

4

When Do People Make the Place?

Considering the Interactionist Foundations of the Attraction-Selection-Attrition Model

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Without question, one of Ben Schneider's most important contributions has been to formulate and test the attraction-selection-attrition (ASA) model (e.g., Schneider, 1987). One can view his 1987 seminal paper in the context of research and debates that preceded it, particularly through the theoretical lens of the person-situation debate. Though psychologists had long struggled to answer the nature-nurture question of whether stable person characteristics or situational attributes account for more variation in behavior, the debate became most heated after Walter Mischel wrote a treatise on the primacy of situations in 1968. Many, such as Block (1978) and Bowers (1973), argued against Mischel's initial position. Most researchers in organizational psychology now accept that behavior is a function of characteristics of the person and the environment (Magnusson & Endler, 1977). The challenge, however, as Schneider (1987) astutely noted, has been to develop concepts and methods that determine not only

if person and situation attributes are valid predictors of behavior, but also, more importantly, *when* and *to what extent* they predict behavior.

Schneider's (1987) model began with the view that people are not randomly assigned to most situations in life, and particularly not to work organizations. Instead, people and human settings are inseparable; people are attracted to and select into situations that they think they will fit. In Schneider's view, this explains why even organizations that have very similar goals and are of comparable size and structure look and feel different from one another. The ASA cycle starts as people are differentially attracted to an organization based on its modal personality, or the typical personality of members. Organizations then select those who are most compatible. Because a lack of congruence is aversive, "misfits" are unlikely to remain with that organization (e.g., Vandenberghe, 1999).

A key prediction from this process is that organizations quickly become homogeneous with respect to the personality characteristics of the people in them (Schneider, Smith, Fleenor, & Taylor, 1998). At its extreme, the ASA framework suggests that situations are not independent of the people within them; the situation is a construction of the people there behaving as they do, such that "structure, process, and culture are the *outcome* of the people in an organization, not the cause of the behavior of the organization" (Schneider, 1978; Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995, p. 751, italics added). Thus, from Schneider's perspective, organizations are functions of the kinds of people they contain.

When Schneider introduced the ASA model, he revitalized the then waning focus in organizational psychology on person-situation congruence or fit. Researchers began considering recruiting processes from this perspective (e.g., Bretz, Asch, & Dreher, 1989; Judge & Bretz, 1992; Pervin, 1989; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990; Vancouver & Schmitt, 1991), especially focusing on identifying which potential recruits were likely to be successful within an organization (e.g., Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1990). This focus provided insight into some of the consequences of fit, demonstrating the rather common-sense prediction that people who have personal characteristics that are aligned with the modal personality of the organization are more likely to adjust to that organization than are those who do not fit. As such, the congruence approach provides a predictive lens that specifies who will fit into certain organizations and pragmatic value regarding whom an organization should hire.

As the above discussion illustrates, a congruence approach to the ASA model is helpful in generating global predictions about person-situation behaviors. However, congruence as typically conceptualized is too broad a concept to generate insight about the nature of person-situation interactions and predict specific behaviors. Further, the outcomes of congruence typically conceptualized as adjustment or effectiveness, and typically operationalized in terms of satisfaction, commitment, and longevity in the organization, are global behaviors arising from many factors; tracking them is not necessarily informative, nor is achieving fit necessarily desir-

able for organizations or individuals. It would be more useful to decouple *stated adjustment* from *actual behavior* to determine what behaviors emerge and whether the behaviors associated with stated adjustment are actually functional and adaptive. For example, people could adjust to dysfunctional organizations and end up contributing to continued dysfunction rather than to changing the organization in positive ways (e.g., Felps & Mitchell, 2003). Further, from a developmental perspective, it is not always good to be well adjusted. People may grow and learn more in situations that challenge their assumptions or capabilities (e.g., Wrzeniewski & Dutton, 2001). Further, groups that are less homogeneous, a form of congruence, are more likely to be innovative (e.g., Bantel & Jackson, 1989; Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1998). Thus, we need to more closely scrutinize the actual behaviors that arise from various person-situation combinations.

What we are suggesting is not new, but rather is reminiscent of the initial foundation of the ASA model in interactional psychology; Schneider introduced the ASA model in a 1983 paper as deeply rooted in the context of interactionism:

People select themselves into and out of situations based on the general fit of themselves to the situation. Self selection ... results in relatively homogeneous settings ... [and] it is the interactions of people with similar others that defines work settings.... Thus, the oft' made observation that people appear more stable than Mischel's (1968) conclusions would suggest is probably true because we typically observe people in a relatively narrow range of situations and, then, over many observational periods. (Schneider, 1983, pp. 13–14)

Embracing the interactional roots of the ASA model to focus on more specific behaviors, such as cooperative behavior, extroversion, or honesty, rather than simply who is likely to be successful in the sense of being well adjusted or acting similarly to others in a situation, requires knowledge of an individual's propensity to behave in a particular way, derived from personal characteristics such as personality, the situational inducements to behave in that way, and how they combine. Consequently, an interactional approach clarifies the conditions under which we should and should not expect to predict behavior from personal characteristics and to increase our understanding of the sources of behavior in organizations. It also is a more robust way to assess behavioral coherence across time and situations; congruence approaches offer few specifics in this regard.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the value of viewing the ASA model through its roots in person-situation interaction rather than through a congruence lens. We argue that the ASA model is underutilized if only considered with respect to person-organization congruence, and that an interactionist lens provides greater insight into the fundamental, often reciprocal relationship between people and situations, and how the complexities of this relationship influence behavior. In particular, through

the application of an interactionist approach to the ASA model, we can better understand when and how some people make the place.

We begin by considering the limits of a congruence approach and illustrate the value of an interactional model in terms of understanding and predicting ASA-relevant behaviors. We do so by focusing on two variants on the person-situation relationship: how some people are affected differently by a situation than are others, and how people influence situations. In both cases, we begin by discussing a study designed to address each type of person-situation relationship, and then consider other relevant research that, though not necessarily intended as a focus, has implications for the ASA model. Through the chapter, we focus on how people and situations interact in fine-grained, behaviorally explicit terms. We believe that behaviorally specific predictions are critical to establishing the boundary conditions of attraction, selection, and attrition processes. Most importantly, this more fine grained approach will enable us to understand the myriad processes that underlie how and when people make the place.

WHY FOCUSING ON CONGRUENCE IS NOT ENOUGH: MISFIT AS A PATH TO DISCOVERY

People and organizations can be compared based on their values, and a well-substantiated body of research has shown that the fit (congruence or match) between people and their organizations is more influential than either individuals' or organizational values alone (e.g., Chatman, 1989; O'Reilly, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991). Fit is developed through selection (e.g., Cable & Judge, 1996) and socialization (e.g., Morrison, 1993). Beyond negatively influencing a person's commitment, performance, and satisfaction, having low fit or being a misfit can lead a person to leave. Alternatively, individuals with low fit can also try to change their organization's values, which is still somewhat consistent with the ASA model. Despite these occurrences, yet another solution to low fit or misfit is for the individual to adapt his or her behavior to fit that of the situation. We seek to extend the ASA model by focusing on misfits.

Researchers have long observed the impact that situations can have on people's behavior. Among the most well known example is Asch's (1956) pioneering research on conformity, which demonstrated startling effects of social influence in which individuals were likely to yield to the majority point of view even if their answer was obviously incorrect. Or Milgram's (1963) obedience studies that showed that, while subjects expressed anxiety over administering shocks to a confederate for incorrect answers, they obeyed the researcher's rules to continue administering them. And, of course, the infamous prisoner study (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973), which elicited such dramatic and potentially dangerous behavior in response to random assignments to guard or prisoner that the experiment had to be terminated early.

These examples illustrate how situations can dramatically influence people's behavior. In each case, individual differences were overwhelmed by situational circumstances as people behaved in convergent ways that were often highly atypical for them as individuals. For skeptics of the laboratory approach who believe that experiments are strong situations that preclude our ability to detect coherence in individual behavior (e.g., Kenrick & Funder, 1988), there is persuasive evidence from the vast socialization literature showing that genuinely internalized and lasting value changes occur as a result of organizational membership (e.g., Alwin, Cohen, & Newcomb, 1991; Jones, 1986; Van Maanen, 1975), with one study showing that socialization experiences have over three times more influence on recruit adjustment than does their initial personality upon entering the organization (Chatman, 1991). Thus, while not a revelation, it is important to remember that sometimes people make the place, in terms of influencing organizational values, but at many other times people adapt their behavior and even their fundamental values to match the setting (e.g., Greenwald, 1992). We therefore pose the question, "When do people make the place?"

This question is especially pertinent in organizational settings because organizations can be conceptualized as strong situations (e.g., Davis-Blake & Pfeffer, 1989) that influence members' values and behavior, in some cases regardless of how similar or different a person is from an organization when he initially joins. As Schneider has acknowledged, organizations vary in what he calls climate strength (Schneider, Salvaggio, & Subirats, 2002), defined in terms of within-organization variability in climate perceptions, such that less variability implies a stronger climate. Weaker, compared to stronger, climates have less influence on people's behavior. This reasoning does not, however, consider the possibility that organizational membership may include processes other than attraction, selection, and attrition. Specifically, some people who do not fit may adjust their perceptions, values, and behavior and not leave.

Figure 4.1 helps to summarize this discussion, using integrity as an example (though, of course, many other examples that compare person and situational attributes could be used, such as creativity or extroversion). Specifically, congruence models would focus on the matching quadrants (1 and 2). Regarding the mismatch quadrants (2 and 3), a congruence approach would presume that they are equivalent — an additive interaction. An interactive approach would consider a number of possible patterns for the mismatch quadrants. In Option 1, a cross-situational consistency perspective, personal dispositions, in this case, integrity, transcend the context. People behave in accordance with their personal disposition (honest) regardless of the organization's culture (honest or dishonest). Honest people act with high integrity regardless of whether their organizational culture emphasizes integrity, while dishonest people are dishonest regardless of their organization's cultural emphasis.

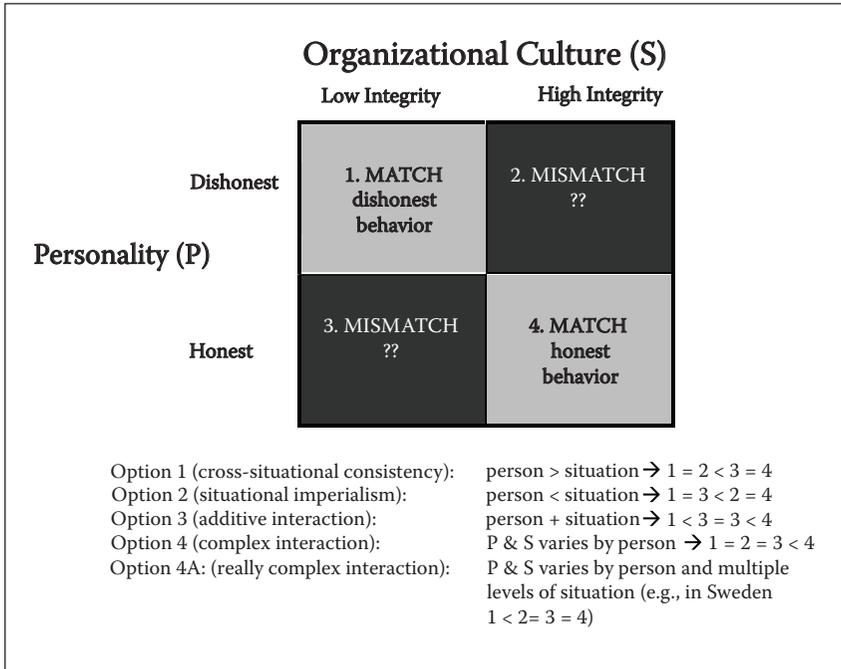


FIGURE 4.1 Person X situation mismatches.

Option 2 proposes a scenario in which situations dominate such that, regardless of their personal disposition, people adapt behaviorally to their organization's cultural orientation. When the culture emphasizes integrity, both honest and dishonest people exhibit honesty, such as complying with rules and whistle-blowing; when it emphasizes low integrity, both types of people would be expected to behave dishonestly, perhaps by participating in attempts to misrepresent (overstate) the organization's financial status. Options 1 and 2 represent the extreme views of the person-situation debate and, as past research has shown (e.g., Funder & Ozer, 1983), are typically unlikely to withstand theoretical and empirical evaluation.

Option 3 presents the typical congruence model, based on an additive interaction. In this case, people and situation characteristics "add up" to determine behavior. Mismatches between personality and organizational culture come out equivalently such that honest or dishonest people in mismatched cultures (high and low integrity) are equivalently moderately honest — not as honest as when they are in high-integrity cultures and not as dishonest as dishonest people in low-integrity cultures. For instance, people may comply with rules, precluding them from lying or stealing with respect to organizational activities, but fail to blow the whistle if others fail to comply.

It is only Options 4 and 4A that represent genuine interactional thinking. In these cases, the interaction between the person and situation

depends on the particular combination of person-situation attributes. For instance, Option 4 calls into question whether honest or dishonest people might demonstrate greater cross-situational consistency in some situations rather than in others. Perhaps honest people are more likely to succumb to organizational pressure to be dishonest than dishonest people are to behave honestly as a member of a high-integrity organization.

Option 4A is an even more complex variant suggesting that person and situation characteristics vary by person and multiple levels of the situation, including, in this hypothetical example, organizational culture and societal culture. Whether dishonest people succumb to organizational pressure to behave honestly or honest people succumb to pressure to behave dishonestly can be influenced by the norms for honesty and integrity that exist at the societal level. For example, business operations in Japan are more uniformly ethical than in, for example, the United States and Canada (Vitell, Nwachukwu, & Barnes, 1993).

The behaviorally specific predictions engendered by an interactional, rather than congruence, perspective can lead to interesting, subtle, and sometimes counterintuitive findings. Next we consider ways in which the ASA model is informed by considering when some people are more affected than others by some types of situations.

DO SOME SITUATIONS INFLUENCE SOME PEOPLE MORE THAN OTHER PEOPLE?

The Case for Cooperation

In contrasting the congruence and interactionist perspectives, consider cooperative behavior. A congruence perspective would focus on matches, predicting that a cooperative person would likely thrive in an organization that values teams, while an individualist would thrive in one that values individual achievement. For example, Chatman and Barsade (1995) showed that cooperative people behaved most cooperatively when they were members of organizations that emphasized collectivism rather than individualism, and likewise, individualistic people behaved most individualistically when they were members of organizations that emphasized individualism. The congruence perspective would typically stop with that somewhat obvious finding — when people have the requisite skills, knowledge, and inclination to behave in accordance with situational demands, they will do so.

An interactionist perspective, however, pushes the insight further. Specifically, it adds to our understanding of the behavioral expression of personality by showing that people who tend to behave individualistically behave more consistently, even in situations emphasizing cooperation, while those who have more cooperative personalities behave more inconsistently. In other words, cooperators will cooperate when situational norms warrant, but behave individualistically when situational norms

emphasize individual achievement. Framed in another way, cooperative people may be viewed as more responsive to the organization's culture, since they exhibited greater variance in their level of cooperative behavior across the two cultures than did individualistic people. Figure 4.2 presents data from Chatman and Barsade's (1995) study and from a field replication by Chatman and Spataro (2005) in a financial services organization. It shows the consistency in this finding across contexts — an MBA sample and a sample of senior executives in a financial services organization — and, more importantly, across a variety of cooperative behaviors. In each case, cooperators adjusted while individualists did not.

In sum, individuals' values interact with those of the organization to influence the extent of cooperative behavior. Moreover, it is only through this interactionist lens that we can come to understand and predict how individual differences are likely to interact with organizational characteristics, that is, that cooperative people will be more responsive to the organizational culture and that individualistic people will be more behaviorally consistent across situations.

Examining behaviorally specific interactions in this way may enable predictions about group and organization changes as a function of member characteristics. Returning to the case of cooperation, organizations, in Western cultures at least, may be prone to move toward individualism since individualistic people maintain their individualistic behavior even in the face of situational norms to cooperate, while cooperative people adjust their behavior to fit with situational demands, whether individualistic or cooperative, even if it means going against their personality. If dispositionally cooperative people are more likely to adjust to their organizational or business unit culture, individualism will spread (unless no individualists are ever hired) and that culture is therefore likely to become more individualistic over time. "Individualistic people may have a limited ability to play cooperative roles" (Chatman & Barsade, 1995, p. 426), and therefore could contribute to a decreasingly collectivistic culture. By understanding the ways in which specific person characteristics and situation characteristics interact, we can anticipate when people are likely to affect situations and when situations are likely to affect people. We can even begin to substantiate, in finer detail, Schneider's claim about people influencing organizational behavior through the ASA process discussed more fully in the second section of this chapter.

Additional Evidence for Differential Situational Influence

To develop greater insight into how and when people make the place, we recommend that researchers focus more on misfit and fine-grained behavioral outcomes rather than on the broad outcomes, like adjustment, that are typically assessed in congruence research. Below we review additional research that enables us to better understand the micro behavioral

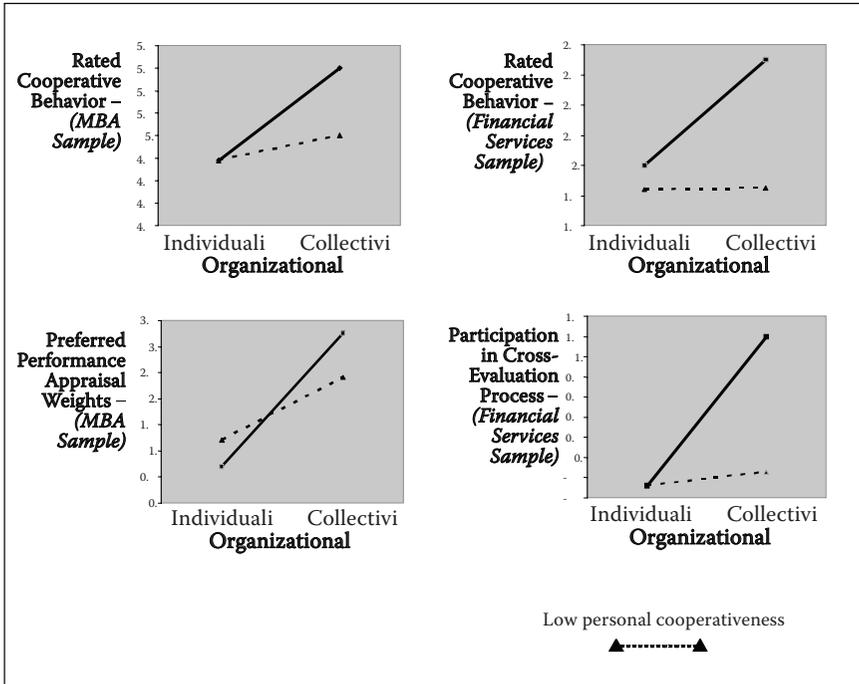


FIGURE 4.2 Complex interaction in which person and situation both vary by person: The case of cooperative behavior.

changes or stability that people exhibit in the face of various organizational situations. We found relevant research that covered a number of person-side domains and chose to focus on three: personality, dispositional affect, and demographic characteristics. We focus on personality and the closely related domain of dispositional affect because it harkens back to the interactionist roots of the ASA model. We consider group and organizational demography because it influences behavior, but also because individuals have distinct demographic attributes that influence their behavior; in the aggregate, demography can also be considered a situational attribute (e.g., O'Reilly, Caldwell, & Barnett, 1989). This review is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather illustrates how viewing person-side attributes from an interactionist perspective adds to our understanding of each component of the ASA model.

Personality and the ASA Model. Researchers have examined numerous personality characteristics from congruence and interactionist perspectives. For example, Molleman, Nauta, and Jehn (2004) investigated the moderating role of team task autonomy on the relationship between group-level personality traits (conscientiousness, emotional stability,

and openness to experience) and team effectiveness (job satisfaction and learning). Using survey data from 133 undergraduate groups, they found that team task autonomy strengthened the relationship between conscientiousness and learning as well as the relationship between openness to experience and satisfaction, but that it did not affect the relationship between emotional stability and team effectiveness. Thus, situation characteristics, in this case task autonomy, differentially influenced the relationship between various team personality characteristics and team effectiveness. A congruence approach to these personality characteristics would have failed to uncover the situational variation by which they influenced team effectiveness. The implication of these findings for the ASA model is that people who not only are conscientious, but also prefer task autonomy, are more likely to be attracted to organizations with such modal personalities and structures.

Kilduff and Day's (1994) study of how self-monitoring influences job performance adds to our understanding of the selection component in the ASA model. They found that high self-monitors were more likely to change employers, move locations, and attain cross-company promotions than were low self-monitors. Additionally, for those who remained with the same employer, high self-monitors achieved more internal promotions than did low self-monitors. Two points are relevant to the ASA model. First, beyond the congruence between individuals' personalities and behaviors with those of the organization, individuals had to read the organizational situation and adapt their personalities to organizational needs to be successful. Second, this finding suggests that, like the cooperators in Chatman and Barsade's (1995) study, high self-monitors were more aware of and responsive to their organizational context than were low self-monitors. To the extent that organizations continually select existing members into various positions (e.g., for promotion), this finding also implies that high self-monitors will be better at adjusting their behaviors to meet organizational needs, and therefore be more actively selected for promotion.

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Dispositional Affect and the ASA Model

An interactionist examination of dispositional affect also provides a fine-grained understanding of the ASA model. Staw and Barsade (1993) proposed competing hypotheses for the influence of positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA) on performance, arguing that, on the one hand, high PA individuals may exhibit higher levels of performance since they are more energized, flexible, creative, and persistent. On the other hand, high NA people may do better since they process information more accurately. Staw and Barsade (1993) provided results from a business simulation that supported the happier but smarter hypothesis; positive affect was positively associated with performance. Beyond how closely dispositional affect is aligned with an organization, under stressful, time-constrained situations high PA people may fare better than high NA individuals. Should the performance differences between high PA and NA individuals

become widespread within an organization, fast-paced, time-constrained organizations are likely to attract and select people who are high on PA.

Similarly, Lyubomirsky and Ross (1997) examined how characteristically happy and unhappy people differed in their responsiveness to social comparison information. They hypothesized and found support for the notion that happy individuals are less sensitive to unsolicited social comparison information and less vulnerable to unfavorable social comparison information than are unhappy individuals. Given the different responses of happy and unhappy people to social comparisons, attrition would likely be higher among unhappy rather than happy individuals generally, and particularly in organizations that regularly compare and publicize employee behaviors and effectiveness. In sum, understanding the way in which dispositional affect interacts with specific organizational aspects sheds light on the complexity of the ASA model.

Demographic Characteristics and the ASA Model

A preponderance of demography research suggests that the ways in which demographic characteristics interact with those of the organization has implications for the ASA model. For example, Jackson, Stone, and Alvarez (1993) reviewed research on socialization and demography, noting that individuals who are in the minority with respect to their gender, ethnicity, age, and status, and who are less behaviorally flexible, are less susceptible to organizational socialization than are those who are more demographically similar. Moreover, they proposed that, depending on an organization's demographic composition, socialization patterns may differ such that those who are similar to current members will be socialized more intensively; that is, they will be more responsive to the organization's socialization efforts. Given that socialization processes are negatively related to turnover, organizations will, over time, retain members who are similar across a broad range of demographic characteristics. These members will, in turn, attract and select similar others and reject those who are different.

Karakowsky and Siegel (1999) examined the effects of work groups' sex composition and gender orientation of the group's task on group members' patterns of emergent leadership behavior. Using an experimental design they found that incongruence of a group member's sex with the gender orientation of the task resulted in lower levels of exhibited leader behaviors. They also found that members working on gender-incongruent tasks displayed significantly less leadership behavior when they were also in the numerical minority with respect to sex than those who were in the numerical majority. This finding suggests that knowing who will rise to leadership roles and be selected into leadership positions within an organization requires understanding much more than just congruence. Rather, an interactionist lens that considers the different outcomes of combinations of the person's sex, his sex relative to the sex composition of his work group, and the gender orientation of the work he is doing is needed

to predict emergent leadership. Even though this study focused on emergent leadership, one implication is that as patterns of successful leadership develop, the interaction of these person and situation characteristics is likely to influence who is selected for leadership positions.

Research by Chatman and O'Reilly (2004) and Tsui, Egan, and O'Reilly (1992) uncovered several asymmetrical effects of being demographically different on attrition. Chatman and O'Reilly (2004) found an interaction between sex and group sex composition, indicating that men and women differed in their reports of the likelihood that they would transfer out of work groups with varying sex composition. Specifically, men in the study were more eager to leave their work groups as the proportions of women in their work groups increased, while women indicated the greatest likelihood of leaving homogenous groups of women and groups that had an equal number of men and women. These results imply that rather than the congruence of demographic characteristics with those of the organization, it is the interaction of sex in specific work groups that affects attrition. In other words, attrition due to sex cannot be uniformly determined without considering the specific combination of the individuals' sex and their work group's sex composition.

Likewise, Tsui et al. (1992) examined the effects of increasing diversity along age, tenure, education, sex, and race on three forms of attachment (psychological commitment, absences, and intention to stay) for majority members. Their findings indicated asymmetrical effects for being different such that Whites and men showed larger negative effects for increased unit heterogeneity than did women or non-Whites. As such, Whites and men may be more likely to leave an organization that is increasingly heterogeneous than women or non-Whites. Note that, again, this pattern could not be predicted by the congruence approach. Only when an interactionist lens was applied were departures accurately predicted.

Our brief review of three person-side constructs — personality, dispositional affect, and demography — shows that the relationship between people and situation characteristics, particularly with regard to organizational membership and tasks, is complex. Specifically, in each case, a congruence lens would limit insight into the ASA model because of its global focus on aggregate behaviors and general focus on fit rather than misfit. A congruence lens would also make it difficult to identify the source of comparable attributes of person and situation. In contrast, an interactionist lens deepens our understanding of the ASA model and, as such, our ability to predict who will be affected by which situations by drawing attention to the unique and complex ways in which person characteristics combine with organizational attributes. Next we consider when and how people will have lasting impact on organizations.

WHEN WILL PEOPLE AFFECT SITUATIONS?

Historically, social and organizational psychologists have been more concerned with how people are influenced by situations than with how individuals shape situations (e.g., Aronson, 1984). Thus, one of the more provocative claims of the ASA model is that people create structures and processes in organizations that reflect the aggregated or modal organizational personality (e.g., Schneider et al., 1998). Because the ASA research to date has focused exclusively on aggregate personality, however, substantiation for the claim has remained broad and leaves much of the underlying mechanisms by which structures and processes are formed to the imagination. Below we discuss research that offers clues about the specific mechanisms by which people, individually and in the aggregate, may have lasting impact on their organizations.

Considering a Network-Based Approach to Understanding Culture Transmission

Recently, Chatman, Lee, Harrison, and Carroll (2006) attempted to identify the underlying processes by which people make their organizational culture, that is, their system of shared values and norms that defines what is important and how members ought to feel and behave. In a study of high-level professionals working in 11 business units of a large financial services organization, they sought to determine how network peer relationships (friendship ties) and work-based relationships (instrumental ties) served as conduits of culture and influenced levels of enculturation, or how closely members' values corresponded to their organization's values.

Chatman et al. (2006) defined peer enculturation as the similarity between an individual's perception of his or her business unit's culture and his or her peers' perceptions of that same culture, respectively. They considered how network partners and network position influenced veteran employees' understanding of their organizational culture. Starting from the well-known finding that people who are more demographically similar to one another are more likely to form relationships (e.g., McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), they found that focal individuals' peer enculturation could be predicted from the perceptions of their primary network peers, but that focal individuals' work-based relationships had no effect on peer enculturation.

This study revealed a number of ASA-relevant implications. First, though understanding one's business unit culture is relevant to work effectiveness and is instrumentally important, such cultural understanding does not appear to be transmitted across the instrumental network. This finding suggests that adopting others' views may require a level of intimacy and trust that primary relationships afford. It also supports the notion that different tasks and aspects of organizational life are supported

and conveyed through different types of ties, through a social structure created informally by organizational members (e.g., Hansen, 1999). The research also begins to identify the mechanisms that support culture transmission within organizations, noting that demographic homogeneity among peers is at least one potent source of cultural influence. Thus, demographic homophily is a basis for tie formation within organizations and serves as a mechanism for cultural transmission. Certain types of network ties, particularly among homophilous pairs, are the underlying mechanism by which people transmit the place, and likely sustain and reproduce it.

Second, the reflected enculturation of one's peers was a powerful determinant of one's own level of enculturation. This reflected enculturation, or socialization as a function of whom a person is friends with, must be considered along with other known sources of cultural influence, including formal and intentional socialization (e.g., Morrison, 1994) and personality traits or individual differences that contribute to personal susceptibility to socialization tactics (e.g., Chatman, 1991). It also suggests that person and situation attributes have reciprocal influence on one another; people make the place while the place, defined in terms of those whom they have chosen as friends, is making them.

Additional Evidence of People Influencing Situations

Other evidence points to the specific mechanisms by which people influence organizational structures and processes. Below we discuss how personality, dispositional affect, and demography interact with organizational attributes to determine how people influence organizations.

Personality and the ASA Model

Researchers have been particularly interested in prominent organization figures, such as founders and CEOs, and how their personalities might affect organizational structures and processes. In a longitudinal study of high-technology start-up firms, Baron and Hannan (2002) showed that a founder's "blueprint" for his organization, his mental model of how the organization would "look and feel," had a pervasive and long-lasting influence over how the organization developed, who was hired, and how effectively it executed its stated strategy (see also Baron, Burton, & Hannan, 1999). Founding blueprints tended to be extremely robust, often lasting through all stages of organizational growth and decline. Further, attempted changes in organizational blueprints were highly destabilizing to young technology start-ups, causing employee turnover, reducing bottom-line financial performance, and even threatening the firm's survival. Though the concept of a blueprint is not a personality characteristic per se, it reflects a founder's fundamental values and mental models regarding organizational membership, including how employees are selected,

the basis of their attachment, and how their efforts are coordinated and controlled. This research is therefore relevant to the ASA model as it specifies a cognitive factor that leads founders to develop their organizations in particular ways, providing insight into, for example, the origination of founders' goals (e.g., Schneider et al., 1995), and how the interaction of these goals with the organization and its environmental context affects attraction, selection, and attrition processes.

Similarly, Schein (1983) argued that the founder plays an instrumental role in creating organizational culture by rigorously screening employees to identify those who support his or her ideals and values. Once selected, founders continue to socialize their employees into their way of thinking, and serve as a role model, encouraging employees to internalize these values. While this discussion might appear to suggest that it is merely important for employees' values to be congruent with those of the organization, if we look deeper and take an interactionist view, Schein's research implies that employee fit is particularly important during periods of organizational creation and change, and during these periods those who hold and promote the founder's values will have greater impact on the organization than during stable periods.

Even senior executives who are not founders can have an inordinate influence on organizations under certain circumstances. For example, Miller and Droge (1986) examined the CEO's need for achievement in relation to organizational structure and found that the relationships between need for achievement and structure were highest in samples of small and young firms, indicating that the CEO's personality influenced structure, rather than the reverse. As such, senior leaders' personality was highly influential in small firms in which the impact of the leader can be direct and pervasive. Moreover, their results suggested that leaders who have a high need for achievement but who work for large or old firms may be more likely to leave as they become frustrated with their limited ability to influence the organization's outcomes. In sum, this discussion of leader and founder individual differences underscores the importance of taking an interactionist approach to the ASA model. One common thread to these studies is that personality factors such as charisma or need for achievement are not sufficient for leaders to have a lasting impact on their organizations. Instead, leadership effectiveness also depends on such situational factors as need for change and firm size or age.

Dispositional Affect and the ASA Model

By applying an interactionist approach to the ASA model, we can also better understand when individuals' dispositional affect influences the situation. Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, and Sideman (2005) examined the use of service providers to engage in emotion management through the use of authentic smiles. They found that authentic smiles enhanced customers' impressions of service provider friendliness, which, in turn, had a positive relationship with customer satisfaction. Given that cus-

tomers' satisfaction depends on the congruence of employees' values with those of the organization, but also with the actual service or the product, this study suggests that it is the interaction of these person factors with those of the service encounter that attract repeat business as well as future job candidates.

Other research on emotional convergence (Anderson, Keltner, & John, 2003) and emotional contagion (Barsade, 2002) lends further insight to the ASA model from an interactionist perspective. Anderson et al. (2003) studied dating partners and college roommates and found that they became more similar in their emotional responses over the course of a year. Interestingly, lower-status partners shifted their emotional responses more in order to converge with their higher-status counterparts. The benefits of this emotional convergence or similarity were that these relationships exhibited greater cohesion and were less likely to dissolve. One implication of these findings is that relationship success or maintenance does not depend on the mere alignment of partner emotions, but the degree of emotional similarity that was achieved, and the degree of emotional similarity depended on the extent to which the less powerful partner altered his or her emotions. In short, relationship success depends on selecting individuals who share common feelings as well as a willingness to adjust their emotional responses. If lower-status individuals are unwilling to adjust their responses, they or their partners may feel dissatisfied with the relationship and leave in search of one that offers greater emotional similarity.

Similarly, Barsade (2002) examined the transfer of emotion between individuals, termed emotional contagion, and its influence on work group outcomes, including cooperation, conflict, and performance. Group members in a simulated organizational meeting experienced positive emotional contagion, benefiting groups by improving cooperation, decreasing conflict, and increasing perceptions of task performance. In this way, Barsade argued that emotional contagion is a form of social influence and notes that its effect depends on the emotion valence. Given that people typically desire to maintain positive moods (Isen & Baron, 1991), it is likely that those who promote positive emotional contagion, that is, individuals high on positive affect, may be more likely to be selected into organizations, while those who are high on negative affect will be more likely to leave. It also suggests that one member can have an inordinate influence on co-workers, creating a context in which members are highly engaged and productive, or dysfunctional (e.g., Felps & Mitchell, 2003).

Demographic Characteristics and the ASA Model

Research on the effects of demographic diversity also illustrates the value in taking an interactionist approach to the ASA model in considering the conditions under which people are most likely to influence their context. For example, Chatman, Berdahl, Boisnier, Spataro, and Anderson (2006) found that numerical distinctiveness and historical atypicality interacted such that those in the numerical minority but for whom their

sex was historically congruent with the task (e.g., men and math tasks) had a disproportionate influence on their group's performance, regardless of their actual level of expertise on the task. This implies that that gender typical make the place some of the time, that is, when they are in the numerical minority.

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Examining group composition is also relevant to selection. In a study assessing the impact of cultural diversity on group process and performance, Watson, Kumar, and Michaelsen (1993) found that homogenous groups initially scored higher on both process and performance effectiveness, but that over time, both groups showed improvements, and heterogeneous groups even came to score higher on two performance measures. They concluded that capitalizing on diversity might be time dependent such that when people get to know each other better and learn and draw upon each others skills, they will be able to achieve higher levels of performance. Whereas Chatman et al.'s (2006) study highlights the importance of the interaction between gender atypicality and the task, Watson et al.'s (1993) study draws attention to the interaction between diversity and time. Thus, while at first glance the results might suggest that selecting diverse workers may be disadvantageous to group processes and performance, organizations must make selection decisions by considering the combined impact of the groups to which individuals will be assigned as well as the length of their project.

Thomas (1990) examined the influence of race on protégés' experiences of forming developmental relationships among black and white managers. Whites had almost no developmental relationships with persons of another race, while Blacks formed developmental relationships with people of other races and were more likely to form relationships outside the formal lines of authority and outside their departments, creating new social networks within their organizations.

Finally, Harrison and Carroll (e.g., 1991, 2006) have offered valuable computer simulation technology to develop formal models that identify the influence of members' demographic attributes on the stability of organizational culture. Though many of their findings are consistent with what the ASA model would predict, some reveal new insights derived from understanding the simultaneous influence of person and organizational components. For example, Harrison and Carroll (1991) found that rapid growth and high turnover contributed to greater cultural stability, rather than instability as is typically predicted, because new employees are likely more susceptible to socialization while those who leave (the attrition component) are likely more resistant to being socialized into the culture. Further, their simulations revealed that culture may actually get stronger in declining organizations because employees with shorter tenure are the most likely to leave (Harrison & Carroll, 1991, p. 577). This simulation approach is valuable in that it provides a fine-grained understanding of how people influence and change culture, in this case as a

result of their demographic makeup, their network ties, and their entry and exit behavior.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our first and foremost objective in this chapter was to honor Ben Schneider's enormous contribution to organizational psychology: the ASA model. The ASA model revitalized interest in understanding person-situation fit and helped to pinpoint who is likely to be well adjusted, effective, and successful within particular organizations. Our second objective was to offer a course correction to the form that subsequent research in this domain has taken by challenging researchers to move from studying congruence and adjustment to focusing on incongruence between people and situations and the specific resulting behaviors. A person's success in an organization may not depend on mere congruence of personal and situational factors, but rather on their interaction. That is, the various person and situation combinations — some of which are congruence based and some of which are explicitly incongruent — determine when some people will be more responsive to some organizational attributes, and when some people will have greater influence on emerging structures and processes.

We have argued that viewing the ASA model through a person-situation interaction lens rather than the more typical congruence lens is advantageous for three reasons. First, an interactionist approach focuses on how people who do not fit an organization influence it or are influenced by it. This provides more information about the different ways that people's attributes combine and interact with contextual attributes than does a congruence approach, which typically predicts a simple additive influence of the two. Second, an interactive focus enables us to understand the fine-grained behavioral outcomes of various combinations of person and organizational characteristics. In so doing, and third, an interactive lens generates insight to the underlying processes by which people come to make the place.

Focus on Misfits

We believe that researchers should focus on complex interactions as suggested in Options 3, 4, and 4A in Figure 4.1. Our review of research on personality, dispositional affect, and demographic characteristics revealed how people differentially respond to the organizational context, influencing the modal personality that develops in the organization, as well as determining who will be attracted to, selected into, and leave the organization. For example, men and non-Whites may be more inclined to leave their groups when they are in the numerical minority, whereas women are more likely to leave their groups when they are balanced or homoge-

nously comprised of women. And cooperators and high self-monitors are more likely to adjust their behavior to suit the situation, while individualists and low self-monitors are more behaviorally consistent across organizational contexts. This review, therefore, offered evidence of how certain types of misfits between people and organizations affect behavior.

Though a marked increase in research that highlights misfits has begun to emerge, it may still not go far enough. For instance, Jansen and Kristof-Brown's (2005) study of misfit between individual and work group pace illustrated that the effects of misfit differentially affected those who outpaced or were slower than their group, with those who were slower experiencing more strain. The study makes an important contribution by beginning to examine how misfit occurs due to specific combinations of individual and organizational characteristics. But the next step would be to examine the specific behavioral reactions to this misfit. For example, slower individuals might be more likely to leave the organization, try to increase their pace so that they can reduce the strain of being slower than their group, or could try and convince their group members to take a slower approach to work.

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Similarly, Kristof-Brown, Barrick, and Stevens (2005) argued that misfit serves a complementary purpose for work groups. Specifically, they argued that groups with some introverts and some extroverts are more effective because these two personality types complement each other, which increases attraction to their teams, and in turn their willingness to contribute to their teams. Again, the focus on misfit is refreshing, and the study raises several questions that future research may seek to address. First, would equivalent adjustment arise from extroverted people joining an introverted team, or from introverted people joining an extroverted team? Second, what is the source of behavioral variation — is it situation or person driven? And third, what might be the specific behavioral manifestations of introverts joining extroverts, and how might these differ from extroverts joining introverts? Future research should therefore examine how specific combinations of person and organization factors influence misfit and identify the implications for ASA processes.

Focus on Specific Behaviors: Disaggregate Adjustment

An interactionist approach to ASA moves from examining stated adjustment or effectiveness to studying specific behaviors. Examining these specific behaviors can provide a clear window into a person's adjustment, but simply focusing on stated adjustment does not provide insight into how, in behavioral terms, a person has adjusted or not to an organizational setting. Closely related, an interactionist focus enables an understanding of the source and consequences of adjustment, decoupling adjustment as typically operationalized from actual behavior. Thus, we encourage

researchers to consider how person-situation interactions affect specific adaptive or effective behaviors.

Identify Processes Underlying People's Influence on Organizations

Our final argument for applying an interactionist lens to the ASA model is that it provides insight into the underlying processes that determine when and how people are able to influence situations, and we again reviewed research on personality, dispositional affect, and demography that illustrates this point. As evidence, we suggested that exploring the actual source of the structure or process, such as social networks, group and organizational demography, or founders' blueprints, may provide more explicit insight into how people have lasting impact on their organizations. In particular, founders and leaders, through their mental models and personality-relevant behaviors, may have lasting influence on organizational structures and whether processes emerge and change or stagnate over time. And in a highly reciprocal interaction, patterns of demographic distribution in organizations may enable certain people to have substantial influence in particular situations (e.g., minority members with expertise on the task), while constraining behavior in other ways by limiting opportunities to access mentors and resources.

Our goal was to illustrate the value of viewing the ASA model through its roots in person-situation interaction rather than through a congruence lens. In doing so, we suggested that such an approach provides an increased understanding of misfits, insight to sources and consequences of variation in specific person-situation behaviors, and greater understanding of the underlying processes by which the ASA model operates. We attempted to illustrate the ways in which an interactionist approach allows us to predict how and when people will make, or be made, by the place.

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