) Australia, Brazil 50 blue collar Australians, 50 blue collar Brazilians  
 Brazilians invoked corruption more than Australians as a cause of third world poverty but did not differ in their attributions to nature or the poor themselves.

*(continued)*

Table 15.1 Continued

Author	Country	Participants	Findings
15 Bullock (1999)	USA	124 middle class; 124 welfare recipients	Welfare recipients were more likely to make structural attributions for poverty and more likely to regard welfare requests as dishonest and idle.
16 Flanagan & Tucker (1999)	USA	434 teenagers	Higher maternal education and wealth of home district were related to attributions of poverty (and unemployment themselves), to societal (rather than independent causes). Those who endorsed individual causes believed all Americans enjoyed equal opportunities, welfare led to dependency and were more committed to material goods.
17 Hine & Montiel (1999)	Canada, Philippines	Anti-poverty activists and non-poverty activists in the two countries	Poverty attributions fell into five dimensions, labelled exploitation, characterological weaknesses of the poor, natural causes, conflict and poor government. Canadians attributed poverty more to third world governments and characterological weaknesses and less to nature and conflict than Filipinos.
18 Bonn et al. (1999)	South Africa	225 children aged 7–14 years	Open interviews showed the most common attributions for poverty were unemployment, God's will, having unequal amounts of money, lack of education, and personal characteristics. Knowledge about poverty was clearly influenced by social environment.
19 Campbell, Carr & MacLachlan (2001)	Australia, Malawi	100 Australians, 98 Malawians	Australians were more likely than Malawians to attribute poverty to dispositional rather than situational factors. Australian situational/structural attributions were associated with frequency of monetary donation behaviour.
20 Cozzarelli, Wilkinson & Taylor (2001)	USA	209 American students	Using a different measure about the characteristics of the poor they favour three factors, labelling external, internal and cultural attributions. Many factors were related to poverty attributions including participants' socio-demographic background as well as their belief in the work ethic, and the just world.

(1998) found that Malaŵian students held more individualistic (blame the victim) attributions for poverty than did their Australian counterparts, who favoured structural explanations.

## Objectives of the study

The study had the following objectives: To elicit poverty causal attributions among Ugandan university students; assess beliefs about the role of organizations in the causation of poverty, the role of organizations in poverty reduction, the effects of poverty, ways of reducing poverty, and assess how organizational psychologists can help to reduce poverty.

The study took place at a large university situated in a big city in Uganda. A convenience sample of 236 Ugandan university students was opportunistically selected; these students were enrolled in their second years in the faculty of arts and in their third year of study at a psychology institute.

After the study was cleared by university authorities, the researcher assembled the sampling frame by listing all students in the different classes. Those who agreed to participate in the study were administered a questionnaire. This was after a verbal consent had been given. Those without time were allowed to take them home and brought them back not later than two days. The questionnaire assessed socio-demographic characteristics of the sample: Participants indicated their monthly income (in Uganda shillings and later converted into US dollars); age, sex, religion, and type of housing. The majority of participants, being students, were similar on marital status, education level and occupation; so these variables are left out in this analysis.

## Findings

### Attributions for poverty

Participants were asked to indicate factors they perceived to cause poverty. The attributions were categorized by two raters. The inter-rater reliability regarding causes was significant ( $r = .85$ ,  $p = .00$ ,  $n = 65$ ). The causes are shown in Table 15.2.

The majority gave attributions considered to be structural: the majority of the respondents (30.9 per cent) reported lack of education; 27.5 per cent reported unemployment; 10.6 per cent reported poor government planning policies; 8.5 per cent the blamed education system (which is poor); 7.6 per cent blamed political instability; 7.6 per cent reported corruption; 5.1 per cent blamed high disease/death rate; and 4.7 per cent reported high cost/standard of living. Next in popularity participants gave attributions that were individualistic. These included 21.6 per cent that reported laziness; 8.9 per cent blamed lack of knowledge about job opportunities; 8.5 per cent reported overpopulation; 7.2 per cent reported low education level, 5.9 per cent poor

Table 15.2 Poverty casual attributions

Cause	n	%
Lack of education/ illiteracy	73	30.9
Unemployment	65	27.5
Laziness	51	21.6
Poor government planning policies	25	10.6
Lack of knowledge about job opportunities	21	8.9
Education system (which is poor)	20	8.5
Overpopulation	20	8.5
Political instability	18	7.6
Corruption	18	7.6
Education level	17	7.2
Background, lack of income	14	5.9
High number of dependants	14	5.9
High disease/death rate	12	5.1
High cost/standard of living	11	4.7
Individual poor planning	11	4.7
Lack of/poor distribution of income	9	3.8
People don't save/extravagancy	9	3.8
Low salary	8	3.4
Poor distribution of resources	8	3.4
High standard of living	7	2.9
Underutilization of resources	6	2.5
Cultural mentality /or belief	6	2.5
Undermining job	6	2.5
Limited resources	6	2.5
Fear to start up business/risks	4	1.7
Perception	4	1.7
Low technology	4	1.7
Poor methods of farming	3	1.3
Natural disasters	3	1.3
Rural urban migration	3	1.3
People are discouraged	2	0.8
Excessive enjoyment of leisure	2	0.8
Discrimination	2	0.8
It is their choice	2	0.8
Underdevelopment in the country	2	0.8
Under employment	2	0.8
Lack of investment/capital	1	0.4
Low innovation skills	1	0.4
Geographical location	1	0.4
Lack of creativeness	1	0.4

NB: A participant was free to give more than one response.

background/lack of income; 5.9 per cent reported high number of dependants; and 4.7 per cent reported poor individual planning.

### Organizations and causes of poverty

How governmental and non-governmental organizations cause poverty was assessed and the results are presented in Table 15.3.

There was agreement between participants on the role of government and NGOs in causing poverty. Both were seen as corrupt (government 86 per cent and NGOs 53 per cent). Both government (22 per cent) and NGOs

Table 15.3 How non-governmental organizations cause poverty

Way of causing poverty (governmental organizations)	<i>n</i>	%	Way of causing poverty (non-governmental organizations)	<i>N</i>	%
Misuse of funds/corruption	86	36.4	They are corrupt/misuse of funds	53	22.5
Job discrimination	22	9.3	Job discrimination/employment discrimination	25	10.6
Uneven distribution of services	20	8.5	Make people lazy	21	8.9
Heavy taxes on loans	12	5.1	Aim at achieving their own goals	21	8.9
Unfair distribution of funds	10	4.2	Operate in urban areas	15	6.4
Encourage laziness	5	2.1	Unequal distribution of services	8	3.4
Encourage privatization hence unemployment	4	1.7	Provision of temporary jobs	8	3.4
			More theoretical than practical	5	2.1
Do not deal with people on the ground	4	1.7	Charge high interests on loans	4	1.7
Do not sensitize the masses	4	1.7	Put restrictions on donations	3	1.3
Poor policies	3	1.3	Urban based	2	0.8
Poor man power planning	2	0.8	Tied aid	1	0.4
Encourage income inequality	2	0.8	Do not follow up activities	1	0.4
Uneven distribution of resources	2	0.8	–	–	–
Not availing employment opportunities	1	0.4	–	–	–
Cause political instability	1	0.4	–	–	–

*Table 15.4* How development partner agencies cause poverty

<b>Way in which poverty is caused</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
Encourage laziness	74	31.4
Tied aid	25	10.6
Repatriate back the money	23	9.7
High interest rates	15	6.4
Restrictions on donations	13	5.5
They are corrupt	10	4.2
Do not follow up their donations	7	2.9
Do not bother about the effectiveness of their donations	6	2.5
Job discrimination	6	2.5
Employing their countrymen	5	2.1
Have their own interests rather than eradicating poverty	4	1.7
Do not impact skills	3	1.3
Cause political instability	5	2.1
Concentrate on few areas	2	0.8
Brain drain	1	0.4
Exploit resources	1	0.4

(25 per cent) were seen to exercise job discrimination, which made the jobless poor. The respondents seemed to agree that government and NGOs played a similar role in causing poverty (see also, Burt, this volume).

For government organizations, uneven distribution of services (20 per cent), heavy taxes on loans (12 per cent) and unfair distribution of funds (10 per cent) were other popular responses. For NGOs, making people lazy (by making them dependent on aid) (21 per cent), pursuing goals that are different from those of the host governments or communities (21 per cent), and operating only in urban areas (15 per cent) were other popular responses. The rest of the responses were less popular. Table 15.4 shows the role played by development partners.

Popular responses regarding the role of donor agencies in causing poverty were that they encourage laziness by giving people aid (74 per cent); give tied aid (25 per cent); repatriate back large sums of money (23 per cent); offer loans at high interest rates (15 per cent); have restrictions on donations (13 per cent); and are corrupt themselves (10 per cent).

### **Effects of poverty**

The study assessed the effects of poverty on people's social life and families. Table 15.5 presents the results.

### **Effects of poverty on people's mental health**

The effects of poverty on people's mental health were assessed and reported in Table 15.6.



Table 15.5 Effects of poverty on people's social life and families

Effect on social life	<i>n</i>	%	Effect on families	<i>N</i>	%
Poor standards of living	48	20.3	Poor standards of living	70	29.7
Increased crimes	44	18.6	Divorce/separation breakdown	69	51.2
Disrespect and discrimination/ disassociation/segregation	38	16.1	Illiteracy/low levels of education	37	28.0
Lack of medical care/death	35	14.8	Misunderstandings	29	12.3
Poor education/illiteracy	20	8.5	Lack of medical treatment	28	11.9
Loss of self-esteem	19	8.1	Domestic violence	27	11.4
Prostitution	15	6.4	Increased chance of death	17	7.2
No leisure enjoyment	9	3.8	Early marriage	8	3.4
Psychological torture/stress	5	2.1	Poor clothing and shelter	6	2.5
Family breakdown	5	2.1	Neglect of families	6	2.5
Unemployment	4	1.7	Thefts/crime	6	2.5
Adopting superstition/ witchcraft	4	1.7	School dropouts	6	2.5
Corruption	4	1.7	Lack of food	5	2.1
Loss of hope	4	1.7	Prostitution	4	1.7
Stunted/retarded growth	3	1.3	Over-dependence	4	1.7
Rural-Urban immigration	3	1.3	Lack of respect	4	1.7
Loss of respect	3	1.3	Retarded growth	1	0.4
Take up traditional beliefs	3	1.3	–	–	–
Dependency	3	1.3	–	–	–
Development of hatred	3	1.3	–	–	–
Little time for family	1	0.4	–	–	–

Table 15.6 Effects of poverty on people's mental health

Effect	<i>n</i>	%
Mental breakdown and madness/insanity	87	36.9
Depression/stress, anxiety	25	10.6
Mental confusion	21	8.9
Illogical reasoning	18	7.6
Psychological torture and frustration	8	3.4
Stunted brain/mental growth	8	3.4
Drug abuse	2	0.8

Table 15.6 shows that the majority of the participants reported that poverty caused psychological disorders, for example, mental breakdown and madness/insanity (36.9 per cent), depression/stress and anxiety (10.6 per cent), mental confusion (8.9 per cent), and illogical reasoning (7.6 per cent). The rest of the responses were given by a small percentage (less than 10 people each).

## Organizations and reduction of poverty

After learning about how organizations cause poverty, the next step was to assess how they could be involved in poverty alleviation. The role of governmental and non-governmental organizations in reducing poverty was assessed and the results are presented in Table 15.7.

Table 15.7 shows the reported ways through which government organizations should fight poverty (reported by at least 10 people). The popular responses included reducing corruption (37 per cent), creating jobs (37 per cent), educating people, how to be innovative and work hard (23 per cent), distributing funds fairly (18 per cent), provision of loan

*Table 15.7* How governmental and non-governmental organizations reduce poverty

Way of reducing poverty (governmental organizations)	<i>n</i>	%	Way of reducing poverty (non-governmental organizations)	<i>n</i>	%
Fight corruption	37	15.7	Fund poverty eradication projects evenly	36	15.3
Creation of projects to people	37	15.7	Support and create projects	34	14.4
Train job makers	24	10.2	Offer employment with good pay	28	11.9
Educate people to be innovative and work hard	23	9.7	Educate/impact people with skills	27	11.4
Fair distribution of funds	18	7.6	Job provision	22	9.3
Provide loan schemes and donations	16	6.8	Sensitization of people about poverty problem	17	7.2
Provision of jobs to nationals	15	6.4	Encourage people to be innovative and creative	17	7.2
Mass sensitization about poverty	13	5.5	Give people starting capital	11	4.7
Equal distribution of services	10	4.2	Fight corruption/ask for accountability/effective use of donations	13	5.5
Improve agriculture	10	4.2	Encourage family planning	7	2.9
Charge low taxes/reduce taxes			Fair distribution of resources	6	2.5
Encourage family planning	8	3.4	Give free services	6	2.5
Improve on education	6	2.5	Encourage mechanical/scientific agriculture	4	1.7
Set up poverty eradication schemes	6	2.5	Free loan/ low interest rates	4	1.7
Improve roads	3	1.3	Monitor and evaluate projects	4	1.7
Proper planning and use of funds	3	1.3	Counselling and guidance for the poor	1	0.4

schemes and donations (16 per cent), provision of jobs to nationals (15 per cent), mass sensitization about poverty (13 per cent), equal distribution of services (10 per cent) and improved agriculture (10 per cent).

On the other hand, NGOs could: fund poverty eradication projects evenly (15.3 per cent); support and even create more projects (14.4 per cent); offer employment with good pay (11.9 per cent); educate/impart people with skills (11.4 per cent); provide jobs (9.3 per cent); sensitize people about the poverty problem (7.2 per cent); encourage people to be innovative and creative (7.2 per cent); give people start-up capital (4.7 per cent); and fight corruption/ask for accountability/effective use of donations (5.5 per cent). The major roles of government and NGOs in fighting poverty were seen to be similar, namely, through fighting corruption, creation of projects, training job makers and training/educating people to be innovative and work hard.

### Ways through which development partner agencies could fight poverty

The ways through which donor agencies could fight poverty are reported in Table 15.8.

Table 15.8 shows that major ways of donors reducing poverty in developing countries include funding developmental projects (41.1 per cent); giving aid (22.5 per cent); creation of job opportunities via investments (8.9 per cent), giving low-interest loans (8.9 per cent); reduction of restrictions (7.9 per cent); emphasizing proper use of funds (6.4 per cent); being

Table 15.8 Ways donors can reduce poverty in developing countries

Way of reducing poverty	<i>n</i>	%
Fund developmental projects	97	41.1
Through aid giving	53	22.5
Creation of job opportunities via investments	21	8.9
Give low interest loans	21	8.9
Reduce restrictions	18	7.9
Emphasize proper use of funds	15	6.4
Be practical rather than theoretical	11	4.7
Empower nation with practical skills	10	4.2
Teach poverty eradication tools	10	4.2
Improve education system	9	3.8
Give grants	8	3.4
Encourage people to work hard	8	3.4
Employ citizens	2	0.8
Provide scholarships	2	0.8
Remove restrictions on loans	1	0.4
Reduce Aid	1	0.4
Employ local people	1	0.4

practical rather than theoretical (4.7 per cent); empowering people with practical skills (4.2 per cent); and teaching poverty eradication tools or methods (4.2 per cent).

### **Ways in which organizational psychologists can help in reducing poverty in Uganda**

Organizational psychologists have the competences which can help alleviate poverty. Ways in which organizational psychologists can help in reducing poverty in Uganda were assessed and the results are presented in Table 15.9.

Participants reported that organizational psychologists could help reduce poverty by teaching about causes and solutions to poverty (28.0 per cent); educating students how to utilize resources (11.4 per cent); counselling people on how to deal with poverty (9.3 per cent); and teaching people how to be job creators rather than job seekers (5.9 per cent).

These are expansive, responsive roles for the discipline, and profession (Lefkowitz, this volume).

### **Discussion**

Ugandan students tended to make structural and individualistic poverty attributions. This finding supports the work of Feagin (1972), who found that poverty attributions in the United States fell under three categories, namely, individualistic attributions (blaming poverty on dispositional factors within poor people, e.g., individual effort), fatalistic (blaming poverty on fate or bad luck) or structural (blaming poverty on society). Other researchers have supported this type of categorisation, for example,

*Table 15.9* Ways in which organizational psychologists can help to reduce poverty

<b>Way of reducing poverty</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b>%</b>
Teaches causes and solutions of poverty / educate people how to deal with poverty	66	28.0
Educate students how to utilize resources	27	11.4
Counsel people on how to fight poverty	22	9.3
Teach people how to be job creators not seekers	14	5.9
Impose positive attitudes towards work	8	3.4
Offer jobs /employment	4	1.7
Encourage people to plan for future	4	1.7
Help to make use of available resources	4	1.7
Develop human resources	2	0.8
It ensures accountability	2	0.8
Counsel corrupt officials	1	0.4

Harper et al. (1990) and Terrence (1980). Furthermore, the study findings support Bolitho, Carr & Fletcher (2007), who found that Australians and Malaŵians differed significantly on all five factors, with Malaŵians blaming poverty more on situations and less on the poor themselves, compared to their Australian counterparts (see also, Burt, this volume).

Poverty was reported to have serious effects on the social life of people. Lea et al. (1997) reported similar consequences of poverty. They reported constraints of poverty to include financial constraints (poor income); poor living conditions; limited spending; being in the public eye, for example, being visibly poor; capturing the attention of agents of the state; and pressures on parents. The study findings support Sinha (1990), who reported that poverty has serious effects on families and kids from disadvantaged families and that such families needed psychosocial and policy interventions.

Poverty reportedly had serious effects on the mental health of people. This finding is in line with Lea et al. (1997), who reported serious psychological consequences of poverty: loss of pride, shame and low self-esteem, anxiety, fearfulness, and feeling trapped. The same psychological effects are reported by Sinha (1990), who listed the common psychological effects of poverty to include inappropriate perceptual and cognitive skills, poor mental development, emotional instability, attention problems, learning disabilities and poor school performance, memory problems, poor motivational dimensions, inadequate linguistic skills, stagnant aspirations, sense of helplessness, low self-esteem, and mental health problems.

To sum up, these findings are broadly consistent with poverty being first and foremost a structural and situational constraint that people encounter in their everyday lives, which can impinge on their freedom and well-being (Mpfu, 2010; Sen, 1999).

## **Organizations and poverty causation**

Consistent with the above interpretation is the rather striking finding that organizations figure prominently in both poverty reduction and poverty perpetuation. This is noteworthy because organizational dynamics have arguably been overlooked in development studies, policy and practice, in favour of more macro-economic concerns (Easterly, 2006).

Firstly there was agreement between participants on the role of government and NGOs in causing poverty. The findings show that organizations, be it government or NGOs or development partners, are in one way or another causing poverty. These findings support those of Feagin (1972), who found that people tended to blame governments and organizations as structural causes of poverty. They also resonate with research by Carr, Chipande and MacLachlan (1998), who found basic salary differences can be a potential barrier to collaboration between expatriate workers and locals. There was a remuneration gap between comparably skilled and experienced

locally-salaried (principally local) workers and their internationally-salaried (principally expatriate) colleagues. Among the employees in the University of Malaŵi, differences in pay were found to vary widely between aid providers, and to be blocking expatriate-local cooperation via a combination of felt organizational injustice, stereotype reinforcement, and impediments to perspective-taking across cultures. The salary differences did not only lead to poverty among local staff but had a de-motivating influence on local workers whose educational work is important for national capacity-building.

More recently, Munthali, Matagi & Tumwebaze (2010) found out that the size of the gap between local and international workers, measured using the World Bank's Purchasing Power Parity, was higher in Malaŵi (4.04:1) than in Uganda (1.97:1). The ratio was more clearly within tolerance levels in Uganda than in Malaŵi. Consistent with these differences, and controlling for organization, cultural and demographic factors, locally remunerated workers reported more and expatriate workers less injustice and de-motivation in Malaŵi than in Uganda. Although sample sizes for the internationally-remunerated are small, the findings suggest that wider disparities may hinder perspective-taking and push motivation lower. Carr et al. (2010) report that local remuneration differences across six different low- and middle-income economies were undermining poverty reduction work. It is not clear whether these organizations are aware that they are causing poverty.

## **Organizations and poverty reduction**

Importantly, our participants reported various ways in which organizations can reduce poverty: For governmental organizations these included fighting corruption, creation of jobs/projects, training job markers, educating people to be innovative and hardworking and fair distribution of resources, to mention but a few. For NGOs they included funding poverty eradication projects, supporting and creating projects, offering employment with good pay, educating and imparting people with skills and provision of jobs, to mention but a few. The ways of fighting poverty are not new. Some are socio-political and socio-economic (e.g., fighting corruption, creation of projects), and others are more psycho-social (e.g., training human resources), entailing organizational psychology.

Governments and NGOs should put in place programs to deal with the negative effects of poverty on the social life of people, for example, through provision of education and health services, and income-generating activities for families. There should be policy formulations at the family, community and school levels (Sinha, 1990) regarding dealing with the serious effects of poverty. Governments and NGOs and other stakeholders should put in place psychosocial programs, for example, counselling services for those in extreme poverty, and for families (separation counselling) and programs to take care of children from families separated due to poverty, to equip them

with knowledge and skills for making livelihoods in future. Governments should provide enrichment programs for families and kids from disadvantaged families.

NGOs can fight poverty through funding poverty eradication projects evenly; supporting and creating more projects; offering employment with good pay; educating/imparting people with skills; providing employment, sensitizing people about the poverty problem; encouraging people to be innovative and creative; giving people starting capital; fighting corruption; and supporting family planning.

NGOs reduce poverty by fighting corruption, for example, by asking for accountability/effective use of donations; changing their employment policies so that they recruit locals; removing job discrimination so that all jobs are competed for; reducing pay differentials; abandoning selfish goals and instead supporting government programmes aimed at poverty alleviation; and NGOs operating in rural areas instead of remaining in urban areas.

Development partners should abandon the idea of tied aid (in which funds return to the donor country, for example, through exorbitant salaries for expatriates from the donor country); reduce interest rates on their loans; fight corruption in their organizations; lift restrictions on donations; fund developmental projects through aid giving; create job opportunities for locals via investments; be practical rather than theoretical; and train organizational staff and local community members in practical skills (Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009).

Training activities can impart work and career-related competencies, for example, by improving a person's beliefs in the causes of his or her own failures and successes to improve future motivation for achievement (Robertson, 2000). Attribution training is discussed in Brophy (1998) as strategic in helping people to attribute failure to remedial causes, for example, lack of effort than to un-remedial causes, for example, lack of ability. Efficacy programs also expose people to a planned set of experiences within an achievement context and provide them with a way of combating any generalized low self-concepts of ability or capability (Pick & Sirkin, 2010). Efficacy training helps people set realistic goals and pursue them with the recognition that they have the ability needed to reach those goals if they apply reasonable effort. Strategy training involves the use of modelling and instruction to teach problem-solving strategies and related self-talk that students need to handle tasks successfully and get out of poverty. Strategy training is a component of good cognitive skills instruction (Ames, 1987). In line with this, Lea et al. (1997) talk about practical coping with poverty: Strategies for overcoming practical problems of poverty, strategies for coping with the consequences of poverty, and strategies for minimizing the psychological impact of poverty are taught. Finally, psychological coping with poverty entails building strategies for maintaining self-esteem, and for rejecting the label of 'poor'.

Competencies in such functions can be provided by humanitarian work psychology. There are a number of activities organizational psychologists can do to reduce poverty (Carr et al., 2008). These we have now seen include teaching causes and solutions of poverty/educating people in how to deal with poverty; educating students and other people on how to utilize resources; counselling people on how to fight poverty (including financial counselling); and teaching people how to be job creators as well as seekers. Organizational psychologists should be supported financially to be able to do research on poverty (McWha, Carr & MacLachlan, this volume), and should be considered for consultancies and policy development for organizations.

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