

Diversity at Work: Do Men and Women Differ in their Organizational Citizenship Behavior?

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we use social role theory to develop hypotheses predicting differences in the organizational citizenship behavior of males and females at work. Results, based on questionnaire responses of 257 restaurant workers and their supervisors, demonstrate that females in our service-worker sample engaged in more altruism, loyalty, and obedience than

males, but that males and females did not differ in their advocacy participation. Results also demonstrate that organizational tenure moderated the relationship between sex and two forms of citizenship behavior: altruism and advocacy participation. We discuss the implications of our findings and conclude with suggestions for future research.

Introduction

Sex is one of the most salient dimensions of diversity (Stangor, Lynch, Changming, & Glass, 1992), since it is visible and obvious in all face-to-face interactions. To many, it is the most basic and fundamental characteristic that differentiates individuals. Although some research has denied or minimized differences in the social behaviors of men and women (e.g., Deaux, 1984; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), Eagly (1995) concluded that there is "general agreement" that research demonstrates differences between women and men. She observed (based on a large number of meta-analyses, which allow cumulation of results across studies) that results demonstrate consistent male and female differences in cognition, personality, and

social behavior. One potential shortcoming of this research according to Eagly (1995), however, is the overrepresentation of college students and the underrepresentation of employees (for an exception, see Tsui & Gutek, 1984). As a consequence, research may not have given adequate consideration to comparisons of male and female social behavior that occurs among employees who have ongoing relationships with others in their work environment.

Responding to this gap in the literature, the research we report in this paper examines the organizational citizenship behavior of men and women at work. Organizational citizenship behavior is "individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that

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in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization" (Organ, 1988, p. 4). In the workplace, a great deal of behavior is determined by an employee's job. When employees do not perform expected behaviors, they receive negative feedback and are often subject to disciplinary actions. As such, their typical job-related behaviors (sometimes referred to as *in-role* behavior) are based on task demands and not largely influenced by individual differences such as sex (male versus female). In contrast, discretionary behaviors such as organizational citizenship are more likely to be influenced by individual differences because employees have more freedom to decide whether or not to engage in discretionary behaviors (sometimes referred to as *extra-role* behavior). Since these are discretionary behaviors, we anticipated that males and females might differ in the type and frequency of the organizational citizenship behaviors that they exhibit at work. Given the increasing emphasis on high performance and the importance of continual improvement, discretionary behaviors are an increasingly important (but not required) component of an organization's ability to build competitive advantage (Podsakoff, Ahearne, & MacKenzie, 1997).

Our primary research question addresses the issue of whether males and females differ in the amount and type of organizational citizenship behavior that they exhibit at work. Thus, we respond to Eagly and Wood's (1991, p. 313) observation that, "In most of the research that has been interpreted as relevant to sex differences, there is little attention to studying behavior...in organi-

zations, where most of everyday life occurs." At the same time, we focus on a behavior (i.e., organizational citizenship) with potentially important organizational consequences. Overall, this study should enrich our understanding of sex-related differences in behaviors in the workplace and as such should be useful both to managers and researchers.

The paper is organized in the following manner: first, we review relevant past research on sex-based differences in social behavior that may generalize to organizational settings. We then build testable hypotheses, supported by theory, on how gender may be differentially related to various types of organizational citizenship behavior. Next, we discuss the methods used to collect and analyze the data for the study that we used to test our hypotheses. Finally, we present the results of our research, discuss implications of the results for managers, and conclude with suggestions for future research.

Literature Review

Social Role Theory. In the current study, we were specifically interested in discretionary behaviors that might be performed more frequently by males versus females. Social role theory (Eagly, 1987) posits that differences in behavior are due to socialization and social roles or shared expectations about what behavior is appropriate for individuals based on their sex (Eagly & Wood, 1991). Most behavioral expectations for men and women may be distinguished by two dimensions: agentic behaviors (representing independence, mastery, assertiveness, and competency) and communal behaviors (including friendliness, unself-

ishness, concern with others, and emotional expressiveness). Agentic behaviors are consistent with stereotypical male roles, and communal behaviors are congruent with stereotypical female roles (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Eagly & Wood, 1991). In general, the theory suggests that males and females experience different socialization which results in differences in the attitudes, skills, and behavior of men and women. This differentiation matches the social roles typically held by men and women (Eagly, 1987). Social role theory assumes that individuals tend to exhibit behavior that is consistent with their expected roles and that this consistency reinforces the sex-role distinction and skill segregation among men and women (Eagly & Wood, 1991). Thus, even when organizations socialize males and females in the same manner, managers can expect to find differences in the behavior of men and women at work because their sex-role expectations differ and may supersede organizational role assignments.

Extra-Role behavior. According to Van Dyne, Cummings, and McLean Parks (1995, p. 218) positive extra-role behavior is "...behavior which benefits the organization and/or is intended to benefit the organization, which is discretionary, and which goes beyond existing role expectations." Extra-role behavior is intentional, voluntary, and does not necessarily result in formal reward or punishment. Positive extra-role behavior is a broad class of behaviors, which can include other categories of behavior such as organizational citizenship (Organ, 1988; Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983; Van Dyne, Graham, & Dienesch, 1994), contextual perfor-

mance (Motowidlo & Van Scotter, 1994), and pro-social behavior (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986). Each of these general categories includes specific behaviors such as altruism and conscientiousness (Organ, 1988), and obedience, loyalty, and participation (Van Dyne et al., 1994). According to Van Dyne et al. (1994) and Motowidlo (1998), each of the above categorizations is useful and suggests a somewhat different orientation toward these important behaviors. In designing research studies, researchers need not include all possible types of discretionary behavior. Instead, they should select a specific set of citizenship behaviors which are theoretically and conceptually most relevant to the particular research questions addressed by their research.

In our research, we focused on four particular behaviors where we expected differences in the frequency of the behavior based on social role theory. Our general expectation is that males will perform agentic behaviors more than females and that females will perform communal behaviors more than males. Both advocacy participation and altruism require agentic-type characteristics such as assertiveness, mastery, and independence. In contrast, loyalty and obedience represent communal characteristics with emphasis on interdependence and relationships. We develop our predictions for four discretionary behaviors (altruism, advocacy participation, obedience, and loyalty) below.

Altruism. In the workplace, altruism is defined as "(dis)cretionary behaviors that have the effect of helping a specific other person with an organizationally relevant task or

problem" (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990, p. 115). Research on male and female differences in altruism has shown inconsistent findings. Four studies which used sex as a control reported no differences among men and women in altruism within organizations (Morrison, 1994; Organ & Konovsky, 1989; Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983; Van Dyne & LePine, 1998). At the same time, several meta-analytic studies demonstrated differences in altruism behaviors based on sex. For example, Eagly and Crowley (1986) reported that men are somewhat more likely than women to perform helping-types of behavior associated with short-term interactions and non-routine rescuing behavior. Eagly and Wood (1991) considered these helping behaviors chivalrous and consistent with assertive, agentic qualities. They also observed that women were the typical recipient of this type of helping behavior. In contrast, Belansky and Boggiano (1994) demonstrated that women exhibited more helping in social settings (such as helping related to long-term friendships and concern for others) than men. We note that these contrasting findings involve two different types of helping: task-oriented, agentic helping versus interpersonally-oriented communal or ongoing helping. In our research, we focused on task-oriented helping that occurs in the workplace. In most workplace environments, employee behavior is primarily a function of work roles. Although individuals may develop friendships and interpersonal relationships with others at work, these are secondary and, as such, should be less salient than task roles in influencing overall behavior.

We thus expected men to engage in more task-oriented helping than women in the workplace. Thus, we hypothesized that:

H1: Men will exhibit more altruism organizational citizenship behavior at work than women.

Advocacy Participation. Van Dyne et al. (1994, p. 780) defined advocacy participation as "behaviors targeted at other members of an organization and reflecting a willingness to be controversial, such as innovation, maintaining high standards, challenging others, and making suggestions for change." They theorized that individuals who are more task-oriented, typically considered characteristic of men as demonstrated by Anderson and Blanchard (1982), are more likely to exhibit challenging types of extra-role behavior. Consistent with this, Van Dyne and LePine (1998) demonstrated sex differences in voice behavior. [Voice behavior is equivalent to advocacy participation. It is defined as "...behaviors targeted at other members of an organization and reflecting a willingness to be controversial" in expressing opinions or suggesting innovations (Van Dyne, Graham, and Dienesch, 1994). Basically, voice behavior is voicing your opinions on the job, making suggestions for change to improve processes.] Three sources of data (self-report, peer-report, and supervisor-report) demonstrated that men exhibited more voice behavior than women at work.

A second theoretical perspective also supports predictions that men are generally more challenging than women. In her paper about the last-

ing existence of the "glass ceiling," Gutek (1995, p. 24) argued many perceive males as superior to females, creating a situation in which women "...expect less, initiate less, over-evaluate high-status people, under-evaluate themselves, and feel less entitled relative to high-status people." Similarly, Major (1987) and Tannen (1990) observed that women perform less initiating behavior than men in organizations. Eagly and Steffen (1986) demonstrated that men are more aggressively harmful than women in social situations. Based on the above theory and research, we expected females would be less likely to challenge existing policies and procedures. We also expected men would be more likely than women to perform challenging behaviors in the workplace such as advocacy participation. Thus, we hypothesized that:

H2: Men will exhibit more advocacy participation organizational citizenship behavior at work than women.

Obedience. Obedience "represents respect for the rules and policies of an organization and willingness to expend appropriate effort on its behalf" (Van Dyne et al., 1994, p. 780). Although we found no prior research that directly examined male and female differences in obedience, a number of studies address related issues. For example, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) argued that women were more likely than men to conform in group settings. Eagly and Carli (1981) found that women were more likely than men to agree with other people. Similarly, Anderson and Blanchard (1982)

found that women were more likely than men to agree with other group members, whereas men are more likely than women to focus on task-oriented behavior within the group. Agreement with others is one way to demonstrate support for group processes and to maintain group harmony (Eagly & Wood, 1991). Overall, we suggest that women may be more likely than men to express agreement with other group members, comply with group norms, support organizational policies and procedures, and conform to role expectations. Thus, we hypothesized that:

H3: Women will exhibit more obedience organizational citizenship behavior at work than men.

Loyalty. Loyalty is defined as "allegiance to an organization and promotion of its interests" (Van Dyne et al., 1994, p. 780). To date, there are no empirical studies which assess male and female differences in loyalty. At the same time, a number of research perspectives suggest that women will show more loyalty behavior than men. For example, the view of women as more communal suggests that they are more concerned than men with building and maintaining personal relationships (Eagly & Wood, 1991). Similarly, Heilman (1995) argued that women are more affiliative and nurturing than men. Maintenance activities, such as caring for others, demonstrate commitment and loyalty as well as a willingness to invest in an ongoing relationship. Looking at the other end of the loyalty continuum (low loyalty), Eagly and Steffen (1986) illustrated the general reluctance of women to exhibit aggressive

behavior and harm relationships. In other words, women hesitate to damage existing relationships for personal gain and put the needs of others above their own. Based on these arguments, we hypothesized that:

H4: Women will exhibit more loyalty organizational citizenship behavior at work than men.

Tenure. In her 1995 review of research on differences in males and females, Eagly noted that much of the early research focused on main effect differences and failed to examine potential moderators. When research findings are inconsistent, examination of potential interaction effects can enrich understanding of the phenomenon. We wondered if differences in tenure (the length of time that an individual has been associated with the organization) might be one reason for inconsistent past findings regarding the frequency with which males and females engage in behaviors that are similar to organizational citizenship. It is possible that the differences we have predicted in our first four hypotheses, based on social role theory, may dissipate over time. For example, assigned work roles may become more salient than adherence to traditional sex-role expectations as individuals develop a better understanding of organizational practices and routines as well as a better idea of their own role within the organizational system (March & Simon, 1958). We expected that increased tenure in the organization would influence the quality of an individual's relationships in the organization (Hall, Schneider, & Nygren, 1970) and that this would influence their behavior

at work. Specifically, increased tenure may provide individuals with a sense of freedom and security that allows them to experiment with a more diverse set of behaviors. If so, this may result in fewer differences in the discretionary behavior of males and females as employees gain organizational experience. In other words, tenure may eliminate or minimize traditional sex-based differences in behavior.

Based on this reasoning, we hypothesized that tenure may moderate the relation between sex and our four types of organizational citizenship behavior. Longer tenure may result in perceptions of job security which, in turn, expand an individual's range of organizational citizenship behaviors. When men and women feel more comfortable at work, they may perform behaviors that are inconsistent with traditional roles and stereotypes. Thus, over time, men and women may be more willing to engage in behaviors more typically associated with the opposite sex. Accordingly, the relationships that we predicted in hypotheses one through four should become weaker as employee organizational tenure increases. Given this logic, we hypothesized that sex and employee tenure would interact (see Figures 1 and 2) such that the link between sex and organizational citizenship will be weaker for employees with long tenure. In other words, females with more tenure will perform more traditionally male citizenship behaviors (altruism and advocacy participation) than females with less tenure, and males with more tenure will perform more traditionally female citizenship behaviors (loyalty and obedience) than males with less tenure.

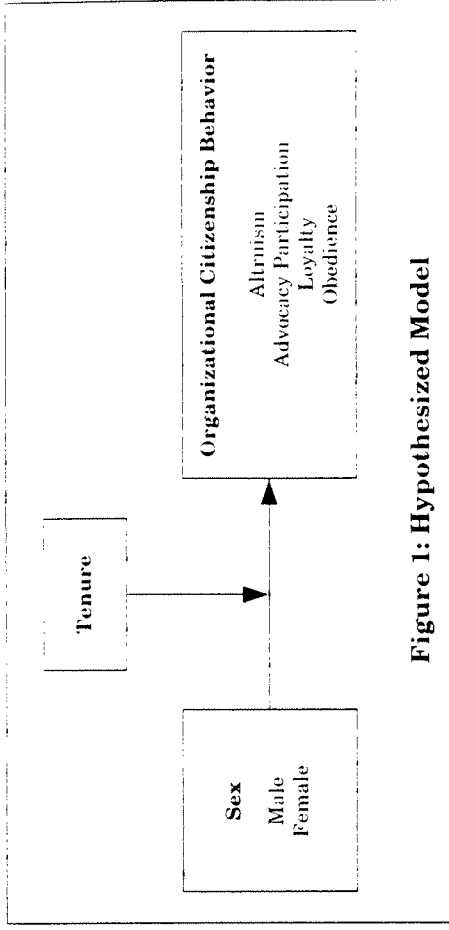


Figure 1: Hypothesized Model

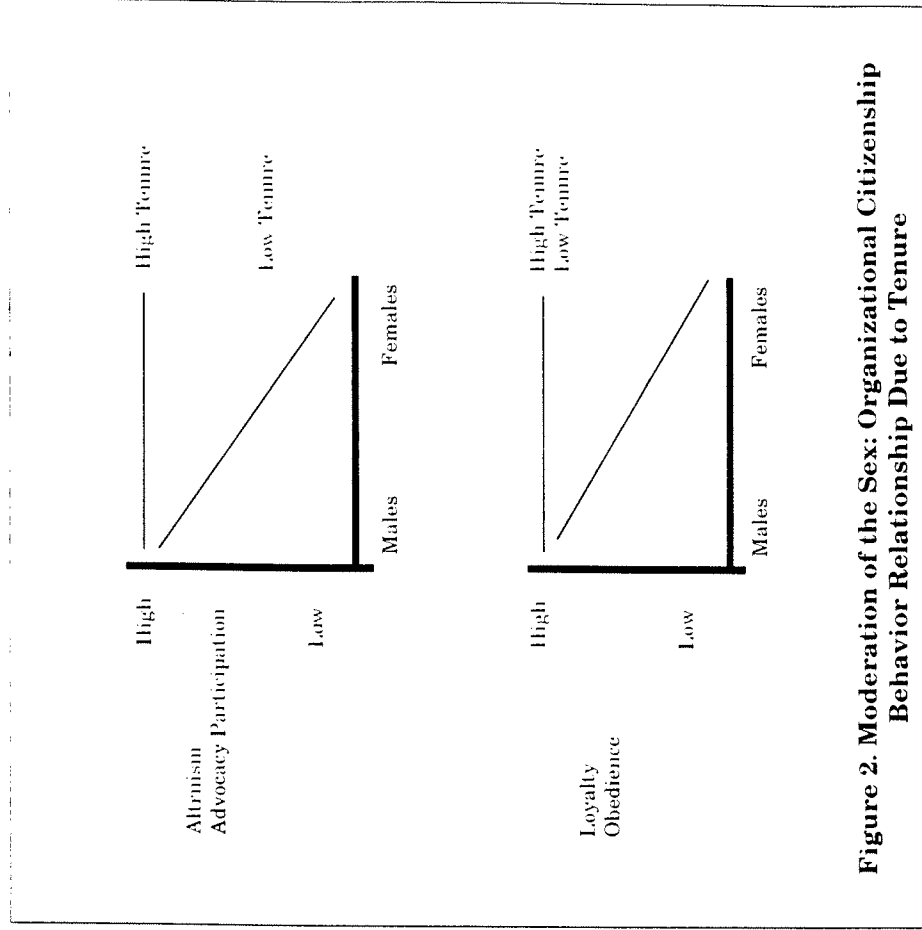


Figure 2. Moderation of the Sex: Organizational Citizenship Behavior Relationship Due to Tenure

H5: For individuals with high tenure, the relationship between sex and altruism organizational citizenship will be weaker than for those with low tenure.

H6: For individuals with high tenure, the relationship between sex and advocacy participation organizational citizenship will be weaker than for those with low tenure.

H7: For individuals with high tenure, the relationship between sex and loyalty organizational citizenship will be weaker than for those with low tenure.

H8: For individuals with high tenure, the relationship between sex and obedience organizational citizenship will be weaker than for those with low tenure.

Method

Setting. Our sample consisted of 257 restaurant workers from six different organizations in the Midwest. We chose to study restaurants because the service sector of the economy is growing rapidly, and a large number of women work in service sector jobs (Meisenheimer, 1998; Nollen & Axel, 1995). In addition, the service sector has often been overlooked by organizational behavior researchers relative to studies that have been done in office and manufacturing settings. Also, jobs that involve serving others emphasize traditional female behaviors involving caretaking and require interpersonal skills. High-performing restaurant employees are typically open, friendly, and emotionally expressive. These communal attributes are consistent with stereotypical female behaviors and roles. We anticipated that selecting service

sector jobs such as these would enhance the contrast between the organizational citizenship behaviors of male and female employees at work.

Procedure. We approached ten restaurant managers via phone and site meetings, and six agreed to participate in the study. The first author conducted group meetings where employees who had worked for the organization for at least one month completed a questionnaire that included demographic information as well as questions that were part of a larger study on employee attitudes. Employee supervisors completed questionnaires which were distributed and collected personally by the first author. Both employees and their supervisors were told that they could withdraw from the study at any time. They were also assured that their responses would be confidential and would in no way be communicated to the organization.

Respondents. Approximately 350 employees were eligible to participate in the study. Sixty-six were not present during data collection due to scheduling conflicts, 20 employees chose not to participate, two individuals terminated their employment during the time of this study, and five individuals were not rated by their supervisors and thus had to be eliminated from the study. This resulted in a response rate of 74%. Participants were 88% White and 75% female. On average, they were 23 years old and had been employed by their organizations for 12 months.

Variables. The supervisor rated each participant's organizational citizenship behavior for the previous three months. We assessed altruism with the Podsakoff, MacKenzie,

Moorman, and Fetter (1990) 5-item scale. Cronbach's alpha (Cohen, 1988) was .91. We assessed the remaining three types of organizational citizenship behavior with scales developed and validated by Van Dyne, Graham, and Dienesch (1994). These included 8 items for advocacy participation (Cronbach's alpha = .85), 6 items for loyalty (Cronbach's alpha = .82), and 10 items for obedience (Cronbach's alpha = .89). Sex was measured with a dichotomous self-report variable (0 = male, 1 = female), and tenure was a self-reported, continuous variable measured by the number of months worked for the organization.

Analysis. Hypotheses 1-4 were tested with *t*-tests to determine if there were significant differences in the organizational citizenship behavior of men and women. Hypotheses 5-8 were tested using moderated regression analysis (Cohen &

Cohen, 1983). We used one-tailed tests because all hypotheses were directional.

Results

Table 1 reports descriptive statistics, correlations, and Cronbach's coefficient alpha.

Results failed to support Hypotheses 1 and 2. Contrary to expectations, women performed more altruistic organizational citizenship behavior than men ($t = 1.98, p < .01; 3.76, 3.54$), and there were no differences between men and women in their level of advocacy participation ($t = .63, p > .05; 3.15, 3.10$). Results supported Hypotheses 3 and 4. As expected, women exhibited more loyalty ($t = 2.37, p < .01; 3.36, 3.10$) and obedience than men ($t = 3.13, p < .001; 3.50, 3.19$).

Results for Hypotheses 5-8 are summarized in Table 2 and demonstrate two significant interactions

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Gender ¹	.75	.44	—					
2. Tenure	32.85	59.74	.18 [†]	—				
3. Altruism	3.71	.79	.13 [†]	.13 [†]	—			
4. Advocacy Participation	3.14	.66	.04	.22 ^{††}	.31 ^{††}	—		
5. Loyalty	3.30	.71	.16 [†]	.29 ^{††}	.67 ^{††}	.61 ^{††}	—	
6. Obedience	3.43	.72	.19 ^{††}	.30 ^{††}	.64 ^{††}	.60 ^{††}	.60 ^{††}	—

^{††} $p \leq .01$
[†] $p \leq .05$

Numbers in parentheses are coefficient alphas.
¹ 0=Male, 1=Female

Tenure influenced the relationship between sex and altruism (Hypothesis 5: $\Delta F=2.76, p<.05$) as well as between sex and advocacy participation (Hypothesis 6: $\Delta F=2.79, p<.05$). Tenure, however, did not influence the relationships between sex and loyalty (Hypothesis 7: ($\Delta F=.91, p>.05$) and between sex and obedience (Hypothesis 8: ($\Delta F=.93, p>.05$). We plotted the two moderated relationships based on median splits to illustrate the form of the interactions (see Figure 2). Contrary to expectations, tenure strengthened rather than weakened the relationship between sex and these two forms of

organizational citizenship (altruism and advocacy participation). Specifically, for individuals with low tenure, there was no difference between men and women in altruism or advocacy participation organizational citizenship behavior. However, for individuals who had been employed by their work organizations for more than one year (high tenure in this sample), women engaged in more altruism and more advocacy participation than men (see Figure 3).

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that differences in some forms of or-

Table 2
Moderated Regression Results

A. Altruism		IV	BETA	ΔF	R^2	ΔR^2
STEP	1	Gender ¹	.07	13.98***	.10	.10
	2	Tenure	.30***			
		Gender x Tenure	-.63*	2.76*	.11	.01
Overall F		10.31***		Adj. R ²	.10	
B. Advocacy Participation		IV	BETA	ΔF	R^2	ΔR^2
STEP	1	Gender	-.01	6.53**	.05	.05
	2	Tenure	.23***			
		Gender x Tenure	-.65*	2.79*	.06	.01
Overall F		5.31**		Adj. R ²	.05	
C. Loyalty		IV	BETA	ΔF	R^2	ΔR^2
STEP	1	Gender	.10*	12.87***	.09	.09
	2	Tenure	.27***			
		Gender x Tenure	-.37	.92	.10	.003
Overall F		8.89***		Adj. R ²	.09	
D. Obedience		IV	BETA	ΔF	R^2	ΔR^2
STEP	1	Gender	.14**	15.03***	.11	.11
	2	Tenure	.28***			
		Gender x Tenure	-.37	.93	.11	.003
Overall F		10.33***		Adj. R ²	.10	

*** $p \leq .001$
 ** $p \leq .01$
 * $p \leq .05$
 1 0=Male, 1=Female

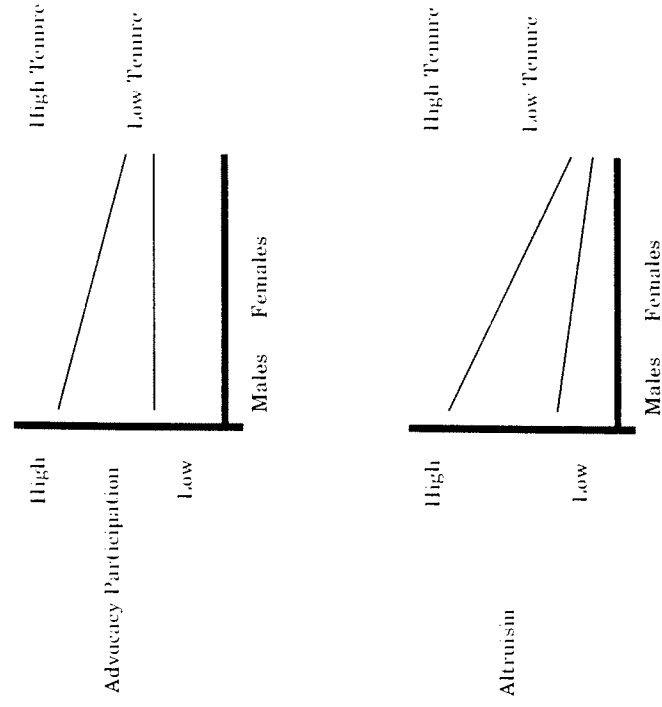


Figure 3: Actual Moderation of the Sex: Organizational Citizenship Behavior Relationship Due to Tenure

ganizational citizenship behavior based on sex and that these differences sometimes increase with organizational tenure. Overall, in this particular sample, women were more likely than men to exhibit discretionary work behaviors that lie outside of standard job expectations. Specifically, women engaged in more altruism, loyalty, and obedience than men.

We speculate that the predominance of women in the jobs included in the study (75%

female) may have contributed to these findings. In a recent review of the sex diversity literature, Williams and O'Reilly (1998) noted that the effects of the relative proportion of males and females at work most likely differ for males and females. For example, Wharton and Baron (1987) demonstrated that males have more negative reactions to mixed work groups than females, and Tsui, Egan, and O'Reilly (1992) demonstrated that being in a minority role was more negative for men than for women. In the current study, the high proportion of women in our sample may have enhanced female willingness to engage in organizational citizenship behaviors while at the same time decreased these behaviors for males. Women may have felt comfortable engaging in discretionary behaviors

above-and-beyond traditional job duties because most of their co-workers were women. In each of the six restaurant establishments included in the study, females constituted the majority of employees. Thus, women in this study may not have felt sex-based discrimination in hiring or other work decisions. Being in the majority may have enhanced their comfort levels and facilitated their engagement in task-related helping as well as loyalty and obedience.

This is an interesting issue for future research.

An unexpected finding of the study is the lack of a difference between men and women in advocacy participation. We did not expect this based on social role theory, which would support a prediction that men should voice more controversial opinions and be more willing to challenge the norms because these behaviors are agentic in nature. In the sample we studied, men and women exhibited equal amounts of agentic qualities relative to voicing their opinions at work (advocacy participation). Thus, even though the sample was dominated by females, and despite exhibiting more altruism, loyalty, and obedience than men, women did not uniformly perform more of all types of organizational citizenship behaviors.

The high proportion of women in our sample may have enhanced female willingness to engage in organizational citizenship behaviors while at the same time decreased these behaviors for males.

iors. We speculate that even though a majority of the workers in the companies were women, they still felt somewhat uncomfortable with advocacy participation and hesitated to express their opinions. This is consistent with social role theory and traditional stereotypes for male and female roles.

Another possible explanation for the lack of difference between men and women in advocacy participation is that even though males were in the minority, they still felt comfortable expressing their ideas and challenging norms. There may be two reasons for this: traditional social role expectations are that men will behave in this manner, and the fact that the general managers of the restaurants were all men. This may have created a comfort zone in which men could express their opinions and ideas. Consistent with traditional roles, women in this sample may have felt somewhat uncomfortable voicing their opinions to male superiors.

Finally, the finding that tenure accentuated the difference between men and women's altruism and advocacy participation organizational citizenship behavior gives us greater understanding of the relationship between gender and citizenship behavior. In both instances, tenure enhanced women's willingness to exhibit these behaviors. We suggest that with longer tenure, women became more comfortable in their work roles and consequently were more willing to display behavior that is inconsistent with traditional sex-role expectations. Specifically, when men and women are first hired, it takes time to learn organizational routines and expectations. We suggest that while they focus on mastering organizational roles, women are

less likely to exhibit behavior that is not consistent with traditional roles. Over time, however, they expand the set of discretionary behaviors in which they engage and more frequently exhibit traditionally male behaviors such as task-oriented helping and advocacy participation.

Implications. There are two major implications of the current findings. First, employees may be more likely to voice opinions and make innovative suggestions when they hold jobs that are congruent with the skills honed by their traditional sex roles. This may be the result of their comfort level and knowledge base. Specifically, women may be more likely to exhibit advocacy participation in relation to job tasks that require communal qualities such as nurturing (e.g., nursing, teaching) and caring for others (e.g., retail or food sales), whereas men may be more likely to voice opinions about agentic tasks such as operational or budgetary issues.

Secondly, tenure effects on the relationship between sex and both altruism and advocacy participation illustrate the advantage managers may gain from fostering long-term relationships with employees, especially women. At a time when employee/employer attachment seems to be waning, the finding that women are more likely to have higher levels of altruism and voice behaviors after a year of employment supports a reversal in this trend. In other words, companies that promote long-term employment may also facilitate employee involvement in the organization. This employee involvement may take the form of extra-role behavior, resulting in cooperation among coworkers and expression of

new ideas. Overall, the higher incidence of these behaviors may improve the organizational climate and lead to a more satisfied, effective workforce and competitive advantage over rival organizations.

Strengths and Weaknesses. The current study has several strengths, as well as weaknesses, that need to be addressed. There are three main strengths: basing the investigation on a widely-known theory, using a seldom-investigated sample, and assessing four different citizenship behaviors. First, we used social role theory (Eagly, 1987) to develop the theoretical foundation for our hypotheses. This is important because although some prior research reported results of sex and organizational citizenship, we are aware of no prior research that specifically developed predictions for differences based on sex. Social role theory suggests one set of explanations that can enhance the understanding of researchers and managers for why these behavioral differences occur in the workplace. Second, we focused on service sector employees (restaurant workers) instead of manufacturing or office employees. Although approximately 20% of the U.S. workforce consists of service workers and the number of service jobs is expanding rapidly (Lorence, 1992; Meisenhe-

imer, 1998; Nollen & Axcl, 1995), there is an inadequate amount of research on this sector of the economy. In addition, women hold a majority of these service positions, with 48% of all women working in some type of service occupation (Polivka, 1996). Third, we examined four different types of organizational citizenship behavior and hypothesized differences across types of citizenship behavior. This is important because, as our results demonstrate, the behaviors are not performed equally by males and females and are influenced differentially by tenure in the organization.

We note two weaknesses in the present study that may influence its generalizability. First, although our respondents were employees, the average participant was quite young (mean age = 23). Thus, our results may not be representative of other service-type industries, such as retail establishments or hospitals, where the labor force may be more mature. We note, however, that the absolute level of organizational citizenship behavior reported for our respondents was comparable to that reported in prior research. For example, Van Dyne et al. (1994) reported mean scores of 4.6 to 5.6 (out of 7), which is similar to our results with mean scores of 3.1 to 3.7 (out of 5). A second area of concern is the fact that

the sample is predominantly female. Most likely, our results may not generalize to other samples with a more balanced split between males and females or to samples that are predominantly male. Perhaps, in jobs that are held primarily by males, tenure enhances the willingness of men to perform behaviors that are more characteristically associated with traditional female roles.

Future Research. Our results suggest several ideas for future research: examining differences in male and female behavior in other types of jobs and industries; investigating other boundary conditions (moderators) of the sex/organizational citizenship behavior relationship; and studying the processes that explain why (mediators) the organizational citizenship behavior of men and women differs.

Future research should attempt to replicate these results in another sample and should also examine non-service jobs and other positions within the service sector. Before any strong practical recommendations can be made to managers regarding sex and organizational citizenship behavior, other research should assess the generalizability of our results. For example, would other samples where jobs are held primarily by females—perhaps professional jobs in the service sector such as nursing and teaching—produce similar results? Another interesting question for future research is whether results would be similar for jobs both in and outside of the service sector which are held primarily by males. In other words, our results may be unique to the restaurant industry and may not be consistent with employee behavior in a variety of settings.

The second area we recommend for future research is further examination of the boundary conditions for the sex/citizenship behavior relationship. We found effects for organizational tenure on the link between sex and some forms of organizational citizenship. An individual's level of education or amount of prior work experience may be other possible moderators of this relationship. Also, situational differences in the salience of male/female work expectations may change the impact of gender on citizenship behavior (Eagly & Wood, 1991). Specifically, characteristics of the work situation may eliminate or enhance behavioral differences that men and women exhibit while at work. For example, job demands which are consistent with traditional male roles may influence the willingness of men to engage in certain types of citizenship behavior (e.g., advocacy participation). A similar suggestion also applies to women in other jobs that are more consistent with traditional female roles. Research that compares employees in traditional versus non-traditional roles and settings would provide insight into these relations and situational factors.

Our third recommendation for future research focuses on the processes that cause males and females to exhibit different types of organizational citizenship. Two options would be to assess both cognitive processes and interpersonal processes at work. For example, do males and females view certain behaviors as more versus less discretionary? Another issue is the employee's level of perceived inclusion. Perceived inclusion, or the extent to which an employee perceives him- or herself to be an organi-

We view this research as a first step toward enhancing our understanding of the differences and similarities in the discretionary behavior of males and females at work.

zational insider, may explain possible gender differences in extra-role behavior because it acts as a proxy for an employee's feelings of being the target of discrimination or exclusion. For example, a woman who holds a job in a company which is predominantly female may perceive herself to be an insider in the organization. A man in the same organization may believe that he is an outsider. Their resulting sense of perceived inclusion then may influence their willingness to perform extra-role behaviors. Future research should examine these and other potential mediating processes.

Conclusion

In summary, we view this research as a first step toward enhancing our understanding of the differences and similarities in the discretionary behavior of males and females at work. We developed hypotheses predicting differences in four key organizational citizenship behaviors based on social role theory (Eagly, 1987). Results demonstrated that in our sample women exhibited more altruism, loyalty, and obedience than men. Results also demonstrated that women and men did not differ in their levels of advocacy participation, except when tenure was considered. When we included the effects of tenure, women with high tenure exhibited more of this type of citizenship behavior than men. In addition, tenure also enhanced the level of altruism exhibited by females in our sample. We recommend that future research further examine these sorts of differences in the organizational citizenship behavior of males and females at work.

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Making the Connection Between Formal Human Resource Diversity Practices and Organizational Effectiveness: Behind Management Fashion

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ABSTRACT

Formal human resource diversity programs have experienced rapid growth; yet research on how these initiatives influence organizational effectiveness remains insufficient. This research explores formal diversity programs' influence on organizational effectiveness using universalistic and contingency frameworks. Our findings show that universally, diversity practices strongly and negatively relate to turnover. Organizations with innovative strategies coupled with formal diversity practices had improved productivity and market performance supporting contingency notions. Future research should employ both the universalistic and contingency theories in combination for a more in-depth understanding of construct relationships.

The recent business trends of increasing workforce diversity have turned scholarly attention to the management of diversity. Managing intra-national diversity focuses on integrating cultural subgroups effectively within a given nation (Tung, 1993). Johnston and Packer (1987) identify the integration of minorities into the workforce as one of the greatest challenges facing American managers. For example, firms face a level of adaptation and transformation equal to that undergone when confronting deregulation or a major technological change (McEnrue, 1993). Managing diversity embraces an appreciation of demographic differences (Liff & Wajcman, 1996) by developing an organizational culture where all employees can self-actualize and show their full potential. The underlying rationale for diversity management is that prejudice, conflict, and miscommunication inhibit productivity, hinder the upward mobility and job satisfaction of women and minorities, and ultimately reduce firm performance (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994). The outcomes of such formal diversity practice should include 1) increased representation of women and minorities without causing organizational detachment from white males (e.g., as measured by lower overall turnover), and 2) enhanced creativity resulting from the integration of minority views into the organization's culture, ultimately fostering organizational effectiveness. We investigate whether or

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