

CHALLENGING THE NORM OF SELF-INTEREST: MINORITY INFLUENCE AND TRANSITIONS TO HELPING NORMS IN WORK UNITS

ADAM M. GRANT
SHEFALI V. PATIL

University of Pennsylvania

Although helping behaviors can increase the effectiveness of work units, when task interdependence is low, units often develop norms of self-interest that inhibit helping. Little research has explained how these norms can be changed by a work unit member. We present a minority influence framework that specifies how norms can shift in response to a challenger's consistent modeling, advocating, or inquiring about helping behavior, contingent on prosocial impact, status, similarity, work unit agreeableness and openness, and timing. We also examine how normative conflict motivates efforts to initiate and sustain challenges, depending on identification, status, and small wins. Our model provides a novel theoretical account of how helping norms emerge in work units to support caring and compassion.

The success of work units often depends on helping behaviors from employees (Katz & Kahn, 1966; Organ, 1988). Helping involves prosocial, promotive, and cooperative behaviors intended to benefit others—actions that foster interpersonal harmony, facilitate task completion, and build and maintain relationships (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; George & Brief, 1992; Van Dyne & LePine, 1998). As part of the altruism dimension of organizational citizenship (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Organ, 1997), helping in the workplace includes assisting others with work-related tasks (Anderson & Williams, 1996), offering care and support to coworkers with personal problems (Kahn, 1998), performing favors (Flynn & Brockner, 2003), expressing compassion in response to pain and suffering (Dutton, Worline, Frost, & Lilius, 2006), and cooperating with peers (Duke-rich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002). Helping behaviors are fundamental building blocks of organizing, the process through which individual employees coordinate their efforts to achieve collective goals (Weick, 1979). Evidence indicates that helping behaviors are positively associated with sales in pharmaceutical sales units (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach,

2000); performance in intelligence units (Hackman & Wageman, 2007) and military units (Ehrhart, Bliese, & Thomas, 2006); collective creativity in consulting teams (Hargadon & Bechky, 2006); productivity in paper mill crews (Podsakoff, Ahearne, & MacKenzie, 1997); sales performance and voluntary retention in retail stores (George & Bettenhausen, 1990); and revenue, operating efficiency, customer satisfaction, and performance quality in restaurants (Koys, 2001; Walz & Niehoff, 2000).

In light of these benefits of helping behaviors, it is important to understand the forces that enable their emergence in work units. Compared to traditional task performance, it is more difficult for managers to monitor and enforce helping behaviors with incentives and external controls (Organ, 1988). As such, helping behaviors depend heavily on norms—informal standards for acceptable behavior (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004). As Bettenhausen and Murnighan summarize, "Social norms are among the least visible and most powerful forms of social control over human action" (1985: 350). Increasingly, however, work units are dominated by norms of self-interest—shared expectations that employees will pursue their own personal utility without concern for others (Ferraro, Pfeffer, & Sutton, 2005; see also Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004).

Self-interested norms are known to inhibit helping behaviors (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004; Miller, 1999), and such norms are especially

For generative feedback, we thank Jean Bartunek, two anonymous reviewers, Jane Dutton, and participants in the Wharton micro-meso brown bag series, especially Sigal Barsade, Matthew Bidwell, Martine Haas, John Kimberly, Katherine Klein, Dave Lebel, Jen Mueller, and Nancy Rothbard.

common in units with low task interdependence, where the workflow is independent or "pooled" (Thompson, 1967; Van de Ven, Delbecq, & Koenig, 1976). In these units, task definitions, process instructions, and resource distributions do not require employees to collaborate or coordinate to complete their work (Wageman, 2001). Thus, unlike what typically occurs in interdependent units, helping behaviors do not become naturally integrated with work processes (Organ, 1988). When units lack task interdependence, employees are less likely to experience a sense of responsibility for being good citizens (Anderson & Williams, 1996; Pearce & Gregersen, 1991), since doing so is not expected or necessary for task performance (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004). For example, Perlow and Weeks (2002) studied a work unit of software engineers in a high-tech American Fortune 500 company, where the act of helping was seen as an "unwanted interruption."

Research shows that once such a norm of self-interest develops, it is difficult to break down. Work units shift more fluidly from cooperative norms to self-interested, competitive norms than vice versa (Johnson et al., 2006). Yet some work units manage to overcome these difficulties. For example, in a study of R&D subunits at a prominent company, units previously wrought with competitive, utility-seeking, opportunistic, and profit-centric norms transformed into ones with more cooperative, collaborative norms (Mohr, 2009); before the transition, the engineers of these units were absorbed in developing their own business opportunities and had little incentive to cooperate with unit members. As another example, years before the 2010 oil spill crisis in the Gulf of Mexico, British Petroleum units shifted from relatively self-interested norms to helping norms through initiatives like "peer assists" and "peer challenges," where engineers provided each other with on-the-scene technical and problem-solving advice (Hansen & Nohria, 2004).

Little theory and research to date have examined how employees break down self-interested norms to promote helping norms. From a theoretical standpoint, addressing this question will facilitate a deeper understanding of how norms develop—an issue that is widely viewed as important but inadequately theorized (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985; Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004). For example, in a survey of leading orga-

nizational scholars, norms emerged as the topic with the single greatest gap between ideal and actual research attention (Heath & Sitkin, 2001). Illuminating how work units shift from self-interested to helping norms will contribute to a broader understanding of the processes through which norms change. It will also provide theoretical and practical insight into how leaders, managers, and employees can change belief systems to facilitate caring and compassion in organizations.

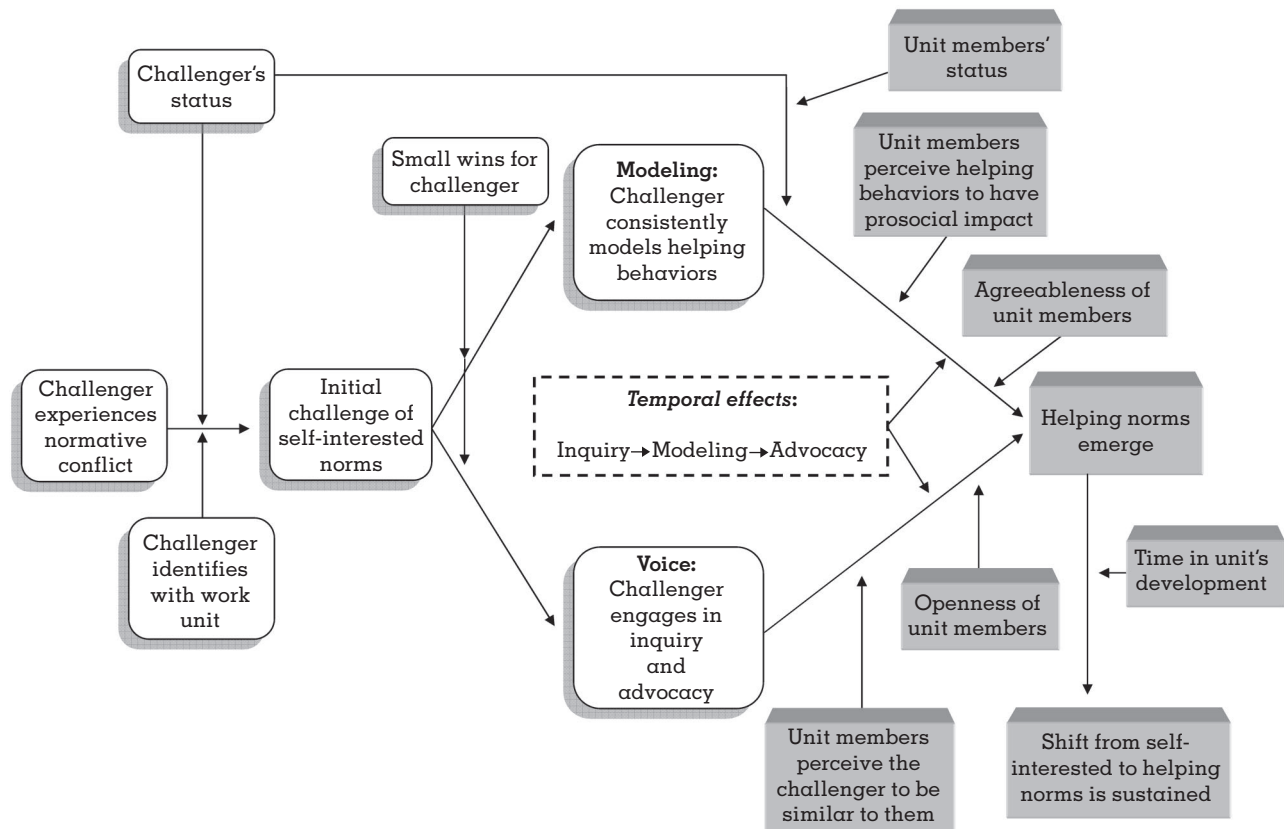
To enrich knowledge about how work units shift from self-interested to helping norms, we focus on proactive efforts by a work unit member to exert minority influence. We begin by examining how the consistent modeling of helping behaviors can facilitate norm transitions, contingent on prosocial impact, status, and work unit agreeableness. Next, we explore how voicing inquiry, and to an extent advocacy, can facilitate norm transitions, depending on similarity and work unit openness. We then consider how different temporal sequences of modeling, inquiry, and advocacy can facilitate norm transitions, and we address the role of timing in supporting transitions. Following this, we develop propositions to identify when work unit members are likely to initiate and sustain efforts to shift norms in the first place. Finally, we discuss theoretical implications for caring, compassion, and norm development in work organizations. Our core propositions are visually summarized in Figure 1.

WORK UNIT NORMS: SHIFTING FROM SELF-INTEREST TO HELPING

Helping behaviors are known to vary substantially among work units. For example, some work units frequently provide assistance in times of need, whereas others focus more narrowly on individual tasks (e.g., Bommer, Miles, & Grover, 2003; Ehrhart et al., 2006; Podsakoff et al., 2000). Norms—standards or guidelines for appropriate action (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Jackson, 1965)—provide a powerful lens for explaining these differences between work units (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004). In work units, norms are typically informal and enforced by employees with social approval or disapproval (Barker, 1993; Hackman, 1992).

As noted above, norms of self-interest are shared beliefs that employees do—and

FIGURE 1
How Solo Challengers Destabilize the Norm of Self-Interest in Task-Independent Work Units



Note: Boxes in white refer to the challenger's attributes, experiences, and actions, whereas boxes shaded in gray refer to the perspectives or characteristics of members of the work unit.

should—advance their own interests with little concern for the welfare and interests of others (Ferraro et al., 2005; Miller, 1999). Norms of self-interest are descriptive, in that many employees believe self-interest does govern behavior, as well as prescriptive, in that many employees believe self-interest *should* govern behavior (Miller, 1999). Norms of self-interest suppress helping behaviors, leading employees to refrain from caring and compassion or to disguise these behaviors as self-interested (Miller, 1999). For example, consider this quote from an employee in a work unit with strong norms of self-interest, where knowledge hiding, or intentionally restraining from giving requested information that could help others, was common: "There are always ways to answer questions without answering questions . . . there are certainly different ways to avoid saying what they are really asking for" (Connelly, Zweig, Webster, & Trou-

gakos, 2012: 72). Similarly, at Merrill Lynch, where analysts worked independently with little concern for others' tasks, insurance analyst Ed Spehar noted, "When someone approaches me with a request for a collaborative report, my first inclination is to hide under the desk" (Groysberg & Vargas, 2005: 17). Even when employees feel empathy for others, they often worry that engaging in helping behaviors will violate social standards, and these concerns about looking foolish impede their willingness to act as good citizens (Holmes, Miller, & Lerner, 2002; Ratner & Miller, 2001).

Norms of self-interest are particularly likely to emerge in task-independent work units. Task interdependence is a salient and influential contextual factor that distinguishes work units from one another (Johns, 2006). In task-independent units, performance does not depend on collaboration and coordination between employees

(Campion, Medsker, & Higgs, 1993; Saavedra, Earley, & Van Dyne, 1993). As a result, employees are less likely to take responsibility for each other's efforts and results (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004; Pearce & Gregersen, 1991). This contributes to the emergence of self-interested norms, which tend to be quite persistent (Johnson et al., 2006).

Our goal in this article is to explain when and how crystallized norms of self-interest can be dismantled and replaced with helping norms in task-independent work units. Helping norms are shared beliefs that acting in the interest of others is expected, approved, appropriate, acceptable, and/or desirable (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004). Helping norms provide employees with information about the actual and appropriate degree, frequency, and forms of helping behavior (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004). When helping norms are strong, work unit members are likely to espouse and enact a crystallized, shared belief that supporting, giving, and contributing to other members of the work unit are appropriate, acceptable, and encouraged behaviors.¹ To explain variance in shifts from self-interested to helping norms, we develop a process model that unpacks the sequence of interactions between challengers and other work unit members that influences the likelihood of norm transitions.

Research on norm development has shown that norms are most likely to change when they are internally questioned or challenged by work unit members (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985). Since norms are governed by work unit members, it is those inside the work unit who are often best positioned to understand and legitimately confront the norms (Hackman, 1992). Challenges serve to interrupt and destabilize

shared understandings of standards for appropriate behavior, creating uncertainty (Asch, 1956; Sherif, 1936). The experience of uncertainty triggers sensemaking, leading work unit members to search for explanations, make attributions, and resolve doubt (Weick, 1995). Ultimately, if a challenge is successful, work unit members develop a new logic of appropriateness (March, 1994).

Destabilizing a norm often involves proactive behaviors on the part of a challenger in a work unit to alter and change the status quo (Crant, 2000; Grant & Ashford, 2008; Parker, Bindl, & Strauss, 2010). Scholars have identified two distinct proactive ways in which challengers can exert minority influence on norms (e.g., Meyerson & Scully, 1995). One approach is to engage in behavioral modeling in an effort to enact a new set of norms (Cialdini, 2003). The other approach is to engage in voice—that is, speaking up with concerns about current norms and suggestions for improving them (Morrison & Milliken, 2000; Van Dyne & LePine, 1998).

We begin by examining behavioral modeling and then turn our attention to voice. Before doing so, it is important to note that our theorizing is based on the premise that successful norm change depends on both the challenger's behaviors and the characteristics of the audience to whom these behaviors are directed (i.e., fellow work unit members). Research on social influence has long demonstrated that the interplay between the messages delivered by communicators, on the one hand, and the characteristics of audiences, on the other hand, is an important determinant of persuasion (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Clary et al., 1998) and organizational change (Reichers, Wanous, & Austin, 1997). As such, although we begin our discussion with the behaviors of the challenger, we also discuss characteristics of the audience that strengthen (or mitigate) the impact of the challenger's behaviors on work unit transitions from self-interested to helping norms.

Destabilizing via Action: Consistently Modeling Helping Behavior

In general, behavioral modeling tends to be the most effective route to changing norms, since it provides direct evidence of an enacted pattern of behavior that differs from shared understandings (Cialdini, 2003). To shift work unit

¹ Related concepts have been used to capture distinctions similar to the one that exists between self-interested and helping norms, including individualistic versus collectivistic culture (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Goncalo & Staw, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Wagner & Moch, 1986). We concentrate on norms because they tend to be more fluid and malleable than culture, which is a broader concept encompassing beliefs, values, and norms (Schein, 1992; Trice & Beyer, 1993). In addition, it is worth noting that helping behaviors can be driven by self-interested motives, such as impression management, learning new skills, strengthening relationships, earning reciprocity, or getting promoted (Bolino, 1999; Hui, Lam, & Law, 2000; Perlow & Weeks, 2002; Rioux & Penner, 2001). Helping norms are especially important for informally governing helping behaviors that are personally costly, expected to return few personal gains, and not part of formal job requirements.

norms from self-interested to helping, it is important for a challenger to consistently model helping behavior toward other unit members. This premise is based on a rich history of theory and research on minority influence, which suggests that the actions of single individuals can play a powerful role in challenging and changing unit norms (for reviews see Moscovici & Faucheux, 1972, and Nemeth, 1986). Recently, social scientists have documented this pattern of successful minority influence on helping norms and behaviors. In experimental studies of social dilemma situations, Weber and Murnighan (2008) demonstrated that when a single individual consistently contributed to the public good when faced with a social dilemma, members came to perceive the norm as more affiliative and cooperative, and they were therefore more willing to contribute themselves. Similarly, Fowler and Christakis discovered that when individuals saw others contribute to a public good, they increased their own contributions in subsequent interactions with individuals who had no exposure to the initial act, with contributions spreading across participants up to three degrees of separation:

Focal individuals are influenced by fellow group members' contribution behavior in future interactions with other individuals who were not a party to the initial interaction. Furthermore, this influence persists for multiple periods and spreads up to three degrees of separation. . . . each additional contribution a subject makes to the public good in the first period is tripled . . . by other subjects who are directly or indirectly influenced to contribute more (2010: 1).

By consistently modeling helping behavior toward other unit members, challengers send a clear message that this behavior is both common and desirable. This may lead work unit members to revise their views of what constitutes appropriate action (March, 1994) within the unit and to adjust their expectations of how others in the unit will behave (Elster, 1989). Consistently modeling helping behavior can thus break down norms of self-interest by legitimating helping behavior. For example, in a field study of a Fortune 500 retail company, Grant, Dutton, and Rosso (2008) found that employees who saw coworkers helping colleagues in need felt that it was more legitimate to do so themselves. When a challenger consistently engages in multiple acts of helping behavior, work unit

members feel that it is more descriptively and prescriptively normative and are more willing to endorse a helping norm as a result.

In addition, modeling helping behavior is likely to attract reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), increasing the descriptively normative level of helping behavior occurring in the unit (Bommer et al., 2003). According to social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976; Homans, 1958), when employees receive help, they feel obligated to reciprocate by returning the favor. Helping behaviors tend to spiral as favors are exchanged, which builds trust (Ferrin, Bligh, & Kohles, 2008) and begins to alter the perceived and enacted norm (Weber & Murnighan, 2008). By engaging in helping behavior toward other unit members, the challenger may also garner goodwill among the direct recipients; feeling grateful leads recipients to judge the challenger more favorably as a result of the effort undertaken on their behalf (Bolino, 1999; Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002; Deutsch Salamon & Deutsch, 2006; Flynn, 2003; Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006). This will increase the challenger's influence on the norm over time.

Proposition 1: The more a challenger consistently models helping behaviors toward other unit members, the greater the likelihood of transitions from self-interested to helping norms.

Moderating effects of perceived prosocial impact. The effect of modeling, however, depends on the message that is sent by the helping behavior directed toward other unit members. In particular, challengers' acts of helping behavior must be perceived to have a prosocial impact, in the sense that they are making a significant, distinctive, or lasting contribution to others within the unit (Grant, 2007, 2008), in order for the behavioral modeling to influence normative change. Some acts of helping are likely to be perceived as high in prosocial impact, such as when a consultant stays late at the office to give highly developmental feedback to a colleague who is preparing to give a major presentation to a key client. The same act of helping might be perceived as having less prosocial impact if the feedback is not useful or if the client is not important to the colleague. In these cases the helping behavior may go unnoticed or vanish from the memories of unit members (Fletcher, 1999).

When consistent helping is perceived as having a prosocial impact, it may change norms by activating both negative and positive moral emotions. With respect to negative moral emotions, acts of consistent helping with high prosocial impact are likely to trigger guilt—an aversive, self-conscious, affective state that people experience when they feel they have done something wrong or have violated expectations (Leary, 2007; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996).² Acts of consistent helping with high prosocial impact can cultivate feelings of guilt among unit members by drawing attention to their own failure to contribute in the past. As Leary notes, people “experience vicarious guilt . . . due to the actions of other people who are associated with them” (2007: 331). In the absence of direct feedback, members tend to overestimate their helpfulness (Epley & Dunning, 2000; see also Caruso, Epley, & Bazerman, 2006). Observing acts of consistent helping with high prosocial impact can override this tendency, activating unfavorable social comparisons that call into question members’ identities and images as good citizens. When members feel guilty, they are likely to avoid future feelings of guilt by increasing their levels of helping (Baumeister, Vohs, DeWall, & Zhang, 2007). Over time, if multiple members do this, the descriptive norm may change.

With respect to positive moral emotions, in some cases consistent helping behaviors that are perceived to have a prosocial impact may lead work unit members to experience elevation—the warm feeling of being inspired or moved (Haidt, 2003). People feel elevated when they observe others engaging in helping that has a high prosocial impact, and this feeling of elevation raises their aspirations and commitment to engage in similar behaviors themselves (Algoe & Haidt, 2009). Experiencing elevation may activate employees’ moral identities, en-

hancing the salience of and valence attached to engaging in actions that are viewed as good or right (Reed & Aquino, 2003). As Thomas Jefferson wrote, “When any . . . act of charity or of gratitude, for instance, is presented either to our sight or imagination, we are deeply impressed with its beauty and feel a strong desire in ourselves of doing charitable and grateful acts also” (1795/1771: 349; quoted in Algoe & Haidt, 2009: 106). Researchers have empirically substantiated that exposure to helping behaviors with high prosocial impact elicits feelings of elevation and, thus, increases one’s approval of these behaviors. For example, laboratory experiments have shown that directly witnessing others’ compassionate behaviors elicits individuals’ feelings of elevation and increases their desire to engage in helping behaviors (Algoe & Haidt, 2009), and that elevation promotes a range of helping behaviors (Schnall, Roper, & Fessler, 2010). In field research Dutton et al. (2006) studied the organizing of compassionate efforts to help victims of a university fire and found that individuals who observed acts of compassion experienced elevation and, thus, felt inclined to express compassion themselves: “Several faculty and staff members mentioned feeling inspired and elevated upon hearing about the amount of money donated in such a short time, a feeling that prompted them to accelerate their own giving” (2006: 82). When a challenger’s helping behavior is perceived to have a prosocial impact on others, work unit members are more likely to experience elevation and feel inclined to support and enact helping norms.

Proposition 2: The perceived prosocial impact of the challenger’s helping behavior on the recipient strengthens the effect of consistent modeling on transitions from self-interested to helping norms.

Moderating effects of challenger audience status. Some work unit members are more likely than others to successfully challenge norms through modeling, and some audiences may be more receptive to these attempts than others. Here we examine the role of challenger and audience status in moderating reactions to modeling. First, the status of the challenger is likely to shape whether consistently modeling helping behavior is effective in changing norms. Status

² Since guilt is often confused with shame, it is important to distinguish the two emotions. Although both guilt and shame are evoked by wrongdoing, the former is driven by specific, controllable attributions of wrongdoing to one’s actions, whereas the latter is driven by global, stable attributions of wrongdoing to oneself as a bad person (Tangney et al., 1996). The experience of guilt motivates helping and other prosocial behaviors in order to rectify and repair the harm or wrong that one’s behavior has caused (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994; Leary, 2007; cf. de Hooge, Nelissen, Breugelmans, & Zeelenberg, 2011).

refers to the extent to which an individual is respected or admired by members of a work unit (Fragale, 2006; Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Ridgeway & Walker, 1995). Although status judgments are made by individual unit members, work units tend to achieve a high degree of consensus about who has high or low status (Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006). Work unit members are most likely to be affected by the behaviors of those high in status, who command high levels of respect and admiration (Latané, 1996) and possess idiosyncrasy credits that give them license to deviate from norms without being sanctioned (Hollander, 1958). When the challenger carries high status, work unit members are more likely to view helping behavior as legitimate, since it has been enacted by an individual with high prestige and credibility (Hui, Lam & Schaubroeck, 2001; Tyler, 2006). Members tend to be more cognitively attuned (Fiske, 1993) and emotionally attuned (George & Bettenhausen, 1990; Sy, Côté, & Saavedra, 2005) to high-status challengers and are more likely to view them as attractive and worthy role models (Bandura, 1977; Manz & Sims, 1981). Indeed, research has shown that work unit members are more likely to emulate help and service when they observe high-status role models (Hui et al., 2001). When a low-status challenger consistently models helping behavior, however, the repeated pattern of deviant behavior is likely to enable work unit members to marginalize the challenger (Monin, Sawyer, & Marquez, 2008). The effects of consistent modeling of helping behavior on shifts in norms are thereby likely to depend on the challenger's status.

Proposition 3a: The challenger's status moderates the effect of consistent modeling on transitions from self-interested to helping norms such that the higher the status, the stronger the effect.

Second, the status of work unit members also matters. According to middle-status conformity theory, work unit members with moderate levels of status are more susceptible to social influence than those with high and low levels of status (for a review see Phillips & Zuckerman, 2001). High-status members have the license or idiosyncrasy credits to deviate from others' expectations (Hollander, 1958). Low-status mem-

bers have a smaller stake in membership and, thus, have less to lose from deviating (Dittes & Kelley, 1956). Middle-status members, however, because they are moderately respected, typically feel compelled to conform to maintain and gain respect (Phillips & Zuckerman, 2001). Applying middle-status conformity theory to norm transitions, there is likely to be an interaction between the challenger's status and work unit members' status. Specifically, middle-status work unit members should be particularly attuned to the behaviors of high-status actors as indicative of norms for appropriate behavior (Phillips & Zuckerman, 2001). Since middle-status work unit members are motivated to advance their standing, they are likely to view helping behaviors by high-status challengers as more legitimate and worthy of emulating. Because status is earned through contributions to the work unit (Deutsch Salamon & Deutsch, 2006; Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Willer, 2009), when the challenger carries high status, middle-status members can gain status by supporting the challenger's agenda.

Proposition 3b: The challenger's and work unit members' status interact to moderate the effect of consistent modeling on transitions from self-interested to helping norms such that middle-status members are most likely to endorse helping norms in response to modeling by high-status members.

Moderating effects of work unit agreeableness. The agreeableness of the work unit is also likely to affect reactions to the challenger's modeling. Agreeableness is a fundamental dimension of personality that reflects the tendency to be cooperative, polite, compassionate, and caring (Barrick & Mount, 1991; McCrae & Costa, 2003). When work units are composed of members high in agreeableness,³ they will be more

³ Researchers have identified two different approaches to conceptualizing personality at the unit level: the collective personality approach emphasizes cognitive, affective, and behavioral routines at the unit level (e.g., Hofmann & Jones, 2005), and the personality composition approach emphasizes the distribution of individual unit members' traits (e.g., Bell, 2007; Peeters, van Tuijl, Rutte, & Reymen, 2006). In the collective personality approach, unit-level agreeableness refers to "an environment high in cooperation" (Hofmann & Jones, 2005: 511), which is quite similar to the presence of helping norms. Since our interest is explaining individual members'

receptive to the challenger's modeling. As a result of institutional designs, broad social norms, and language devices that favor self-interest, norms of self-interest often become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Ferraro et al., 2005; Miller, 1999). That is, when unit members assume that others subscribe to norms of self-interest, they mask and disguise their own motivations and behaviors as self-serving, which encourages others to do the same (Holmes et al., 2002). This creates a phenomenon of pluralistic ignorance (Latané & Darley, 1970)—a shared misunderstanding of norms as self-interested when, in fact, members privately advocate helping norms (Miller, 1999).

Such a phenomenon is most likely to emerge in work units composed of highly agreeable members for two reasons. First, because highly agreeable members care about meeting expectations and preserving social harmony, they are more likely to adapt their behaviors to the norms of their work units; when they encounter self-interested norms, they cooperate by acting in accord with these norms (Chatman & Barsade, 1995). This means that norms of self-interest are particularly likely to become a self-fulfilling prophecy in highly agreeable work units. Second, highly agreeable members are particularly likely to feel favorably disposed toward helping norms, since they have stronger cognitive, affective, and behavioral predispositions toward compassion, cooperation, helping, and giving (Graziano, Habashi, Sheese, & Tobin, 2007; Ilies, Scott, & Judge, 2006; Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004). Thus, while very agreeable work units with self-interested norms may be more prone to disguising helping behaviors as self-interested, consistent with research that agreeableness is linked to social and normative conformity (Graziano & Tobin, 2002; Paulhus & John, 1998), the prosocial aspects of being agreeable may tend to increase their embrace of helping norms when a challenger introduces the opportunity. When a challenger models helping behavior, members can

see that others share their private perceptions of helping as appropriate and will endorse shifting work unit norms accordingly.

Proposition 4: The agreeableness of work unit members strengthens the effect of consistent modeling on transitions from self-interested to helping norms.

Destabilizing Via Voice: Advocacy Versus Inquiry

Beyond modeling, research suggests that norms can change through voice (Morrison & Milliken, 2000). Whereas modeling refers to overt behaviors that exemplify particular norms, voice is a communicative speech act, and research indicates that active discussion spurred by voice can destabilize norms and create uncertainty (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985). For a shift from self-interested to helping norms to occur, it is important for a challenger to voice counternormative information to other unit members (Nemeth, 1986). Scholars have distinguished between two core approaches to voice: advocacy and inquiry (Argyris & Schön, 1978). Advocacy involves presenting a persuasive argument in favor of developing more helping norms, and inquiry involves asking questions designed to encourage reflection about norms.

It is tempting to assume that advocacy will be important for changing norms. However, a growing body of research on social influence reveals that advocacy is subject to two substantial risks. The first risk is eliciting psychological reactance (Brehm, 1966). In the face of advocacy, individuals often feel that their values and freedom are being threatened and controlled, and they resist by becoming more convinced of their original beliefs (Silvia, 2005). If a work unit endorses self-interested norms, advocating the importance of helping norms runs the risk of alienating members, who feel that they are being directly attacked and who develop a more polarized set of self-interested norms as a result. The second risk is evoking hypocrisy attributions (Cha & Edmondson, 2006). When a challenger advocates for helping norms, work unit members are likely to evaluate whether the challenger's behaviors have achieved this standard. Once members are motivated to search for points of inconsistency, research on confirmation bias suggests that it is relatively easy to

instinctive reactions to challenges to the norm of self-interest, we adopt a personality composition approach, focusing on the individual traits of work unit members. Thus, when we discuss work unit agreeableness, we are referring to high elevation and low variability in the agreeableness of individual members of the work unit (Peeters et al., 2006). Later we address work unit openness, referring to high elevation and low variability in the openness to experience of individual members of the work unit.

find them (Heath, Larrick, & Klayman, 1998; Nickerson, 1998). As such, advocacy may backfire by threatening members' freedom and by positioning the challenger as a hypocrite.

Inquiry, on the other hand, exerts a more subtle and less precarious influence on attitudes and behaviors. Instead of attempting to avow the importance of helping behaviors, challengers can increase the likelihood of norm transitions by asking other unit members questions about helping norms and behaviors. Questions frame the dialogue as joint problem solving rather than as debate and conflict (Rackham, 2007). For example, challengers may inquire about when work unit members plan to provide help to coworkers, whether they intend to discuss their independent tasks with one another, or how they extend caring and compassionate behavior to one another. A large body of research on social influence shows that such questions are likely to encourage work unit members to reflect on their values and behaviors, opening the door for self-persuasion (Aronson, 1999). For instance, research has shown that simply asking volunteers about their intentions increases the time that they give to the American Cancer Society and Teach for America (Williams, Fitzsimons, & Block, 2004). This is because asking questions bypasses psychological reactance, discouraging defensiveness and resistance, since questions are less likely to signal that an influence attempt is occurring (Williams et al., 2004). In addition, questions are unlikely to evoke hypocrisy attributions, since they have little reference to the challenger's own behavior.

Importantly, inquiry is primarily effective for behaviors toward which audiences have a positive attitude (Williams et al., 2004). In general, helping behaviors are viewed as socially desirable. Extensive research has shown that benevolence—protecting and promoting the well-being of people with whom one is in personal contact—is the most strongly held and widely shared value across individuals and cultures (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Inquiry from a challenger is likely to encourage work unit members to reflect on the importance of enhancing the welfare of others, which will increase their receptivity to helping norms. It is important to note here that we are not proposing that only inquiry is effective. Indeed, scholars have long argued that both inquiry and advocacy are necessary for change (Argyris & Schön, 1996). Building on

recent developments in inquiry and advocacy research, we propose that using more inquiry than advocacy will be more effective. Later we discuss the temporal patterns that underpin the effective sequencing of inquiry, advocacy, and modeling.

Proposition 5: The greater the challenger's use of inquiry rather than advocacy, the higher the likelihood of transitions from self-interested to helping norms.

Moderating effects of source and audience similarity. The perceived similarity of the challenger to the work unit is an important contingency for whether inquiry will be more effective than advocacy. Similarity-attraction, also known as homophily, is a fundamental principle in both social psychology (Byrne, 1971; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004) and sociology (Kanter, 1977; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Unit members are more receptive to influence from those they perceive to be similar to themselves (Gino, Ayal, & Ariely, 2009; Gino, Shang, & Croson, 2009) and whose actions they deem to be more predictable, trustworthy, value congruent, and self-affirming (Ibarra, 1992).

Illustrating the power of perceived similarity, research has shown that cues as subtle as sharing initials and birthdays with another person can increase attraction (Jones, Pelham, Carvalho, & Mirenberg, 2004) and can heighten receptivity to social influence from that person (Burger, Messian, Patel, del Prado, & Anderson, 2004). Thus, when the challenger and work unit members share common values, interests, attitudes, backgrounds, personality traits, group memberships, or demographic characteristics, perceived social similarity increases, and work unit members are more likely to be receptive to advocacy from the challenger (van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). Indeed, research has shown that perceived similarity attenuates negative reactions to having one's beliefs and freedom threatened by a communicator: individuals often agree with arguments made by similar challengers, regardless of the content (Silvia, 2005). When the challenger is perceived to be similar to the audience, the audience will be open to advocacy and, thus, willing to reconsider norms. Accordingly, perceived similarity between the challenger and the work unit is likely to eliminate the advantage of inquiry over advocacy.

When considering norms, work unit members tend to operate according to a logic of appropriateness, asking, "What does a person like me do in a situation like this?" (March, 1994; Weber, Kopelman, & Messick, 2004). Advocacy by a similar challenger can provide a direct answer to this question, sending work unit members cues about appropriate behavior.

Proposition 6: The perceived similarity of the challenger to members of the work unit moderates the effect of inquiry over advocacy on transitions from self-interested to helping norms such that this effect is attenuated when similarity is high.

Moderating effects of work unit openness. The openness of the work unit is also likely to affect reactions to the challenger's use of inquiry versus advocacy strategies. Openness is a fundamental dimension of personality that reflects the tendency to be broad-minded and intellectually flexible (Barrick & Mount, 1991; McCrae & Costa, 2003). When work units are composed of members high in openness, they are more likely to be receptive to the challenger's advocacy efforts. Open-minded members tend to be curious and willing to embrace change, whereas their less open counterparts tend to prefer consistency and stability (McCrae & Costa, 1997). When a challenger attempts to advocate helping norms, work units composed of primarily open members are likely to show considerable elasticity with respect to reconsidering and reformulating norms. Work units with higher variance in or lower mean levels of openness, however, are likely to be more threatened by advocacy.

Proposition 7: The openness of work unit members moderates the effect of inquiry over advocacy on transitions from self-interested to helping norms such that this effect is attenuated when openness is high.

The Temporal Sequencing of Modeling and Voice

Thus far, we have discussed modeling and voice independently, but it is important to address their interactive effects. In general, we expect that transitions from self-interested to

helping norms will be most likely when a challenger engages in both modeling and voice, which together create behavioral integrity or consistency between deeds and words (Simons, 2002), thereby avoiding hypocrisy (Cha & Edmondson, 2006). In particular, two temporal sequences of these approaches may prove effective. First, starting with inquiry and following with modeling is likely to encourage norm transitions. Inquiry calls into question the propriety of existing norms, creating uncertainty and dissonance (Aronson, 1999). Psychologists have long demonstrated that, under uncertainty, people look to others for cues about appropriate behavior (Latané & Darley, 1970). If the challenger follows inquiry by consistently modeling helping behavior, work unit members may use this behavior as a cue that helping norms have emerged. If, however, the challenger starts with modeling and then follows with inquiry, work unit members may fail to experience the level of uncertainty necessary to destabilize and alter norms in the first place (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985). Additionally, starting with advocacy and following with modeling is risky because it exposes the challenger to hypocrisy attributions from work unit members, who may consider the challenger's past behavior and question whether it lives up to the espoused norm (Cha & Edmondson, 2006).

Proposition 8a: The effect of consistently modeling helping behavior on transitions from self-interested to helping norms is strengthened when the challenger leads with inquiry.

Second, starting with behavioral modeling and following with advocacy is likely to encourage norm transitions. Once the challenger has consistently modeled helping behavior, he or she earns a platform from which to endorse shifts in norms. Having expressed helping behavior, the challenger can now express a legitimate vested interest (Ratner & Miller, 2001) in changing norms. Modeling first also signals equity by reducing the risk of being perceived as entitled, which might occur if the challenger advocated helping behaviors without being willing to engage in them oneself (Flynn, 2003). More so than advocacy, modeling is a powerful mechanism by which a challenger can introduce a disparity between the original norm perceptions and newly introduced stimuli from the

challenger (Taylor & Crocker, 1981). This disparity, in turn, induces a high level of uncertainty, increasing the likelihood that members will consult the behavioral modeling of the challenger in an effort to reduce this uncertainty (Abelson, 1976).

Proposition 8b: The effect of advocacy on transitions from self-interested to helping norms is strengthened when the challenger leads with consistently modeling helping behavior.

Creating a Context for Initiating and Sustaining Norm Transitions: The Role of Timing

The broader context in which a work unit operates can either enable or constrain the challenger's efforts to shift from self-interested to helping norms. Timing is an important dimension of context (Johns, 2006) that is likely to moderate the effectiveness of both modeling and voice as proactive efforts to destabilize the norm and create uncertainty.

Norms are most likely to be in flux early in a work unit's formation, when members are still interpreting and settling on shared standards (Tuckman, 1965). As such, early events have a disproportionate impact on norm development (Ginnett, 1990). A challenger's effort to consistently model helping behaviors, or exercise voice about them through advocacy or inquiry, has the greatest potential for impact early in a work unit's formation. Once norms have crystallized, work unit members will be more inclined to resist challenges and sanction those who present them (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985). There are two points in the lifespan of projects, however, at which work units become more open to reconsidering norms. At the midpoint of projects, members begin to feel internal and external pressure to make progress toward deadlines and achieve success (Gersick, 1989). It is at this point that members are more receptive to reevaluating their principles, strategies, and operating procedures and to shift norms in response to frustration or dissatisfaction with ineffective practices. In addition, in stable work units members work on a series of projects and tasks with different deadlines and time frames. When a particular project is complete, members are more willing to reflect on their experiences

in the context of after-action reviews (Little, 1983). The completion of a project marks a milestone in the unit's work together and creates a receptive setting in which challengers can encourage contemplation of the work unit's norms (Hackman & Wageman, 2005). For example, at either the midpoint or the end of a project, a challenger may advocate transitioning to helping norms by calling attention to areas of poor performance and highlighting how the work unit could have been more effective if greater help and support had been exchanged.

Proposition 9: Transitions from self-interested to helping norms are most likely when a work unit member initiates a challenge to the norm of self-interest (a) early in work unit formation, (b) near the midpoint, or (c) at the end of a project.

BECOMING A CHALLENGER

As discussed earlier, members of work units with crystallized self-interested norms are likely to believe that self-interest does and *should* govern behavior (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004; Miller, 1999). What, then, would motivate a member of such a work unit to challenge the norms in the first place? Social psychological research suggests that those who challenge unit norms are typically those who experience normative conflict—that is, they perceive a discrepancy between the self-interested norms of the unit and alternative standards of behavior (Packer, 2008). Alternative standards of behavior can stem from different aspects of the self (Amiot, De la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007; Ashforth & Johnson, 2001), such as personal identities (Hornsey, Majkut, Terry, & McKimmie, 2003) or other important group memberships (Sherif & Sherif, 1967; Warren, 2003). For example, from an identity standpoint, work unit members high in agreeableness, prosocial identity, and collectivistic values should be more likely to experience normative conflict in work units with self-interested norms. From a group membership standpoint, those whose previous work units endorsed helping norms should be more likely to experience normative conflict. These alternative standards of behavior can, in turn, cause a member to question the prescriptive norms of the unit, believing that helping behaviors rather than self-

interested behaviors should govern the unit's norms. This normative conflict is likely to induce feelings of guilt and anger (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007), thereby motivating a member to challenge the norm to reduce these experiences and improve the units' functioning.

Proposition 10: A work unit member who perceives a discrepancy between the self-interested norms of the unit and important alternative standards of behavior that encourage helping is more likely to challenge self-interested norms.

Even a member of a work unit who perceives normative discrepancy, however, may not always challenge the norms of the unit. Although dissenting against norms can result in social rewards, praise, and acceptance under certain conditions (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Dougill, 2002; Blanton & Christie, 2003; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004; Warren, 2003), there are also several costs involved in dissenting against unit norms, including rejection and exclusion (Hirschman, 1970; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988; Tata et al., 1996). As such, it is likely that the actual challenging of self-interested norms will occur when the perceived benefits of doing so outweigh the costs (Packer, 2008). Indeed, research on voice and issue selling has consistently demonstrated that employees are more likely to speak up and challenge the status quo when the benefits of doing so exceed the costs (Ashford, Rothbard, Piderit, & Dutton, 1998; Detert & Burris, 2007; Morrison & Milliken, 2000). The perceived benefits of challenging self-interested norms are likely to be enhanced when employees are concerned not only with task completion but also with the larger work unit as a whole. This is often the case when employees strongly identify with the work unit and become concerned with its broader interests (Dukerich et al., 2002; Kramer, Hanna, Su, & Wei, 2001; Rioux & Penner, 2001; Tajfel, 1981). In some instances members may feel that the unit fulfills important psychological functions, such as reducing uncertainty or boosting self-esteem (Hogg & Abrams, 1993), and, thus, they may become cognitively and emotionally attached to the collective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Even in task-independent units, where task-related interactions are often optional, cognitively shifting from an individual to a collective orientation can fulfill these psychological

functions (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001). This collective identification and concern with the broader interests of the work unit may increase the motivation to challenge norms that are deemed as violating alternative standards of behavior.

A counterargument could be made that those who strongly identify with their work units are more likely to internalize the norms of the unit themselves, in this case adhering even more to the self-interested norms of the unit (Somers & Casal, 1994). This is consistent with traditional approaches to the study of collective identification, where high identifiers are thought to depersonalize their identities (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) such that the norms and other characteristics of the collective themselves become self-defining (Leach et al., 2008). However, more recent evidence indicates that members who face normative conflict and who strongly identify with their collectives are willing to challenge norms when they perceive the norms as harmful or counterproductive (Packer & Chasteen, 2010). Weakly identified individuals, however, deviate as a form of disengagement rather than a search for improvement (Haslam et al., 2006; Kelley & Shapiro, 1954) or strategically conform to protect their membership (Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003; Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno, 2006). These findings of normative dissent among strongly identified individuals are consistent with evidence that even when personal identities fuse with the collective, the agentic self still remains to pursue nonnormative activities that further the interests of the unit (Swann, Gómez, Huici, Morales, & Hixon, 2010).

Proposition 11: The effect of experienced normative conflict on challenging self-interested norms is strengthened when the challenger identifies strongly with the work unit.

Employees are also more likely to challenge a norm when they perceive low costs (Ashford et al., 1998; Detert & Burris, 2007; Morrison & Milliken, 2000). High status increases the chances that a member's dissent will result in rewards, praise, and increased acceptance, rather than penalties and rejection (Weber & Murnighan, 2008), thereby reducing the perceived costs of challenging norms. As briefly discussed above, research has shown that high-status members

are allowed greater latitude for dissent and deviance than are low-status members (Hollander, 1958; Moscovici & Faucheux, 1972). High-status members are perceived as embodying the ideals and prototypes of the unit, and, thus, their actions, even counternormative ones, are more likely to be seen as consistent with collective ideals (Hogg, 2001). Some scholars have argued that because high-status members have achieved their status by adhering to the norms of the unit—in this case self-interested norms—they are more likely to internalize these norms and less likely to perceive normative conflict in the first place (Hornsey, 2006). However, when employees have already experienced normative conflict such that they have not internalized the self-interested norms of a unit, they will perceive a disconnect between ideal and actual norms, and high status will lead them to perceive challenging as less costly (Packer, 2008). People are surprisingly accurate in perceiving their status (Anderson et al., 2006), and even if they are unaware of their status, challengers with high status are likely to encounter greater support and deference from unit members on the basis of the respect that they receive. This support and deference will encourage them to feel comfortable challenging norms. Thus, we expect that status moderates the relationship between normative conflict and challenging self-interested norms such that high status enhances the motivation to challenge current norms.

Proposition 12: The effect of experienced normative conflict on challenging self-interested norms is strengthened when the challenger has high status in the work unit.

After initially challenging self-interested norms, the challenger is likely to gauge and reevaluate his or her standing within the unit and the overall utility of dissenting (Sherman, Hamilton, & Lewis, 1999). In a work unit where self-interested norms have already been crystallized, only “small wins” in the form of reciprocity and acknowledgment are likely, but these gains may be sufficient to continue normative dissent (Weick, 1984). Progress will continue to signal that the employee is valued and supported (Grant & Ashford, 2008). When efforts to change norms are consistently rebuffed, however, employees may begin to disengage from their dissenting activities (Packer, 2008; Sani & Todman,

2002). Therefore, small wins can strengthen the relationship between initial challenges and consistent modeling and voice to change self-interested norms.

Proposition 13: The effect of an initial challenge of self-interested norms on consistent modeling and voice to change self-interested norms is strengthened when the challenger achieves small wins.

DISCUSSION

Social norms that support helping behaviors can be powerful in spreading caring and compassion in work units. However, many work units, especially ones with low task interdependence, espouse and enact norms of self-interest, which serve to discourage and curtail helping behaviors (Ferraro et al., 2005; Johnson et al., 2006; Miller, 1999). Accordingly, it is both theoretically and practically important to understand how transitions from self-interested to helping norms occur in work units with low task interdependence. This article has provided a conceptual framework for understanding the role of minority influence exerted by a solo challenger in mobilizing norm transitions.

In our model we proposed that norm transitions are more likely when a challenger consistently models multiple acts of helping, particularly when the behaviors are perceived to have a prosocial impact and the challenger carries high status. In turn, work unit members who are middle status and agreeable are particularly likely to endorse the nonnormative behaviors of the challenger. We also proposed that norm transitions are more likely to occur when the challenger inquires about rather than directly advocates helping behaviors, unless work unit members are highly similar to the challenger or highly open. Furthermore, we argued that the sequences of inquiry followed by modeling and modeling followed by advocacy have the highest probability of triggering norm transitions and that such transitions are most likely to occur early in work unit formation, near the midpoint, or at the end of specific projects. Finally, self-interested norms are most likely to be challenged by work unit members who endorse alternative standards of behavior that emphasize helping—especially if these members identify

strongly with or have high status in the unit—and challengers are more likely to sustain their efforts when they achieve small wins. This model offers important theoretical implications for understanding caring and compassion, as well as norm development and helping, in work organizations.

Theoretical Implications

This article provides new insights into how work units shift from self-interested norms to norms that emphasize helping, care, and compassion. Existing research has focused on how networks, values, and routines affect the scale, scope, speed, and customization of responses to human pain and suffering (Dutton et al., 2006). Although this research provides valuable information about how specific episodes of collective caring and compassion are organized, it sheds comparatively little light on how broader work unit norms supporting caring and compassion are changed and sustained. This article takes a step toward addressing this issue by revealing the important role that minority influence plays in destabilizing and creating uncertainty about self-interested norms. Our perspective sheds light on the microprocesses through which behavioral modeling, inquiry, and advocacy can encourage work unit members to perceive helping behaviors as more descriptively and prescriptively normative, facilitating the creation of new norms that legitimate the expression of caring and compassion. Our approach also calls attention to key contingencies for these effects, describing how attributes of the challenger (e.g., status and perceived similarity), the work unit (e.g., agreeableness and openness), and the temporal sequencing of challenges (inquiry, modeling, and advocacy) can shape the effectiveness of efforts to challenge self-interested norms.

In doing so, this article extends our understanding of when, why, and how caring and compassion can be contagious. As noted previously, scholars have begun to demonstrate that helping behaviors can spread from one individual to another (Fowler & Christakis, 2010; Weber & Murnighan, 2008), but little theory and research exist to provide a comprehensive explanation of the key mechanisms that underlie this dynamic and the organizational conditions that can fuel and support these contagion processes.

Our propositions suggest that modeling helping behavior is contagious in work units when it has high prosocial impact, when it fosters feelings of guilt or elevation in work unit members, when the challenger carries high status and is similar to work unit members, when work unit members are highly agreeable and open, and when the behavior occurs early in work unit formation or at the midpoint or end of a project. Explaining when, why, and how caring and compassion can become contagious offers a fresh perspective on how these behaviors are organized through the proactive behaviors of minority challengers.

For research on norm development, the propositions advance knowledge about norm transitions. Existing research on norms has tended to focus on their consequences, providing sparse clues about how they develop and change (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985; Heath & Sitkin, 2001). When scholars do study shifts in norms, they tend to induce them experimentally, which illuminates how shifting from self-interested to helping norms may be more difficult than vice versa (Johnson et al., 2006) but obscures how these shifts occur naturalistically in work units. Our approach provides a new window into how transitions from self-interested to helping norms unfold, highlighting the role of minority influence and proactive behaviors by challengers. In so doing, our model reveals how individual employees can create more caring and compassionate norms in their work units. For example, our propositions suggest that employees may find agreeable and open work unit members to be receptive to challenges of self-interested norms. In addition, the sequence of inquiring about, modeling, and advocating care and compassion may be a powerful way to encourage members to consider new norms, particularly if these behaviors are timed at key turning points in the beginning, middle, or end of major unit projects.

Finally, our perspective has the potential to shift consensus about the nature of organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB), to which helping behaviors belong. The dominant view is that citizenship behaviors such as helping are affiliative, promotive acts that maintain the status quo and smooth the functioning of organizations (Van Dyne, Cummings, & McLean Parks, 1995). As Organ explains,

Construct clarity is aided by preserving the distinction between OCB and “challenging” behaviors . . . which have a different character altogether. . . . challenging behaviors—however appropriate and needed they might be—often pit brother against brother, sister against sister, ins against outs, haves against have-nots (1997: 92).

Our article complicates this view by suggesting that when self-interested norms are prevalent, the very acts of citizenship that are commonly seen as affiliative, supportive, and helpful in their benefits to recipients are challenging with respect to the work unit norms. Thus, whereas scholars have assumed that affiliative and challenging behaviors are mutually exclusive, our perspective reveals a paradox: when unit norms enter the picture, it becomes clear that affiliative behaviors can challenge the status quo.

Future Directions and Practical Implications

This article opens up a number of exciting questions for future research. First, it will be important to gain an enriched understanding of tipping points that govern norm transitions. For example, classic research suggests that crossing the boundary from a lone challenger to two challengers can be a key force in preventing unit members from marginalizing the challenger (Asch, 1956), but given the pervasiveness of norms of self-interest, a wider consensus or coalition may be necessary before challenges succeed in shifting to helping norms.

Second, there are many other contingencies that may affect the success of challenges, including the reason that norms of self-interest emerged in the first place and whether they have been threatened in the past, which may inoculate work unit members and promote resistance to further challenges (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004).

Third, the discussion of modeling raises several interesting issues, including whether seeking help—not only giving or providing it—can challenge self-interested norms. In addition, under what conditions do recipients of helping behaviors respond by paying them back to the helper versus paying them forward to other recipients? Related to our discussion of modeling, some research suggests that perceived similarity to the challenger may also moderate the relationship between modeling and the emergence of helping norms. For example, according

to social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), perceived similarity to a focal actor increases members’ attention to the actor’s actions, retention of the information conveyed, and motivation to imitate the behavior.

Fourth, we did not theorize about the unit performance consequences of helping norms. In interdependent units, helping behaviors consistently contribute to higher performance. In task-independent units, however, research has returned mixed results about the performance implications of helping behaviors. Some scholars have found that helping behaviors in task-independent work units decrease performance, because resources spent on exhibiting helping behaviors decrease resources spent on individual tasks (Nielsen, Bachrach, Sundstrom, & Halfhill, 2012; Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1994). However, other studies have suggested that normative helping behaviors can foster unit cohesion, which allows employees to pool expertise to lighten each other’s workloads and to take responsibility for training one another, thus freeing some resources to be spent on task duties (Kerr & Jermier, 1978; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996). In addition, even in task-independent units, when members are willing to engage in helping, they are more likely to offer new perspectives that facilitate problem solving and creativity (Hackman & Wageman, 2007; Hargadon & Bechky, 2006). Although future research is needed to reconcile these competing findings, perhaps helping behaviors hinder the performance of task-independent work units in the short term but yield net benefits in the long term.

Finally, wider organizational, occupational, and cultural norms (Perlow & Weeks, 2002) may play a role in shaping the effectiveness of challenges. If the work unit is situated in an organization or occupation with strong other-oriented values or a collectivistic culture, work unit members may be more receptive to helping norms (e.g., Chatman & Barsade, 1995; Miller, 1999). Gender is another important factor that may affect reactions to status challenges: in settings in which social role stereotypes or prejudices are pervasive, helping behaviors by women may be taken for granted; moreover, in these work units women may carry lower status to begin with, decreasing the likelihood that their efforts to consistently model helping behavior will ultimately lead to the emergence of helping norms (Fletcher, 1999). In addition, organizations pro-

vide a variety of rewards and incentives for helping behaviors, including bonuses, public recognition, special project assignments, promotions, and development opportunities (Allen & Rush, 1998; Podsakoff et al., 2000). Although these rewards can increase the instrumentality and valence of helping behaviors (Haworth & Levy, 2001), and although individuals are more likely to model and engage in these behaviors when they feel that they will receive recognition for them (Ariely, Bracha, & Meier, 2009; Fisher & Ackerman, 1998; Simpson & Willer, 2008), such rewards can provide an external attribution for helping behaviors, reducing the likelihood of internalizing and sustaining an intrinsic desire to engage in them (Batson, Coke, Jasnoski, & Hanson, 1978; Deckop, Mangel, & Cirka, 1999; Kunda & Schwartz, 1983). It is worth exploring whether this risk may be circumvented by the use of small rewards. According to research on the insufficient justification effect, providing small rewards can draw attention to the behavior without providing an adequate reason for undertaking it (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). Small rewards such as plaques and presentations of awards for helping can serve the symbolic function of signaling that these forms of behavior are valued (Mickel & Barron, 2008), without crowding out opportunities for employees to view themselves as helpful individuals and endorse helping norms as identity congruent and image congruent. Accordingly, when organizations provide small rewards for helping behaviors, are employees more likely to challenge self-interested norms?

From a practical standpoint, this article provides guidelines for leaders, managers, and employees who wish to challenge self-interested norms and replace them with helping norms. Our propositions suggest that, on the one hand, if a challenger has high status, modeling helping behaviors with prosocial impact is likely to create perceptions of legitimacy and feelings of guilt and elevation, particularly if work unit members are highly agreeable. Low-status challengers, on the other hand, may rely more heavily on inquiry or on advocacy if work unit members are similar and open. Those who wish to challenge the norm may find value in recruiting supporters and spokespeople with high status and similarity, which may confer the idiosyncrasy credits necessary to dissent. Furthermore, challengers may wish to time their proactive

efforts early in work unit formation or at the midpoint and end of specific projects. These steps may catalyze a context in which helping, caring, and compassion are seen as acceptable—not foolish—actions for work unit members to undertake.

REFERENCES

- Abelson, R. 1976. Script processing in attitude formation and decision making. In J. Carroll & J. Payne (Eds.), *Cognition and social behavior*: 33–45. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Abrams, D., Marques, J., Bown, N., & Dougill, M. 2002. Anti-norm and pro-norm deviance in the bank and on the campus: Two experiments on subjective group dynamics. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 5: 163–182.
- Algoe, S. B., & Haidt, J. 2009. Witnessing excellence in action: The “other-praising” emotions of elevation, gratitude, and admiration. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, 4: 105–127.
- Allen, T. D., & Rush, M. C. 1998. The effects of organizational citizenship behavior on performance judgments: A field study and a laboratory experiment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83: 247–260.
- Amiot, C. E., De la Sablonnière, R., Terry, D. J., & Smith, J. R. 2007. Integration of social identities in the self: Toward a cognitive-developmental model. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11: 364–388.
- Anderson, C., Srivastava, S., Beer, J. S., Spataro, S. E., & Chatman, J. A. 2006. Knowing your place: Self-perceptions of status in face-to-face groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91: 1094–1110.
- Anderson, S. E., & Williams, L. J. 1996. Interpersonal, job, and individual factors related to helping processes at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81: 282–296.
- Argyris, C., & Schön, D. 1978. *Organizational learning: A theory of action perspective*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Argyris, C., & Schön, D. 1996. *Organizational learning II: Theory, method, and practice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Ariely, D., Bracha, A., & Meier, S. 2009. Doing good or doing well? Image motivation and monetary incentives in behaving prosocially. *American Economic Review*, 99: 544–555.
- Aronson, E. 1999. The power of self-persuasion. *American Psychologist*, 54: 875–884.
- Asch, S. E. 1956. Studies of independence and conformity: A minority of one against a unanimous majority. *Psychological Monographs*, 70(9): 416.
- Ashford, S. J., Rothbard, N. P., Piderit, S. K., & Dutton, J. E. 1998. Out on a limb: The role of context and impression management in selling gender-equity issues. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 43: 23–57.
- Ashforth, B. E., & Johnson, S. A. 2001. Which hat to wear? The relative salience of multiple identities in organizational

- contexts. In M. Hogg & D. Terry (Eds.), *Social identity processes in organizational contexts*: 31–48. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Bandura, A. 1977. *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Barker, J. R. 1993. Tightening the iron cage: Concertive control in self-managing teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38: 408–437.
- Barrick, M. R., & Mount, M. K. 1991. The Big Five personality dimensions and job performance: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, 44: 1–26.
- Bateman, T. S., & Organ, D. W. 1983. Job satisfaction and the good soldier: The relationship between affect and employee "citizenship." *Academy of Management Journal*, 26: 587–595.
- Batson, C. D., Coke, J. S., Jasnosi, M. L., & Hanson, M. 1978. Buying kindness: Effect of an extrinsic incentive for helping on perceived altruism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 4: 86–91.
- Baumeister, R. F., Stillwell, A. M., & Heatherton, T. F. 1994. Guilt: An interpersonal approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, 115: 243–267.
- Baumeister, R. F., Vohs, K. D., DeWall, C. N., & Zhang, L. 2007. How emotion shapes behavior: Feedback, anticipation, and reflection, rather than direct causation. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11: 167–203.
- Bell, S. T. 2007. Deep-level composition variables as predictors of team performance: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92: 595–615.
- Bettenhausen, K., & Murnighan, J. K. 1985. The emergence of norms in competitive decision-making groups. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 30: 350–372.
- Blanton, H., & Christie, C. 2003. Deviance regulation: A theory of action and identity. *Review of General Psychology*, 7: 115–149.
- Blau, P. M. 1964. *Exchange and power in social life*. New York: Wiley.
- Bolino, M. C. 1999. Citizenship and impression management: Good soldiers or good actors? *Academy of Management Review*, 24: 82–98.
- Bolino, M. C., Turnley, W. H., & Bloodgood, J. M. 2002. Citizenship behavior and the creation of social capital in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 27: 505–522.
- Bommer, W. H., Miles, E. W., & Grover, S. L. 2003. Does one good turn deserve another? Coworker influences on employee citizenship. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 24: 181–196.
- Brehm, J. W. 1966. *Response to loss of freedom: A theory of psychological reactance*. New York: Academic Press.
- Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. 1996. Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71: 83–93.
- Brief, A. P., & Motowidlo, S. J. 1986. Prosocial organizational behaviors. *Academy of Management Review*, 11: 710–725.
- Burger, J. M., Messian, N., Patel, S., del Prado, A., & Anderson, C. 2004. What a coincidence! The effects of incidental similarity on compliance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30: 35–43.
- Byrne, D. E. 1971. *The attraction paradigm*. New York: Academic Press.
- Campion, M. A., Medsker, G. J., & Higgs, A. C. 1993. Relations between work group characteristics and effectiveness: Implications for designing effective work groups. *Personnel Psychology*, 46: 823–847.
- Caruso, E., Epley, N., & Bazerman, M. H. 2006. The costs and benefits of undoing egocentric responsibility assessments in groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91: 857–871.
- Cha, S. E., & Edmondson, A. C. 2006. When values backfire: Leadership, attribution, and disenchantment in a values-driven organization. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17: 57–78.
- Chatman, J. A., & Barsade, S. G. 1995. Personality, organizational culture, and cooperation: Evidence from a business simulation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40: 423–443.
- Cialdini, R. 2003. Crafting normative messages to protect the environment. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 12: 105–109.
- Cialdini, R. B., & Goldstein, N. J. 2004. Social influence: Compliance and conformity. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 55: 591–621.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. 1998. Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74: 1516–1530.
- Cohen, D., & Nisbett, R. E. 1994. Self-protection and the culture of honor: Explaining southern violence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20: 551–567.
- Connelly, C. E., Zweig, D., Webster, J., & Trougakos, J. P. 2012. Knowledge hiding in organizations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 33: 64–88.
- Crant, J. M. 2000. Proactive behavior in organizations. *Journal of Management*, 26: 435–462.
- Deckop, J. R., Mangel, R., & Cirka, C. C. 1999. Getting more than you pay for: Organizational citizenship behavior and pay-for-performance plans. *Academy of Management Journal*, 42: 420–428.
- de Hooge, I. E., Nelissen, R. A., Breugelmans, S. M., & Zeelenberg, M. 2011. What is moral about guilt? Acting "prosocially" at the disadvantage of others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100: 462–473.
- Detert, J. R., & Burris, E. R. 2007. Leadership behavior and employee voice: Is the door really open? *Academy of Management Journal*, 50: 869–884.
- Deutsch Salamon, S. D., & Deutsch, Y. 2006. OCB as a handicap: An evolutionary psychological perspective. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27: 185–199.

- Dittes, J. E., & Kelley, H. H. 1956. Effects of different conditions of acceptance upon conformity to group norms. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 53: 100–107.
- Dukerich, J. M., Golden, B. R., & Shortell, S. M. 2002. Beauty is in the eye of the beholder: The impact of organizational identification, identity, and image on the cooperative behaviors of physicians. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 47: 507–533.
- Dutton, J. E., Worline, M. C., Frost, P. J., & Lilius, J. 2006. Explaining compassion organizing. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 51: 59–96.
- Ehrhart, M. G., Bliese, P. G., & Thomas, J. L. 2006. Unit-level OCB and unit effectiveness: Examining the incremental effect of helping behavior. *Human Performance*, 19: 159–173.
- Ehrhart, M. G., & Naumann, S. E. 2004. Organizational citizenship behavior in work groups: A group norms approach. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89: 960–974.
- Elster, J. 1989. Social norms and economic theory. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 3(4): 99–117.
- Emerson, R. 1976. Social exchange theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2: 335–362.
- Epley, N., & Dunning, D. 2000. Feeling “holier than thou”: Are self-serving assessments produced by errors in self- or social prediction? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79: 861–875.
- Ferraro, F., Pfeffer, J., & Sutton, R. I. 2005. Economics language and assumptions: How theories can become self-fulfilling. *Academy of Management Review*, 30: 8–24.
- Ferrin, D. L., Bligh, M. C., & Kohles, J. C. 2008. It takes two to tango: An interdependence analysis of the spiraling of perceived trustworthiness and cooperation in interpersonal and intergroup relationships. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 107: 161–178.
- Fisher, R. J., & Ackerman, D. 1998. The effects of recognition and group need on volunteerism: A social norm perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25: 262–275.
- Fiske, S. T. 1993. Controlling other people: The impact of power on stereotyping. *American Psychologist*, 48: 621–628.
- Fletcher, J. K. 1999. *Disappearing acts: Gender, power, and relational practice at work*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Flynn, F. J. 2003. How much should I give and how often? The effects of generosity and frequency of favor exchange on social status and productivity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 46: 539–553.
- Flynn, F. J., & Brockner, J. 2003. It's different to give than to receive: Predictors of givers' and receivers' reactions to favor exchange. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88: 1034–1045.
- Fowler, J. H., & Christakis, N. A. 2010. Cooperative behavior cascades in human social networks. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 107: 1–5.
- Fragale, A. R. 2006. The power of powerless speech: The effects of speech style and task interdependence on status conferral. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 101: 243–261.
- George, J. M., & Bettenhausen, K. 1990. Understanding prosocial behavior, sales performance, and turnover: A group-level analysis in a service context. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75: 698–709.
- George, J. M., & Brief, A. P. 1992. Feeling good—Doing good: A conceptual analysis of the mood at work—organizational spontaneity relationship. *Psychological Bulletin*, 112: 310–329.
- Gersick, C. J. G. 1989. Marking time: Predictable transitions in task groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 31: 9–41.
- Ginnett, R. 1990. Airline cockpit crew. In J. R. Hackman (Ed.), *Groups that work (and those that don't)*: 427–448. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gino, F., Ayal, S., & Ariely, D. 2009. Contagion and differentiation in unethical behavior: The effect of one bad apple on the barrel. *Psychological Science*, 20: 393–398.
- Gino, F., Shang, J., & Croson, R. C. 2009. The impact of information from similar or different advisors on judgment. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 108: 287–302.
- Goncalo, J. A., & Staw, B. M. 2006. Individualism-collectivism and group creativity. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 100: 96–109.
- Gouldner, A. W. 1960. The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American Sociological Review*, 25: 161–178.
- Grant, A. M. 2007. Relational job design and the motivation to make a prosocial difference. *Academy of Management Review*, 32: 393–417.
- Grant, A. M. 2008. The significance of task significance: Job performance effects, relational mechanisms, and boundary conditions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93: 108–124.
- Grant, A. M., & Ashford, S. J. 2008. The dynamics of proactivity at work. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 28: 3–34.
- Grant, A. M., Dutton, J. E., & Rosso, B. 2008. Giving commitment: Employee support programs and the prosocial sensemaking process. *Academy of Management Journal*, 51: 898–918.
- Graziano, W. G., Habashi, M. M., Sheese, B. E., & Tobin, R. M. 2007. Agreeableness, empathy, and helping: A person X situation perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93: 583–599.
- Graziano, W. G., & Tobin, R. M. 2002. Agreeableness: Dimension of personality or social desirability artifact? *Journal of Personality*, 70: 695–728.
- Groysberg, B., & Vargas, I. 2005. *Innovation and collaboration at Merrill Lynch*. Case No. 9-406-081. Boston: Harvard Business School Case Services.
- Hackman, J. R. 1992. Group influences on individuals in organizations. In M. D. Dunnette & L. M. Hough (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology*, vol. 2: 199–267. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Hackman, J. R., & Wageman, R. 2005. A theory of team coaching. *Academy of Management Review*, 30: 269–287.

- Hackman, J. R., & Wageman, R. 2007. Asking the right questions about leadership. *American Psychologist*, 62: 43–47.
- Haidt, J. 2003. Elevation and the positive psychology of morality. In C. L. M. Keyes & J. Haidt (Eds.), *Flourishing: Positive psychology and the life well-lived*: 275–289. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Hansen, M. T., & Nohria, N. 2004. How to build collaborative advantage. *MIT Sloan Management Review*, 46(1): 22–30.
- Hardy, C. L., & Van Vugt, M. 2006. Nice guys finish first: The competitive altruism hypothesis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32: 1402–1413.
- Hargadon, A. B., & Bechky, B. A. 2006. When collections of creatives become creative collectives: A field study of problem solving at work. *Organization Science*, 17: 484–500.
- Haslam, S. A., Ryan, M. K., Postmes, T., Spears, R., Jetten, J., & Webley, P. 2006. Sticking to our guns: Social identity as a basis for the maintenance of commitment to faltering organizational projects. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27: 607–628.
- Haworth, C. L., & Levy, P. E. 2001. The importance of instrumentality beliefs in the prediction of organizational citizenship behaviors. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 59: 64–75.
- Heath, C., Larrick, R. P., & Klayman, J. 1998. Cognitive repairs: How organizations compensate for the shortcoming of individual learners. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 20: 1–37.
- Heath, C., & Sitkin, S. 2001. Big-B versus Big-O: What is organizational about organizational behavior? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22: 43–58.
- Hirschman, A. O. 1970. *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hofmann, D. A., & Jones, L. M. 2005. Leadership, collective personality, and performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90: 509–522.
- Hogg, M. A. 2001. A social identity theory of leadership. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5: 184–200.
- Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. 1993. Towards a single-process uncertainty-reduction model of social motivation in groups. In M. A. Hogg & D. Abrams (Eds.), *Group motivation: Social psychological perspectives*: 173–190. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Hollander, E. P. 1958. Conformity, status, and idiosyncrasy credit. *Psychological Review*, 65: 117–127.
- Holmes, J. G., Miller, D. T., & Lerner, M. J. 2002. Committing altruism under the cloak of self-interest: The exchange fiction. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 38: 144–151.
- Homans, G. C. 1958. Social behavior as exchange. *American Journal of Sociology*, 63: 597–606.
- Hornsey, M. J. 2006. Ingroup critics and their influence on groups. In T. Postmes & J. Jetten (Eds.), *Individuality and the group: Advances in social identity*: 74–91. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hornsey, M. J., & Jetten, J. 2004. The individual within the group: Balancing the need to belong with the need to be different. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8: 248–264.
- Hornsey, M. J., Majkut, L., Terry, D. J., & McKimmie, B. M. 2003. On being loud and proud: Non conformity and counter conformity to group norms. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42: 319–335.
- Hui, C., Lam, S. S. K., & Law, K. S. 2000. Instrumental values of organizational citizenship behavior for promotion: A field quasi-experiment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85: 822–828.
- Hui, C., Lam, S. S. K., & Schaubroeck, J. 2001. Can good citizens lead the way in providing quality service? A field quasi experiment. *Academy of Management Journal*, 44: 988–995.
- Ibarra, H. 1992. Homophily and differential returns: Sex differences in network structure and access in an advertising firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37: 422–447.
- Ilies, R., Scott, B. A., & Judge, T. A. 2006. The interactive effects of personal traits and experienced states on intraindividual patterns of citizenship behavior. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49: 561–575.
- Iyer, A., Schmader, T., & Lickel, B. 2007. Why individuals protest the perceived transgressions of their country: The role of anger, shame, and guilt. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33: 572–587.
- Jackson, J. 1965. Structural characteristics of norms. In I. D. Steiner & M. Fishbein (Eds.), *Current studies in social psychology*: 301–309. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston.
- Jefferson, T. 1975/1771. Letter to Robert Skipwith. In M. D. Peterson (Ed.), *The portable Thomas Jefferson*: 349–351. New York: Penguin.
- Jetten, J., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., & McKimmie, B. M. 2003. Predicting the paths of peripherals: The interaction of identification and future possibilities. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29: 130–140.
- Jetten, J., Hornsey, M. J., & Adarves-Yorno, I. 2006. When group members admit to being conformist: The role of relative intragroup status in conformity self-reports. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32: 162–173.
- Johns, G. 2006. The essential impact of context on organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, 31: 386–408.
- Johnson, M. D., Hollenbeck, J. R., Humphrey, S. E., Ilgen, D. R., Jundt, D., & Meyer, C. J. 2006. Cutthroat cooperation: Asymmetrical adaptation to changes in team reward structures. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49: 103–119.
- Jones, J. T., Pelham, B. W., Carvallo, M., & Mirenberg, M. C. 2004. How do I love thee? Let me count the Js: Implicit egotism and interpersonal attraction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87: 665–683.
- Kahn, W. A. 1998. Relational systems at work. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 20: 39–76.

- Kanter, R. M. 1977. *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. 1966. *The social psychology of organizations*. New York: Wiley.
- Kelley, H. H., & Shapiro, M. M. 1954. An experiment on conformity to group norms where conformity is detrimental to group achievement. *American Sociological Review*, 19: 667-677.
- Kerr, S., & Jermier, J. M. 1978. Substitutes for leadership: Their meaning and measurement. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 22: 375-403.
- Koys, D. J. 2001. The effects of employee satisfaction, organizational citizenship behavior, and turnover on organizational effectiveness: A unit-level, longitudinal study. *Personnel Psychology*, 54: 101-114.
- Kramer, R. M., Hanna, B. A., Su, S., & Wei, J. 2001. Collective identity, collective trust, and social capital: Linking group identification and group cooperation. In M. Turner (Ed.), *Groups at work: Theory and research*: 173-196. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kunda, Z., & Schwartz, S. H. 1983. Undermining intrinsic moral motivation: External reward and self-presentation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45: 763-771.
- Latané, B. 1996. Dynamic social impact: The creation of culture by communication. *Journal of Communication*, 46(4): 13-25.
- Latané, B., & Darley, J. 1970. *The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help?* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J. W., & Spears, R. 2008. Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95: 144-165.
- Leary, M. R. 2007. Motivational and emotional aspects of the self. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 58: 317-344.
- Little, B. R. 1983. Personal projects: A rationale and method for investigation. *Environment and Behavior*, 15: 273-309.
- Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. 2008. Social hierarchy: The self-reinforcing nature of power and status. *Academy of Management Annals*, 2: 351-398.
- Manz, C. C., & Sims, H. P., Jr. 1981. Vicarious learning: The influence of modeling on organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, 6: 105-113.
- March, J. G. 1994. *A primer on decision-making: How decisions happen*. New York: Free Press.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. 1991. Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98: 224-253.
- Marques, J. M., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. 1988. The black sheep effect: Judgmental extremity towards ingroup members in inter and intra group situations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18: 287-292.
- McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T., Jr. 1997. Conceptions and correlates of openness to experience. In R. Hogan, J. Johnson, & S. Briggs (Eds.), *Handbook of personality psychology*: 825-847. San Diego: Academic Press.
- McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T., Jr. 2003. *Personality in adulthood: A five-factor theory perspective* (2nd ed). New York: Guilford Press.
- McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. 2001. Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27: 415-444.
- Meglino, B. M., & Korsgaard, M. A. 2004. Considering rational self-interest as a disposition: Organizational implications of other orientation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89: 946-959.
- Meyerson, D. E., & Scully, M. A. 1995. Tempered radicalism and the politics of ambivalence and change. *Organization Science*, 6: 585-600.
- Mickel, A. E., & Barron, L. A. 2008. Getting "more bang for the buck": Symbolic value of monetary rewards in organizations. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 17: 329-338.
- Miller, D. T. 1999. The norm of self-interest. *American Psychologist*, 54: 1053-1060.
- Mohr, T. 2009. *Entrepreneurship in intra-organizational networks: An entrepreneurial perspective on the management of multi-unit organizational systems*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of St. Gallen, St. Gallen, Switzerland.
- Monin, B., Sawyer, P. J., & Marquez, M. J. 2008. The rejection of moral rebels: Resenting those who do the right thing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95: 76-93.
- Morrison, E. W., & Milliken, F. J. 2000. Organizational silence: A barrier to change and development in a pluralistic world. *Academy of Management Review*, 25: 706-731.
- Moscovici, S., & Faucheux, C. 1972. Social influence, conformity bias, and the study of active minorities. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 6: 149-202.
- Nemeth, C. J. 1986. Differential contributions of majority and minority influence. *Psychological Review*, 93: 23-32.
- Nickerson, R. S. 1998. Confirmation bias: A ubiquitous phenomenon in many guises. *Review of General Psychology*, 2: 175-220.
- Nielsen, T. M., Bachrach, D. G., Sundstrom, E., & Halfhill, T. R. 2012. Utility of OCB: Organizational citizenship behavior and group performance in a resource allocation framework. *Journal of Management*, 38: 668-694.
- Organ, D. W. 1988. *Organizational citizenship behavior: The good soldier syndrome*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Organ, D. W. 1997. Organizational citizenship behavior: It's construct clean-up time. *Human Performance*, 10: 85-97.
- Packer, D. J. 2008. On being both with us and against us: A normative conflict model of dissent in social groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 12: 50-72.
- Packer, D. J., & Chasteen, A. L. 2010. Loyal deviance: Testing the normative conflict model of dissent in social groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36: 5-18.

- Parker, S. K., Bindl, U. K., & Strauss, K. 2010. Making things happen: A model of proactive motivation. *Journal of Management*, 36: 827–856.
- Paulhus, D. L., & John, O. P. 1998. Egoistic and moralistic biases in self-perception: The interplay of self-deceptive styles with basic traits and motives. *Journal of Personality*, 66: 1025–1060.
- Pearce, J. L., & Gregersen, H. B. 1991. Task interdependence and extrarole behavior: A test of the mediating effects of felt responsibility. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76: 838–844.
- Peeters, M. A. G., van Tuijl, H. F. J. M., Rutte, C. G., & Reymen, I. M. M. J. 2006. Personality and team performance: A meta-analysis. *European Journal of Personality*, 20: 377–396.
- Perlow, L., & Weeks, J. 2002. Who's helping whom? Layers of culture and workplace behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23: 345–361.
- Phillips, D. J., & Zuckerman, E. W. 2001. Middle-status conformity: Theoretical restatement and empirical demonstration in two markets. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107: 379–429.
- Podsakoff, P., & MacKenzie, S. 1994. Organizational citizenship behavior and sales unit effectiveness. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 31: 351–363.
- Podsakoff, P. M., Ahearne, M., & MacKenzie, S. B. 1997. Organizational citizenship behavior and the quantity and quality of work group performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82: 262–270.
- Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., & Bommer, W. H. 1996. A meta-analysis of the relationships between Kerr and Jermier's substitutes for leadership and employee job attitudes, role perceptions, and performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81: 380–399.
- Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., Paine, J. B., & Bachrach, D. G. 2000. Organizational citizenship behaviors: A critical review of the theoretical and empirical literature and suggestions for future research. *Journal of Management*, 26: 513–563.
- Rackham, N. 2007. The behavior of successful negotiators. In R. J. Lewicki, B. Barry, & D. M. Saunders (Eds.), *Negotiation: Readings, exercises, and cases*: 171–182. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Ratner, R. K., & Miller, D. T. 2001. The norm of self-interest and its effects on social action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81: 5–16.
- Reed, A. R., II, & Aquino, K. F. 2003. Moral identity and the expanding circle of moral regard toward out-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84: 1270–1286.
- Reichers, A. E., Wanous, J. P., & Austin, J. T. 1997. Understanding and managing cynicism about organizational change. *Academy of Management Executive*, 11(1): 48–59.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Walker, H. A. 1995. Status structures. In K. S. Cook, G. A. Fine, & J. S. House (Eds.), *Sociological perspectives on social psychology*: 281–310. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Rioux, S. M., & Penner, L. A. 2001. The causes of organizational citizenship behavior: A motivational analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86: 1306–1314.
- Saavedra, R., Earley, P. C., & Van Dyne, L. 1993. Complex interdependence in task-performing groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78: 61–72.
- Salancik, G. R., & Pfeffer, J. 1978. A social information processing approach to job attitudes and task design. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 23: 224–253.
- Sani, F., & Todman, J. 2002. Should we stay or should we go? A social psychological model of schisms in groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28: 1647–1655.
- Schein, E. 1992. *Organizational culture and leadership* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schnall, S., Roper, J., & Fessler, D. M. T. 2010. Elevation leads to altruistic behavior. *Psychological Science*, 21: 315–320.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. 2001. Value hierarchies across cultures: Taking a similarities perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32: 268–290.
- Sedikides, C., & Brewer, M. B. 2001. *Individual self, relational self, collective self*. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Sherif, M. 1936. *The psychology of social norms*. New York: Harper.
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. 1967. Conformity-deviation, norms, and group relations. In M. Sherif (Ed.), *Social interaction*: 164–189. Chicago: Aldine.
- Sherman, S. J., Hamilton, D. L., & Lewis, A. 1999. Perceived entitativity and the social identity value of group memberships. In D. Abrams & M. Hogg (Eds.), *Social identity and social cognition*: 80–110. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Silvia, P. J. 2005. Deflecting reactance: The role of similarity in increasing compliance and reducing resistance. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 27: 277–284.
- Simons, T. 2002. Behavioral integrity: The perceived alignment between managers' words and deeds as a research focus. *Organization Science*, 13: 18–35.
- Simpson, B., & Willer, R. 2008. Altruism and indirect reciprocity: The interaction of person and situation in prosocial behavior. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 71: 37–52.
- Somers, M. J., & Casal, J. C. 1994. Organizational commitment and whistle-blowing. *Group & Organization Management*, 19: 270–284.
- Swann, W. B., Gómez, Á., Huici, C., Morales, J. F., & Hixon, J. G. 2010. Identity fusion and self-sacrifice: Arousal as a catalyst of pro-group fighting, dying, and helping behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 99: 824–841.
- Sy, T., Côté, S., & Saavedra, R. 2005. The contagious leader: Impact of the leader's mood on the mood of group members, group affective tone, and group processes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90: 295–305.
- Tajfel, H. 1981. *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. 1979. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The*

- social psychology of intergroup relations*: 33–47. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tangney, J. P., Miller, R. S., Flicker, L., & Barlow, D. H. 1996. Are shame, guilt, and embarrassment distinct emotions? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70: 1256–1269.
- Tata, J., Anthony, T., Lin, H., Newman, B., Tang, S., & Millson, M. 1996. Proportionate group size and rejection of the deviate: A meta-analytic integration. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 11: 739–752.
- Taylor, S., & Crocker, J. 1981. *Schematic bases of social information processing*. In E. Higgins, C. Herman, & M. Zanna (Eds.), *The Ontario Symposium on Personality and Social Psychology: Social Cognition*, 1: 89–134. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Thompson, J. D. 1967. *Organizations in action*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill.
- Trice, H. M., & Beyer, J. M. 1993. *The cultures of work organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Tuckman, B. W. 1965. Developmental sequences in small groups. *Psychological Bulletin*, 63: 384–399.
- Turner, J., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. 1987. *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tyler, T. R. 2006. Psychological perspectives on legitimacy and legitimation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57: 375–400.
- Van de Ven, A. H., Delbecq, A. L., & Koenig, R. 1976. Determinants of coordination modes within organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 41: 322–338.
- Van Dyne, L., Cummings, L. L., & McLean Parks, J. 1995. Extra-role behaviors: In pursuit of construct and definitional clarity. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 17: 215–285.
- Van Dyne, L., & LePine, J. A. 1998. Helping and voice extra-role behaviors: Evidence of construct and predictive validity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41: 108–119.
- van Knippenberg, D., & Hogg, M. A. 2003. A social identity model of leadership effectiveness in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 25: 243–295.
- Wageman, R. 2001. The meaning of interdependence. In M. Turner (Ed.), *Groups at work: Theory and research*: 197–217. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Wagner, J. A., & Moch, M. K. 1986. Individualism-collectivism: Concept and measure. *Group & Organization Management*, 11: 280–304.
- Walz, S. M., & Niehoff, B. P. 2000. Organizational citizenship behaviors: Their relationship to organizational effectiveness. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 24: 301–319.
- Warren, D. E. 2003. Constructive and destructive deviance in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 28: 622–632.
- Weber, J. M., Kopelman, S., & Messick, D. M. 2004. A conceptual review of decision making in social dilemmas: Applying a logic of appropriateness. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8: 281–307.
- Weber, J. M., & Murnighan, J. K. 2008. Suckers or saviors? Consistent contributors in social dilemmas. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95: 1340–1353.
- Weick, K. E. 1979. *The social psychology of organizing* (2nd ed.). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Weick, K. E. 1984. Small wins: Redefining the scale of social problems. *American Psychologist*, 39: 40–49.
- Weick, K. E. 1995. *Sensemaking in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Willer, R. 2009. Groups reward individual sacrifice: The status solution to the collective action problem. *American Sociological Review*, 74: 23–43.
- Williams, P., Fitzsimons, G. J., & Block, L. G. 2004. When consumers do not recognize “benign” intention questions as persuasion attempts. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31: 540–550.

Adam M. Grant (grantad@wharton.upenn.edu) is a management professor at The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. He received his Ph.D. in organizational psychology from the University of Michigan. His research focuses on work motivation, job design, and prosocial and proactive behaviors.

Shafali V. Patil (shafalip@wharton.upenn.edu) is a doctoral candidate in management at The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. She received her B.S. in management and marketing from the Stern School of Business, New York University. Her research focuses on the cognitive, relational, and behavioral consequences of accountability systems and group identification.