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What's in a Name?
Job categorisation, relationship building, and work motivation in aid organisations

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Ishbel McWha

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Abstract

Aid organisations operating in lower-income regions around the world are often staffed by local and international employees working together toward the common goal of poverty reduction. These employees tend to come from diverse cultural, social, and economic backgrounds, and may be positioned at work by themselves and their colleagues into categories which reflect salient characteristics of these backgrounds. Such positioning may create barriers between workers, and thus adversely affect aid projects, including attempts to build capacity. The aims of this research are threefold: 1) to explore the way local and international aid workers are categorised by themselves and others within the context of aid organisations in lower-income settings; 2) to identify links between job categories and indicators of work motivation; and 3) to test if a job categorisation-work motivation linkage is mediated by workplace *relationships*. To this end two studies were conceptualised and undertaken, the first qualitatively exploring job categorisation and work relationships from the perspectives of aid workers themselves, and the second quantitatively testing the hypothesised linkages.

Study I undertook a thematic analysis of interviews with a cross-section of 17 local and international aid workers in Cambodia. Content analyses indicated that local and international workers are positioned by themselves and each other within a hierarchy of job categories: 'expatriate', 'consultant', 'volunteer' and 'local'. These categories are in turn underpinned by power and status, and reflective of relative pay and benefits. Using the interview data as a basis, the Aid Relationships Quality Scale (ARQS) was developed and checked for reliability and validity. The ARQS factor analysed into three reliable factors: 1) 'relationships with expatriates', 2) 'relationships with locals', and 3) 'learning from expatriates and locals'.

In Study II a total of N = 1290 workers from 202 aid organisations in six different countries were administered the ARQS (factors 1-3 above) alongside seven additional indicators of work motivation: 4) pay comparison, 5) self-assessed ability, 6) pay justice, 7) de-motivation due to pay, 8) turnover cognitions, 9) thinking about international mobility, and 10) job satisfaction/work engagement. In line with MacLachlan & Carr's (2005) Model of Double De-motivation, in comparison with their 'expatriate' counterparts, 'local' workers compared their pay and benefits significantly more ($p \leq .001$), experienced significantly more feelings of pay injustice ($p \leq .001$) and de-motivation ($p \leq .001$), and thought more about turning over ($p \leq .001$).

A key finding of Study II is the central role played by relationships in work motivation. Multilevel regression modelling found that 'relationships with expatriates' partially mediated the links between job categorisation and 1) pay justice, 2) de-motivation, and 3) turnover. Further, 'relationships with locals' partially mediated a link between job categorisation and pay comparison. A combination of both 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals' fully mediated the links between job categorisation and 1) job satisfaction/work engagement, and 2) learning. A revision and extension of the Model of Double De-motivation is proposed based on these findings.

Ultimately the results of this thesis provide the first systematic evidence for the vital role of relationships between both local and expatriate workers in tempering the negative impact of inequity between workers, and ultimately perhaps in the success of aid initiatives, including capacity development. A crucial moderating role was found for organisations, suggesting a key role for organisational policies, culture and climate which encourage relationships and challenge existing social hierarchies. Finally and critically, this research listens to the voice of the local worker, and in doing so provides critical insights into the environment in which aid is delivered, and ultimately facilitates *alignment* with the needs of lower-income nations themselves.

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Publications & Presentations

Publications and presentations authored/co-authored by Ishbel McWha while undertaking her PhD research at Massey University, as of 9 December, 2010.

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- Carr, S.C., McWha, I., MacLachlan, M., & Furnham, A. (Eds.). (2010). *International Journal of Psychology: Special Section on Psychology and Poverty Reduction*.
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- **International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP) Melbourne, Australia, July 2010**

- Symposium Chair [by invitation]: *Organisational psychology confronts world poverty* (with Michael Frese, Stuart Carr, Elias Mpofu, Douglas Maynard, Walter Reichman)
- Symposium Chair [by invitation]: *Employee health and organisational health: A reciprocal relationship* (with Walter Reichman, Esther R. Greenglass, Kirsten Way, Garry Hall and Erica Frydenberg)
- Invited Panel: *Official Launch – A global special issue on psychology and poverty reduction: Accelerating input from the entire field of applied psychology* (with Ajit Dalal, Elias Mpofu, Winnifred Louis, David Fryer, Cathy McCormack, Graham Davidson, Leo Marai, Chris Burt, Charles Waldegrave, and Stuart Carr)

- **Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP) Annual Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, USA, 9 April 2010**

- Symposium [peer reviewed]: *Understanding Humanitarian Work Psychology through case studies and student opportunities* (with Sarah Glavey, Karen Cheng, Jeff Godbout, & Lori Foster Thompson)

- **Institute of Social Psychology, London School of Economics, 18 May 2009**

- Seminar [by invitation]: *Organisational psychology and poverty reduction: Do aid worker salaries undermine international development work?*

- **14th European Congress or Work and Organizational Psychology (EAWOP) Annual Conference, Santiago de Compostella, Spain, 15 May 2009**

- Poster presentation [peer reviewed]: *Job categorisation, relationship building and work engagement in aid organisations*.

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Chapter 1

Background to the Research

> *"some expats they are proud with themselves […] they look to us such like we know nothing about things or something like that and after that our relationship become bad, become worse and worse"*
>
> - Local worker (permanent)

> *"I think that just by being foreign you get this either fear or people don't like you sometimes, like resentment, or just that people are afraid of you, afraid to talk to you for some reason. I don't know if it's that they think that you're higher ranking, or you're going to get them in trouble, or just they don't want to"*
>
> - Expatriate worker (consultant)

Addressing global poverty through development assistance has received increased global attention since the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) were agreed upon in the year 2000 (UN, 2002). The MDGs marked an important historical milestone whereby nation-states and international organisations agreed to work together to reduce global poverty by the year 2015. Support for the eight goals, and a focus on improving the effectiveness of aid, was proposed in the Paris Declaration in 2005, and reiterated in Accra in 2008 at the Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. Through the Paris Declaration, five mutually reinforcing principles were agreed upon to improve aid effectiveness (OECD-DAC, 2006; OECD, 2009). These principles focus on prioritising aid according to the needs of lower income nations (principles of 'ownership' and 'alignment') and improving the efficiency and effectiveness of aid through coordination and transparency (principles of 'harmonisation', 'managing for results', and 'mutual accountability'). This thesis explores the psychological importance of these principles for relationships within aid organisations themselves, in particular the principles of ownership and alignment.

A common form of development assistance is for donors to bring international workers to work in local and international NGOs in developing countries. This provision of personnel and training is referred to as 'technical cooperation'. In recent years, the concept of 'capacity development' has emerged from the technical

cooperation literature, and has become an important focus of much development assistance itself (OECD, 2006). Capacity development extends technical cooperation by recognising that 'institution-building' and 'strengthening' may not be sufficient for development, but that fostering local "capacity" is also needed (Morgan, 1999). Initially focusing on skills and knowledge transfer from the international expert to the local staff member at an individual level, after the Paris Declaration was signed it was recognised that it is also essential to examine the organisations within which individuals work, and the external environment within which both individuals and organisations exist (OECD-DAC, 2006). Capacity development, therefore, is multi-level, ranging from worker capability to the capacity of their workplace to enable and promote it.

As a concept, capacity development is linked to empowerment and social justice and a lack of capacity is often rooted in inequity and unequal power relationships (Morgan, 1999). While the process of capacity development inherently aims to address issues around justice and empowerment, the environment within which capacity development occurs must also be supportive of these aims. Missika-Wierzba and Nelson (2006) have argued that capacity development initiatives have been impeded by a lack of research attention to the impact of environmental factors on capacity development success. Such factors might include, for example, elements of organisational structures, policies, climate and culture. This research aims to take a small step in that direction, by exploring the impact of one such environmental factor: the groups into which workers are categorised by themselves and others.

From April 2006 until April 2007, I worked for an NGO in Cambodia as the Programme Advisor. This role primarily involved "capacity development" of the local staff, with a particular focus on project management and organisational development. I spent much of my time observing workers, their capacity, and the ways in which capacity could best be enhanced. On the basis of my observations and through interacting with my local and expatriate colleagues it seemed that building positive relationships between workers was essential for the success of capacity development. Yet, throughout this time, I observed that both at work and socially, aid workers tended to group themselves with similar others (volunteers with volunteers, expatriates with expatriates, locals with locals) and that people tended to define themselves (and to be defined by others) in terms of their group membership. Those group boundaries seemed to act like barriers rather than learning bridges. Hence, the groups that aid workers

belonged to may actually have been inhibiting rather than promoting capacity development.

Using the lens of I/O psychology this research examines the categories of workers which exist within the aid system, and explores whether the positioning of workers into these categories (by oneself and/or by others) potentially constrains or supports development initiatives in aid organisations. To do this I examine the impact of categorisation on the relationships between workers, and ultimately on indicators of work motivation. Looking *in*side aid organisations and exploring how people relate to each can provide important information about cooperation, and ultimately a better understanding of how aid initiatives can be improved.

In Chapter 2 I review relevant literature from the fields of I/O psychology, social psychology, and international development to provide a backdrop from which the interactions between local and international workers can be further explored. The research is conceptualised in two stages, with the second (quantitative) stage building on the (qualitative) first. Chapter 3 discusses the findings of the first study, which was designed to be highly exploratory in nature, in order to gauge whether my own experience and observations while working in Cambodia was typical of what other aid workers (both local and international) experienced and observed. Study I was undertaken in Cambodia and comprised of interviews with a cross-section of local and international aid workers in the field about their experiences of capacity development initiatives, the categorisation of workers, and relationship building between colleagues. Thematic analysis was used to uncover the salient worker categories within the Cambodian aid context, and to identify the key dimensions of relationships between workers, as discussed by the workers themselves.

Chapter 4 outlines the method utilised in Study II, and Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss the analyses and results undertaken in this quantitative study, which was undertaken across six lower-income countries. In Study II the results of Study I were used to generate items for the Aid Relationships Quality Scale (ARQS), the development of which is presented in Chapter 5, alongside tests of its validity and reliability.

The ARQS was then administered to aid workers alongside attitudinal measures of work motivation, as part of an international research project within Massey University's School of Psychology. Analyses of Covariance were used to test for job category differences across both relationships and work motivation, in order to

psychometrically explore the relevance of job categorisation, and the links between categorisation and work motivation. These results are presented in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 contains results of Multilevel Regression Modelling which tested whether quality of relationships plays a role in statistically mediating the linkages between job categorisation and work motivation variables. An integrated discussion of the findings is included in Chapter 8, with discussion of the contributions made by this research to current theory.

Chapter 2

Critical Literature Review

Industrial and Organisational (I/O) psychology has traditionally focused on increasing the productivity of organisations, whilst ensuring physically and psychologically productive and healthy lives for their workers (Lefkowitz, 2008). As a profession, however, I/O psychology has been relatively absent within organisations focused on poverty reduction, even though these organisations, including those located in "developing" countries, face many of the same issues as organisations in the corporate sector (Carr, et al., 2008; Sinha, 1984). All sectors of society, and the organisations within them, are integral to poverty reduction, including government, business, education, and aid (Sen, 1999). Such organisations are complex, often recruiting workers from varied social, cultural and economic backgrounds (Kealey, 1989). Additionally, international workers are often brought to developing countries to work with local workers with the explicit role of increasing the capacity of local staff (Eade, 1997). The interactions between these diverse workers may be of key importance to the success of aid initiatives (Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007).

In this thesis I will argue, from an I/O Psychology perspective, that the task of poverty reduction depends on the quality of the relationships between workers. I will examine the relationships between local and international workers, and explore the potential importance of these relationships on poverty reduction initiatives. To do this I explore three key concepts and the interactions between them, as described in Figure 2.1. I will explore the impact of job categorisation (membership of a work group based on informal job titles) on indicators of work motivation ('self-assessed ability', 'pay comparison', 'pay justice', 'de-motivation due to pay', 'turnover cognitions', 'thinking about international mobility', 'job satisfaction' and 'work engagement'), and the potential mediating role played by work relationships.

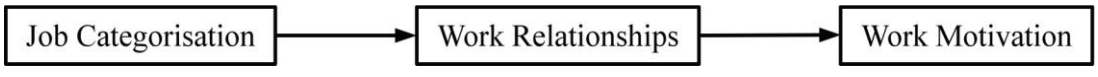

Figure 2.1. Proposed linkages between job categorisation, work relationships and indicators of work motivation.

In this chapter, I will review each of the above concepts and associated literature, within the context of international aid. I begin by introducing a range of theories which give some insight into the processes through which groups are formed in the workplace, and workers categorised and/or positioned within them; I call this process "job categorisation". I then explore the nature of work relationships in the aid context, examining how relationships may link with issues of power and capacity development. Using organisational justice theory I highlight the importance of justice within the aid context, and the role justice might play in *relationships* between aid workers. Finally, I explore a key source of workplace injustice within many aid organisations, differences in worker salaries, and review research into the impact of salary differences on work motivation variables. The existing model of these pay differences - MacLachlan & Carr's (2005) Model of Double De-motivation - is critically appraised in the light of my findings. These findings argue that work relationships are 1) a vital but previously unrecognised variable that 2) intervenes between job category on one hand and work motivation on the other.

2.1 JOB CATEGORISATION

Within the everyday work context human resource managers often use formal job titles as a tool (among other things) to legitimise the different salaries offered to different workers, for example 'senior managers' are paid more than 'managers', who in turn earn more than 'assistant managers' (J. N. Baron & Pfeffer, 1994; Chryssochoou, 2004). As such, formal job titles can create and reinforce differentiation between workers and provide an indication of where workers fit in relation to each other, while providing a structure that enables and motivates workers to 'move up the ranks'.

What happens, however, when *informal* job titles reflect the characteristics of particular workers, such as their country of origin as in 'expatriate' versus 'local', or their job role as in 'consultant' versus 'volunteer', and these different names are backed up by formal differences in remuneration, such as a 'dual salary' system where expatriate and local workers are paid according to different salary scales? What is the impact on individual workers of jobs being categorised and positioned in the hierarchy in this way? And what are the implications for relationships between those workers?

In this section I discuss a broad range of theories of intra- and intergroup relations in order to argue that informal job titles will lead to social divisions within aid

organisations, and that groups will form as a result. I will briefly discuss five interrelated theories, which suggest that individuals compare themselves with those around them in order to gauge their comparative worth (social comparison theory), and as a result of the comparison form psychological work groups based on perceived similarities and differences (social identity theory and self-categorisation theory). Individual choice around group membership may be limited by elements of history and context, however, meaning that individuals can be positioned by themselves and others within existent groups based on holding certain characteristics (social positioning theory). Once formed, groups create a structure, identity and subculture, and in the face of limited resources conflict with other groups can arise (realistic conflict theory). Group characteristics can further reinforce group boundaries and intergroup differences. The groups themselves exist inherently within a hierarchy (social dominance theory) which underpins all intergroup interactions.

2.1.1 Social Comparison Theory

Festinger's (1954) Social Comparison Theory argues that individuals are inherently driven to compare themselves with others in order to assess their own self-worth. The original theory focused only on the comparison of opinions and abilities as a means to assisting with self-evaluation, i.e. better gauging one's abilities by knowing how we compare to others. However, research since then has suggested that social comparison processes entail much more than opinions and abilities, and extend to other areas including personality (Wheeler, 1966), performance (Brown, 2000a), and equity and remuneration (MacLachlan & Carr, 2005; MacLachlan, Carr, & McAuliffe, 2010). Further, comparisons are not limited to those individuals who are similar to ourselves, but rather extend to comparisons with dissimilar others as well (Brown, 2000a). In many such comparisons, especially at work, the goal in social comparison is to 'out-perform' the other on some dimension, emerging as superior rather than inferior, and thereby boosting pride and sense of self-worth (Carr, 2004).

Within the aid context a first, and obvious, basis for inter-individual comparison is likely to be country of origin. For example, workers coming from overseas ('expatriates') may informally compare and contrast themselves with those originating from the host country ('locals'). Other comparisons between aid workers are likely, including on the basis of factors such as education, experience, age, personality, ability,

and culture, and given the salience of economic factors such as wealth and equity, comparisons of remuneration and opportunity are likely too.

Through social comparison, individuals obtain an assessment of the social position and status they hold compared with others (Festinger, 1954; D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). There is a flipside to comparison, however, in that while it enables individuals to find and maintain areas of positive distinctiveness for themselves (Festinger, 1954; Tajfel, 1978), it may also highlight differences and inequities between individuals, thus reinforcing divisions between workers, and potentially strengthening perceived group differences.

2.1.2 Social Identity Theory/Self Categorisation Theory

Social identity theory explores intergroup relations from the perspective of individuals as members of groups. According to the theory, individuals undertake social comparisons between their ingroup and other outgroups in order to achieve a positive and distinct *social identity* (D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Social identity is that identity which an individual derives from membership of a group, as opposed to individual achievement (Brown, 2000b; Carr, 2003b; Haslam, 2004). Early research into the theory by Henri Tajfel, known as the Minimal Group studies, suggested that the mere act of being categorised as belonging to a group is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination, as group members strive to attain positive social identity compared with other groups (Tajfel, 1978). The mere existence of informal job titles within the aid context, then, may automatically create divisions between workers.

Self-categorisation theory reflects an extension of social identity theory to include the mechanisms through which a particular social identity becomes salient in a given situation (Turner, 1987a, 1999). When individuals choose to self-categorise themselves within one category rather than another they make this choice based on the accessibility of that particular category and its 'fit' to the situation (Turner, 1987a). In a given situation, 'fit' is best when the 'meta-contrast ratio' is maximised, that is, when the mean difference *between* categories divided by the mean difference *within* categories is greatest (Moreland, Levine, & Cini, 1993; Turner, 1999). According to self-categorisation theory, then, individuals focus on self-categorising into a category in which members are most similar to themselves, and most different to other categories.

Within an aid context this might include categorising on the basis of salient socio-cultural, socio-political, and/or socio-economic differences.

How we choose to categorise ourselves and others can be deliberate, but may also occur automatically, and further, categorisation can occur even in the absence of interaction with other group members (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Individuals may therefore be categorised based on a characteristic salient to, and even primed by, the particular meta-contrasting context. Given the centrality of issues of poverty and wealth to everyday life in the aid context, one such salient characteristic might be money, and informal job titles, such as 'expatriate', 'local', 'volunteer', or 'consultant', which are reflective of *having* money (or not) may enhance the salience of this characteristic. Such informal job titles are what I term 'job categories', and I will argue that these terms, which are sometimes also used in formal job titles, provide a structure and shape to intergroup relations within the aid context.

The process of categorisation itself accentuates group differences, and highlights the similarities within groups. Individuals in social settings, including at work, tend to favour their ingroup over other outgroups, and to shift their attitudes and behaviour towards those in their ingroup and away from outgroup members (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam, Powell, & Turner, 2000; Huddy, 2004; Turner, 1991). Divisions between groups can be reinforced, and at the same time outgroups can be perceived as being more homogenous than they really are, providing a fertile ground for the emergence of stereotypes (Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992). Much of the rhetorical focus of aid work is on improving the status quo for those in lower-income settings through the development of both individual and institutional capacity, stereotypes on the other hand may undermine this focus, by functioning to justify and maintain the status quo (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

Not only can categorisation create divisions within the workplace, but by facilitating 'group-typical' behaviour it may also impact organisational outcomes including work performance (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000), motivation (Haslam, et al., 2000; van Knippenberg, 2000), and intergroup teamwork and collaboration. An early example of categorisation within an organisational context was undertaken by Brown (1978). This research exemplifies not only the divisive nature of categorisation but also the potential negative impact it can have for all involved. British factory workers were asked to propose a salary structure for three existing groups of workers in their current workplace. A significant majority of respondents configured

the salaries to ensure their ingroup salary was maximised compared to the other groups – even if this meant a lower absolute wage overall. During follow-up interviews with the workers Brown (1978) identified the reason for the salary configuration choices to be 'a question of status'; participants did what was necessary to maximise their ingroup's positive distinctiveness from the other groups and thus maximise their status within the workplace. Though care is needed generalising Brown's findings from a UK factory to contemporary aid settings, when tentatively applied to the context of an aid organisation, they have worrying implications for the success of aid work, including transfer of skills and building capacity, much of which I will demonstrate below is logically predicated on positive working relationships between local and international workers.

Developing a shared identity which incorporates positive elements of both groups may be one method for overcoming the divisions and ingroup favouritism which result from categorisation (Hennessy & West, 1999; Toh & DeNisi, 2007). Within aid organisations, where international and local employees tend to be drawn from considerably different cultural and economic backgrounds, developing a shared identity could include developing an identity as an 'aid worker', or focusing on developing an overarching organisational identity. Elements of organisational structure, however, may perpetuate group divisions, through dividing workers according to their job title, or country of origin, or through organisational policies such as a dual salary, whereby local and expatriate workers are paid on different pay scales.

In the context of this thesis, then, the research into social identity theory suggests that the use of job categories may create social categories with which workers identify. The mere existence of these categories can result in behaviour which favours the ingroup and contradicts the formal (capacity-building, equalising) job-at-hand, thereby reinforcing not reducing group differences, and impeding intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1978). Over time, the process of social identification itself reinforces the existence of the social categories (Haslam, et al., 2000). This subsequently reinforces group status and accentuates divisions between groups.

2.1.3 Social Positioning Theory

In contrast to the proposition by social identity theory that workers will identify with a particular group based on maximising their own positive self-identity, another

theory - social positioning theory - recognises that aspects of context and history may also influence this choice (Elejabarrieta, 1994). According to social positioning theory, groups themselves have a history independent of their members, and group members play a role in maintaining and reinforcing the group and its characteristics through their discourse, including positioning themselves and others into particular groups (Davies & Harre, 1990; Tan & Moghaddam, 1999). It may be that workers are automatically positioned by others into groups because of the history and context of aid work, regardless of how this may affect (or be incongruent with) their identity. For example, by virtue of their country of origin, international workers working in a 'developing' country context may be automatically positioned as rich, privileged, and highly educated, while local workers may be positioned as poor, deprived, and lacking education, even though neither worker may fit with those characteristics. Perhaps this is particularly likely in aid and development settings, which have a history of colonialism and neo-colonialism (MacLachlan, et al., 2010).

Positioning theory explores the 'roles' individuals take on in their interactions with others, such as 'mother-son', 'sales assistant-customer', 'teacher-student', or 'expert-novice'. The theory takes a dynamic approach to these roles, suggesting that the degree to which individuals fit within a role at any time is constantly changing, and to reflect this flexibility 'roles' are better labelled 'positions' (Luberda, 2000). According to this theory, the way people are positioned is created, negotiated and reinforced through conversation, during which people automatically position themselves and the person(s) they are talking to relative to each other. The process of positioning and repositioning oneself and others occurs constantly regardless of context, and is often unintentional, although people can also deliberately position themselves and others (Gillespie, 2007; van Langenhove & Harre, 1999).

Extending positioning theory from the individual to the group level introduces the idea that the social categories to which individuals belong play an important role in positioning (Hermans, 2001). The presence (or absence) of power and dominance places individuals in particular positions relative to one another according to the social situation, both within societies and groups, and also between different groups (Hermans, 2001; Tan & Moghaddam, 1999). Policies such as the 'dual salary' system (i.e. different compensation scales for local vs. expatriate workers), and societal norms such as the existence of 'expat' bars and restaurants to which international workers can 'escape reality', reflect such power structures, and however unintentionally may

position groups into hierarchies where some groups are ‘better’, ‘more valued’, or ‘have more’ than others (Collier, 2006).

Within the context of an aid organisation, where economic factors such as wealth and equity are salient, individuals may tend to be positioned (by themselves and others) into job categories which reflect their salary level. Pay is relative, and positions individuals and groups into stratified hierarchies (Carr, 2004). New individuals arriving into the aid sector may be positioned by those already there to fit within an existent category. For example, a new arrival who is introduced as an ‘expatriate volunteer’ may be positioned quite differently than if they were introduced as an ‘expatriate consultant’, although they may have equivalent skills and experience and vary only on their job category and its implied salary level. Further, though they may have little control over which category they are positioned into by others, as a result of the positioning they will be attributed the characteristics typical to that category and accorded a position within the social structure of the situation which reflects it. In this way, and in a similar vein to social identity theory, the process of categorisation itself creates, reinforces, and gives meaning to the existence of the categories (Chryssochoou, 2004), and can to that extent potentially play a key role in perpetuating prejudice, discrimination and conflict between groups (Turner & Reynolds, 2001).

As with social identity, then, social positioning theory posits that the job categories by which aid workers are referred may play a role in the categorisation of those workers. In addition, categories and the individual characteristics and power structures they represent may be entrenched within history and context, providing additional challenges to overcoming them. Local and international aid workers may be set up to be positioned by others into groups with unequal status because of the prior existence of job categories, the existence of which is further reinforced by contextual factors such as disparate salaries.

2.1.4 Realistic Conflict Theory

Where there are groups and limited resources, there will be conflict and competition; another theory which explores group formation and intergroup relations is realistic conflict theory. This theory posits that whenever resources are limited, groups will compete for them and intergroup conflict will arise (Carr, 2003b; Moghaddam, 1998). Given that material resources are particularly limited within the aid context,

perhaps even more so than in work settings generally, this theory may be very relevant for any exploration of intergroup relations in this setting. It should be noted that this theory assumes that individuals are inherently self-serving and always work to maximise their own rewards (D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). In the aid sector, workers may often be motivated (and rewarded) by more intrinsic reasons than simply earning good money, including for example helping others, travelling the world, and enhancing their skills and experience (Kealey, 1989; Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008). Rewards are not just about money, but include social capital like pride, respect and status.

Early work into realistic conflict theory was undertaken in the classic series of experiments by Sherif (1951; 1966), which included the well known "Robber's Cave" experiment. These studies were all conducted in summer camps, attended by boys aged 11-12 years who were selected for their similarities in background demographic factors, such as age, class and ethnicity. The first two experiments examined the formation of friendships between groups, where the boys were initially free to interact and form friendships with whoever they liked, following which they were divided into two groups, ensuring that best friends were separated into different groups. This separation enabled the researchers to discount interpersonal attraction as an explanation for later ingroup-favouring behaviours. Following division into the groups the patterns of interpersonal attraction shifted so that old friendships dissolved and new best friends were chosen from the ingroup. The process of division into groups itself, then, resulted in a resetting of the friendships to favour those from the ingroup. As with the theories above, this theory again suggests that being categorised into groups, such as via a job category, in a context of finite resources, may adversely affect intergroup collaboration.

In Sherif's third major experiment the newly formed groups themselves were studied and were found to have a status, hierarchy, identity, and subculture. Finally, in the fourth study the two groups were engaged in a series of competitive activities, such as tug-of-war, with a limited number of prizes available for the winners. During these activities good sportsmanship degenerated into hostile behaviour, with former best friends becoming hated enemies. The hostilities extended from the competitions themselves into the everyday arena, and included fighting, flag-burning and camp raids.

Overall, Sherif's experiments suggested that competition for limited resources can lead not only to ingroup-favouring friendships and reduced cooperation and collaboration with outgroup members, but can also potentially result in hostile and

aggressive behaviour toward the outgroup. Though Sherif used 11-12 year old boys as participants in his experiment, similar results have been found across other settings, including organisations (Brief, et al., 2005), immigration (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998), ethnic relations (Hagendoorn, Drogendijk, Tumanov, & Hraba, 1998), and colonialism (Kidder & Stewart, 1975).

Within the aid context, the categorisation of workers into groups based on job categories and roles, such as 'expatriate' or 'local', or 'assistant' or 'advisor', may particularly adversely affect relationships between workers when the differences between the groups are underlined by disparate division of (limited) material resources, such as pay. Aid organisations, as with the aid context in general, are often characterised by limited resources, and those resources tend to be disparately distributed between local and expatriate workers (who receive comparatively less versus more respectively). While the resultant competition for resources between these worker groups is unlikely to be as explicit as it was in Sherif's final experiment, conflict may still be an inherently *realistic* response to the unequal distribution of resources, and particularly perhaps from the lower-paid, relatively less well-off, local worker group.

One solution offered by realistic conflict theory to intergroup conflict is to develop and work towards a series of 'superordinate goals'. Such goals are those which both groups desire to achieve, but which cannot be attained without the cooperation of the other group (Brewer, 1996; Gaertner, et al., 2000; Moghaddam, 1998). Poverty reduction is an example of a superordinate goal in that its success depends on commitment, collaboration and input from all workers. But while both local and expatriate workers may be working towards an overall goal of poverty reduction, important contextual issues such as power and unequal distribution of wealth may influence the meaning of that goal (e.g. as an abstract goal of reducing poverty, or as a personal goal of working to feed ones family), and therefore the approach taken to it. Realistic conflict theory has been criticised for largely neglecting issues of power (D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994), and as described in the next section on social dominance theory, understanding the role of power might be essential for the mutual cooperation required to attain poverty reduction.

2.1.5 Social Dominance Theory

According to social dominance theory, issues of power exist inherently at all levels within all societies – including individual, group, organisational, institutional, and cultural levels, and all levels interact to affect the overall system. The theory posits that societies are largely structured into group-based social hierarchies, which tend to favour dominant groups over subordinate groups (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Hierarchies are underpinned by social status and power, with dominant groups enjoying greater status and power than other groups. With status and power come other privileges such as access to and control of material and symbolic resources, and the ability to create structures within society which protect and sustain their dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Social hierarchies are theorised to be based around three main areas, the relative importance of which vary qualitatively in different societies: 1) age (where adults are dominant over children), 2) gender (where men are dominant over women), and 3) arbitrary-set groups such as nationality, class, religion, and/or other non-innate groupings (Pratto, et al., 2006). While all three areas interact with each other, the focus in this thesis is on better understanding the existence and impact of the third area, arbitrary-set groups, within the context of poverty reduction initiatives. Organisations, and the groups within them, are inherently arbitrary-sets (although they may intersect with gender and age).

One arbitrary-set in particular, which is inherent in the process of capacity development and indeed in much development work itself (Lemieux & Pratto, 2003), is the underlying power imbalance between the expatriate worker, who is intrinsically identified as 'expert', and the local worker as 'novice', even though local workers often have many skills and knowledge, and by definition likely know more about the local country context than expatriates. "Locals" can potentially become disgruntled because the process of capacity development means the majority of the work naturally falls to them as the 'novice'. Conversely, expatriates may struggle to hand over work to local staff knowing that as 'experts' they could do it themselves. The often significant pay disparities between international and local workers (Carr, 2004; Dudley, 2003; Ila'ava, 1999) can add force to these power differences, and further reinforce group differences. In Oceania for instance, dual salaries have been referred to as 'economic apartheid' (Marai, et al., 2010).

Viewed through the lens of social dominance theory, the considerably higher pay accorded to international workers may be understood as a reflection of their dominance over local workers within the aid sector. Money is a symbol of power, and salary levels therefore not only affect material wellbeing, but also have important implications for status perceptions of workers and those around them (J. N. Baron & Pfeffer, 1994). Individuals ascribe meaning to their work through understanding and evaluating their position within the structure of the organisation (Wrzesniewski, Dutton, & Debebe, 2003). Job categories within the aid context, then, may function to highlight divisions between workers from different backgrounds, and reinforce a hierarchy underpinned by power and status.

While aid organisations themselves are (in theory) based around hierarchy attenuating legitimising myths (i.e. attitudes, values, beliefs, stereotypes, and ideologies which aim to break down social hierarchy and inequality, and encourage inclusiveness), the existence and everyday use of job categories may function to support hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths – those which justify and support unequal social inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). That is, the existence of job categories may not only reinforce the social hierarchy, but may create an environment which justifies and supports it too. Aid organisations may therefore, paradoxically and ironically, be replicating the very divisions they are aiming to reduce.

Exploring the position and perception of expatriate volunteers within the aid context may enable us to gain some insight into the social hierarchy on which aid work is based, because this category shares cultural similarity with expatriates and economic similarity with locals, potentially aligning them with neither. Expatriate volunteers are defined in this study as international workers working in lower-income settings for subsistence wages, and usually for contracts of two or more years (examples of expatriate volunteers are the United Kingdom's Volunteer Service Overseas, New Zealand's Volunteer Services Abroad, Australia's Australian Volunteers International, etc). Watts (2002) interviewed expatriate volunteers in Cambodia and found that the lower salaries paid to expatriate volunteers compared with other (internationally-salaried) expatriates affected the perceptions that others had of them. Specifically, the expatriate "volunteers" were sometimes perceived (predominantly by other expatriates) as 'unqualified amateurs' when they saw themselves as qualified professionals. Expatriate volunteers reported struggling to have their skills recognised because of the assumption by many other expatriates that their low pay was a reflection of a lack of

experience and knowledge. Ironically, however, in Watts' (2002) research, expatriate volunteers reported that their comparatively low salaries enabled better personal and professional relationships with local Cambodian staff because it reduced the barrier that pay disparities often created.

Expatriate volunteers, therefore, may exist in a job category distinct from other expatriate workers, and may be characterised by reduced power and status because of their relatively lower pay. This may challenge their ability to be taken seriously by other expatriate workers, despite their relative cultural similarity, but at the same time the more balanced power differential they have with local workers because of their relative economic similarity (in terms of pay) may provide them with a useful opportunity to connect with their local colleagues and build quality relationships. Exploring the position of expatriate volunteers, therefore, may provide support for social dominance theory and the proposition that power might underpin workplace relations within the aid context by elucidating how both economics *and* culture interact to position workers relative to one another.

Power inequalities can have important implications for intergroup relationships, as exemplified in an early experimental study of the impact of power at work undertaken by Kipnis (1972). Kipnis (1972) observed the behaviour of two groups of students in a work setting, who believed they either had control of power over a group of workers, or believed they did not (in actuality there were no workers, and the worker output was pre-programmed). Kipnis (1972) found that those participants who believed they had power were significantly more likely to attempt to influence worker behaviour than those without power, and also tended to attribute worker effort and performance to the power controlled by the more powerful colleague (i.e. themselves), rather than the motivation of the worker to do well. Additionally, when asked the type of managerial skills required to be successful in this study, participants with power reported skills that stressed manipulating the workers, while those without power expressed skills related to keeping the worker happy. Finally, following the experiment all participants were asked whether they would like to "meet the workers and talk with them while sharing a coke or cup of coffee" (p.6). Those participants who did not believe they had power over the workers were significantly more likely to meet socially with their workers than those with power.

Other, more recent work has found similar results, for example Sachdev & Bourhis (1985; 1987) utilised the minimal group technique, randomly allocating

students to groups characterised by different amounts of power, and found that those in the high power group were more likely to behave in a discriminatory way toward members of other low power groups, than those in the low or no power groups. Other research (e.g. Fiske, 1993; Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998) has focused on the role of power in stereotypes which serve to maintain intergroup hierarchies and divisions.

The Kipnis (1972) study, however, is particularly relevant and important for this thesis because of its direct link between power and workplace relationships. It suggests that when an individual in one group gains power over another, individuals in the less powerful group may be adversely affected, distance between the groups reinforced, and hierarchies maintained. If expatriate workers in aid organisations are positioned higher within a hierarchy of power and status than local workers, as proposed above, the findings of Kipnis (1972) suggest that this will automatically lead to divisions and distance between the groups, alongside a devaluation by expatriate workers of the effort expended by their local colleagues, and crucially it will undermine attempts at building relationships between local and expatriate workers.

Social dominance theory therefore suggests that the structures, institutions, and existent groups within the aid system itself may be inadvertently perpetuating a power imbalance between international and local workers. Such an imbalance may not only create divisions between workers, but it may also automatically undermine relationship-building, which, as we will discuss in the next section, may be essential for the success of capacity development and poverty reduction initiatives (Carr, McAuliffe, & MacLachlan, 1998; Eyben, 2006).

2.1.6 Summary

In this section, I have used five social psychological theories of intergroup relations to argue that informal job titles, which I have called job categories, create divisions between aid workers. These theories suggest that individuals compare themselves with those around them, according to salient characteristics of the current context, forming or being positioned into groups as a result. I have argued that job categorisation may inherently shape the groups with which workers identify and into which they are positioned. Underpinned by power imbalances and further reinforced by considerable pay differences, membership of job categories may critically influence the

dynamics between individuals and groups, within both workplaces and society as a whole.

2.2 RELATIONSHIPS

Historically, organisational psychology has given relatively little attention to poverty-reduction. However some work has been undertaken around expatriate assignment, including early work with Peace Corps volunteers (e.g. Arnold, 1967). Through a longitudinal study of multiple staff member ratings of volunteer performance, Harris (1973) identified that strength of personality and character, as opposed to technical competence, accounted for most of the variance in Peace Corps volunteer performance (though traits did not predict whether volunteers would leave their assignment early). Subsequent research has suggested that personality attributes of successful volunteers and business expatriates may be similar and stable, and linked with performance and turnover (Caligiuri, 2000; Hudson & Inkson, 2007; J. Jordan & Cartwright, 1998)

Kealey (1989) worked with Canadian Technical Advisors posted to developing countries to identify what 'type' of person might be best suited to aid work. Using a blend of cross-sectional and longitudinal regression models, Kealey (1989) found that those expatriate workers most effective at skills transfer, as rated by their (Canadian and national) peers and supervisors, were those unconcerned with upward mobility, those assessed by their peers as caring, active and not self-centred, and those with knowledge of and who participated in the local culture (Kealey, 1989). According to this research therefore, success in skills transfer is linked to interpersonal and social skills; Relationships begin to emerge as a key variable in aid success.

Research into culture shock, a phenomenon characterised by experiencing stress when adjusting to a new culture (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001), also points to the importance of relationships. The stress of cross-cultural adjustment is common to most types of travellers, including refugees, immigrants, international students, tourists, and international business people, though most research on culture shock by psychologists has been undertaken with multinational corporations sending personnel abroad on international assignments (Farh, Bartol, Shapiro, & Shin, 2010; Osman-Gani & Rockstuhl, 1998). Empirical field studies into cross-cultural adjustment of business expatriates indicate that expatriates with a large number of diverse relationships, both

with other expatriates and with host country nationals, tend to be more supported and adjust better to the new culture (Johnson, Kristof-Brown, Van Vianen, De Pater, & Klein, 2003; Liu & Shaffer, 2005; Wang & Kanungo, 2004). In line with the findings of Kealey (1989), outlined above, identification and involvement with both the new culture, as well as one's own culture, is associated with reduced acculturative stress and higher levels of learning (Berry, 1997; Brown, 2000b).

According to the above evidence, a high degree of contact and good relationships between local and expatriate workers are essential for both successful skills transfer and adjustment to the new culture. However in reality many expatriates tend to associate solely with other expatriates as a means to obtaining support and assistance with coping with adjusting to the new culture (Johnson, et al., 2003; Kealey, 1989; Toh & DeNisi, 2007). Such an approach to coping with culture shock is one-sided, however. It runs the risk of reducing contact with the local culture, thereby inhibiting relationship building, and potentially reinforcing divisions between the groups. Common coping strategies, therefore, may ultimately be creating barriers to effective transfer of skills between expatriates and their local hosts, and, paradoxically, longer-term coping and efficacy at work and everyday life in the new setting.

Relevant to this thesis, then, is that research into expatriate assignments within the international business sector has begun to point to the importance of the relationships expatriate workers build within the host country (Farh, et al., 2010; Johnson, et al., 2003; Liu & Shaffer, 2005). The focus in most of the literature, however, has tended to be on selecting and training those travelling to *new* cultures, with little consideration given to the impact the arrival of the international worker may have on the *local staff*, and the adjustments they may need to make. This focus can be attributed to the high financial costs to the parent organisation of expatriate failure (Farh, et al., 2010; Shaffer & Harrison, 1998), but crucially overlooks the important role local staff can play in their success (Toh & DeNisi, 2007). In aid and development terms, the research has been poorly 'aligned' (with local perspectives and values, Rogerson, 2005).

A notable exception to the focus on expatriates is the work of Toh & Denisi (2003; 2005; 2007). These authors called for an exploration of the role of host country nationals in the success of expatriate assignments through their ability to act as socialising agents for expatriates (as organisational newcomers). Using social identity theory, Toh & Denisi (2007) argued that national identities and the tendency to see

expatriates as outgroup members may reduce the likelihood of local counterparts displaying socialising behaviours toward expatriate newcomers. Emphasising the potentially essential role of relationships between local and expatriate workers in the success or failure of expatriate assignments, they argued for the provision of cross-cultural training to *local* staff to facilitate expatriate adjustment (Toh & DeNisi, 2007), and called for empirical exploration of the potential negative impact of the considerable compensation disparities between local and expatriate staff (Toh & Denisi, 2003, 2005).

While the work of Toh and Denisi has provided important theoretical development about the potential importance of host country nationals in supporting business expatriates, relatively little empirical research to test their ideas has been undertaken. One recent study in China, by Varma, Pichler, Budhwar, & Biswas (2009), used a simulated work setting to obtain Chinese nationals ratings of the likelihood they would provide work and social support to an expatriate co-worker. The expatriate was described on paper alongside the questionnaire, and was manipulated along two lines – by gender, and nationality (Indian or American). Using structural equation modelling the authors found that across all experimental groups perceived quality of relationships with expatriates predicted host country nationals willingness to provide assistance to expatriates. Further, Varma, et al. (2009) also found a link between perceived relationship quality and cultural similarity, in that participants reported that they would be more likely to form a relationship with a (more culturally similar) Indian expatriate than a (less culturally similar) US expatriate.

In line with Toh and Denisi (2007), Varma, et al. (2009) argued that US expatriates may have been more likely to be positioned by Chinese nationals as outgroup members than Indian expatriates with whom they shared more cultural and historical similarities including, for example, through a shared 'Asian' heritage. Through the process of ingroup-outgroup positioning, then, the potential for positive relationships with US expatriates may have been inherently undermined.

To summarise, the research evidence discussed in this section points to a key role for relationships, including in successful skills transfer between expatriate and local colleagues, and suggests that relationships may be impeded by job categorisation and power differentials. However, the research must be taken in context, and that context is the international business world of for-profit Multinational Corporations (MNCs). It is unclear from the existing literature whether these findings can be applied to organisations within the aid sector, which may focus more on building the skills and

capabilities of local staff and community than MNCs (i.e. 'alignment'), and which may exist in a context characterised by deprivation and inequality, both materially and in terms of agency. Hence, the points and possibilities raised by Toh and Denisi (2007) may be even more crucial to test in aid organisation settings.

Research into relationships within aid settings is limited, to date, although relationships are being increasingly discussed within the development literature for their role in the success of aid initiatives (Eyben, 2006) both in terms of relationships between government, UN agencies, NGOs and communities (e.g. Pasteur & Scott-Villiers, 2006), as well as between donor and recipient (e.g. Eyben, 2005). Interviews with aid workers themselves have identified relationship building as a perceived key factor for the success of capacity development initiatives (Girgis, 2007), however to date no work has been undertaken to quantitatively measure and test the quality of aid relationships themselves, or to track the influence of relationships on organisational outcomes and indicators in order to demonstrate their importance.

2.3 A CONCRETE BARRIER TO RELATIONSHIPS: "DUAL" PAY SYSTEMS AT WORK

In the previous sections I have argued that individuals are divided into job categories at work which fall relative to one another along a social hierarchy underpinned by power. Significant power differences are likely to be detrimental to intergroup relationships, and I have argued that relationships are likely to play a key role in the success of the operations of aid organisations. In this section I address a major barrier to relationships at work in aid and development, relative pay and benefits (note that throughout this thesis when I use the terms 'pay' and 'salary' they encompass the overall compensation package, including both pay and benefits). I begin by briefly reviewing the link between pay and motivation, with particular attention to cognitive evaluation theory. I then outline the topic of organisational justice, focusing on one theory particularly relevant to this thesis: equity theory. Finally, I review the model of Double De-motivation, which developed out of theories of justice and equity to explain worker behaviour as a result of salary inequities. I offer suggestions for further development of this model, based on integrating relationships at work, which will be tested in this thesis.

2.3.1 Motivation

The motivating effect of pay has been long studied by organisational psychologists, particularly with relation to performance (Latham, 2007). Task-focused theories of work motivation such as scientific management (Locke, 1982; F. W. Taylor, 1911), expectancy theory (Lawler, 1971; Rynes, Gerhart, & Minette, 2004) and goal setting theory (Locke & Latham, 1990) focused on the motivating effect of pay systems. These can include rewarding good performance with higher pay than poor performance, thereby reinforcing good performance and punishing poor performance, which in theory is motivating to others to perform better.

Other theories are more humanistic, they focus on the meaning of work itself, recognising that elements of work can be motivating above and beyond the pay received (Deci, 1995; N. C. Morse & Weiss, 1955). I pause here to elaborate on one theory in particular, cognitive evaluation theory. This theory was proposed in the 1970s by Deci (1975) and argues that while people can be motivated by extrinsic rewards such as pay and/or status, they can also be motivated *intrinsically*, that is, motivated to do something for reasons other than external rewards (including interest, enjoyment, achievement, or social contribution). Further, when participants in an experimental study were paid to undertake an interesting task which they would have normally worked on for free, they spent less time voluntarily interacting with the task later during a free choice period, compared with a control group who were not paid (Deci, 1975, 1995). Receiving a monetary (i.e. extrinsic) reward to do something which they would have done anyway (i.e. which was intrinsically motivating) resulted in a decrease in motivation and satisfaction.

Deci's work has been heavily debated and critiqued in the literature (for example in Donovan, 2001; Eisenberger & Cameron, 1996; Locke & Latham, 1990), however its findings have been upheld across a number of meta-analyses (e.g. Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999; Rummel & Feinberg, 1988; Tang & Hall, 1995; Wiersma, 1992) as well as in field settings (P. C. Jordan, 1986). For example, Jordan (1986) measured the impact of a new incentive scheme on the intrinsic motivation of health workers at two time points. Two groups of workers were included in the study; one group was told the new incentives would be rewarded on the basis of their individual performance, and the other told the incentives were universal. Jordan found that those who expected their rewards to be based on performance had significantly lower levels of intrinsic motivation than

those who did not. Further, those who expected their rewards on the basis of performance had *decreased* intrinsic motivation at time 2, while those who did not expect it to be contingent on performance had *increased* intrinsic motivation at time 2. As predicted by cognitive evaluation theory, paying workers to perform was linked with reduced intrinsic motivation over time.

Cognitive evaluation theory may be particularly relevant to the context of aid organisations because of the intrinsically motivating aspect inherent to aid work. Aid workers may tend to be motivated by more than pay alone, for example, both Kealey (1989) and Sherraden, Lough & McBride (2008) found that expatriate volunteers were motivated by the opportunity to *help others*, travel the world, and enhance their skills and experience. According to cognitive evaluation theory, however, pay has the ability to undermine intrinsic motivation, and cause individuals to view their behaviour as more 'transactional' (Carr, 2004). In doing so, pay has the potential to impede those contextual behaviours (i.e. behaviours that fall outside the formal tasks of a job, Borman & Motowidlo, 1997), which might be helpful for relationship building in aid organisations. Hence, by shifting the focus from relationship to task, pay itself might actually undermine workplace relations.

Pay disparities in work groups have been found to detrimentally affect other organisational outcomes including performance and worker relationships. Pfeffer & Langton (1993), for example, found that within a college and university faculty sample respondents were significantly less satisfied, undertook less collaboration, and had lower recent research output (productivity) when pay was highly 'dispersed', that is, when there was a wide range of salaries amongst staff. Another study, this time in the technology sector, found that highly dispersed pay amongst the senior management team impeded collaboration and undermined organisational performance (Siegel & Hambrick, 2005). A third example explored the impact of comparative under-, over-, and equal payment of a sample of expatriate and local teachers in Indonesia and found that comparative under- and overpayment resulted in reduced job satisfaction, and more worryingly, with symptoms of depression, anxiety, and hopelessness in both groups (Marai, 2002). Pay differences between workers, then, through undermining intrinsic motivation, have the potential to adversely affect workplace outcomes including performance, job satisfaction, and worker relationships.

2.3.2 Organisational Justice

Logically and psychologically, one prompt to cognitively re-evaluating work from intrinsically to extrinsically rewarding might be injustice (MacLachlan, et al., 2010). *Organisational* justice has been broadly divided into three areas: distributive, procedural and interactional (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001; Colquitt, Greenberg, & Zapata-Phelan, 2005; Greenberg & Baron, 2008). Distributive justice refers to perceived fairness in organisational outcomes, including the way resources such as pay and seniority are allocated within an organisation, be it on the basis of equity, equality or need (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). Procedural justice refers to a feeling of fairness in the process through which outcomes are determined, and can include having a voice in the process as well as feeling that appropriate rules exist and were followed throughout the process (Greenberg & Baron, 2008). Finally, interactional justice is about being treated fairly by those who have control of the resources, and has two major forms: informational, where individuals are informed about procedures going on around them and why, and interpersonal, where individuals feel they are treated with respect by those around them (Colquitt, et al., 2001).

All three forms of organisational justice have important implications for job satisfaction, motivation, performance and turnover intentions (Greenberg, 1996). In a meta-analysis of 183 justice studies, for example, Colquitt, et al. (2001) found that distributive justice had a mean meta-analytic correlation with job satisfaction of r = .56, and withdrawal (including turnover) of r = -.50. Procedural justice was linked with job satisfaction (r = .62) and performance (r = .36), and interactional justice with job satisfaction (r = -.35). In another meta-analysis of 190 justice studies undertaken around the same time, Cohen-Charash & Spector (2001) found that turnover intentions had a mean meta-analytic correlation of -.40 with both distributive justice and procedural justice.

Perceived justice has been linked to organisational outcomes within the aid arena too. For example, McAuliffe, Manafa, Maseko, Bowie, & White (2009) measured the link between ratings of justice and job satisfaction of health workers in Malaŵi. They found a moderate link between distributive justice and job satisfaction (mean r = .26). Additionally, they reported a link between interactional justice and job satisfaction (though they did not report the strength or statistical significance of the link), suggesting that how Malaŵian health workers are treated by their manager plays a

key role in their satisfaction in the job. Though the authors did not report whether any of their respondents' managers were expatriate workers, their findings nevertheless point to the importance of relationships between workers with different levels of power and status.

Other, more counterproductive, outcomes have been found to result from perceived injustice in organisations (Greenberg, 1990). Counterproductive work behaviours include theft and sabotage (including, for example, destroying equipment, doing work incorrectly, or spreading rumours) (Ambrose, Seabright, & Schminke, 2002). Counterproductive work behaviours have been linked to both procedural and distributive justice (mean meta-analytic r = -.22 and -.28 respectively, Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). With regard to this thesis then, perceived injustice in organisations has the potential not only to limit the attainment of positive organisational outcomes, such as reduced job satisfaction and performance, but also potentially to stimulate negative behaviours which are counterproductive and can potentially have a detrimental impact on organisational outcomes.

Within an aid context, counterproductive work behaviours may extend to behaviours sometimes termed by outsiders as 'corrupt' (MacLachlan, et al., 2010). In a review of corruption and 'moonlighting' (e.g. taking a second job) within the public health sectors of lower- and middle-income countries, Ferrinho & Lergerghe (2002) suggest that individual coping strategies such as absenteeism (including as a means to enabling moonlighting), under-the-counter payments for 'free' services, misappropriating drugs, and other seemingly 'corrupt' behaviours, are a response to the unrealistically low salaries afforded to workers. These authors argue on a logical and experiential (rather than empirical) basis that individuals, and the organisations in which they work, engage in these behaviours in part at least as a reaction to distributive injustice, and as a way to cope with it.

Issues of justice clearly play a role in many important organisational outcomes. But how do individuals decide what is fair? And what do they do when they are faced with perceived injustice? Equity theory offers an approach to understanding exactly these questions. Although it is focused primarily on distributive justice, it remains the most researched theory of justice at work, and for that reason a useful focus in this review.

2.3.3 Equity Theory

Equity theory is concerned with what people think is fair, and how they behave when they believe they are being treated unfairly (Adams, 1965; Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1978). According to the theory, individuals gauge fairness by assessing the inputs made and outcomes gained by themselves and others involved in a relationship (D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Inputs refer to those contributions an individual makes and may include attributes, abilities, and/or effort. Outcomes can include tangible rewards such as pay, or intangible rewards, such as status. According to equity theory, when the ratio of outcomes-to-inputs for one person is equal to the ratio of outcomes-to-inputs for the 'other', justice exists. Integral to the theory is that it is not equality of outcomes that is important, but rather equality of the *ratio* of outcomes to inputs. For example, if an equally skilled and educated colleague earns 10 times the salary that you do, this difference would be considered just if he/she also works 10 times harder than you do because the outcome-to-input ratio between you is equal.

Equity theory posits that when this outcome-to-input ratio is unequal, for example, when your colleague *doesn't* work 10 times harder than you but still earns 10 times more than you, equity is not attained, and either or both parties in the relationship will experience psychological discomfort (D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). The overpaid worker might experience guilt, while the underpaid worker might feel injustice and de-motivation (Carr, 2004). One reaction to this guilt or de-motivation might be to leave the job altogether (e.g. 'dissonance reduction', Festinger, 1957). If leaving is not an option, or workers choose not to leave, equity theory further proposes that one or both of the parties within the relationship will move to restore equity (thereby reducing psychological discomfort).

Equity restoration can be undertaken in one of two ways, the first being actual restoration of equity where the outcomes and/or inputs of one or both parties is recalibrated so that the ratios are equal, in other words, your higher paid colleague takes a pay cut, or increases their input tenfold, or you get a pay rise, or *reduce* your input tenfold. In the above discussion of corruption and moonlighting, then, viewed from the perspective of equity theory such behaviours can potentially be seen as attempts at actual restoration of the distributive injustice of disparately low public sector salaries compared with the salaries accorded to those in the private sector by recalibrating the

comparative outcome/input ratio through a combination of reducing input in low paid settings, and increasing pay (outcome) from other sources (MacLachlan, et al., 2010).

The second method of equity restoration is *psychological* restoration of equity, whereby the inputs and/or outcomes of one or both parties is cognitively distorted so that the ratios *appear* equal. This includes, for example, changing the way you perceive the work of yourself and/or your colleague who is earning 10 times your salary, by convincing yourself that they work harder than they really do, or that their work is worth more than yours. This strategy may be more likely to be used by those who are advantaged in the relationship in order to avoid changes to compensation or behaviour which might threaten their dominant position (D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). By devaluing the inputs (i.e. attributes, abilities or effort) of the disadvantaged or subordinate party to be proportionally less than their own, the outcome/input ratio is recalibrated, thereby justifying the relatively higher pay (outcome) received by the dominant party (e.g. I am better/more skilled/work harder than them, therefore I am worth my higher pay), and psychological distress is reduced (Greenberg & McCarty, 1990).

Equity theory was originally conceptualised by Adams (1965) at the individual level. Equity comparisons, however, not only occur between individuals, but also between groups (e.g. Cook & Hegtvedt, 1983). In Social Equity Theory the underlying processes are the same as for equity theory, except that *groups* compare their outcome-to-inputs ratio with other *groups* (Carr, 2003b, 2004; Carr, MacLachlan, & Campbell, 1997).

A key criticism of equity theory has been its sole focus on equity as the preferred structure for resource allocation (Bolino & Turnley, 2008; Chen, 1995; Chen, Meindl, & Hui, 1998). What is considered fair can depend on context and/or culture and be defined not only by equity, but also equality or need (Carr, 2003a). In relatively collectivistic societies and contexts, for example, equality and need may be more favourable, while equity more so in individualistic societies (Hui, Triandis, & Yee, 1991). Interestingly, Leung and Bond (1984) found that allocation preferences varied according to whether the focus was *within* groups or *between* them. For allocation to outgroups rather than the ingroup relatively collectivistic participants shifted from preferring equality to a preference for equity. When group identity is salient, then, belief in equity may also be more salient.

In a similar vein, research has warned of over-generalising the impact of culture alone on reward allocation preferences, for example, experimental research undertaken by Chen, et al. (1998) suggested that allocation preferences may be further influenced by situational factors such as degree of task interdependence within a team, and/or the underlying goal of the system of maximum productivity versus team cohesion.

Considering issues of motivation, justice, and equity altogether, what does the above research mean for the aid sector then, where workers from diverse cultural, economic, and social backgrounds work alongside one another? How do pay differences between job categories affect workers within the aid sector? A useful approach for addressing these questions is offered by MacLachlan and Carr's (2005) Model of Double De-motivation.

2.3.4 Double De-motivation

Building on Social Equity Theory (above), the Model of Double De-motivation posits that both local *and* expatriate workers may become de-motivated by disparate remuneration systems within organisations. The model is depicted in Figure 2.2 and is based around the interaction between the two groups of de-motivated workers using the dynamic of *escalation*, from Systems Theory (Senge, 2006). Escalation predicts that "each party's actions and reactions steadily and cumulatively reinforce the differences, rather than the potential similarities," between them, thus reinforcing the stereotypes of each other (Carr, 2004, p. 40). In other words, the way each group positions/categorises the other is reinforced by the reactions of the other group to being positioned/categorised, similar to the processes described by the social psychological theories outlined above.

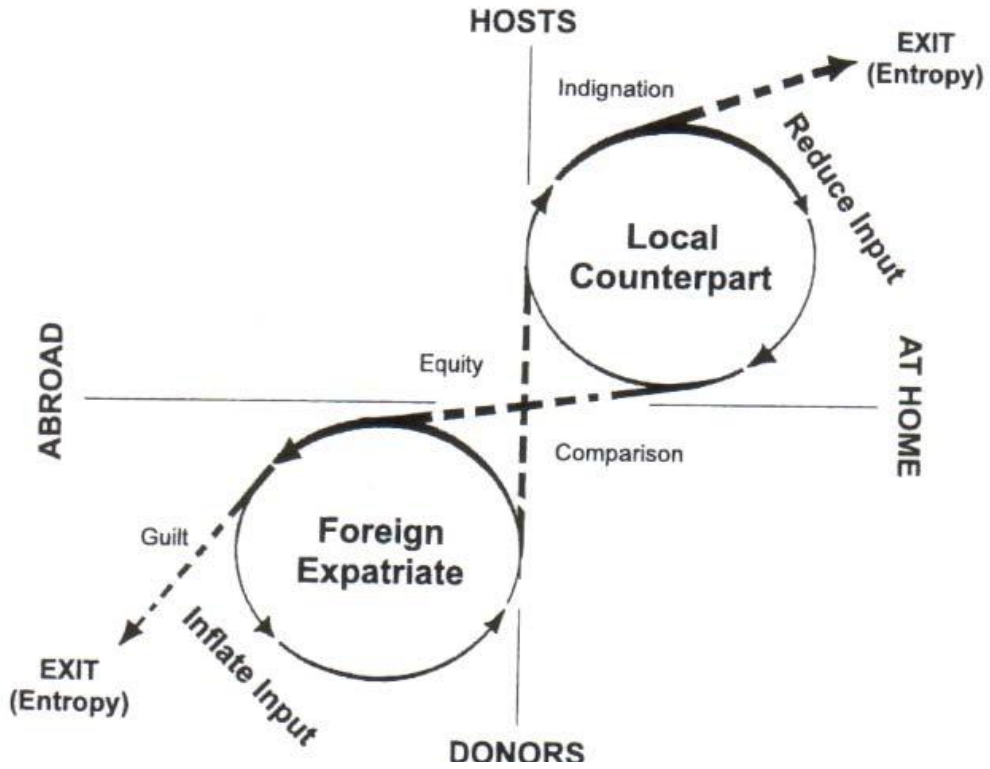

Figure 2.2. Model of Double De-motivation. (Source: MacLachlan & Carr, 2005).

From Figure 2.2, the model begins with similarly qualified and experienced local and international workers comparing their pay and benefits with their counterparts ('equity comparison'). In line with equity theory, in the face of a discrepant reward structure, where comparative ratios of outcomes and inputs are not aligned, workers may experience psychological distress, and attempt to restore equity by increasing or decreasing their input (actual restoration of equity).

Increasing input may not be sustainable in the longer term, particularly if, for example an expatriate worker is earning 10 times more than a local worker. The expatriate worker may therefore be forced to look for alternative methods to restore equity, including distorting the value of their work compared with their lower-paid counterpart (e.g. "I am paid more therefore I must be worth more"; 'inflate input', a psychological restoration of equity), which may ultimately promote feelings of superiority (J. N. Baron & Pfeffer, 1994).

Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, associating with others earning similar salaries may be another method for reducing the psychological distress resulting from inequity, thereby reducing intergroup contact, and reinforcing group membership. Similarity-attraction theory suggests that people will be attracted to those perceived to

be similar to them according to attitudes, beliefs, traits, race, behaviour, and/or economic characteristics salient to the individual or situation (Byrne, 1971, 1997; Carr, 2003b; Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perreault, 1997). As mentioned earlier, such behaviour has been identified as a strategy used by expatriates to cope with culture shock (Johnson, et al., 2003; Kealey, 1989; Toh & DeNisi, 2007).

Already salient pay diversity potentially might have an even greater negative effect on those who earn comparatively *less* in the relationships (Pfeffer & Langton, 1993). While reducing inequity by reducing input may be more realistic for this group when disparities are small, when they are large reducing input might be impossible, for example working ten times *less* than a higher-paid counterpart. Workers might search for other ways to restore the ledger, such as engaging in counterproductive work behaviours like corruption and moonlighting (actual restoration of equity). In addition, distorted beliefs like: "I am paid less, therefore I must be worth less" may implicitly develop, fundamentally undermining capacity development of those workers. According to the dynamics of escalation (Senge, 2006), such withdrawal will potentially feed-back into the system over time: the higher paid group will find evidence of their superiority in the withdrawal of the lower paid group, which will likely motivate the lower paid group to withdraw further. This will reinforce segregation and status differentials between the differentially remunerated groups, and exacerbate the distorted beliefs (and eventual stereotypes) that result from the equity restoration process.

The division between workers may be even more apparent where there is no clear reason for the extent of the salary differences. According to Human Capital Theory wage differences exist as a reflection of relative education, skill and experience, referred to as 'human capital' variables (Becker, 1964; Polachek, 1981). This theory argues with regard to gender differences in pay, for example, that 'human capital' variables may tend to covary with gender thereby suggesting that men earn higher levels of pay because they are more highly educated, have more skill, and/or are more experienced (Greenberg & McCarty, 1990). In the aid context, according to human capital theory, pay disparities between local and expatriate workers could be due, for example, to better educational opportunities available to expatriate workers from higher-income countries than to local workers in lower-income countries. This thesis will include controls for such human capital variables.

The Model of Double De-motivation predicts that if psychological distress is too high, or restoring equity too difficult, individuals will exit the system. Expatriate

workers may terminate their contract early and return home (early return is widely reported as a key challenge to the success of expatriate assignments, e.g. Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985). Local workers may have fewer options (if any) for exiting the system, and may be stuck in a system which continues to erode their de-motivation.

In a number of experimental and applied studies, Carr and colleagues have tested the relevance of 'double de-motivation' for similarly qualified and experienced counterparts (Carr, Hodgson, Vent, & Purcell, 2005; Carr, McLoughlin, Hodgson, & MacLachlan, 1996; McLoughlin & Carr, 1997). For example, utilising a methodology based around that used by Deci (1975), participants (students at an Australian university) were paid varying amounts for working on an intrinsically motivating task. The difference in this study was that as well as the two conditions where participants were unaware of the existence of the pay differences, Carr, et al. (1996) included two conditions where workers were either under- or overpaid in comparison with individuals in the other condition, *and* were explicitly told the amount being paid to the other participants. These conditions may better reflect the situation local and expatriate workers face in the field. Carr, et al.'s (1996) findings replicated those of Deci (1975), in that those who received payment (vs. non-payment) for the task became de-motivated (spent less of the free choice time on the task). In the two conditions where the participants were aware of their relative under- or overpayment compared to individuals in the other condition the findings pointed to the existence of a 'double de-motivation' - the pay differences were de-motivating to participants in both lower paid *and* higher paid experimental groups. Further, individuals from both conditions were considerably more de-motivated than those participants who were unaware of the pay inequity. Carr, et al. (1996) attributed this 'double de-motivation' to anger/indignation on the part of the lower paid participants, and guilt among the overpaid.

A similar double de-motivation was found at the group level by Carr, et al. (2005), however in this study participants were also told that their pay sat at a particular point along a 'sliding' pay scale. For some participants they were paid at the top of the scale, others in the middle, and others still at the bottom. The interesting finding in this study, is that participants paid at the top of the pay scale did not appear to be de-motivated by pay, but those in both the middle and lower pay categories were both significantly de motivated. Comparative pay may therefore only be de-motivating when you are earning *relatively less* than a similar other.

The above studies were undertaken with student participants within an Australian context, so may have limited external validity, particularly perhaps with the aid sector. However, Carr, Chipande & MacLachlan (1998) found evidence in support of the model's applicability to an applied aid setting, by exploring the impact of pay diversity on local and expatriate lecturers working at the University of Malaŵi. In this study, local lecturers reported strong feelings of de-motivation and unfairness (i.e., injustice) around their considerably lower salary levels compared with their internationally-salaried expatriate counterparts. At the same time, internationally-salaried expatriates reported feeling guilty about their high salaries, while also reporting a higher assessment of their own ability than was accorded by their local counterparts. Feelings of guilt may reflect psychological distress, and inflated input the process of psychological restoration of equity. Internationally-salaried expatriates did not detect the de-motivation amongst their Malaŵian colleagues, and neither did the local workers detect the guilt of their expatriate counterparts. Both local and expatriate workers were somehow unable to perceive the full impact of salary disparities on their colleagues. These findings indicate that pay diversity may contribute towards building artificial divisions *between* workers rather than capacity *within* them. This hypothesis, however, has yet to be overtly tested.

Interestingly, Carr, et al. (1998) also included a group of locally-salaried expatriates in their research. These respondents agreed with the Malaŵian respondents that locals were de-motivated by the salary differentials, and at the same time perceived the guilt experienced by the internationally-salaried expatriates. On this basis Carr, et al. (1998) contended that locally-salaried expatriates may be in a position to *share* perspectives with both groups of colleagues, being *culturally* similar to their internationally-salaried expatriate colleagues, but *economically* similar to their Malaŵian colleagues, perhaps enabling them to better build relationships with *both* groups. Again, however, this possibility has never been tested directly or systematically, and notably, the role of relationships in the double de-motivation dynamic in general, has yet to be explored.

2.4 SYNTHESIS AND HYPOTHESES

Having introduced the key theories and concepts integral to this study, what remains now is to synthesise the work into a set of testable hypotheses. To do this I

return to the mediation model originally proposed on page 30 (Figure 2.2) and integrate it into the Model of Double De-motivation just described. The revised model is depicted in Figure 2.3.

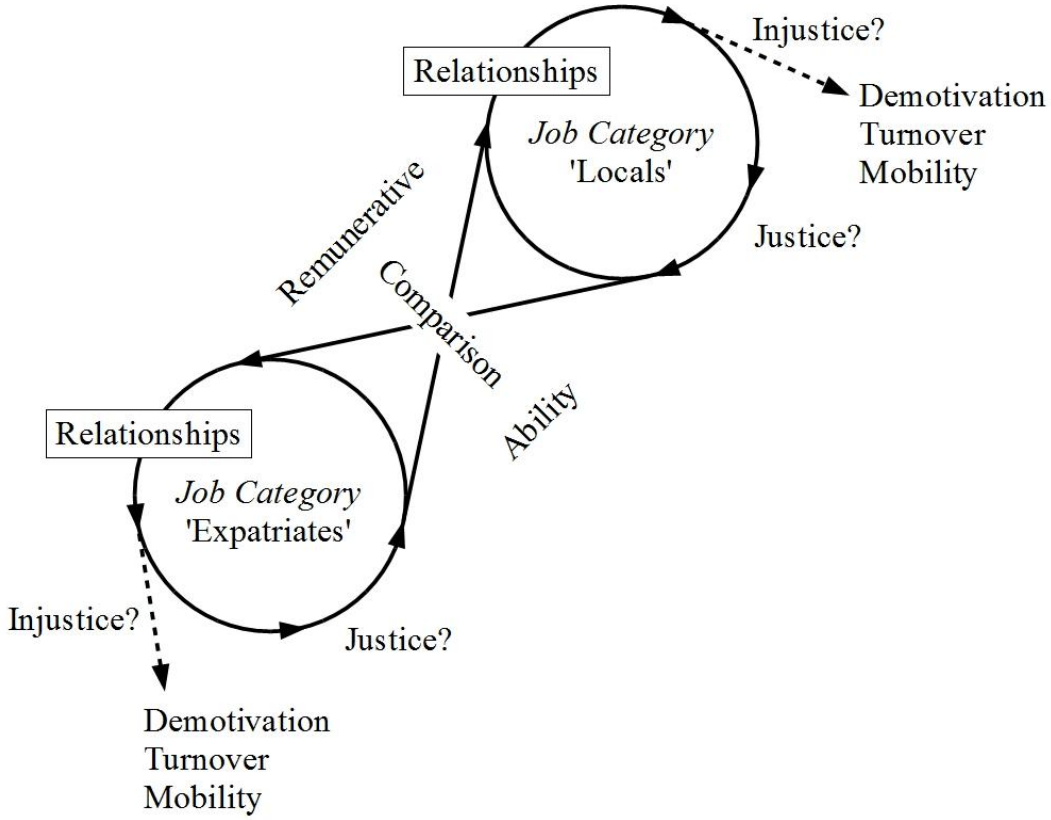

Figure 2.3. Integrated model of Double De-motivation

In this new model I clarify that aid workers are categorised on the basis of informal job titles, which I have called in this thesis 'job category'. I have argued above that workers are categorised into groups which fall within a hierarchy underpinned by status and power, and that in poverty-focused aid work, status and power is most readily denoted by pay.

H1: Workers are categorised into groups (job categories) which are defined by status, power, and relative pay.

Not only will the double de-motivation dynamic reinforce group differences, but comparing the ratio of ability (inputs) and pay/status (outcomes) of oneself and ones job category, compared with someone from a different job category has the potential to impact on organisational outcomes like (in)justice, motivation, turnover and mobility

(from Figure 2.3), which I term 'indicators of work motivation'. According to the new model, when comparison with other job categories results in inequity, feelings of injustice may result which in turn may lead to de-motivation, and thoughts of leaving the organisation or country (turnover and mobility). If pay is found to be equitable in the above model, justice is upheld and de-motivation, turnover, and mobility are bypassed.

Note that this is a model about attitudes, as it does not include measures of actual behaviour. Hence, the revised model specifies *cognitions* about leaving rather than actual turnover (termed 'Exit' in Figure 2.2), to reflect the fact that turnover itself is often not an option for local workers. Although workers may not actually be turning over, simply thinking about leaving the organisation may result in reduced productivity and performance (Wright & Bonett, 2007).

If aid workers are categorised into job categories as predicted in H1, then the ratings of members from the same job category should be more similar to one another, and different to those in other categories (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam, 2004; Turner, 1991). Further, the relative ratings of the job categories across each of the work motivation variables in the model should be different, giving an indication of the relative (in)equity perceived by category members, thereby reflecting the relative position of the job category within the social hierarchy.

H2: Job categories will vary systematically on indicators of work motivation as a reflection of their relative position within the social hierarchy, so that those at the top of the social hierarchy ('expatriates') will report significantly less injustice, de-motivation and turnover than those at the bottom of the social hierarchy ('locals').

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the research reviewed above suggests that relationships between job categories are of key importance for successful aid organisation outcomes generally, and yet this variable has so far been omitted from the Model of Double De-motivation. Building on H1 and H2, I explore the mediating role played by relationships in the link between job categorisation and each of the indicators of work motivation.

Pay diversity has been shown to impede collaboration and performance in work teams (Bloom, 1999; Pfeffer & Langton, 1993; Siegel & Hambrick, 2005), but at the same time positive relationships and collaboration between local and expatriate workers

have been found to positively link with skills transfer (Kealey, 1989), cross-cultural adjustment (Johnson, et al., 2003; Liu & Shaffer, 2005; Wang & Kanungo, 2004), capacity development (Girgis, 2007), and expatriate assignment success (Toh & DeNisi, 2007; Varma, et al., 2009). While previous research has almost exclusively been undertaken in the international business sector, the importance of relationships in the aid context is likely to be equally important, if not more so (Eyben, 2006).

If aid workers from different job categories are able to build successful inter-category relationships (despite the pay diversity they face), organisational outcomes such as work motivation are likely to be improved. I therefore predict that:

H3a: The link between job categorisation and indicators of work motivation will be mediated by the quality of inter-category relationships, whereby better relationships with expatriates may eliminate (fully mediate) or at least attenuate (partially mediate) the injustice experienced by local workers, and at the same time:

H3b: Better relationships with local workers may eliminate (fully mediate) or attenuate (partially mediate) the feelings of injustice experienced by expatriate workers.

Chapter 3

A Qualitative Exploration of Categorisation and Relationships

The study reported in this chapter was designed to obtain information from a cross-section of aid workers in Cambodia about their experiences at work. It was especially designed to examine the categorisation of workers, the meaning and precursors of capacity development for workers in the field, and the role of relationship building in the capacity development process, by talking directly to the workers themselves using a semi-structured interview method. This was an exploratory qualitative study undertaken in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, during a period of one month (February-March 2008).

Cambodia was selected as the site for this study because of its high dependence on aid, and because the focus of much of this aid is on capacity development (Ear, 2007; Godfrey, et al., 2002; Mysliwiec, 2003; C. Potter & Brough, 2004). The (relatively) recent civil war in Cambodia has resulted in a recent history which is characterised by capacity stripping and aid dependence (Macrae, 2001). An estimated 1.7 million Cambodians perished during the period of the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979), with educated Cambodians in particular being targeted for execution, leaving a significant gap in capacity amongst an entire generation of Cambodian people (Tully, 2005).

Cambodia was also selected as the site for this study for reasons of convenience because my previous experience working for an NGO there provided easy access to networks of both local and international aid workers. Further, my personal experience working in Cambodia helped to legitimise my research in the eyes of the respondents, thereby facilitating rapport between researcher and participant.

Though capacity development as a concept lacks a generally agreed upon definition (OECD-DAC, 2006; C. Potter & Brough, 2004), for the purpose of this study I use Godfrey, et al.'s (2002) operational definition of capacity development, which describes it as "the process by which individuals, organizations, institutions and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives" (p.356). According to this definition, capacity

development is a process which includes four dimensions: 1) the development of individual skills; 2) the development of effective organizations within which individuals can work; 3) the strengthening of relationships between entities; and 4) the development of an enabling environment for addressing issues relevant to all parts of society. While all four of these dimensions are crucial for the overall success of capacity development, the focus of this study as with much psychological research is at the inter-individual level, and is therefore concentrated on the first dimension: the development of individual skills.

During my time working in Cambodia, people I spent time with socially talked about the difficulties of being undervalued as an expatriate volunteer, or mistrusted as a local, or too heavily relied upon as an expatriate; all of which led to feelings of dissatisfaction. Hence, it seemed that while most people recognised the importance of relationship building, there were intergroup dynamics which were inhibiting rather than promoting relationship building. Given the importance attributed by some authors of relationships in the capacity development process (Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007), my observations led me to wonder about the impact of being categorised either by yourself and/or others, as a particular category of worker (e.g. 'local', 'volunteer', 'consultant', or 'expat') on the success of capacity development initiatives.

This study aimed to qualitatively explore the three concepts identified above (worker categorisation, capacity development, and relationship building) in order to inform the development of a survey measure in Study II. Mixed methods researchers have argued that qualitative methods can inform the development of theories which can be tested by quantitative research, ultimately enabling the research to give a fuller picture of reality by reflecting a variety of different voices and perspectives (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Qualitative research methodologies provide detailed contextual information which is often not available from quantitative research alone (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). Further, basing the measure development in Study II on interviews with aid workers rather than on my own experiences and review of the literature may help to reduce biases by providing insights into experiences of others which I did not have, thus improving the validity and generalisability of the overall research findings.

This study is the first of its kind to explore the key themes underlying relationship building and capacity development, in the context of a low-income, aid-dependent economy, Cambodia. The study set out with three general aims:

1) to explore how aid workers are categorised by themselves and each other, informally, at work, and the stereotypes which may underpin these categories;
2) to ascertain how aid workers in the field talk about capacity development, and what they identify its precursors to be; and
3) To uncover what role, if any, relationships play in the capacity development process.

3.1 Method

- *Participants*

Study one was undertaken in Phnom Penh, Cambodia during a period of one month (February-March 2008). A cross-section of seventeen local and expatriate aid workers were recruited by convenience snow-ball sampling using word of mouth, and were selected to vary around origin of worker (local, expatriate), organisation type (local, international), and job type (volunteer, consultant, permanent).

Table 3.1
Job type and origin of participants

	Volunteer	Consultant	Permanent	Total
Local	1	2	6	8*
Expatriate	3	4	2	9
Total	4	6	8	17*

* nb one local participant reported being both consultant and volunteer.

Table 3.1 presents a breakdown of the participants in terms of job type and origin of the participant. Nine participants were expatriate and eight were local. Of the nine expatriate participants, three were volunteers, four were consultants and two were permanent staff. Some participants were currently, or had previously been, members of more than one worker type. Six local participants were permanent staff, one was a consultant and one was both a consultant and a volunteer concurrently.

Ages of the participants ranged from 30 to 58, with a mean age of 39.53 (*SD* = 7.4). Six of the Cambodian workers were aged 43-46, while one was aged 31 and the other 32 years. Eight expatriate workers were aged 30-42 years, with one being 58

years old. The countries of origin of the expatriate workers were as follows: Australia *n* = 4, Finland *n* = 1, New Zealand, *n* = 1, and USA *n* = 2.

- *Measures*

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken, with four key questions/techniques guiding the discussion. These techniques were utilised in order to give unique but complementary insights into the work undertaken by aid workers, including what constitutes good teamwork within the context of a development project, what factors underpin the success of capacity development, and what kind of interactions workers have with each other both at work and in their spare time. Questions were sequenced in order to avoid priming participants to talk about relationships and attitudes to other types of workers, but rather to encourage more general discussion about their everyday work.

First, respondents were asked to "talk me through a typical day for you, starting from when you get up in the morning and finishing when you go to bed at night. Please give me as much detail as you can." The purpose of this question was to gain insight into the everyday activities of the respondents, including indirectly about how much they normally interact with those around them, including colleagues. This question also functioned to encourage the respondents to relax and talk openly about their experiences.

Secondly, based on Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique, respondents were asked to "think of a time you felt part of a development project team that was working really well together. What were the general circumstances surrounding this incident? What did other people do that helped the success of the team? Why do you think this was so successful? Tell me about the team members." Respondents were then asked to "think of a time you felt part of a development project team that was *not* working well together at that particular time. What were the general circumstances surrounding this incident? What did other people do that impaired the success of the team? Why do you think this was unsuccessful? Tell me about the team members."

The critical incident technique has a variety of uses within organisations, including to inform selection, training, and staff development (Chell, 2004). It gives examples of extreme behaviours and helps identify which behaviours are beneficial for organisations, and which are potentially counterproductive for organisations, thereby

identifying behaviours which should be the subject of training programmes and selection of staff.

Thirdly, respondents were asked to complete the following sentence: "in my experience of development work 'capacity development' means....." Additional probes were used around whether capacity development occurs within organisations themselves, or between organisations and the community, as well as what sort of factors need to be in place for capacity development to work.

Capacity development is a complex concept which lacks a generally agreed upon operational definition, or measure (OECD-DAC, 2006; C. Potter & Brough, 2004). The purpose of this question was therefore to explore how practitioners in the field think about capacity development both in terms of its meaning, and in terms of the individual factors that need to be in place for it to succeed, and in particular to explore in the analysis stage the role relationships might play in this process.

The fourth and final technique used was a (modified) sociogram analysis. Respondents were asked to indicate the existence and strength of their relationships with others, by talking about those who they have most contact with both at work, and outside of work. This included probes about whether there are people who they don't work with very often, or find it difficult to work with. This sociological technique provides insights into how individuals perceive those around them, and who they tend to identify with. I refer to this as "modified" because sociogram analysis usually includes comparison of reciprocal relationships between more than one member of a network, and results in a graphical representation of the relationship network (Wasserman & Faust, 1994), however it was used in this study to stimulate discussion about connections with, and attitudes towards, colleagues.

- *Procedure*

The procedures involved in this study were approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (application 07/066). Respondents were recruited by snowball sampling and invited to participate in the research at a time and place of their choice, be it at their workplace, an air-conditioned office in a local independent research agency which I had rented for the duration of the research trip, or their home. All respondents were proficient in English, and all interviews were therefore undertaken in English. Interviews ranged in length from 01hr 15min, to 2hr 55min, and were an

average of 1hr 42min. Interviews were recorded on audio tape and transcribed by the researcher.

Questions were kept as open as possible, while being guided by the four techniques/questions described above. A relaxed conversational style approach was utilised in the interviews, and participants were asked throughout the interview to comment on both their own experiences at work, as well as on their observations of the experiences of others at work.

A thematic analysis of the interview data was undertaken, based on the guidelines in Braun & Clarke (2006). This involved the transcribed data being actively read and reread for themes relating to three topics of interest: group formations (categorisations), capacity development, relationships, and for links between the three. I utilised an inductive approach whereby I read and re-read the data for themes relating to these three topics and coded diversely, without being guided by the themes which may have been expected from previous research or from my own experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I took a semantic level, or descriptive, approach to coding the data rather than a latent level approach. Once initial codes had been identified I mapped them onto overarching themes, which were derived from interpreting similarities identified between the codes. Reliability of the codes, and overarching themes, was tested using inter-rater reliability, by having a second rater read and code the interview transcripts. Percentage agreement between the main rater and the second rater was 80%, and Cohen's Kappa was $\kappa = .7176$.

This study took an essentialist/realist approach, assuming that the experiences described by the respondents directly reflect the meaning of those experiences (J. Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This is distinct from a constructionist approach (where experiences, meanings and realities are assumed to be the effects of various discourses operating within society) and a contextualist approach (where social context is seen to impose on the meaning individuals make of their experiences, and which sits between the two poles of essentialism and constructionism).

3.2 Findings & Discussion

A thematic analysis of the interview transcripts found evidence both through the use of the terms 'expat'/'expatriate' and 'local', as well as discussion of characteristics unique to each group, that aid workers are categorised (by themselves and others) into two

general groups: expatriates and locals. Expatriates are further categorised into three sub-groups characterised by power, status, and hierarchy: ‘volunteer’, ‘consultant’, and ‘permanent’ staff, and talk about volunteers is divided into two groups: positive and negative. Figure 3.1 shows the categorisation diagrammatically.

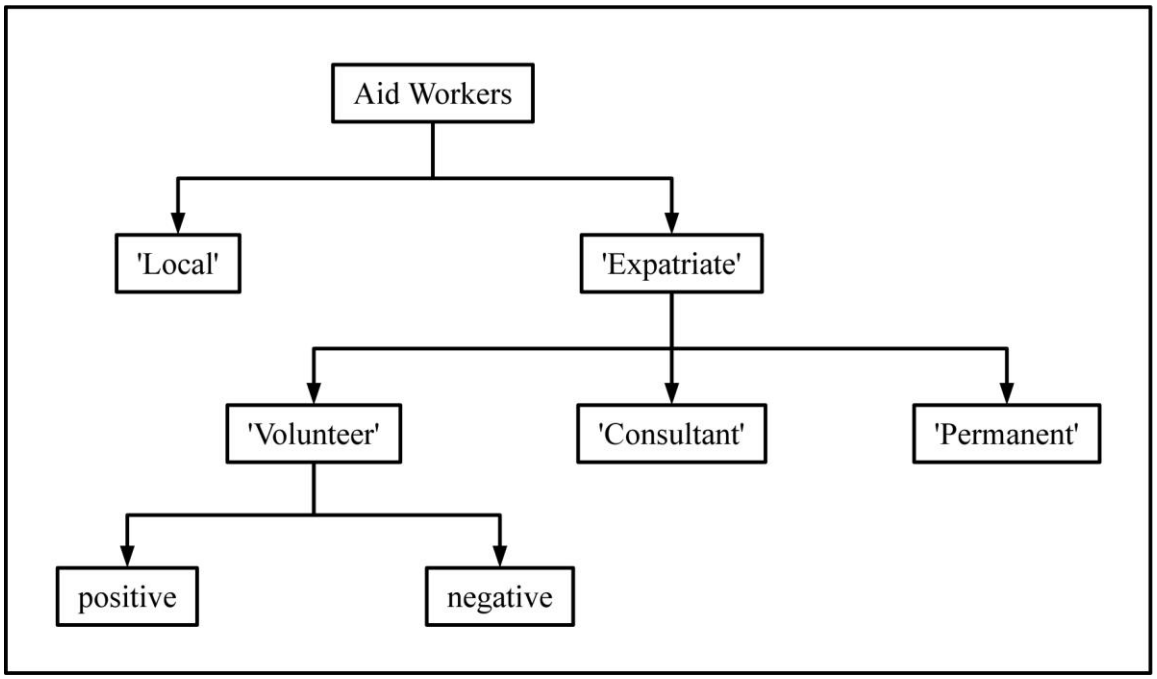

Figure 3.1. Job categorisation of workers as identified through thematic analysis.

With regard to capacity development, talk was closely linked with relationship building, underlining the importance of relationships for capacity development. Four key themes underpinning relationship building and capacity development at work were found: Communication, friendship, reciprocal learning/teaching, and confidence.

The findings are reported and discussed below in two parts. Part one presents the findings around group formation, and links the findings with social positioning theory, which posits that individuals are positioned within groups through discourse (Davies & Harre, 1990). Part two outlines the four key themes found in the data related to relationship building and capacity development, and discusses the implications of these themes for the success of aid initiatives in general.

Part One: Group Formation

Social positioning theory suggests that individuals are positioned into groups through their interactions with others (Davies & Harre, 1990; Tan & Moghaddam, 1999), and that these groups are underpinned by a hierarchy of power (Hermans, 2001). The findings of this study, outlined below, suggest that within the aid context such a hierarchy might be linked to pay and/or status. Such a hierarchy might reinforce barriers between the groups, particularly between those high in pay and/or status and those lower in pay and/or status.

Categorisation 1: "Expats" versus "Locals": Analysis of the interview data suggested that divisions exist between groups of workers and that the groups are a reflection of the pay level, purpose and role of the worker. A clear division was reported between local and expatriate workers; when asked about their relationships with others at work the local workers often reported feeling looked down upon by the expatriate staff, while the expatriate staff perceived that locals are intimidated by them and therefore less likely to want to be friends.

> *"some expats they are proud with themselves … they look to us such like we know nothing about things or something like that and after that our relationship become bad, become worse and worse"* (local worker, permanent)

> *"they always kind of treat me with a lot of respect and it's very flattering but I'm not sure that I necessarily deserve it. Sometimes I feel like I get treated that way just because I'm a foreigner."* (expatriate worker, consultant)

> *"I think that just by being foreign you get this either fear or people don't like you sometimes, like resentment, or just that people are afraid of you, afraid to talk to you for some reason. I don't know if it's that they think that you're higher ranking, or you're going to get them in trouble, or just they don't want to…they're afraid of their English skills."* (expatriate worker, consultant)

Categorisation 2: "Volunteers" versus "Consultants" versus "Permanent" Expatriates: As well as the expat-local distinction, when asked about their relationships

and interactions at work, respondents made a clear distinction between 'volunteers', 'consultants' and 'permanent' expatriate staff.

In support of social positioning theory, the majority of the distinctions between these three groups of expatriate staff related to hierarchy, and a combination of power and status (reflected by respect). Permanent expatriate staff tended to be perceived as having the most power, but were also talked about with respect: *"but the permanent expatriate is different* [to volunteers and consultants] *because they have position, they have power"* (local worker, permanent).

Talk around expatriate consultants was generally less respectful but still related to status: *"they are arrogant because they are proud of their capacity and knowledge"* (local worker, permanent). *"The consultant* [is] *making a lot of money, a lot of money, and probably there is a certain prestige to being a…consultant versus being a volunteer"* (expatriate worker, consultant).

Talk about expatriate volunteers was particularly interesting because it was contradictory. As indicated in Figure 3.1, talk around expatriate volunteers was divided into two different categories: positive and negative. The positive talk about expatriate volunteers tended to come from local respondents, or from the expatriate volunteers themselves about how they felt they were perceived by their local colleagues, while the negative talk tended to come from the permanent and consultant expatriates, or reported by the expatriate volunteers about how they felt they were perceived by their permanent and consultant expatriate colleagues.

Positive talk: Locals talked positively of expatriate volunteers, that they are simple people, and that it is easier to build relationships with them than other expatriates: *"*[volunteers are] *easy to make the friend because they don't consider they are boss"* (local worker, consultant). This may be due to expatriate volunteers receiving a more equitable pay than other expatriates: *"it's true probably because I'm a volunteer that I feel closer to the locals because there isn't so much of an income gap"* (expatriate worker, volunteer). It is worth noting that while expatriate volunteers earn significantly less than many other expatriate workers, they still tend to get more money than locals. It may therefore be less the dollar amount that they earn, per se, which is important as the self-sacrifice the lower salary symbolises. Expatriate volunteers themselves reported feeling respected by the locals:

> *"I've actually found that people really respect that you come here and do it as a volunteer, that you're willing to offer up your time and your services for not the big mega bucks that you know you can get coming to somewhere like Cambodia. So I think that actually generates a whole different feeling than it does with a consultant."* (expatriate worker, volunteer)

<u>*Negative talk:*</u> As well as the positive comments about expatriate volunteers there were also many instances where expatriates reported volunteering less favourably: *"volunteers…are kind of seen as a bit of a joke."* (expatriate worker, permanent), *"people think that if you volunteer it's because you have no job back home that you can take."* (expatriate worker, permanent). Expatriate volunteers themselves spoke of feeling looked down upon by their other expatriates: *"I think that I would be taken more seriously if I wasn't a* [volunteer] *by the expats"* (expatriate worker, volunteer).

These interview responses support the idea that expatriate workers tend to be positioned by themselves and others into informal job categories which reflect their pay and status: volunteer, consultant, and permanent staff. The categories may represent an implicit power structure that exists amongst and between expatriate aid workers. While the categories into which workers are positioned reflect the pay differences between those categories, the interview data further suggests that the positioning of workers is related more to the status of the workers, rather than the salary per se that they earn: *"*[locals are] *very good at going no that's your job you do that, and that's not because of your pay level really, that's because of your position"* (expatriate worker, consultant). "[permanent expatriate staff] *are just arrogant, not that they are highly paid but they think that the project is funded from European country…so they have more ownership in terms of that"* (local worker, permanent). Hence it may be that the category within which aid workers are positioned represent a particular pay level, and that assumptions of what that pay level means about the status of the worker are inherent in that label.

To summarise the findings so far with regard to categorisation, and addressing the first aim of this study, the data suggest that within the context of aid work there is a division drawn in everyday conversation between expatriate and local workers. Further, within the expatriate group there exists a hierarchy where permanent workers are at the top of the hierarchy, with the most power and status, and consultants on the next level

down. Expatriate volunteers are on the lowest level, and may have similar power and status to local workers.

In support of social positioning theory, the data suggest that, through their discourse, workers are positioned by themselves and others within a hierarchy underpinned by power and status, and which reflects the workers' relative pay level. It is unclear from the data whether the 'volunteer-consultant-permanent worker' hierarchy also exists amongst local workers, and this should therefore be explored in future research.

Part 2: Relationship Building

In the interviews, participants were asked to complete the following sentence: "in my experience of development work 'capacity development' means...", and additional probes were used to ascertain what factors, based on their experience, need to be in place for capacity development to succeed. In many of the interviews discussion around developing capacity was closely linked to relationship building, a finding which supports previous research positing the importance of relationships for building capacity (e.g. Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007). Four specific themes about relationship building were identified by reading and re-reading the interview data, and mapping the coded data onto overarching themes derived from similarities between the codes: communication, friendship, reciprocal learning/teaching, and confidence. These themes will be discussed individually below.

Communication: the importance of communication was discussed by all participants. Communication included being understood, being listened to, listening to others, and being open and honest: *"normally to make* [capacity development] *happen we need, people need to communicate to each other more effectively, to understand each other"* (local worker, permanent). *"Most of the staff don't communicate with the international consultants on as friendly a level as they do amongst each other"* (expatriate worker, consultant). *"Communication* [with me] *is extremely open and they're not afraid to ask questions or to challenge, which I find quite unusual in Cambodia"* (expatriate worker, volunteer).

Friendship: the importance of spending time informally with colleagues was highlighted by many of the respondents, both local and expatriate: *"going along to social functions with them, you know if they invite you to their house, go along, you know and show that you're not above anything like that"* (expatriate worker, consultant). *"To be a good team member they need to know each other very well, they need to be helping each other…they must spend time together, some recreation, some funny joke, laughing or whatever"* (local worker, permanent). Expatriate volunteers were described as being more likely than permanent or consultant expatriate workers to form friendships with local colleagues, and more likely to make an effort to understand the culture. This supports the findings in Part 1, where expatriate volunteers were identified as being on the same level as their local colleagues. Developing friendship was identified as being important for developing trust in the working relationship: *"as an expatriate working* [here] *to get that trust you need to form a friendship"* (expatriate worker, volunteer).

Expatriate workers commented that being invited to the home of a local colleague was very rare, and that socialising with local colleagues only occurred during work trips:

> *"you'll find* [that] *expatriates living in Phnom Penh don't have a lot of Cambodian friends. And that is actually pretty much so in every country that I've been in, it's more pronounced than some cases, you know most Cambodians are not going to invite you into their home cause their homes are very small, they don't have the space."* (expatriate worker, consultant).

Despite expatriates rarely being invited to the home of a local colleague, the majority of respondents from all groups discussed the importance of developing a friendship, and chatting informally with colleagues, for capacity development success: *"Meeting is just a formality. But if you want to get real information you have to have informal chatting with the programme staff"* (local worker, permanent).

Reciprocal learning/teaching: the importance of recognising that everyone is an expert in something, and that we all have something to learn from others as well as to teach others was highlighted by respondents from all job categories, but particularly by expatriate workers: *"if they can see that you are also learning from them then that's*

how you get a very good relationship, that's how it works very well." (expatriate worker, consultant).

> *"For me personally I think it's so much about the relationship and how you build that. And don't expect that from day one you're going to be doing this. From day one you have to learn from them, and then when you get to a point that they trust that they can learn from you as well then you're OK."* (expatriate worker, permanent).

> *"Capacity building sort of assumes that somebody's up here and somebody's down here, and that all of the capacity is going one way, where really you've got your specialities and you should be up here in both ways"* (expatriate worker, consultant).

Talk around reciprocity was more prevalent in expatriate responses than in locals, which may be related to the hierarchical nature of Cambodian society, or to the lack of confidence and capacity still evident amongst many Cambodians, particularly amongst the generation who survived the genocide of the Khmer Rouge era. The Khmer Rouge targeted educated Cambodians as victims of the genocide, thus stripping an entire generation of a wealth of skills and capacity. Younger Cambodian interviewees reported teaching expatriates about the Cambodian culture, and about aspects of the job, but receiving little (if any) recognition for it, which made them disgruntled: *"sometimes they help me, sometimes I help them. But I think that what I help them, what the national* [Cambodian] *help them is more than they help me."* (local worker, permanent). Future research could examine the existence of age and/or generational differences in attitudes to different worker groups, and the impact of the entrance of the younger generation of Cambodians into the workforce on the need and success of capacity development.

Confidence: which includes a belief in one's own ability as well as a belief in the ability of others, is directly related to capacity development: *"the problem was that no-one would listen to her and if I hadn't been there* […] *that first "no" she would have taken that as a no"* (expatriate worker, volunteer). *"On an individual level I just really think* [capacity development]*'s about people being in a position to make their own decisions, and to take control of their lives, and to be in a space where they can learn and grow and just continue to be in that."* (expatriate worker, consultant).

Expatriate respondents from all categories talked about capacity development as being about building confidence, and also about the need for the person doing the capacity development to have confidence in the person who is having their capacity built: *"you've got a person with the skills, with the new skills or whatever, they may have the confidence to use that, but they also need somebody to put them forward and say well you do that."* (expatriate worker, consultant).

To summarise the findings about relationship building discussed in Part 2, and thereby address aims 2 and 3 of this exploratory study, the findings discussed above support previous research which suggested that relationship building underpins capacity development (Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007). Undertaking a thematic analysis of the interview transcripts enabled an exploration of the factors underlying the success of relationship building and capacity development within the international aid context, and the findings suggest that four themes are of key importance: communication, friendship, reciprocal learning/teaching, and confidence.

In practical terms, the findings suggest that it is essential for all workers to take time to develop relationships with each other. This includes encouraging open communication, which may be facilitated by embracing an environment of mutual learning, where it is recognised that both local and expatriate staff have skills and expertise to contribute. Local staff may need to be encouraged to have confidence in their skills, and to be aware that their expatriate counterparts have confidence in their abilities. Finally, the importance of making time to develop friendships between expatriate and local staff, and to spend time together informally, should not be underestimated. These findings suggest that building open relationships based on trust and respect may be essential for the success of capacity development initiatives.

Job Categorisation and Relationship Building – A Link?

The main objective of this exploratory study was to gather information to be used to inform the development of a measure in Study II, which will quantitatively explore the linkages between job categorisation, relationships, and work motivation variables. To this end, while the aims of this study have been addressed and discussed in detail in the preceding sections, in this section I highlight some interesting quotes and discuss some of the tentative linkages between job categorisation and relationship

building which emerged from analysis of the interview transcripts, to give context to Study II, and its hypotheses.

A current permanent expatriate staff member who had previously worked as both a (expatriate) volunteer and a consultant commented that: *"as a consultant they don't ask you what you get paid, but as a volunteer they will ask you to see where on the rung you are"*. This suggests that local workers may automatically characterise expatriate consultants as earning very different wages to their own, but recognise that expatriate volunteers may earn similar wages. Local workers may therefore be more likely to compare themselves with expatriate volunteers than expatriate consultants or permanent expatriates, who they may automatically identify (by virtue of the job category to which they 'belong') as too different for comparison. The way in which workers talk about the different groups may therefore perpetuate the actual existence of the groups, as posited by social positioning theory (Chryssochoou, 2004; Collier, 2006).

Local workers reported that they were better able to relate to expatriate volunteers than to expatriate consultants or permanent workers: *"volunteer staff working as the partner with the staff members of the local NGO, and the expatriate staff, the permanent expatriate staff working in the like bossy style"* (local worker, permanent). *"the volunteer has a very good relationship with the core staff, better than the consultant. They know the work, they know the problem, they know the challenge of the local staff and they are even giving a hand to the local staff."* (local worker, permanent). Expatriate workers also commented that expatriate volunteers may be better able to build relationships: *"they treat* [the volunteer] *differently because she's not in any kind of supervisory role, she's not a consultant, she's a volunteer, so I think they are more friendly with her than they might be with someone else"* (expatriate worker, consultant).

In short, the findings are in support of previous research (e.g. Devereux, 2008; Watts, 2002) that expatriate volunteers may be better positioned than consultants or permanent expatriate staff to link with local counterparts, and thereby build capacity via work relationships. This relative positioning of expatriate volunteers at a similar level to local workers, and below both expatriate consultants and permanent expatriates fits with that described in Part 1 of the findings (above). While the responses discussed in this section give a very tentative indication about the potential impact job categorisation may have on relationships, it must be stressed that this requires systematic examination

across other contexts and with different measures before any conclusions can be drawn about this linkage.

Limitations

This study is limited in that participants were selected through word of mouth, and while all efforts were made to ensure that a cross-section of aid workers from different backgrounds were included, self-selecting respondents may not necessarily be representative of the aid worker community as a whole. Further, self-selecting respondents may be those people in the population who hold a more strong opinion about the research topic, however, as participants were only aware of the very broad research topic this is likely to be of limited concern. Participants were informed that "I am interested in how aid organisations function, particularly in terms of relationship building and capacity development at work. I would like to know about your relationships at work, and how aspects of your working environment might affect these relationships" and "you will be asked about your experiences at work, your observations of those around you, the relationships you have with others at work, and about particular characteristics of different workers."

In addition, all participants were connected to me through various networks and personal connections. This is not to say that all participants were known to me, but all were connected to me by one or two degrees of separation, in that I asked friends if they could put me in touch with contacts who were, for example, local workers working in an international NGO, or expatriate consultants working in a local NGO, etc. Again, this may affect the representativeness of the sample, however the flipside is that the participants may have been more relaxed and open than they would have been with someone with whom they had no connections. Further, without my personal connections it would have been very difficult to recruit anyone to participate in the research.

Finally, though the interviews were semi-structured and care was taken not to guide the conversation outside that structure, as with all qualitative work it must be recognised that the expectations and characteristics of the researcher may have inadvertently affected the interview process itself. Further, the same may be true for interpreting the results of the research; while every attempt was made to objectively

analyse the transcripts, the subjective perspective of the researcher may have had some influence in the interpretation.

3.3 Conclusion

The results of this exploratory study suggest that the aid workers interviewed tended to be positioned by themselves and others into categories which reflect their pay level, purpose and role. These categories (local, expatriate volunteer, expatriate consultant, and permanent expatriate) were talked about as having particular characteristics, and when examined next to each other the categories fall into a hierarchy, which is underpinned by power. Permanent expatriate aid workers are at the top of the hierarchy and are talked about with respect and status, and expatriate consultants are one level down still having status but less respect than the permanent workers. Expatriate volunteers are on a lower level and may be more aligned with local workers. The patterning in the data is in line with social positioning theory, which posits that individuals position themselves, and are positioned by others, in relation to each other through discourse.

In part 2 of the analyses, relationships were found to be of key importance for successful capacity development, and underpinned by four key themes: communication, friendship, reciprocal learning/teaching, and confidence. These themes are used in Study II to inform development of a measure of relationships, and to quantitatively explore the linkage between job categorisation and key organisational outcomes, and the potential mediating role of relationships in this linkage.

Chapter 4

Study II: A Quantitative Exploration of Relationships

Method

4.1 Overview

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research has highlighted some of the adverse effects of pay disparities on workers within the development context (e.g. Carr, Chipande, et al., 1998; Ferrinho & Van Lerberghe, 2002). These effects include a 'double de-motivation' whereby both local and international workers experience de-motivation because of their relative under and overpayment. Other research reviewed earlier in this thesis points to the negative impact pay diversity can have on relationships and collaboration between team members (e.g. Pfeffer & Langton, 1993; Siegel & Hambrick, 2005). However, to date, no research has yet considered the impact of pay disparities on the relationships between workers within the aid context. Study II is designed to address this gap by quantitatively exploring the links between job categories (underpinned by imbalances in power and disparities in pay), relationships, and indicators of work motivation in aid organisations.

The method and results of Study II are discussed across the next four chapters. In this chapter I summarise the methods utilised in the study, and in Chapters 5-7 I present the findings. Study II is a quantitative study which developed directly from the results of Study I, and was designed with three aims in mind: 1) to develop a valid and reliable measure of relationships between aid workers, 2) to test for group differences based on job categories across indicators of work motivation (including relationships), and 3) to test whether relationships mediate the linkages between job categorisation and indicators of work motivation.

This study comprised one module within Project ADDUP (Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance?), a larger study of remunerative differences and workplace motivation and performance, based out of Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand. Apart from the items regarding quality of relationships, the methods and

measures utilised in Study II were developed collaboratively through the Project ADDUP study. In this chapter I summarise those work motivation measures which were developed together with Project ADDUP, and which are integral to this thesis. The analyses and conclusions presented in Chapters 5-7 were undertaken separately and independently to those of Project ADDUP. I refer the reader to a paper by Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham (2010) for full details of the findings of that larger study.

4.2 Participants

1290 workers across six countries in three geographically different regions: Africa, Asia, and Oceania participated in the study. The country sites selected for the study included Malaŵi (*n* = 241), Uganda (*n* = 217), India (*n* = 233), China (*n* = 249), Papua New Guinea (*n* = 200) and Solomon Islands (*n* = 150). These countries were selected to represent three different types of economies: land-locked economies (Malaŵi and Uganda), emerging economies (India and China) and island nations (Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands).

There were 202 organisations in the study with a mean of 6.4 respondents from each organisation. Using combinations of convenience and snowball sampling, in-country research teams from local partner institutions in each site identified potential organisations where local and international employees work alongside each other. Organisations were identified as belonging to particular sectors: aid organisations = 60, *n* = 294 individuals; government agencies = 40, *n* = 202 individuals; educational institutions = 36, *n* = 323 individuals; and business organisations = 75, *n* = 469 individuals.

992 (76.9%) participants identified as local, and 298 (23.1%) as expatriate. Amongst the expatriate respondents there were 42 countries of origin. 822 (63.7%) were male, and 459 (35.6%) were female. Mean age in the sample was 36.5 years (*SD* = 9.5). The overall response rate was 46% (50% for local workers and 38% for expatriates). Participants were asked to identify the type of salary they receive: local (*n* = 964, 74.7%), international (*n* = 216, 16.7%) or volunteer (*n* = 93, 7.2%).

In order to enable the potential impact of human capital variables to be controlled in the analyses (as per human capital theory, introduced in Chapter 2), participants were asked to provide details of the number of years' experience they had,

and their highest qualification. Controlling for these variables will ensure that any differences found in the results are due to psychological differences, rather than differences in human capital between the job categories. Mean years' experience for the full sample was 9.7 years (*SD* = 13.2 years), with means of 9.3 (*SD* = 14.2 years) for local workers, 12.6 years (*SD* = 9.7 years) for international workers, and 7.5 years (*SD* = 8.7 years) for volunteer workers. Table 4.1 contains the highest qualifications of the whole sample, and broken down by salary type (local, international and volunteer). The modal qualification for local- and volunteer-salaried worker subsamples was a bachelor degree (38.9% and 39.8% respectively), and for international-salaried workers was a masters degree (36.6%). More than 92% of respondents were tertiary educated, and to that extent are skilled and qualified.

Table 4.1
Highest qualification attained by whole sample, and by salary types (local, international and volunteer), with mode values emboldened (n = 1264).

	Highest Qualification			
	Total sample (%)	Local (%)	International (%)	Volunteer (%)
Primary School	6 (0.5)	4 (0.4)	0	2 (2.2)
High School	52 (4.0)	38 (3.9)	7 (3.3)	7 (7.5)
Tertiary Diploma	119 (9.2)	100 (10.4)	5 (2.3)	11 (11.8)
Bachelor degree	**479 (37.1)**	**375 (38.9)**	58 (27.2)	**37 (39.8)**
Postgraduate diploma	115 (12.0)	114 (11.8)	35 (16.4)	6 (6.5)
Masters degree	336 (26.0)	233 (24.2)	**78 (36.6)**	22 (23.9)
Doctoral degree	101 (7.8)	70 (7.3)	26 (12.2)	4 (4.3)
Post-doctorate	16 (1.2)	8 (0.8)	4 (1.9)	3 (3.3)
Total	*1264*	*942*	*213*	*92*

4.3 Measures

- *Indicators of Work Motivation*

Items were simultaneously developed around six constructs contained in the Model of Double De-motivation, outlined in Figure 2.3 (p. 34): 1) '*pay comparison'*, 2) '*self-*

assessed ability', 3) '*de-motivation due to pay'*, 4) '*pay justice'*, 5) '*turnover cognitions'* (thinking about changing jobs), and 6) '*thinking about international mobility'* (thinking about taking a job in another country). All items were measured on a Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with 3 as the midpoint (neither agree nor disagree). Following full pilot testing (see *Procedure* section below), the full questionnaire was administered to 1290 participants across the six country sites. The full questionnaire is included in Appendix I.

Adequacy of the sample for factor analysis was assessed by Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2(66)=3613.935$, $p\leq.001$), and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) statistic of sampling adequacy (KMO=.749), which can range in value between 0 and 1 where a value close to one indicates that factor analysis should yield distinct and reliable factors.

Principal axis factor analysis with oblique rotation was used in order to explore the underlying latent constructs in the data. Principal axis factor analysis makes fewer distributional assumptions than maximum likelihood, and oblique rotation allows the factors to correlate (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Items with communalities <.3, or which did not load with any other items were eliminated. Mean scores per item for each factor were computed and used in the analyses.

Factor reliability was checked by re-running the analyses by region (Oceania, Africa, Asia; representing varied contexts and cultures), but not by each country, as there was not have enough power to test at the country level (after Bolitho, Carr, & Fletcher, 2007). Table 4.2 gives the factor structure, and Cronbach's alpha reliability scores for these six variables.

Table 4.2

Exploratory factor solutions for the six constructs from the Model of Double De-motivation, by region and combined (loadings <.30 suppressed)

Factor loadings:	**Combined**	**Oceania**	**Africa**	**Asia**
Factor 1: Turnover Cognitions	*(α=.94*	*.96*	*.93*	*. 94)*
I think about leaving this job	.90	.93	.86	.87
I wish I could leave this job	.86	.84	.84	.85
I think about leaving this organisation	.83	.84	.74	.86
I feel like leaving this job	.81	.89	.88	.66
I wish I could leave this organisation	.78	.76	.73	.80
I feel like leaving this organisation	.74	.72	.74	.72
Factor 2: Thinking about International Mobility	*(α=.92*	*.94*	*.93*	*.88)*
I wish I could leave this country	.87	.87	.91	.72
I think about leaving this country	.86	.80	.89	.72
I feel like leaving this country	.85	.84	.88	.76
Factor 3: Self-Assessed Ability	*(α=.83*	*.84*	*.84*	*.81)*
I perform better than most expatriates	.78	.68	.87	.67
I have more ability than most expatriates	.75	.74	.81	.66
I perform better than most locals	.73	.72	.73	.75
I have more ability than most locals	.69	.78	.66	.72
Factor 4: De-motivation Due to Pay	*(α=.87*	*.87*	*.86*	*.86)*
It is awkward working with differently paid and benefited expatriates	.80	.83	.77	.76
It is awkward working with differently paid and benefited local	.79	.73	.84	.76
I feel devalued by the pay and benefits received by expatriates	.72	.79	.66	.64
I feel devalued by the pay and benefits received by locals	.69	.64	.71	.62
I am de-motivated by the pay and benefits received by expatriates	.64	.64	.58	.63
I am de-motivated by the pay and benefits received by locals	.63	.49	.66	.60
Factor 5: Pay Comparison	*(α=.74*	*.81*	*.74*	*.65)*
I am aware of the pay and benefits received by expatriates	.72	.76	.74	.65
I am aware of the pay and benefits received by locals	.70	.78	.65	.56
I compare my pay and benefits to the pay and benefits received by expatriates	.59	.53	.67	.57
I compare my pay and benefits to the pay and benefits received by locals	.54	.55	.59	.47
Factor 6: Pay Justice	*(α=.80*	*.79*	*.79*	*.76)*
"I feel that there is fairness in the…"				
Process for allocating pay and benefits to locals	.73	.73	.72	.56
Process for allocating pay and benefits to expatriates	.69	.66	.70	.63
Share of pay and benefits given to locals	.68	.81	.62	.53
Share of pay and benefits given to expatriates	.63	.55	.68	.64
"I feel comfortable about my own pay and benefits compared to the…				
Pay and benefits of expatriates	.58	36*	.71	.59
Pay and benefits of locals	.50	.41	.45	.52
Total variance explained	66%	70%	68%	63%

Note. * cross loads negatively on Motivation/De-motivation factor (-.44).

Also included alongside the six variables from the Model of Double De-motivation was a three-item measure of *job satisfaction* from the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins Jr., & Klesh, 1983; Highhouse, Thornbury, & Little, 2007), and the nine-item measure of *work engagement* from the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES-9, Schaufeli, Bakker, & Salanova, 2006). Job satisfaction has been found in previous research to be positively linked with both relationships and justice (e.g. Colquitt, et al., 2001; McAuliffe, et al., 2009). The job satisfaction and work engagement scales factor analysed as one factor (assessed by examining scree plots, and using Harman's single-factor test, Podsakoff & Organ, 1986), and were therefore combined into a composite measure of job satisfaction/work engagement. Cronbach's alpha for job satisfaction/work engagement was .89.

- *Covariates*

Measures of culture shock, cultural values, personality, social desirability, demographics (age and gender) and human capital (highest qualification and years' experience) were included as covariates in the Analyses of Covariance (Chapter 6) and Multilevel Regression Modelling (Chapter 7), where the statistical tests utilised allowed their inclusion. Mumford's (1998) seven item Culture Shock Questionnaire was slightly adapted and used to measure culture shock in order to control for the negative impact culture shock might potentially have on relationships and organisational outcomes (Ward, et al., 2001). To control for any potential impact of cultural values, Triandis and Gelfand's (1998) measure of horizontal/vertical individualism/collectivism was included. Two subscales from Costa and McCrae's (2008) Big Five personality scale (neuroticism and agreeableness) have been linked with turnover and performance (Caligiuri, 2000; Hudson & Inkson, 2007; J. Jordan & Cartwright, 1998) and were therefore included to control for the potential influence of personality. Social desirability responding was controlled by using the five-item Socially Desirable Response Set in Hays, Hayashi and Stewart (1989).

Table 4.3

Exploratory factor solutions for covariates by region and combined (loadings <.30 suppressed)

Factor loadings:	**Combined**	**Oceania**	**Africa**	**Asia**
Factor 1: Culture shock	*(α=.75*	*.73*	*.73*	*.73)*
I feel confused about my role working with the new culture	.70	.74	.62	.68
I feel powerless when trying to cope with the new cultures	.66	.68	.60	.72
I have found things in my cross-cultural environment shocking	.58	.68	.60	.52
I'd like to escape from my cross-cultural environment altogether	.58	.54	.44	.64
I feel strain from the effort to adapt to people from different cultures at work	.48	.57	.64	.36[b]
Factor 2: Horizontal-collectivism/Agreeableness	*(α=.71*	*.70*	*.73*	*.61)*
I generally try to be thoughtful and considerate (A)	.62	.60	.56	.61
I try to be courteous to everyone I meet (A)	.58	.62	.45	.57
I feel good when I cooperate with others (HC)	.49	.46	.67	[c]
The well-being of co-workers is important to me (HC)	.43	.52	.72	[d]
No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener (SD)	.42	.53	.45	.42
If a co-worker gets a prize, I would feel proud (HC)	.36	.26	.55	
Factor 3: Candour	*(α=.71*	*.79*	*.67*	*.64)*
I often feel tense and jittery (N)	.71	.65	.61	.71
I often get angry at the way people treat me (N)	.64	.73	.60	.56
Under a great deal of stress, I sometimes feel like I'm going to pieces (N)	.53	.40	.49	.59
I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way (SD)	.42	.61	.48	.35
I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget (SD)	.38	.64	.36	
Factor 4: Horizontal individualism	*(α=.57*	*.67*	*.60*	*.38)*
I often 'do my own thing'	.67	.73	.91	.61
I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others	.54	.66	.51	.50[e]
Factor 5: Vertical individualism	*(α=.46*	*.46*	*.29*	*.53)*
When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused	.50	.25	.52	
Winning is everything	.48	.50	.53	.61
Factor 6: Vertical collectivism	*(α=.55*	*.58*	*.42*	*.60)*
Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required	.51	.64	.62	.62
It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want	.48	.55	.30[a]	.53
Total variance explained	55%	58%	54%	55%

Note. [a] Item cross-loads on horizontal individualism factor in the same column (.32) ; [b]Item cross-loads on candour factor in the same column (.38); [c] Item cross-loads on vertical collectivism factor in the same column (.32); [d] Item cross-loads on vertical collectivism factor in the same column (.42); [e] Item cross-loads on vertical individualism factor in the same column (.57)

The covariates were subjected to the same factor analytical procedure as outlined above for the work motivation items. One item from the social desirability measure was retained despite having a communality of .2, as it had a significant factor loading. Six factors emerged from the analyses: 1) *culture shock*, 2) *agreeableness/horizontal collectivism*, a fusion of agreeableness (from the Big Five) and horizontal collectivism (from Triandis & Gelfand's, 1998, measure), 3) *candour*, a composite of neuroticism and social desirability, which reflects the strain of aid work (McFarlane, 2004), 4) *horizontal individualism*, 5) *vertical individualism*, and 6) *vertical collectivism*. Although the final three factors were less reliable than the rest, and only contained two items each, they were retained in the analyses for fullness. Table 4.3 gives the factor structure, and Cronbach's alpha reliability scores for these covariates.

- *Aid Relationships Quality Scale Item Generation*

The four themes about relationships in aid work identified in Study I were used as an empirical basis for the generation of 26 items related to work relationships (see Table 4.4, for items). Two additional items were included as a check on capacity development: "In my main job my capacity has been enhanced by working with a) expatriates, b) locals". The relationship items were measured alongside the work motivation measures, and covariates outlined above, but analysed independently. Full details of the development of the Aid Relationships Quality Scale, including factor analysis and tests for reliability and validity of the resultant factors, are provided in Chapter 5.

Table 4.4. *Twenty-six items generated for the Aid Relationships Quality Scale.*

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Theme 1: Communication					
At work I feel I am listened to by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
I find it easy to talk openly with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
At work it can be difficult to be understood by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
Theme 2: Reciprocal learning/teaching					
I am learning a lot from					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
I have a lot to learn from					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
At work I provide technical guidance to					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
I have a lot to teach					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
Theme 3: Confidence					
The best ideas come from					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
My ideas are better than the ideas of most					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
I will never know as much about this work as					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
Theme 4: Friendship					
It is difficult to make friends with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
I have good working relationships with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
I often socialise with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5

4.4 Procedure

The full questionnaire was pilot tested across all six country sites in order to ensure consistency of meaning and comprehension across all sites. On the basis of the results of the pilot testing, some items were reworded and some removed. The questionnaire was developed and administered in English, except in China where participants had a choice of the English version or a Chinese-translation version. The latter was developed through a back-translation procedure to check for consistency of meaning.

In-country teams distributed the questionnaire in paper form to a cross-section of organisations, with an information sheet introducing the project. The in-country team members returned to the participating organisations to collect the questionnaires at a later date, sometimes returning multiple times. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured at all times, and for both individual participants and participating organisations. Ethics approval was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHECN 08/003), and from appropriate in-country institutions.

Analysis of the data was conceptualised in three main stages in line with each of the three aims of the study, and each of which are described one at a time in the next three chapters. The development of the Aid Relationships Quality Scale (ARQS) is detailed in Chapter 5, including results of factor analyses and an examination of the reliability and validity of the resultant factors.

Chapter 6 uses Analyses of Covariance (ANCOVA) to explore the similarities and differences between three job categories (‘local’, ‘expatriate’ and ‘expatriate volunteer’) across the work motivation indicators, and the relationships measure. The covariates outlined above are controlled where possible. Where the assumptions for the ANCOVA were violated, I used non-parametric equivalents, including Welch’s F-test and Games-Howell tests. The potential mediating role of relationships on the linkages between job categories and the work motivation variables was explored in Chapter 7 utilising Multilevel Regression Modelling.

Chapter 5

Study II: A Quantitative Exploration of Relationships

Results I: Developing the Aid Relationships Quality Scale (ARQS)

This chapter discusses the development of a psychometrically sound measure designed to quantitatively explore the significance of relationships between workers, as identified in Study I, and to enable further exploration of the association between relationships and indicators of work motivation. To that end, the chapter is structured in three sections, the first detailing an exploratory factor analysis of the Aid Relationships Quality Scale (ARQS), the second exploring any potential nesting of the data in organisations, and a third examining the construct validity of the emergent factor structure, using cross-level correlation techniques. I seek to develop and explore the validity of a measure of relationship quality that is relevant to organisations in the aid context, a context characterised by significant salary discrepancies and institutionalised power imbalances.

The ARQS was developed from the four themes found in Study I to underpin the relationships between aid workers: communication, confidence, reciprocal learning/teaching, and friendship. While the items (see p.62 for a full list of the items) were developed on the basis of interviews undertaken in one aid-dependent context, Cambodia, the characteristics of relationships between local and expatriate aid workers which were identified resonated with my review of the literature, and experiences in the field, and may also apply in other aid contexts (J. M. Morse, 1999). Indeed if similar findings are obtained across different and new cultural, economic and political settings, strong support for the durability and robustness of the initial findings is provided (Gergen, 1973, 1994). To this end, I took the findings of Study I to six new country contexts, selected for their geographic, economic, and cultural diversity, to test the relevance of the themes within those new and diverse settings.

To explore whether the themes which were found in Study I are in fact applicable across these diverse contexts, an exploratory factor analysis of the data

collected in Study II was undertaken, utilising the same protocol as for the work motivation measures outlined in Chapter 4. Exploratory factor analysis enables exploration of the underlying latent factors in a dataset (Field, 2005). Reliability of the emergent relationships factors was tested using Cronbach's alpha.

In addition to exploring the relevance of the four relationship themes across the new country contexts, I wanted to extend the research findings from Study I in a second way, by exploring the possibility that *organisations* themselves may play a role in facilitating or hampering worker relationships. Almost all interviewees in Study I were drawn from different organisations, meaning that organisational-level differences could not be controlled in that study. However, organisations may play a key role in shaping worker relationships as well as organisational outcomes more generally, for example, through organisational culture, organisational structure, and organisational policies in both for-profit (Sheridan, 1992) and not-for-profit (Grindle, 1997) settings.

Where respondents from the same organisation are more likely to share characteristics with each other than with individuals from other organisations, a dataset is said to be 'nested', and the average correlation between workers from the same organisation will be higher than between workers from different organisations (Hox, 2002; MacKinnon, 2008). Such clustering needs to be statistically controlled, otherwise the findings may be spurious and important organisational moderators may be missed (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). In order to explore the potential moderating role of organisations, nesting of individual data in organisations was examined by calculating intra-class correlation coefficients (ICCs) (Kenny & La Voie, 1985).

The construct validity of the ARQS was explored using bivariate correlations linking between the emergent factors and the work motivation measures outlined in Chapter 4 ('job satisfaction/work engagement', 'de-motivation due to pay', 'turnover cognitions', 'self-assessed ability', 'pay comparison', 'thinking about international mobility', and 'pay justice'). A modification of the Multitrait-Multimethod Matrix of Campbell and Fiske (1959) was used, whereby the correlation matrix was examined for a pattern of convergence and discrimination between the emergent factors, and the remaining measures (Crano and Brewer, 1973). In order to demonstrate validity using this method, both convergence and discrimination must be demonstrated, i.e. the ARQS factors must be shown to correlate (both positively and negatively) with those measures with which relationships are theoretically linked (i.e. convergent validity), and to *not*

correlate with those measures with which relationships are theoretically *not* linked (i.e. discriminant validity).

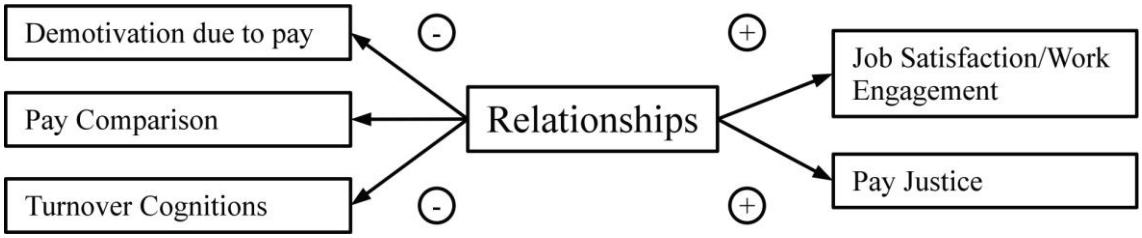

Figure 5.1. Expected positive and negative convergent linkages between relationships, and indicators of work motivation

The expected positive and negative convergent linkages between relationships and the work motivation variables are depicted in Figure 5.1. Extrapolating from previous research reviewed in Chapter 2 and in support of the convergent validity of the ARQS measure, *positive* correlations would be expected between relationships and 'job satisfaction/work engagement' (e.g. Pfeffer & Langton, 1993), and between relationships and 'pay justice' (e.g. Siegel & Hambrick, 2005). Further, a *negative* correlation between relationships and 'turnover cognitions' would be expected (Wright & Bonett, 2007). Though as yet untested, insofar as both 'pay comparison' and 'de-motivation due to pay' are likely to be negatively linked with 'pay justice' (as posited by the Model of Double De-motivation), they will also, logically, be negatively linked with relationships.

Finally, in support of the discriminant validity of the ARQS, I propose that there will be no significant correlations between relationships and 'thinking about international mobility', because while poor relationships may lead to an increase in thinking about shifting to another job ('turnover cognitions'), this is unlikely to extend to thinking of moving internationally (particularly for local respondents). Put simply, moving internationally would likely be an over-reaction – disproportionately extreme – to relationship difficulties per se in a local workplace.

An empirical linkage between workplace relationships and 'self-assessed ability' has not yet been identified in research, and is thus difficult to predict with relative certainty or confidence. In Study I, however, aid workers themselves reported that relationships are important for the success of aid initiatives. It might therefore be tentatively expected that through habitual reflection on the importance of relationships,

those who report better relationships will also assess themselves as being more able in their job. Conversely, it is equally plausible that those who rate themselves as more able will equally experience more feelings of injustice due to pay differences, and therefore *distance* themselves from their colleagues, thereby *impeding* work relationships.

5.1 Exploratory Factor Analysis

Adequacy of the sample was assessed using Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2(66)=3613.935$, $p\leq.001$), and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) statistic of sampling adequacy (KMO=.749). I used principal axis factor analysis with oblique rotation and eliminated items with communalities <.3, or which did not load with any other items. Factor reliability was checked by re-running the analyses by region (Oceania, Africa, and Asia). Mean scores per item for each factor were computed and used in the analyses.

Contrary to expectation, the four themes identified in Study I as underpinning relationships did not emerge from the data as factors. Rather, a principal axis factor analysis using oblique rotation extracted three factors, which were labelled: 1) 'Relationship with Expatriates', 2) 'Relationship with Locals', and 3) 'Learning from Expatriates and Locals'. The 3-factor structure was upheld across all three regions in the study, as can be seen in Table 5.1. Though some cross-loading occurred at the regional level (3 items in the Africa sub-sample and one in the Oceania sample) the loadings on each factor for the cross-loaded items were similar and, given that across the sample as a whole there were no cross-loadings, this structure was retained.

Table 5.1

Exploratory factor solutions for the Aid Relationships Quality Scale (ARQS) combined and by region.

Item	*Overall*	*Africa*	*Oceania*	*Asia*
Factor 1: Relationship with Expatriates				
- I have good working relationships with expatriates	.688	.691	.728	.574
- I find it easy to talk openly with expatriates	.620	.701	.572	.595
- I often socialise with expatriates	.600	.600	.622	.573
- At work I feel I am listened to by expatriates	.509	.560	.636	.432
Cronbach's alpha	*.716*	*.741*	*.723*	*.687*
Factor 2: Relationship with Locals				
- I have good working relationships with locals	.741	.711	.713	.682
- I find it easy to talk openly with locals	.559	.528	.592	.506
- I often socialise with locals	.525	.567	.517	.411
- At work I feel I am listened to by locals	.445	.248**	.524	.520
Cronbach's alpha	*.670*	*.656*	*.676*	*.625*
Factor 3: Learning from Expatriates and Locals				
- I am learning a lot from expatriates	.581	.373*	.504	.577
- I am learning a lot from locals	.572	.734	.336***	.503
- I have a lot to learn from expatriates	.563	.271*	.853	.729
- I have a lot to learn from locals	.550	.526	.549	.625
Cronbach's alpha	*.695*	*.664*	*.708*	*.731*

Notes: * crossloads on F1; ** crossloads on F3; ***crossloads on F2

To explore the possibility of common method variance, a posthoc factor analysis was run which included all variables in the study, including the relationships items, and the work motivation measures (p.58). An indication of common method variance would be if all or most items emerged around one factor only (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986; Woszczynski & Whitman, 2004). This second factor analysis extracted the same distinct pattern of factors and explained 62% of variance, therefore indicating that these measures were largely free of common method variance.

Cronbach's alpha reliability scores were calculated for the three factors for the whole sample, and also separately by region. As evident in Table 5.1, the scale factors

show adequate if somewhat marginal reliability across countries that are geographically, contextually and culturally quite distinct.

The unexpected emergence of three factors instead of four factors based around the themes from Study I requires further discussion here. This surprising finding could potentially be explained by country-specific characteristics like economy, degree of aid dependence, or culture; Cambodia may be somewhat unique compared with the other six countries across some or all of these characteristics. However, reflecting critically on the research to this point, a combination of levels of awareness and the different methods utilised in the two studies may also provide an explanation; the interviews undertaken in Study I may have picked up on relatively surface level, manifest characteristics (i.e. "theories espoused"), which are readily observed by aid workers themselves and of which they are explicitly aware (Argyris, 1997). The three factors which emerged from the factor analyses may instead reflect some implicit characteristics of the underlying latent construct (i.e. relationships), that is the implicit assumptions of which individuals are not explicitly aware, but which serve to guide behaviour (i.e. "theories-in-use" Argyris, 1997; Schein, 2010). In Study I participants reported that for capacity development to succeed, relationships must be characterised by good communication, confidence (in the skills of self and others), friendship, and reciprocal learning/teaching. These four themes did not include any specification of particular groups or individuals. The results of the factor analyses, however, may signal that there is an *implicit* distinction between relationships with workers from different job categories within the aid context. Put simply, the data indicate that at an implicit level, it is "relationships with *whom*" that is key, rather than relationships *per se*.

While the emergence of the 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals' factors was unexpected, a third factor which emerged from the factor analysis clearly relates to learning in the aid context, and specifically learning from both local and expatriate sources. The 'learning from expatriates and locals' factor, then, is similar to the reciprocal learning/teaching theme identified in Study I, and is therefore the only factor which consistently appeared in both studies thus far. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, similar findings across diverse contexts provides support for their robustness (Gergen, 1973, 1994). Learning may therefore be a potentially important and robust factor.

The findings above potentially uncover interesting insights into the conscious perceptions aid workers have of their work relationships, and suggest that these

perceptions may contrast with the implicit assumptions which underpin them. However, the differences between the four themes identified in Cambodia in Study I, and the three factors found in the other nations in Study II, also signal the critical importance of exploring the validity of the three emergent factors before they can be used in further analyses in this thesis. Before the validity of the emergent factors can be tested, however, the dataset needs to be examined for potential nesting of the individual data in organisations. If the dataset is found to be hierarchically nested, i.e. individuals within organisations are more similar than individuals between organisations, any moderating effect of organisations needs to be statistically assessed and controlled.

5.2 Testing for Nesting in Organisations

Hierarchical nesting of the data was explored by calculating intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) (Kenny & La Voie, 1985). The ICC measures the proportion of total variance attributable to between-group differences, where a coefficient of 0 means observations are completely independent and the data are not nested in groups, i.e. total variance is entirely attributable to individual (not group) differences (Cohen, et al., 2003). Coefficients of .05 are generally considered small, .10 medium and .15 large. Table 5.2 gives the ICC values for the whole sample at an organisational level (level-2, n=202). A sample size at each level of at least 20, and preferably more than 50, is required for unbiased calculations (Bickel, 2007; Maas & Hox, 2005), therefore, as there were only six countries (at level 3) country effects were not assessed.

From Table 5.2, almost all of the ICC values are significant, and most are highly significant, with the only exception being the 'learning from locals and expatriates' factor. This significance signals the central role played by organisations themselves in work motivation, as well as in relationships between aid workers. It further indicates that the analyses in this thesis should employ statistical controls to correct for the data being nested within organisations.

Table 5.2

Intraclass Correlation Coefficient values for Organisation (n=202)

Variable	*ICC*
Job satisfaction/work engagement	.094****
Self-assessed ability	.057****
Pay comparison	.092****
Pay justice	.096****
De-motivation due to pay	.134****
Turnover cognitions	.118****
Thinking about international mobility	.059***
Relationship with Expatriates	.030*
Relationship with Local	.088****
Learning from Expatriates and Locals	.002 (ns)
MEAN	.093

Notes

- * Significant at .05; ** = .01, *** = .005, **** = .001
- Significance levels for Intra-Class Coefficients (ICC) are based on the F-test (ANOVA) as per Kenny and La Voie (1985).
- ICCs of .05 are normally considered "small;" .10 = "medium"; .15 = "large".

5.3 Construct Validity of the ARQS

As discussed earlier, the surprising factor structure of the ARQS signals the critical need to test the validity of the factors before they can be used in further analyses. To this end, the construct validity of the ARQS was tested using a modified Multitrait-Multimethod Matrix (MTMM) as per Campbell and Fiske (1959), in which convergent and discriminant validity were tested by correlating the three emergent factors of the ARQS with the seven indicators of work motivation described in Chapter 4 ('job satisfaction/work engagement', 'self-assessed ability', 'pay comparison', 'pay justice', 'de-motivation due to pay', 'turnover cognitions', and 'thinking about international mobility'). Where a factor/variable has a significant ICC (from Table 5.2) a technique outlined in Kenny & La Voie (1985) was used to partial out organisation and individual variance, thereby allowing the simultaneous calculation of correlations at both levels.

If the ARQS indeed captures the underlying construct of relationships, a pattern should be apparent in the data whereby theoretically linked variables correlate

according to the strength of their theorised links. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, on the basis of previous research, and with regard to convergent validity, relationships are predicted to correlate positively with 'job satisfaction/work engagement' and 'pay justice', and negatively with 'turnover cognitions'. Further negative convergent correlations are expected with 'pay comparison' and 'de-motivation due to pay'. Discriminant validity would be indicated by finding no correlation between relationships and 'thinking about international mobility'. As these predicted linkages refer to relationships generally, rather than to the individual themes found in Study I specifically, they are still relevant and appropriate for testing the construct validity of the ARQS as a measure of relationships despite the unexpected emergent factor structure.

Table 5.3 gives the individual and organisational-level correlations between the three factors of the Aid Quality Relationships Scale, and the seven work motivation indicators which were measured alongside. From this table, the patterning in the bivariate correlations is largely in line with expectation, thereby providing overall support for the validity of the three factors of the relationships measure. The findings are discussed with respect to the expected linkages below, however given the high statistical power of these analyses due to the large sample size, I will only discuss those correlations which are significant at the $p<.001$ level and/or are greater than .2 ($r>.2$), because the practical significance of other lesser correlations may be limited. The correlations which meet these criteria are emboldened in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Individual and organisational level correlations (N = 1037-1184).

	INDIVIDUAL LEVEL			ORGANISATIONAL LEVEL		
	Relationships with Expatriates	Relationships with Locals	Learning from Expatriates and Locals	Relationships with Expatriates	Relationships with Locals	Learning from Expatriates and Locals
Relationships with Expatriates						
Relationships with Locals	**.321******			-.165*		
Learning from Expatriates and Locals	**.405******	**.322******		-	-	
Job Satisfaction/Work Engagement	**.300******	**.259******	.146****	**.270******	.128	-
Self-assessed Ability	.101****	.190****	-.001	-.219***	.060	-
Pay Comparison	.011	.187****	-.020	**-.393******	.018	-
Pay Justice	.120****	-.047	.094***	**.930******	**-.464******	-
De-motivation Due to Pay	-.141****	.089***	-.055	**-.562******	.189**	-
Turnover Cognitions	-.173****	-.044	-.045	**.276******	**.412******	-
Thinking about International Mobility	-.087***	-.052	-.013	**.803******	-.068	-
MEAN (SD)	3.58 (.64)	3.86 (.54)	3.69 (.58)	3.64 (.40)	3.93 (.33)	-

Notes

-Individual and organisational-level effects have been partialed out (Kenny & La Voie, 1985).

-The ICC for the 'Learning from Expatriates and Locals' factor was statistically non-significant, indicating that it is not appropriate to adjust correlations with this factor for group level. Thus individual level correlations were used for this factor.

- * Significant at .05; ** = .01, *** = .005. ****=.001 (two-tailed).

From Table 5.3, although no predictions were made about the linkages between the three ARQS factors themselves, at the individual level all three factors were significantly positively correlated with each other. The moderate correlation between the two relationship factors (r=.321, $p\leq$.001) provides support for the emergent factor structure found above (in that the correlation is moderate and not strong), and reiterates

that within the aid context, relationships with these two salient categories of workers are two distinct (though interlinked) constructs. Relationships with one job category are different to relationships with the other. Further, the significant and positive link between both relationships factors and learning (r=.405, r=.322, $p\leq$.001) is along the same lines as previous research which has linked relationships with skills transfer (e.g. Kealey, 1989). Positive relationships with both expatriates *and* locals therefore, may be crucial for learning, and capacity development in aid organisations.

In terms of the predicted convergent linkages 'job satisfaction/work engagement' correlated positively and significantly with both relationships factors at the individual level (r=.300; r=.259, $p\leq$.001). This positive link is in line with previous research (e.g. Pfeffer & Langton, 1993), and therefore provides support for the convergent validity of the scale. At the individual level the three factors of the ARQS did not correlate strongly with any of the other work motivation measures. A number of significant and moderate/strong correlations were, however, found at the organisational level, and are discussed below.

With regard to convergent validity, and at the organisational level, in line with expectation and similar to the findings at the individual level, 'relationships with expatriates' correlated positively with 'job satisfaction/work engagement' (r=.270, $p\leq$.001), supporting previous research which has suggested that relationships are a source of satisfaction within organisations (Eyben, 2006; Pfeffer & Langton, 1993). In further support of the convergent validity of the measure, the 'relationships with expatriates' factor was highly positively correlated with 'pay justice' (r=.930, $p\leq$.001), suggesting that relationships with expatriates are better in organisations which have a psychological climate of justice. This positive linkage was also expected, and is in line with previous research (e.g. Siegel & Hambrick, 2005).

An unexpected finding with regard to justice, however, was its significant *negative* linkage with the 'relationships with locals' factor (r=-.464, $p\leq$.001), given that it has been positively linked with relationships in previous research and is highly positively linked with the 'relationships with expatriates' factor. This finding may suggest that better relationships with locals may foster a greater *awareness* of the existent pay injustices, particularly perhaps given that the majority of the sample (77%) are (relatively less well-off) local workers. This interesting organisational-level finding of polarisation between 'relationships with expatriates' and 'feelings of pay justice', and

'relationships with locals' and feelings of 'pay *in*justice', may suggest a key linkage between organisational justice and relationships.

Still at the organisational level, and as expected, 'pay comparison' correlated negatively with the 'relationships with expatriates' factor (r=-.393, $p\leq$.001), again providing support for the validity of the measure - organisations in which workers undertake higher levels of pay comparison are those with poorer relationships with expatriates (perhaps reflecting higher levels of pay injustice). Note that the correlation findings do not indicate the direction of the linkage, i.e. whether more comparison of pay impedes relationships with expatriates, or whether poor relationships with expatriates reduce comparison (through reduced contact). The finding that 'pay comparison' was only correlated with 'relationships with expatriates' and not 'relationships with locals' may again reflect that the majority of the sample are local workers, whose relationships with each other may be unlikely to affect, or be affected by, the amount of pay comparison they undertake. Note that the 'pay comparison' variable includes measures of comparison with both locals *and* expatriates (see Appendix I).

'De-motivation due to pay' was also found to significantly negatively correlate with 'relationships with expatriates' (r=.-.562, $p\leq$.001), but not 'relationships with locals', suggesting that those organisations in which staff are de-motivated by pay the quality of relationships with expatriates is also lower. That this does not extend to 'relationships with locals' may be for the same reason as with pay comparison - that the sample consists largely of local respondents.

'Turnover cognitions' was expected to correlate negatively with relationships, because it has been linked with job dissatisfaction in previous research (e.g. Wright & Bonnett, 2007). This expectation was not met, however, on the contrary, at the organisational level 'turnover cognitions' were found to correlate *positively* with both 'relationships with locals' (r=.412, $p\leq$.001) and 'relationships with expatriates' (r=.276, $p\leq$.001). There is no clear explanation for these unexpected linkages, but it may be that a third factor has a role to play, for example a contextual element such as where organisations with a climate of good relationships fostering professional development via promotion both within *and across* organisations.

In terms of discriminant validity, the finding that at the organisational level 'thinking about international mobility' did not correlate significantly with the 'relationships with locals' factor was as expected, but surprisingly mobility *was*

positively correlated with 'relationships with expatriates' (r=.803, $p\leq$.001). However, on reflection, that in those organisations in which staff report better relationships with expatriates, they also report thinking about international mobility more may reflect a positive consideration by workers, including local workers, of the opportunity to build their career by moving abroad. Having positive relationships with expatriates may increase awareness of international opportunities.

The results of the correlation analyses do not provide any clarification for the link between relationships and 'self-assessed ability', which was found to correlate positively and significantly with 'relationships with locals' at the individual level (though the correlation itself was borderline at r=.190, $p\leq$.001), but negatively with 'relationships with expatriates' at the group level (though here the significance was p<.005, r=.219). It could be speculated that for individuals within the aid context forging good relationships with locals is key to feeling 'able' at work, but for organisations a climate of good relationships with expatriates fosters a sense of ability at a group level.

In summary therefore, the positive and negative linkages outlined above provide support for the convergent validity of the ARQS. Where the findings deviated from expectation the deviation can generally be explained by (potentially unique) characteristics of the aid context, and therefore does not undermine the validity of the scale. These findings therefore suggest that the ARQS is a valid and reliable measure of aid worker relationships, and can be used in future analyses.

5.4 Overall Discussion

This chapter aimed to discuss the development of the Aid Relationships Quality Scale (ARQS), and to psychometrically explore its validity and reliability. An exploratory factor analysis uncovered an unexpected but nonetheless clear 3-factor structure, with adequate reliability. Despite this surprising factor structure correlation analyses between the ARQS and seven work motivation indicators produced a pattern of positive and negative correlations largely in line with expectation and previous research into work relationships, thus providing support for the construct validity of the scale and its factors. Through the development of a psychometrically valid and reliable measure of work relationships within the aid context, this study takes the first necessary step towards enabling quantitative research focused on understanding the role of

relationships within the aid context, and ultimately contributing to improving the outcomes of aid organisations.

A number of key findings of Study II were identified in this chapter, the first being the emergence of two distinct relationships factors from the factor analysis of the ARQS: 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals'. This finding suggests that relationships with different worker groups may represent distinct constructs or at least that relationships with one group are distinct from relationships with the other. Not only does this signal the importance of exploring these two relationships independently in future research but it links directly with the finding of Study I which suggested that aid workers are divided into job categories.

A second key finding in this chapter is that reciprocal learning is a robust factor which holds up across multiple country settings, including Cambodia in which it emerged from interviews with aid workers as one of four key themes, and across the six country sites in Study II where it emerged as a clear factor from exploratory factor analyses. The remaining three themes from Study I did not come through in Study II, however as discussed earlier in this chapter they may have reflected manifest characteristics of work relationships of which workers themselves were explicitly aware, while the factors which emerged from the factor analysis may represent implicit latent constructs. Though the data analysed in this chapter did not find the same structure underpinning relationships as was found in Study I, rather than contradicting one another, the findings may complement and build on one another by providing insight into both the perceived *and* implicit characteristics of aid worker relationships (Schein, 2010). In support of the ARQS and its relevance for future use, it was developed and tested across a large sample, across multiple settings, with more substantive exploration and analyses of the underlying constructs than the qualitative analyses. Further, the patterning in the correlation analyses was largely in line with previous research, thereby supporting the validity of the measure.

Another key finding in these analyses was the significant nesting of individuals within organisations, as apparent from the strength of the Intraclass Correlation Coefficient values in Table 5.2. The significance and strength of the ICC values in this study highlights the importance of exploring individual and organisational level responses separately, not only because ignoring clustering within the data can result in an increase in Type-I errors (Bliese, 2002; Cohen, et al., 2003; Hox, 2002), but also because many of the significant correlation results were found to exist at the

organisational level *only*, pointing to the central role played by organisations themselves in the outcome variables measured, including relationships between workers.

Latham (2007) has argued that some constructs can exist inherently at the group level. These constructs, he argues have little impact on other variables, if any, at an individual level but their impact can multiply up to have an noticeable impact at the organisational level, for example through influencing organisational culture or climate. This study suggests that relationships may be one such variable, perhaps because relationships are inherently social and naturally involve more than one individual. Further, organisational culture and norms of integration or differentiation between workers may play a key role in influencing the relationships between workers, giving support to the importance of history and context as posited by social positioning theory (Elejabarrieta, 1994). Better understanding the impact of organisations on relationships within the aid context may prove highly beneficial for aid organisations by suggesting a potential role for interventions aimed at addressing organisational climate, culture or policies, particularly if research shows that organisations themselves have a demonstrated positive effect on organisational outcomes.

As with most practical research, this study has a number of limitations. A key limitation for this chapter was the small number of expatriate participants per organisation (n'=1.96). Given the finding that relationship effects were primarily at the group (organisational) level, future research should focus on recruiting more expatriates from the same organisations in order to increase the mean sample size per organisation. Related to this is a second limitation, that while the findings described above point to a potentially important division between worker relationships on the basis of job categories, the correlation analyses undertaken do not enable exploration of group-based differences. Increasing the number of expatriates per organisation would then enable individual and group level correlations for local and expatriate subsamples to be explored and compared to test whether the linkages are different for different job categories.

This chapter has described the development of the ARQS, and used the MTMM to demonstrate its construct validity, and in doing so has provided a reliable and valid measure of aid relationships which can potentially be used to better understand the role of relationships in aid organisations. In addition, by highlighting the degree to which individual's relationships are nested within the organisations in which they work, the analyses in this chapter have highlighted the importance of exploring variables at both

individual *and* organisational levels to enable identification of those organisational level variables which may play a key role in nurturing and supporting relationships between workers, and which have the potential to positively influence relationships through organisational policies, culture and/or climate. The next two chapters dig deeper and use the ARQS to explore the similarities and differences between workers from different job categories, while controlling for the influence of organisations, and to explore the potential intervening role relationships between workers can play in the success of aid initiatives.

Chapter 6

Study II: A Quantitative Exploration of Relationships

Results II: Exploring the Relevance of Job Categorisation

The focus of this thesis to this point has been on conceptualising aid worker relationships, and on developing a valid measure of relationships that is relevant to the aid context. In this chapter I seek to explore the relevance of job categorisation in the sample by testing for differences across the mean ratings for relationships and work motivation variables given by workers from different job categories. In doing so I build on the previous chapter by using the ARQS to explore whether worker groups vary in their ratings of relationships with one another, and extend earlier research into double de-motivation by exploring group differences across work motivation variables. More importantly, however, the existence of significant differences between job categories is an indicator of validity of the construct, job category.

Theories of intergroup relations, reviewed critically in Chapter 2, predict that on the basis of social comparison individuals form groups with similar others, thereby differentiating themselves from dissimilar others and vice-versa (Tajfel, 1978; D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Over time ingroup members will behave in more and more group-prototypical ways, increasingly associating themselves with attributes typical to their ingroup (Hogg & Terry, 2000), and shifting their attitudes toward those of their ingroup and away from those of outgroups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Brown, 2000a; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1987b). In all, the attitudinal ratings of individuals from the same group will be more similar than those of outgroup members. If job categorisation is a salient and valid grouping for workers within the aid context, then, the mean ratings given by workers from one job category should be significantly different to the mean ratings given by workers from other job categories.

In their original organisational study of double de-motivation, Carr, et al (1998) found significant differences between the ratings of locally-salaried local workers and internationally-salaried expatriate workers in Malaŵi across items related to injustice, de-motivation and ability. As reviewed in Chapter 2, the authors found general support

for the existence of double de-motivation within a field setting, whereby locally-salaried local workers reported perceiving more unfairness and de-motivation than their internationally-salaried expatriate counterparts. The latter group, in turn, reported perceiving feelings of guilt, as well as perceiving a higher assessment of their own ability than accorded to them by their local colleagues. This ability inflation (i.e. inflation of inputs) may be seen via the lens of equity theory as an attempt at psychological restoration of equity of the outcomes-to-inputs ratio (i.e. 'I earn more than you, therefore I *must* be better than you'). Carr, et al. (1998) further uncovered a potential role for *locally*-salaried expatriates, who were able to perceive both the de-motivation of locals and the guilt of expatriates, which neither other group was able to perceive.

The study by Carr, et al. (1998) was limited, however, by its relatively small sample size (n = 58), and its predominant reliance on measures of perception rather than self-report. Further, the study utilised single-item measures only, meaning that the reliability and generalisability of their results is therefore difficult to assess (Gardner, Cummings, Dunham, & Pierce, 1998; Podsakoff & Organ, 1986). A key aim of the analyses in this chapter, then, is to extend the research by Carr, et al. (1998) by testing for group differences in ratings of work motivation variables across multiple-item composites, using self-report measures, and a large sample size across multiple settings. By including a measure of self-assessed comparative ability rather than a single measure of *perceived* ability I hope to uncover a fuller picture of the underlying role of ability inflation as a means of psychological restoration of equity for expatriates.

Similar to Carr, et al. (1998), this study explores the differences across two of the job categories identified in Study I: 'expatriates' and 'locals'. If the group mean ratings vary in line with expectation, the validity of job categorisation will be indicated. In order to ensure that the groups being compared are based on job categorisation, rather than pay (and benefits), per se, only those who identified as expatriates earning an international salary and locals earning a local salary were included in the analyses. Other workers, (e.g. expatriates on local salary and locals on international salary) were excluded as their different salaries may afford them membership of less distinguishable job categories (e.g. as 'local consultants'). A total of n = 913 local workers on local salary (referred to below as 'locals') and n = 188 expatriate workers on international salary (referred to as 'expatriates') were included in this study.

Crucially, in addition to extending the study by Carr, et al. (1998), this study also aims to build on the previous chapter by testing for significant differences between job categories on their reported quality of relationships with local and expatriate aid workers. According to social identity theory, individuals will tend to *favour* other members of their ingroup, for example by developing stronger relationships with them than with members of outgroups (Tajfel, 1978). Within a context characterised by limited resources, which aid contexts often are, differences between the groups may be reinforced, and relationships impeded (realistic conflict theory, Sherif, 1966; D. M. Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). On the basis of intergroup theories, then, it is predicted that the 'expatriate' and 'local' respondents will report better relationships with their ingroup across the 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals' factors.

In addition to analysing the differences between 'local' and 'expatriate' job categories, exploring the ratings of the relationships factors given by a third salient category identified in Chapter 3, 'expatriate volunteers', may help build a picture of relationships within the aid context. As outlined in Chapter 2, previous research has suggested that 'expatriate volunteers' may be better positioned to build relationships with local workers because of their closer pay (Watts, 2002). At the same time, they may also be better able to link with expatriate workers because of their cultural similarities (Carr, et al., 1998). A further $n = 38$ expatriate workers on volunteer salary (referred to below as 'expatriate volunteers') were therefore also retained in the study, as a potential *third* job category.

This study primarily tests for the existence of significant differences in the mean ratings given by three aid worker job categories ('expatriate', 'local', and 'expatriate volunteer') across the three factors of the ARQS and the seven work motivation variables in order to test the validity of the job category construct. In doing so, it explores the significant differences between job categories across work motivation variables, and relationships between workers. Specifically, and on the basis of the findings of Carr, et al. (1998), it is predicted that:

1) 'Local' workers will report significantly more 'pay injustice' and 'de-motivation due to pay' than their 'expatriate' colleagues, and 'expatriate' workers will report significantly higher 'self-assessed ability' than their 'local' colleagues.

Further, given that workers will tend to favour those from their ingroup than from outgoups, it is predicted that:

2) In accordance with social identity theory, yet contradicting the ethos of capacity development, 'local' workers will report better 'relationships with locals' than either other job category (i.e. 'expatriates' and 'expatriate volunteers'), and 'expatriate' workers better 'relationships with expatriates' than either other category (i.e. 'locals' and 'expatriate volunteers').

6.1 Assumption Checking

A one-way Multiple Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) was calculated to test for overall differences between the job categories across all ten relationships and work motivation factors/variables as a whole. As outlined in Chapter 4, I included a number of covariates in the analyses, including demographic variables (age and gender), human capital variables (highest qualification and years experience), culture shock, cultural values, candour (a measure of social desirability), and horizontal collectivism/agreeableness, to control for other factors which may partially account for intergroup variation.

MANCOVA, and their univariate equivalent Analyses of Covariance (ANCOVA), are underpinned by assumptions of linear relationships, homogeneity of regression slopes, independent observations, normally distributed populations, and homogeneity of variances across groups (Cohen, et al., 2003; Field, 2005; Spicer, 2005; Stevens, 2002). The assumption of linear relationships was tested and met through the examination of scatterplots. The assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes was tested in SPSS using a customised MANCOVA model and examining the interactions between the independent variable and the covariates. None of the interaction terms were significant, indicating that the assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes is met (Field, 2005).

In terms of independent observations, we know from the examination of the Intraclass Correlation Coefficients in the previous chapter that the data are nested within organisations and that this significantly affects all of the dependent variables measured, except the 'learning from expatriates and locals' factor of the ARQS. To address this non-independence, ANCOVA were used to test for differences across the three job categories for each dependent variable individually, thus enabling organisation to be

included as a random factor where the ICCs were significant (Kenny & Judd, 1986; Kenny & La Voie, 1985, p. 342). Bonferroni corrections were applied to the calculations to control for the increased possibility of Type I error which results from running a series of ANOVAs, but were relaxed from α=.005 (α/n=.05/10) to α=.01 to reflect the exploratory nature of this research and to avoid closing off avenues of research prematurely (Grimm, 1993; Jaeger & Halliday, 1998).

To test for normality I used the Shapiro-Wilks test and examined Q-Q plots. Two of the ten variables were found to violate the normality assumption: 'relationship with expatriates' and 'learning from expatriates and locals'. However ANCOVA are generally robust to violations of the normality assumption (Field, 2005; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Hence with two of the ten variables violating the assumption, it was deemed appropriate to proceed using ANCOVA.

I used Levene's test, and examined the variance ratio, to check the assumption that group variances are homogenous, following a protocol in Field (2005). If Levene's test is significant at $p \leq .05$ the group variances are significantly different, and if the variance ratio is greater than 2 the assumption of homogeneity of variances has been violated. Although ANCOVA is also generally robust to violations of the homogeneity of variance assumption (Field, 2005), when group sizes vary considerably as is the case in this study, violations of this assumption can cause significant problems. This assumption was violated for three of the ten variables: 'de-motivation due to pay', 'turnover cognitions', and 'pay justice'. I therefore used Welch's F-test in place of ANCOVA for these three variables as this test allows variance of the groups to be unequal. Games-Howell tests were used to identify the source of the differences (Field, 2005; Games & Howell, 1976).

6.2 Results

A significant multivariate effect was found for job category ($F(20,1394)=7.127$, $p \leq .001$, partial eta squared=.093), indicating that after controlling for covariates there are significant differences across the categories. Hence, further investigation of the nature of these differences is appropriate. Six covariates were found to be significant: horizontal collectivism/agreeableness ($F(10, 696)=26.911$, $p \leq .001$), candour ($F(10, 696)=7.782$, $p \leq .001$), age ($F(10, 696)=7.768$, $p \leq .001$), culture shock ($F(10, 696)=4.276$, $p \leq .001$), vertical individualism ($F(10, 696)=3.637$, $p \leq .001$), and highest qualification

($F(10, 696)=2.687$, $p \leq .005$). The results for each variable are discussed below individually, with discussion of the significant covariates for each.

As outlined in the previous section, the assumptions underpinning MANCOVA were violated for nine of the ten variables, and follow-up analyses were therefore performed using individual ANCOVAs and Welch's F-tests, with Bonferroni corrections. Calculation of ICCs in Chapter 5 identified that all dependent variables, except 'learning from expatriates and locals', violated the assumption of independence, therefore organisation was included as a random factor in the ANCOVA calculations for those nine (out of ten) variables. 'De-motivation due to pay', 'turnover cognitions', and 'pay justice' violated the homogeneity of variance assumption, therefore for those three variables Welch's F-test was used, with Games-Howell tests to identify the source of the differences[1].

Table 6.1 presents each variable with the corrected mean scores for each job category. Significant differences across the three job categories were found for seven of the ten variables/factors examined: 1) 'de-motivation due to pay', 2) 'turnover cognitions', 3) 'pay comparison', 4) 'pay justice', 5) 'relationship with expatriates', and 6) 'relationship with locals', and 7) 'learning from expatriates and locals'. No significant differences were found for the remaining three variables: 1) 'self-assessed ability', 2) 'thinking about international mobility', and 3) 'job satisfaction/work engagement'.

[1] As Welch's F-test does not allow inclusion of covariates or random factors, where the homogeneity of variance assumption was violated (i.e. for 'de-motivation due to pay', 'turnover cognitions' and 'pay justice'), posthoc ANCOVAs controlling for covariates and organisation were also calculated. Posthoc ANCOVA's produced similar mean scores and significance levels for the three variables although for 'turnover cognitions' and 'pay justice' volunteers were different to neither group. In terms of covariates, 'de-motivation due to pay' included candour ($F(1,687)=8.041$, $p \leq .005$), and 'turnover cognitions' included culture shock ($F(1,689)=14.255$, $p \leq .001$) and horizontal individualism ($F(1,689)=9.621$, $p \leq .005$).

Table 6.1

Mean and standard deviation scores for job categories across all variables (n=1139)

	Job Category			
Variable	*'Expatriate' (n=188)*	*'Expatriate Volunteer' (n=38)*	*'Local' (n=913)*	
Self-assessed ability	3.26 (0.71)	3.01 (0.76)	3.40 (0.72)	ns
Pay comparison	3.09 (0.75)	*3.20* (0.75)	**3.52** (0.86)	****
Pay justice#	3.15 (0.61)	3.04 (0.50)	**2.60** (0.72)	****
De-motivation Due to Pay#	2.48 (0.66)	2.60 (0.53)	**3.07** (0.85)	****
Turnover cognitions#	2.31 (0.83)	2.27 (0.65)	**2.65** (1.02)	****
Thinking about international mobility	2.62 (0.91)	2.33 (0.86)	2.44 (1.09)	ns
Job satisfaction/ work engagement	4.10 (0.51)	4.07 (0.55)	4.04 (0.57)	ns
Relationships with Expatriates	3.88 (0.50)	*3.72* (0.47)	**3.58** (0.64)	****
Relationships with Locals	3.81 (0.55)	3.63 (0.53)	**3.93** (0.53)	**
Learning from Expatriates and Locals	3.76 (0.55)	3.91 (0.40)	**3.66** (0.58)	***

**p≤.01; *** p≤.005; **** p≤.001

-# tested using Welch's F-test, differences tested using Games-Howell's test.

-Emboldened means are significantly different to non-emboldened counterparts.

-Italicised and underlined means are significantly different to neither counterpart.

-Scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

-*Significant covariates*: ability: horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****; mobility: age****, horizontal individualism***; satisfaction: age****, horizontal collectivism/ agreeableness****; relationships with expatriates: horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****, vertical collectivism***; relationships with locals: horizontal collectivism/ agreeableness****; learning: horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****, age****.

From Table 6.1, partial support for Hypothesis 1 was found, whereby 'local' respondents reported significantly higher feelings of *'pay injustice'* (F(2,77.879)=52.261, p≤.001, eta squared=.084) and *'de-motivation due to pay'* (F(2,79.768)=58.010, p≤.001, eta squared=.084) than either other group. However contrary to expectation, there was no significant difference between the job categories

on *'self-assessed ability'*, indicating that workers from all job categories rated their own ability similarly highly.

With regard to the other indicators of work motivation, while all respondents reported undertaking '*pay comparison'*, 'local' respondents reported comparing their pay significantly more than 'expatriate' respondents (F(2,205.997)=11.561, $p\leq.001$, partial eta squared=.101). The mean response for 'expatriate volunteer' respondents was not significantly different from either of the other two job categories tested.

Local respondents also reported significantly more thoughts about *turnover* than either 'expatriate' or 'expatriate volunteer' respondents (F(2,82.153)=14.154, $p\leq.001$, eta squared=.018). It should be noted, however, that the mean values for all groups were below the midpoint, suggesting respondents from all groups do not think a lot about leaving the organisation. None of the groups were significantly more likely to be *thinking about international mobility* than the others, and all groups reported being similarly *satisfied/engaged* at work.

Turning now to relationships and the ARQS, from Table 6.1 the mean values across all categories for both 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals' were above the midpoint (3) suggesting that workers reported that relationships at work are, in general, positive. Centrally, in support of Hypothesis 2, respondents tended to report better relationships with their ingroup than with their outgroups. 'Expatriates' reported significantly better *'relationships with expatriates'* than 'local' respondents (F(2,333.052)=8.682, $p\leq.001$, partial eta squared=.050). Interestingly, 'expatriate volunteers' were significantly different to neither group, suggesting this category may be positioned mid-way between the other two. Horizontal collectivism/agreeableness covaried significantly and positively (F(1,716)=16.809, $p\leq.001$), suggesting that those who reported a tendency to think of the needs of those around them, regardless of their job category, also rated their 'relationships with expatriates' better. Vertical collectivism also covaried significantly, but negatively, (F(1, 716)=8.986, $p\leq.005$), suggesting that those who reported tending to think about making sacrifices for the greater good had lower ratings of 'relationships with expatriates'.

'Local' respondents reported significantly higher quality of *'relationships with local'* workers than either 'expatriate' or 'expatriate volunteer' respondents (F(2,218.293)=4.933, $p\leq.01$, partial eta squared=.043). Horizontal collectivism/agreeableness was found to significantly and positively covary (F(1,

741)=150.189, $p \leq .001$), suggesting that those who tended to report thinking of the needs of those around them also reported better 'relationships with locals'.

In terms of *'learning from expatriates and locals'*, results suggested that 'local' workers reported undertaking significantly *less* learning than either 'expatriates' or 'expatriate volunteers' ($F(2, 968)=4.781$, $p \leq .005$, partial eta squared=.010). This direction of difference is unexpected and surprising, since within a context focused on capacity development one would expect more learning to be done if anything, by the 'local' workers. Horizontal collectivism/agreeableness covaried positively ($F(1,968)=64.660$, $p \leq .001$), and age covaried negatively ($F(1, 968)=30.017$, $p \leq .001$), suggesting that those who tended to report thinking of the needs of those around them, and who were younger, tended to report learning more.

6.3 Discussion

The overall aim of this chapter was to test for significant differences across the mean ratings of work motivation and relationship variables, given by workers from three job categories. In doing so this chapter quantitatively tests for the validity of the job category construct, as evidenced by greater differences between groups than within them. This chapter further explores the meaning of the group differences found in light of previous research into double de-motivation, and relationships between workers.

In support of job categorisation, significant differences were found in the mean ratings of 1) 'pay comparison', 2) 'pay justice', 3) 'de-motivation due to pay', 4) 'turnover cognitions', 5) 'relationships with expatriates', 6) 'relationships with locals', and 7) 'learning from expatriates and locals'. While the results only partially replicate the findings of Carr, et al. (1998), and therefore only partially support Hypothesis 1, as I will argue below the patterning across the work motivation variables nevertheless provides broad support for the Model of Double De-motivation. In support of Hypothesis 2, respondents tended to report having better relationships with others from their ingroup.

- *Double De-motivation*

In terms of exploring the relevance of double de-motivation in this sample, the findings suggest that de-motivation may be more single-sided (experienced by 'local'

workers alone), than double (experienced by both 'local' and 'expatriate' workers). Compared with 'expatriate' respondents, 'local' workers reported feeling more de-motivated, undertaking more pay comparison, having more turnover thoughts, and feeling that there was more injustice around pay at work. Neither 'expatriate' nor 'expatriate volunteer' respondents, on average, reported feeling de-motivated by comparative pay, or felt that there was injustice at work due to pay differences. Further, and contrary to the findings of Carr, et al. (1998) who found that expatriate respondents inflated their perceived ability, possibly in an attempt to psychologically restore equity, there was no significant difference in 'self-assessed ability' across the three categories.

This finding, however, does not necessarily refute the Model of Double De-motivation. On the contrary, the mean scores for 'pay comparison' were above the mid-point for *all* job categories, suggesting that *all* respondents reported comparing their pay with their colleagues – though local respondents significantly more than either other category. Only 'local' respondents, however, reported feeling that pay differences are unjust and de-motivating. From an equity theory perspective, 'expatriates' comparing the ratio of their outcomes and input with that of their 'local' colleagues may (on average) feel that equity exists, and hence there is no trigger for real and/or psychological restoration of equity, i.e. through inflation of their ability and/or feelings of injustice and de-motivation. As predicted by the Model of Double De-motivation, if pay is found to be equitable, justice is upheld and de-motivation and turnover are bypassed.

Another key finding in this study with regard to worker motivation is that no significant differences were found across the categories for 'job satisfaction/work engagement'. The high ratings for 'job satisfaction/work engagement' across all three job categories (>4) suggests that despite feelings of de-motivation and injustice amongst local respondents, all workers are highly satisfied/engaged in their jobs. One potential explanation of this contradictory finding may be that within the aid context many local workers face difficulty in obtaining work, and that although remuneration differences are felt to be unjust and de-motivating, there is an overall sense of satisfaction in having a job.

- *The Aid Relationships Quality Scale*

In line with expectation, this research found that 'expatriate' respondents reported having significantly better 'relationships with expatriates', than either other category, while 'local' respondents reported having significantly better 'relationships with locals' than either other group. This finding is consistent with theories of intergroup relations which suggest that individuals tend to have better relationships with others from their ingroup (Haslam, 2004; Sherif, 1966; Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1991). What is particularly interesting about the two relationship variables, however, is the ratings of the 'expatriate volunteer' respondents. As detailed in Chapter 2, 'expatriate volunteers' may provide a useful and potentially unique opportunity to explore the salience of cultural vs. economic divisions between workers, due to their cultural similarity with other expatriates and their economic similarity (in terms of pay) with locals.

For the 'relationships with expatriates' factor the mean score for 'expatriate volunteers' fell between the mean scores of 'expatriate' and 'local' respondents, and was significantly different to *neither* of the other categories. If relationship differences were due to cultural similarities alone, 'expatriates' and 'expatriate volunteers' would give similar mean ratings to one another, and both would be significantly different to 'locals'. Further, if the differences were due to pay alone, 'expatriate volunteers' and 'locals' would give similar ratings to one another, and would both significantly differ to 'expatriates'. The finding that 'expatriate volunteers' are significantly different to *neither* other group may suggest that quality of relationships with expatriates are not due to similarities in culture or pay alone, but rather due to differences and similarities in *both*.

For the 'relationships with locals' factor, however, the same trend was not found. Rather, 'expatriate' and 'expatriate volunteer' respondents did not significantly differ on their ratings of this variable. This finding was surprising, and contrary to both the findings of Study I of this thesis and from previous research which has suggested that 'expatriate volunteers' may be better placed than other expatriates to link with their local colleagues (Watts, 2002). The reasons for this unexpected finding are not clear, although it may (in part at least) be due to the small sample size of the 'expatriate volunteers' group, and its inadequate definition and measurement (this is discussed in more detail and with regard to the overall findings below).

Another, potentially worrying, trend was found for the third factor of the ARQS, 'learning from expatriates and locals'. For this factor, 'local' respondents reported learning significantly *less*, on average, than both their 'expatriate' and 'expatriate volunteer' counterparts. A key aspect of work in aid organisations is capacity development and skills transfer from expatriates to locals, with an eye to ultimately phasing out expatriate workers altogether (OECD-DAC, 2006; OECD, 2006). Given this focus of aid work, local workers might be expected to score significantly higher than their expatriate counterparts on a measure of learning. One explanation for this finding might be that local workers are more skilled or have more experience than either 'expatriates' or 'expatriate volunteers', however even after controlling for years experience and highest qualification this finding remained. Future research into the underlying construct of learning, and including further development of this measure, may be crucial for understanding the experiences of aid worker learning, and capacity development.

- *Job Categorisation – a place for 'expatriate volunteers'?*

Overall consideration of the results presented above provides clear evidence for the existence of two job categories: 'expatriate' and 'local'. Less clear, however, is the existence of a third 'expatriate volunteer' category which did not vary significantly from the other two categories on any variable/factor. For both 'pay comparison' and 'relationships with expatriates', however, 'expatriate volunteers' were significantly different to *neither* other group, perhaps pointing towards the existence of this third job category positioned between the other two because of shared cultural similarities with expatriates and economic (pay) similarities with locals. Further, the mean ratings for 'pay justice' and 'de-motivation due to pay' fell in the same pattern, but were only significantly different to 'locals'.

Support for the existence of a third job category is therefore somewhat limited. However, on reflection, there are a number of potential explanations for why the 'expatriate volunteer' category was not found to differ significantly. First, and foremost, the small sample size of this group, especially compared with the 'local' category, may have muted potential differences between the 'expatriate' and 'expatriate volunteer' group. This small sample size is particularly problematic given the violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance for three variables ('pay justice', 'de-

motivation due to pay', and 'turnover cognitions') which therefore required use of the more conservative Welch's F-test, and limited the ability to explore covariates or random factors for those variables. Future research replicating this research with groups of similar sizes is essential.

A second potential explanation for the lack of a significant difference is the inadequate definition and measurement of the 'expatriate volunteer' category. Follow-up discussions with incountry teams suggested that the meaning of being a volunteer may be considerably different across the six country settings. Further, only those who self-identified in the questionnaire as earning a volunteer salary were included in the analyses. The sample may therefore not be a true representation of all expatriate volunteers, but only those who self-identify as such. For example, workers who self-identified as expatriates on a local salary may have purposely positioned themselves in this way in order to distance themselves from the 'volunteer' label, though their colleagues may still position them as 'volunteers'. Such a strategy was mentioned by some of the volunteers interviewed in Study I.

The weaknesses outlined above highlight a need for more research into the existence of an 'expatriate volunteer' job category. Future research should utilise a larger 'expatriate volunteer' group size and should focus on recruiting volunteer participants directly, for example through volunteer sending agencies, rather than by asking participants to identify themselves as volunteers or not. Not only could this lead to a larger group size, but it may also be a truer representation of workers who are positioned as volunteers *by others*, as well as themselves. Given the concerns raised above regarding the 'expatriate volunteer' category it is excluded from the remaining analyses in this thesis.

In summary, the key aim of this chapter was to test for significant differences across the mean ratings given by respondents from three job categories across work motivation and relationships variables. In doing so the analyses undertaken have provided quantitative evidence that at least two job categories exist within the aid context: 'expatriates' and 'locals'. Further, the patterning in the results whereby locals tend to report more injustice, de-motivation, and turnover than their expatriate counterparts provides broad support for the dynamic outlined in the Model of Double De-motivation. In addition, and in line with expectation, aid workers were found, on average, to have better relationships with others from their ingroup.

However, while the analyses undertaken in this chapter give insight into group differences across each of the variables/factors, and therefore point to the existence of particular job categories, they provide no indication of the linkages *between* the variables/factors. In addition, the significant nesting of the dataset in organisations limits the sophistication of these statistical analyses, requiring each variable to be explored individually. In the next chapter therefore, I utilise Multilevel Regression Modelling, which allows for the simultaneous testing of linkages across both individual *and* organisational levels, and at the same time enables testing for a mediating role of relationships with different worker groups in the linkages between job categorisation and work motivation.

Chapter 7

Study II: A Quantitative Exploration of Relationships

Results III: Testing a Multilevel Mediation Model

In order to address the third and final aim of this thesis, in this chapter I develop and test a multilevel model which incorporates and builds on the findings presented in the previous chapters. Specifically, I seek to explore whether relationships between workers play a role in amplifying or diminishing the linkages between job categorisation and work motivation. In doing so I hope to uncover and demonstrate a crucial role for relationships in the success of aid organisations.

The model to be tested is depicted in Figure 7.1, and is based on the dynamic proposed in Figure 2.3 (p.34), however it is updated and improved through the incorporation of the findings of this thesis so far. The starting point for this model, as with the original model in Figure 2.3, is the significant differences between 'local' and 'expatriate' workers in their ratings of indicators of work motivation. In the previous chapter 'local' workers reported significantly more 'pay comparison', 'de-motivation due to pay', 'pay injustice' and 'turnover cognitions' than their 'expatriate' counterparts, largely consistent with the Model of Double De-motivation (MacLachlan & Carr, 2005; Carr, et al., 1998). Two new dependent variables are included in Figure 7.1: 'job satisfaction/work engagement' and 'learning from expatriates and locals'.

Special mention should be made of the inclusion of the 'learning from expatriates and locals' factor of the ARQS as a dependent variable, rather than a mediator variable. Theoretically speaking, through the processes of technical cooperation and capacity development, aid organisations want to maximise learning on the part of local workers, with an eye to phasing out expatriate workers in the long term (OECD-DAC, 2006). The results of the previous chapter, however, suggest that locals on average may be learning significantly *less* than their expatriate counterparts. Including this factor as a dependent variable, rather than a mediator, makes logical sense, therefore, and given the importance attributed to good relationships for successful

capacity development (Eade, 1997; Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007), may also provide quantitative insight into the role relationships can play in capacity development.

As per the factor analysis findings presented in Chapter 5, two distinct relationships factors ('relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals') are included as mediators in the model, rather than one general measure of relationships. In the previous chapter, and in line with theories of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1987; Turner, 1991), 'local' and 'expatriate' workers rated their relationships with their ingroup significantly better than with their outgroup. Given the pattern of ingroup favouring, and the importance attributed to good relationships both in Study I, and by other researchers (Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007), I seek to explore whether intergroup relationships can explain (fully or in-part) the significant differences identified in the previous chapter between job categories across work motivation variables. Testing the mediating role of these factors may enable the development of relationship-focused interventions, including training and team building, to improve work motivation.

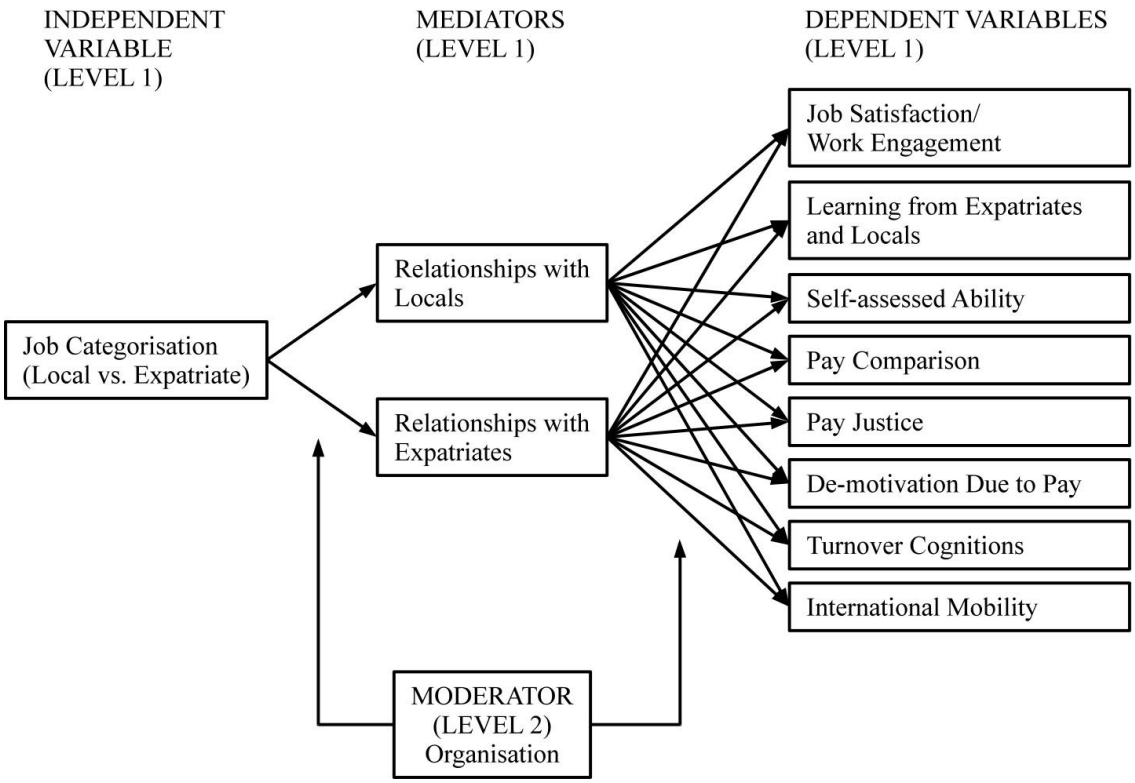

Figure 7.1. A proposed multilevel mediation model of the impact of job categorisation on work motivation variables, mediated by 'relationships with locals' and 'relationships with expatriates'.

In this chapter I utilise a multilevel approach to regression in order to control for the data being nested in organisations. From Figure 7.1, this nesting of individuals in organisations (at level-2) is indicated by the inclusion of organisation as a moderator in the model, because nesting indicates that organisations affect the strength of the linkage between job categorisation and the dependent variables. Also of note in the proposed model is that *all* indicators of work motivation are retained, even though not all were found in the previous chapter to vary significantly across the job categories. They are retained because the ANCOVAs in the previous chapter test only for significant differences between group means, while the regression analyses undertaken in this chapter tests for linkages between variables themselves, which will be particularly useful for mediation testing.

The focus in this chapter is on the two major job categories identified in the previous chapter: 'expatriates' and 'locals'. As in that chapter, to ensure that the analyses are based on the two job categories, rather than international vs. local pay, per se, only expatriate respondents on international salary ('expatriates', n=188), and local respondents on local salary ('locals', n=913) are retained in the analyses. 'Expatriates' on local salary, and 'locals' on international salary are excluded. The 'expatriate volunteer' job category is also excluded due to concerns over the measurement and definition of that group, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The analyses in this chapter first explore the significant linkages between job categorisation and the eight work motivation variables. Where a significant linkage is found I go on to test whether the 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals' factors from the ARQS play a role in mediating the linkages. Specifically, as predicted in Figure 2.3 (p.34), I predict that:

1) The link between job categorisation and indicators of work motivation will be mediated by the quality of intercategory relationships, whereby better relationships with expatriates may eliminate (fully mediate) or at least attenuate (partially mediate) the de-motivation and injustice experienced by local workers, and at the same time
2) Better relationships with local workers may eliminate (fully mediate) or attenuate (partially mediate) the feelings of de-motivation and injustice experienced by expatriate workers.

7.1 Methodology and Results

Why Multilevel Regression?

We know from examination of the Intraclass Correlation Coefficients (ICCs) for each variable (see Chapter 5) that the responses of respondents in this study are nested in organisations, thereby violating the assumption of independence required by regression. This means that respondents from the same organisation are likely to respond in a manner which is more similar to each other than those in other organisations. Ignoring this nesting can lead to biased standard error estimates, inflated Type-I errors, and result in spuriously 'significant' results (Bliese, 2002; Cohen, et al., 2003; Hox, 2002). Multilevel Regression Modelling includes additional variance terms which account for the hierarchical structure of data which is nested (Bliese, 2002). The ability to model variables at different levels gives a huge amount of flexibility to this technique, and enables effective examination of complex datasets and concepts (Goldstein, 2003; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). For simplicity, in this thesis I use the term 'multilevel regression model' as used by Hox (2002) to describe models also known as the 'random coefficient model', 'variance component model', 'hierarchical linear model' and 'mixed-effects' or 'mixed model'. These models are very similar and all assume a hierarchical dataset with one outcome variable that is measured at the lowest level, and explanatory variables at all existing levels (Hox, 2002).

I utilise multilevel regression to explore the existence of mediation within a model in which all variables are measured and analysed at the individual level (level-1), but in which data are nested within organisations (level-2). We do not have the sample size at country level (n=6) to include a third level, as multilevel analyses require at least 20 groups per level (Bickel, 2007; Maas & Hox, 2005).

Critically, in the results reported in this chapter the nesting of individuals within organisations was controlled statistically by allowing the intercept, *but not the slope*, to vary randomly by organisation. Note that prior to undertaking the reported analyses I also examined models which allowed the effect of the independent variable (job category) on each dependent variable to vary by organisation (i.e. by allowing the slope to be random), however for all but one[2] of the models the resultant slope variance was

[2] 'Comparison' was significant at p = .03

not significant (though the intercept variance remained significant, indicating the appropriateness of a multilevel approach to the analyses). This non-significance of the slopes suggests that the magnitude of the linkage between job category and each dependent variable is similar for all organisations; I therefore did not allow the effect of job category (i.e. the slope) to be random throughout the mediation testing discussed below (as per Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Multilevel Mediation

With a simple hypothetical causal sequence of three variables, the middle variable is considered a mediator, which causes some (or all) of the change in the dependent variable (R. M. Baron & Kenny, 1986; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). I used a method for testing multilevel mediation developed by Krull & MacKinnon (2001), and extended to differentiate between the effects of multiple mediators by van Mierlo, Rutte, Vermunt, Kompier, & Doorewaard (2007). This method was developed through modification of Baron & Kenny's (1986) single-level test for mediation, but enables testing of mediation in datasets where the data are nested in groups (in this case in organisations). Where data are nested in groups the independence assumption of regression is violated.

Multilevel mediation models may take several forms: *upper level mediation* is where the effect of a level-2 independent variable on a level-1 dependent variable is mediated by another level-2 variable (Krull & MacKinnon, 2001). *Lower level mediation* is where the mediator is a level-1 variable (i.e. individual-level), and the independent variable can be either a level-1 (individual-level) or a level-2 (organisational-level) variable (Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006). As this research focuses on self-report individual level (level-1) variables only (i.e. none are measured at, or aggregated to, the group level), I am testing for lower level mediation only.

In this study, the independent variable is a dichotomous variable: job category. In regression analyses a dichotomous independent variable is treated no differently to a continuous independent variable (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007). There are two mediator variables: 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals', and eight dependent variables under consideration: 'job satisfaction/work engagement', 'learning from expatriates and locals', 'self-assessed ability', 'pay comparison', 'pay

justice', 'remuneration de-motivation', 'turnover cognitions', 'thinking about international mobility'.

The process of testing mediation in a multilevel model requires consideration of three steps (van Mierlo, et al., 2007). The first step is to regress the dependent variable(s) on the independent variable. In the context of this study, this gives an indication of whether there is a relationship between job category and each of the dependent variables. The second step is to regress the mediator(s) on the independent variable, here giving an indication of whether there is a relationship between job category and the two mediators in the model ('relationships with locals' and 'relationships with expatriates'). The third and final step is to regress the dependent variable(s) on the independent variable and mediator(s) simultaneously. This third step provides information about the linkages between the mediators and dependent variables, and between the independent variable and dependent variables when controlling for the mediators. Mediation of a link between the independent and dependent variables (as established in step 1) is implied if the independent variable is significantly related to the mediators (step 2) ***and*** the mediator is significantly related to the dependent variable (step 3). In the case where mediation is implied, when the mediators are controlled in step 3 the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable would be zero if there is full mediation (otherwise there is partial mediation). In all calculations at all steps, the moderating effect of organisation was statistically controlled.

Assumption Testing

Bryk and Raudenbush (1992) list five assumptions of multilevel regression models: 1) Level-1 errors are independent and normally distributed, and have a mean of zero, with the same variance of errors across all groups; 2) Level-1 predictors are independent of the level-1 errors; 3) Errors at level-2 are normally distributed, with a mean of zero, and are independent among level-2 units; 4) Level-2 predictors are independent of the level-2 errors; and 5) Errors at level-1 are independent of the errors at level-2.

Examination of residual plots suggests that there are no significant violations of these assumptions. However, examination of histograms and normal p-p plots suggests that four variables demonstrate slight deviation from normality at level-1: 'learning from expatriates and locals', 'relationships with locals', 'thinking about international mobility', and 'self-assessed ability'. To address this deviation from normality, I

utilised Maximum Likelihood Estimation to fit the model to the data in the calculations, an estimation method which is robust against violations of assumptions when sample sizes are large (Hox, 2002). Research suggests that with sample sizes of at least 50 groups at level-2, when Maximum Likelihood Estimation is used, errors due to violations of the normality assumption are eliminated (Lumley, Diehr, Emerson, & Chen, 2002; Maas & Hox, 2004a, 2004b). Further, such violations have little or no effect on estimates of fixed effects, estimates of regression coefficients, or estimates of variances when examining estimates at the lower level only, as is the case here (Maas & Hox, 2004a).

Testing for Mediation

STEP ONE. The first step of the multilevel mediation analysis, was to regress the dependent variables one at a time on the independent variable, job category (coded: 0 = 'local' and 1 = 'expatriate'), while controlling for the effect of organisation, as described in Figure 7.2. Those covariates, demographics and human capital variables which were found to be significant for each individual variable in the ANCOVA analyses in Chapter 6 were retained as controls in these multilevel regression analyses in order to ensure that any significant linkages found in the model were due to the variables under investigation and not other variables which also play a role in the linkage.

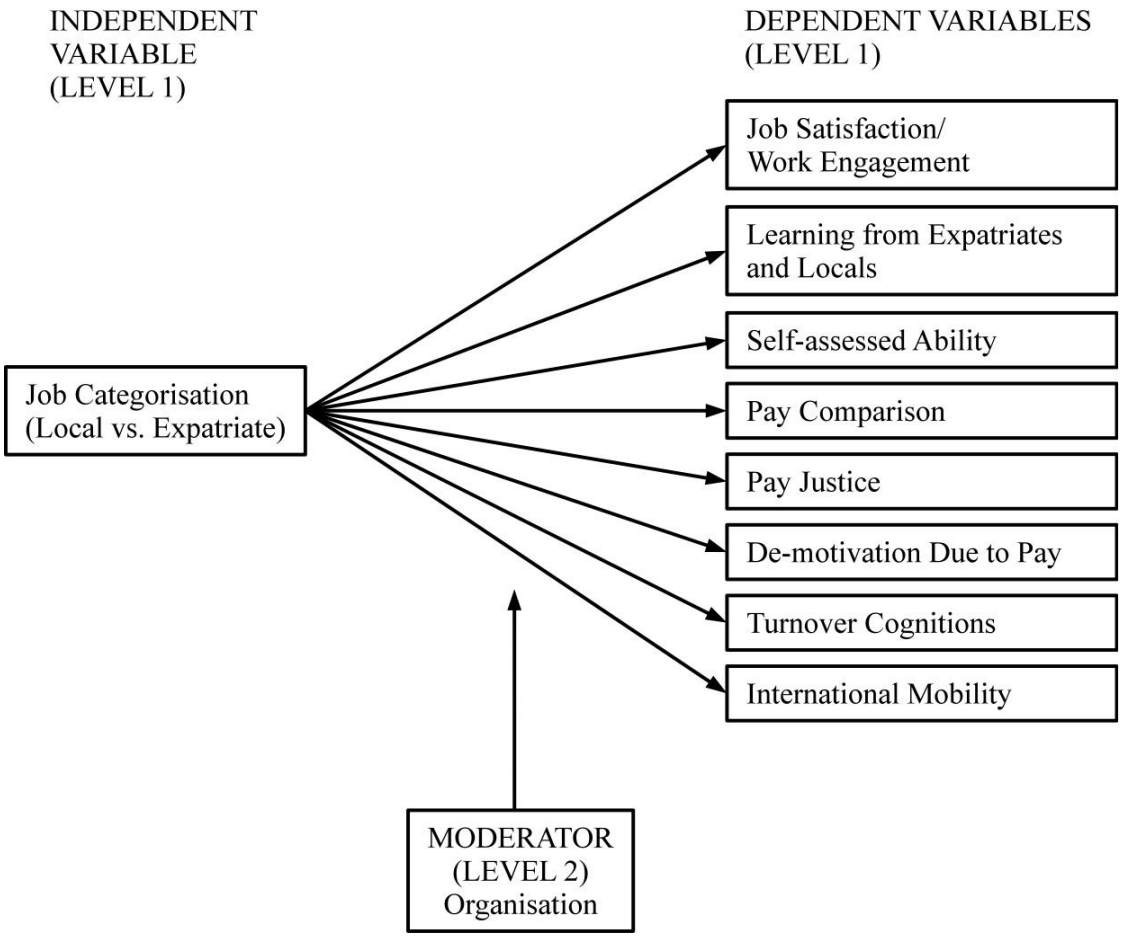

Figure 7.2. Step one of multilevel mediation testing: regressing the dependent variables on the independent variable.

Multilevel modelling was implemented through SPSS MIXED MODELS, Version 17. Table 7.1 summarises the results of the first step of the mediation analyses, which found that six of the eight variables tested were predicted by job category.

Compared with respondents who categorised themselves as 'local', respondents who categorised themselves as 'expatriate' were 1) less *de-motivated by pay differences* (*B*=-.51, $p \leq .001$[3]; candour covaried: *B*=.16, $p \leq .001$), 2) reported more feelings of *justice about pay* (*B*=.46, $p \leq .001$), 3) reported being more *satisfied/engaged* (*B*=.09, $p \leq .05$; age and horizontal collectivism/agreeableness covaried: *B*=.01, $p \leq .001$ and *B*=.31. $p \leq .001$ respectively) and 4) reported *learning* more (*B*=.10, $p \leq .001$; age and horizontal collectivism/agreeableness covaried: *B*=-.01, $p \leq .001$ and *B*=.30, $p \leq .001$ respectively). At the same time, expatriates reported 5) thinking significantly less about *turnover* (*B*=-.30, $p \leq .001$; culture shock and horizontal individualism covaried: *B*=.23, $p \leq .001$ and *B*=.14, $p \leq .001$ respectively), and 6) undertook less *pay comparison* than respondents

[3] Scaled from motivation-de-motivation, where a high score indicates de-motivation.

who self-categorised as 'local' (*B*=-.29, *p*≤.001). Hence for these six variables (1-6 above) there is a link with job category to be potentially mediated.

Table 7.1
Multilevel regression of the eight dependent variables on 'job categorisation' (locally-salaried locals vs. internationally-salaried expatriates), before controlling for potential mediators.

Dependent Variable	*B-estimate*
Self-assessed Ability	.02 (ns)
Pay Comparison	-.29****
Feelings of Pay Justice	.46****
De-motivation Due to Pay	-.51****
Turnover Cognitions	-.30****
Thinking about International Mobility	.08 (ns)
Job satisfaction/Work engagement	.09*
Learning from Locals and Expatriates	.10*

*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤.005; ****p≤.001
Significant covariates: 'Self-assessed Ability': horizontal collectivism/ agreeableness****; 'De-motivation Due to Pay': candour****; turnover: horizontal individualism****, culture shock****; 'Thinking about International Mobility': age****, horizontal individualism***; 'Job satisfaction/Work engagement: age****, horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****; 'Learning from Expatriates and Locals': horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****, age****.

From Table 7.1 the two non-significant coefficients between job category and 'self-assessed ability', and 'thinking about international mobility' indicate that job category did not significantly predict these variables. As this is an exploratory study, however, I decided to test whether the two non-significant variables were directly linked to the mediator variables. The results of this regression can be found in Table 7.2, where the coefficients suggest that those participants reporting better 'relationships with locals' rated themselves higher on 'self-assessed ability', and lower on 'thinking about international mobility'. However, 'relationships with expatriates' was not significant for either variable, meaning that participants' reported relationships with expatriate were not linked with their own self-perceived ability, or thoughts of leaving the country.

Table 7.2

Results of simultaneous multilevel regression on 'self-assessed ability', and 'thinking about international mobility' of the two mediator variables ('relationships with locals' and 'relationships with expatriates').

Dependent Variable	*B-estimates*	
	Relationships with Locals (Mediator)	*Relationships with Expatriates (Mediator)*
Self-assessed Ability	.15****	.02 (ns)
Thinking about International Mobility	-.20***	-.01 (ns)

***p≤.005; ****p≤.001

Significant covariates: ability: horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****; mobility: age**** and horizontal individualism***.

The finding that 'self-assessed ability' was significantly linked with 'relationships with locals' suggests that having good relationships with locals may be seen as part of being able in this type of work (and/or vice-versa). That those with good relationships with 'local' workers are less likely to be thinking of moving internationally may be unsurprising, given that the majority of the respondents were local workers who are unlikely to have the resources to consider moving internationally. These two variables ('self-assessed ability' and 'thinking about international mobility') are excluded from the remainder of the analyses below, as they are not significantly linked with job category and there is therefore no link to be mediated.

STEP TWO. The second step in testing for mediation is to establish whether there is a significant link between the independent variable (job category) and the mediator variables ('relationships with locals' and 'relationships with expatriates'). A significant linkage is required for the mediation to exist. Both mediators (i.e. 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals') were found to be significantly linked with job category, suggesting they both have potential to have a mediating effect.

From Table 7.3, and Figure 7.3 below, being an expatriate was more likely to be linked with poorer quality 'relationships with locals' than being a local respondent was (B=-.10, p≤.01), and at the same time self-categorising as 'expatriate' was more likely

to be linked with better 'relationships with expatriates' (B=.34, $p\leq$.001). To the extent that each category tended to have a stronger relationship with its own reference group, both job categories may thus have demonstrated some ingroup favouritism (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam, 2004; Turner, 1991). Such a linkage would be consistent with similarity attraction and social identity theories (Chapter 2). More importantly, however, they also provide a foundation for relationships to *intervene* between job categorisation and the dependent variables.

Table 7.3
Multilevel Regression of 'Relationships with Locals' and 'Relationships with Expatriates' on 'Job Categorisation' ('locals' vs. 'expatriates').

Mediator Variable	*B-estimate*
Relationships with Locals	-.10****
Relationships with Expatriates	.34****

**p≤.01; ****p≤.001
Significant covariates: relationships with locals: horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****; relationships with expatriates: horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****, vertical collectivism***.

STEP THREE. Finally, as per the third step in the test for mediation, I ran a simultaneous multilevel regression of job category and the two mediator variables ('relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals') on each of the six dependent variables which were significant in step one. Table 7.4 presents the original coefficients for job category on each dependent variable (taken from step one, Table 7.1), along with the coefficients for each mediator on each dependent variable, and finally for job category on each dependent variable *while controlling* for the two mediators. Mediation is implied where the link between the mediator and the dependent variable is significant, and where the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable is reduced in part (partial mediation) or completely (full mediation) by controlling for the mediator variables.

Table 7.4

Results of simultaneous multilevel regression on the six significant dependent variables (from step one) of 'job category' ('locals' vs. 'expatriates') and the two mediator variables ('relationships with locals' and 'relationships with expatriates').

Dependent Variable	*B-estimates*			
	Job Category (original from Table 7.1)	*Relationships with Locals (Mediator 1)*	*Relationships with Expatriates (Mediator 2)*	*Job Category (controlling for mediators)*
Pay Comparison	-.29****	.17***	-.05 (ns)	-.26****
Feelings of Pay Justice	.46****	-.02 (ns)	.13****	.40****
De-motivation Due to Pay	-.51****	.08 (ns)	-.16****	-.44****
Turnover Cognitions	-.30****	.05 (ns)	-.15***	-.24***
Job satisfaction/Work engagement	.09*	.13****	.18****	.04 (ns)
Learning from Expatriates and Locals	.10*	.22****	.30****	.02 (ns)

*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤.005; ****p≤.001

Significant covariates: de-motivation: candour****; turnover: horizontal individualism****, culture shock****; satisfaction: age****, horizontal collectivism/ agreeableness****; learning: age****, horizontal collectivism/agreeableness****.

Together, the results suggest a pattern of fully and partially mediated relationships as displayed in Figure 7.3. Those dependent variables mediated by 'relationships with locals' are denoted in blue, those by 'relationships with expatriates' in red, and those by both 'relationships with locals' *and* 'relationships with expatriates' in green. Briefly, 'relationships with locals' mediated the link between job categorisation and 'pay comparison', 'relationships with expatriates' mediated the link between job categorisation and 'pay justice', 'de-motivation due to pay', and 'turnover cognitions', and both 'relationships with locals' *and* 'relationships with expatriates' mediated the link between job categorisation and 'job satisfaction/work engagement', and 'learning from expatriates and locals'. These mediated linkages are discussed in detail below.

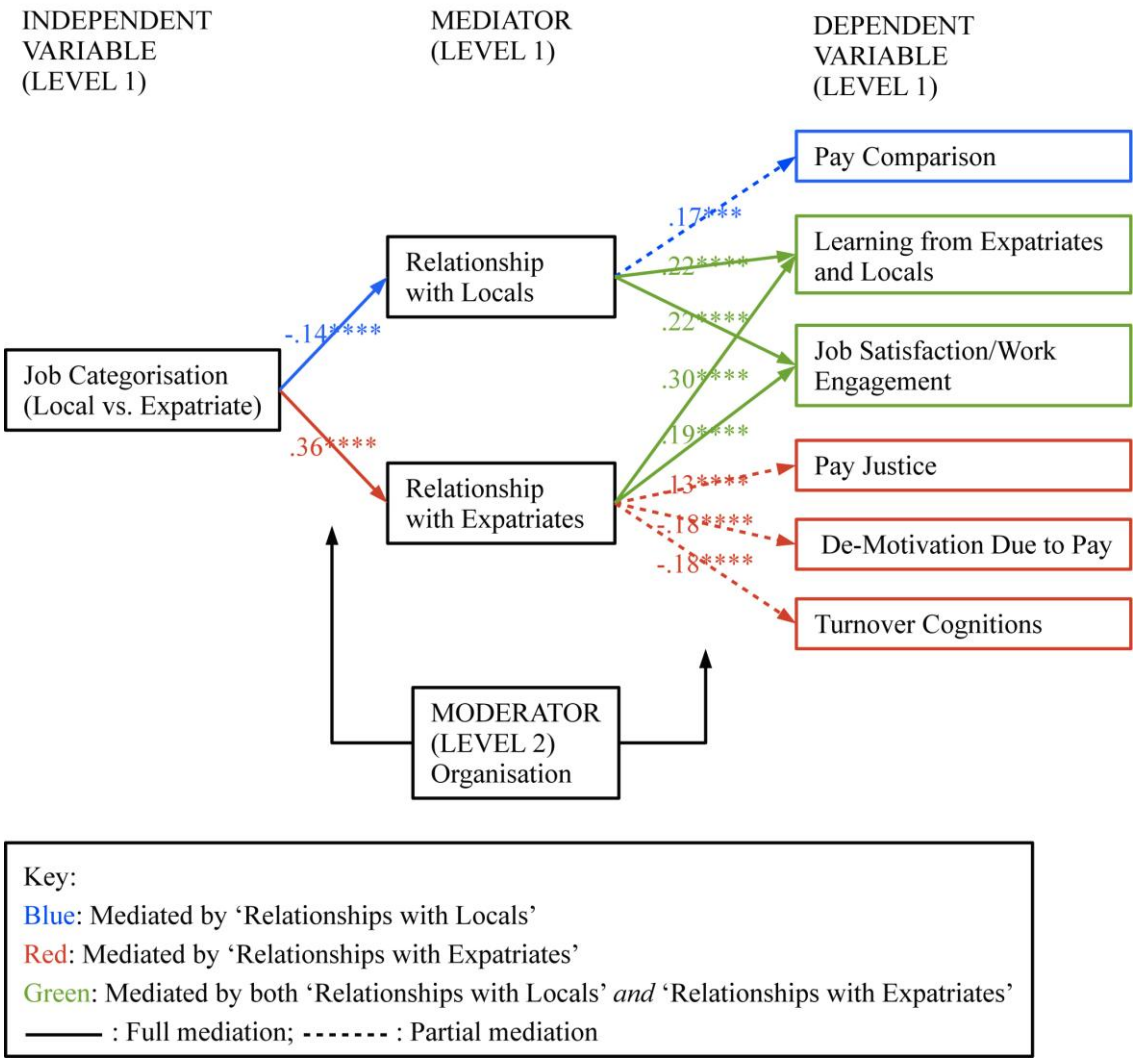

Figure 7.3. Significant fully and partially mediated linkages between job categorisation and the six significant dependent variables significant (from step one).

- *Partially Mediated Linkages*

From Table 7.1, job category was negatively linked with '*pay comparison*,' suggesting that local respondents undertook significantly more pay comparison than expatriate respondents. From Figure 7.3, this negative linkage was partially mediated by 'relationships with locals', suggesting that having good 'relationships with locals' resulted in more pay comparison than having poorer 'relationships with locals'. 'Relationships with expatriates' had no significant mediating effect.

The 'relationships with expatriates' mediator partially mediated the linkages between job category and 1) feelings of 'pay justice', 2) 'de-motivation due to pay', and 3) 'turnover cognitions', while 'relationships with locals' had no significant effect on those linkages. Those who rated themselves as 'expatriates' gave higher ratings of '*pay*

justice', which was explained in part by the positive link between relationships with expatriates and pay justice. At the same time good 'relationships with expatriates' resulted in less feelings of injustice amongst local respondents. With regard to '*de-motivation due to pay'* (and controlling for candour), expatriate respondents reported experiencing less de-motivation due to pay differences than local respondents. Again, this was mediated in part by good 'relationships with expatriates', which predicted significantly less de-motivation due to pay. For local respondents positive 'relationships with expatriates' may attenuate the feelings of de-motivation due to pay. Finally, expatriate respondents were less likely to be thinking about *turnover* than locals (with controls for culture shock and horizontal individualism), and this was again partially mediated by the 'relationships with expatriates' mediator, which predicted fewer thoughts about turnover. Having good relationships with expatriates was linked with improved feelings of justice, and reduced de-motivation and turnover thoughts.

- *Fully mediated linkages*

From Table 7.3, both mediators ('relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals') were significantly, and to a similar degree, related to '*job satisfaction/work engagement'*. In addition, when both mediators were controlled the linkage between job category and 'job satisfaction/work engagement' was no longer significant, suggesting that the linkage was fully mediated by the combined effect of both mediators. That is, good quality relationships both with locals *and* with expatriates fully explained the positive link between job category and 'job satisfaction/work engagement', whereby being expatriate predicted scoring higher on 'job satisfaction/work engagement'.

A similar pattern was found for the *'learning from expatriates and locals'* variable, which was significantly linked to both mediators: 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals'. After controlling for both mediator variables the link between job categorisation and learning was no longer significant, suggesting that good relationships with both expatriates and locals fully mediated the positive linkage between job categorisation and learning, whereby being expatriate predicted scoring higher on learning.

7.2 Discussion

Taken together, the findings outlined above partially support the hypotheses that the link between job categorisation and feelings of injustice and de-motivation will be mediated by the quality of inter-category relationships. From Figure 7.3, better 'relationships with expatriates' may result in less de-motivation, injustice, and turnover thoughts experienced by local workers, in support of Hypothesis 1. But contrary to Hypothesis 2, 'relationships with locals' did not significantly mediate any of these variables. Relationships with local workers did, however, mediate the extent of pay comparison undertaken. This suggests that relationships with locals may be key for triggering comparison itself, and relationships with expatriates for intervening in the potential de-motivation, injustice and turnover cognitions which can result.

The role played by both 'relationships with locals' and 'relationships with expatriates' in fully mediating the link between job categorisation and job satisfaction/work engagement is a key finding of this study. Having good relationships with both local and expatriate colleagues was pivotal and central in the linkage between job category and job satisfaction/work engagement. This finding provides empirical support that extends research undertaken in the international business context into the international aid context, for example which has identified the importance of relationships for expatriate adjustment (e.g. Johnson, et al., 2003; Liu & Shaffer, 2005; Wang & Kanungo, 2004). Further, the finding that having good relationships with *both* expatriates and locals was beneficial for learning is also important. Consistent with previous research, this suggests that a balanced and diverse relationship network is important for learning and skills transfer (Berry, 1997; Brown, 2000b; Kealey, 1989; Liu & Shaffer, 2005).

Of additional interest in these findings is the distinct patterning of the mediation, in that relationships with *both* locals and expatriates play an important role in explaining 'job satisfaction/work engagement' and 'learning from expatriates and locals', while 'relationships with locals' alone are key for pay comparison, and 'relationships with expatriates' for justice, motivation and turnover. The patterning suggests that good relationships with expatriates may play a particularly important role in the key variables in MacLachlan and Carr's (2005) Model of Double De-motivation, and in fact may be even more critical than good relationships with locals for reducing the detrimental effect of pay disparities on aid worker performance. I will further explore and discuss this

patterning in Chapter 8 with relation to revising the model based on these results, and integrating the two relationships factors.

Both mediator variables play a clear mediating role in some of the linkages. Noise in the data due to the large, diverse sample, and exploratory nature of the measures could be reduced by further development of the measures. There may also be other variables, not considered in this study, which play a mediating role.

The presence of specification errors in these analyses must also be considered, particularly the possibility of reverse causal effects (Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998; Stone-Romero & Rosopa, 2008). We have assumed that the two mediator variables, 'relationships with locals' and 'relationships with expatriates', cause the outcome variables, however it is possible that the mediators may actually be *caused by* the outcome variable, or a third unmeasured variable. In fact, the systems approach underpinning the Model of De-motivation argues that there will be a feedback mechanism occurring whereby, for example, better quality relationships with expatriates leads to less de-motivation (i.e. increased motivation), and this motivation in itself feeds-back into the quality of the relationships and results in improved relationships. Future research using a longitudinal methodology, where the interactions between the variables can be tracked over time, or which uses additional variables which enable the specific effects of the mediator and the outcome variables to be identified would be valuable for elucidating the presence of a reverse causal effect, or a recursive link (Kenny, et al., 1998).

In summary, results from multilevel regression testing of a lower level mediation model suggested that job categorisation is significantly linked to six of the eight indicators of work motivation examined in this research. The relationship between job categorisation and 'job satisfaction/work engagement', as well as between job categorisation and 'learning from expatriates and locals' may be fully mediated by a combination of both quality of 'relationships with expatriates' and quality of 'relationships with locals'. The 'relationships with expatriates' factor was found to partially mediate the linkage between job categorisation and a) feelings of 'pay justice'; b) 'de-motivation due to pay'; and c) 'turnover cognitions'. The 'relationships with locals' factor was found to partially mediate the linkage between job categorisation and 'pay comparison'. No relationship was found between job categorisation and a) 'self-assessed ability'; and b) 'thinking about international mobility'. However, regardless of job category, the 'relationships with locals' factor significantly predicted both 'self-

assessed ability', and 'thinking about international mobility'. The results further support and clarify the findings in earlier chapters that relationships are of key importance for outcomes within the aid context, and in particular that they may mediate the impact of job categorisation on work motivation variables.

Chapter 8

General Discussion

The findings of the studies described in the preceding chapters have uncovered a central role for worker relationships in work motivation within the aid context. In support of Hypothesis 1 (p.34), aid workers were found to be categorised into groups (job categories) which are defined by status, power and relative pay. In support of Hypothesis 2 (p.35), the mean ratings of respondents from two such job categories ('local' and 'expatriate') varied across indicators of work motivation, and in a pattern which is reflective of the relative position of each category within the social hierarchy identified in Hypothesis 1. 'Expatriates' (at the top of the hierarchy) reported significantly less injustice, de-motivation and turnover, than their 'local' counterparts (at the bottom of the hierarchy). Further, and in support of Hypothesis 3 (p.36), quality of relationships with different worker groups was implicated statistically in a two-level multilevel regression model as mediating the linkages between job categorisation and 1) 'job satisfaction/work engagement', 2) 'learning from expatriates and locals', 3) 'pay comparison', 4) 'pay justice', 5) 'de-motivation due to pay', and 6) 'turnover cognitions'. Overall, this research provides support for earlier research into the importance of relationships on aid outcomes, and crucially extends that research by identifying that *who* workers have relationships with is critical for work motivation, rather than workers having good relationships *per se*. In this chapter I discuss these findings and their implications in more detail, with a particular focus on the key contribution these research findings make to MacLachlan & Carr's (2005) Model of Double De-motivation.

8.1 Job Categorisation

The starting point for this research was an exploration and clarification of the existence and nature of groups within the aid context, and the relationships between them. Interviews with a cross-section of local and expatriate aid workers in Study I painted a picture of workers categorising themselves and each other according to job

categories, including for example as 'volunteer', 'consultant', 'expatriate', or local. Through their talk, the aid workers interviewed positioned these job categories along a hierarchy reflective of relative pay, but also underpinned by socio-cultural and socio-political characteristics, such as power and status. The findings of Study I then, are consistent with social positioning theory, suggesting that workers are positioned by others into job categories which reflect their relative power and status, and which may serve to maintain rather than confront the status quo (Elejabarrieta, 1994).

Extending the qualitative findings about job categorisation, in Study II 'local' and 'expatriate' workers were found to vary significantly in their mean ratings of seven of the ten work motivation and relationships variables measured. In line with social identity theory, for these variables workers belonging to the same category were found to be more similar to one another than those belonging to different categories (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Turner, 1991). This patterning of similarities within, and differences between, groups provides quantitative support for the relevance of job categorisation in this sample.

It is perhaps particularly noteworthy that these two job categories emerged from a sample in which those who categorised as 'expatriates' were drawn from a total of 42 countries, and those who categorised as 'locals' from six countries. Workers *within* each of the two categories, therefore, and particularly within the 'expatriate' category, are likely to be relatively culturally diverse. The idea of meta-contrast from self-categorisation theory posits that individuals focus on self-categorising into a category in which members are most similar to themselves, and most different to others. Within the aid context, then, despite cultural differences between expatriates, which are likely to extend for example to different native languages, the comparative difference between 'expatriate' and 'local' categories affords the best 'fit'; Country-of-origin differences melt away in favour of a division between 'outsiders' and 'insiders'. Whether or not other job categories identified in Study I, such as volunteers and consultants, are additional categories in their own right or are sub-categories of the 'expatriate' and 'local' categories remains to be tested in future research which utilises better methods for recruiting workers from these categories, and ensures inclusion of both those who self-categorise into these groups, as well as those who are positioned into these groups by *others*.

The qualitative and quantitative findings of this thesis, then, suggest that workers are divided into groups based on their job category. Not only this, but

consistent with social dominance theory, the results of the interviews undertaken in Study I suggest that these categories are underpinned by power, status and relative pay, which reflect a social hierarchy in which 'expatriates' are positioned at the top with the most power and status, and 'locals' at the bottom with the least. Exploring the ratings of work motivation reported by workers from these two categories (from Chapter 6) further suggests that the social hierarchy is reflective of relative inequity, whereby 'expatriate' workers at the top of the hierarchy report the least injustice, de-motivation and turnover cognitions, while 'local' workers at the bottom report the most injustice, de-motivation and turnover cognitions. Such hierarchies and power differences have the potential to create divisions between groups, and to impede relationships between them (Kipnis, 1972; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985, 1987). Indeed, in this research respondents reported significantly better relationships with others from their ingroup, than their outgroups.

The use of informal job categories, then, may not only create divisions between workers, thereby undermining the relationships between them, but as predicted by both social dominance theory and social positioning theory, it may position workers according to their relative status, and in doing so may function to reinforce and maintain the very inequities the aid system is designed to address (Hermans, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

A first key contribution of this research is to provide both qualitative and quantitative evidence for the existence of job categories within the aid context. By highlighting the relevance and importance of job categories, this research extends the basis of the Model of Double De-motivation beyond comparison of pay alone, to include comparison of other salient characteristics, including status and power. I turn now to discuss the implications of the research described in this thesis for double de-motivation, and in light of the findings offer a revision and extension of MacLachlan & Carr's (2005) Model of Double De-motivation.

8.2 Revising and extending the Model of Double De-motivation

In this research I found evidence of a similar trend to that found by Carr, et al. (1998): (lower-paid) 'local' workers compared with (higher-paid) 'expatriates' (on average and with demographic variables, human capital variables, and other covariates controlled) reported undertaking significantly more 'pay comparison', feeling that there

was more ‘injustice about pay’ at work, feeling more ‘de-motivated by pay’ disparities, and thinking more about leaving their job (‘turnover cognitions’). There were no significant differences across job categories for the ‘thinking of international mobility’ variable, suggesting that this variable may not be affected by job category, or equity comparison. The results suggest, then, that ‘local’ respondents experienced significantly more adverse effects of pay disparity than ‘expatriate’ respondents, in support of one half of the Model of Double De-motivation.

However, and contrary to the findings of Carr, et al. (1998), ‘expatriate’ respondents did not report inflating their ability more than ‘local’ respondents, in fact there was no significant difference for ratings of ‘self-assessed ability’ across the job categories. Rather than refuting the Model of Double De-motivation, however, the patterning in the results suggests that in this sample, on average, the perceived inequity may not be sufficient to trigger real or psychological restoration of equity, i.e. ability inflation, amongst respondents from the expatriate job category.

To explain further, the Model of Double De-motivation assumes a starting point of comparison between workers from different job categories who have similar skills and abilities, which in these findings may be reflective of the similar ratings of ‘self-assessed ability’ across job categories. While ‘local’ respondents reported comparing their pay significantly more than ‘expatriate’ respondents, the mean scores for ‘pay comparison’ were above the mid-point for all job categories, suggesting that on average respondents from *all* job categories compare their pay with their local and expatriate colleagues. All respondents, therefore, rated themselves similarly able, and all reported comparing their pay with those around them (though ‘local’ respondents compared more than ‘expatriate’ respondents).

According to equity theory and the Model of Double De-motivation, the feelings of injustice, de-motivation and thinking of turnover amongst the ‘local’ respondents could be as a result of perceived inequity from comparing their relative ability and pay with those around them, i.e. a psychological restoration of equity. ‘Expatriate’ respondents in this sample on the other hand did not, on average, report feelings of injustice, de-motivation, or thinking about turnover (nor inflated ability as found in Carr, et al, 1998) suggesting that respondents from this job category may have assessed the situation to be relatively *equitable*. As predicted by the Model of Double De-motivation, if pay is found to be equitable, justice is upheld and de-motivation and turnover are bypassed. It should be noted that those expatriate respondents who judge

the system to be inequitable may have already left (their job, the country, or the aid sector in general), however there is no measure of actual turnover in this research.

The Model of Double De-motivation has, thus far, been largely supported by the findings of this research. However, the key aim of this study was not only to test the model itself, but rather to explore the potential role relationships may play in eliminating (fully mediating) or at least attenuating (partially mediating) the linkages described by the model.

The results of the multilevel mediation testing described in Chapter 7 suggest that relationships with both locals *and* expatriates play a key role in explaining the linkage between job categorisation and work motivation variables. These linkages are discussed below, and a revised Model of Double De-motivation proposed on the basis of the results of this thesis.

Both 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals' factors were found to *fully mediate* the linkages between job categorisation and two new variables not previously included in the model: 'job satisfaction/work engagement' and 'learning from expatriates and locals'. This key finding suggests that relationships with *both* categories of workers are crucial for both satisfaction and learning, and chimes with previous research from the cross-cultural adjustment literature which argues for the importance of a large number of diverse relationships (with both expatriates and locals) for successful adjustment, an outcome which can be extrapolated to include job satisfaction (Johnson, et al., 2003; Liu & Shaffer, 2005; Wang & Kanungo, 2004). The finding that relationships with both expatriates and locals are important for learning also supports previous research that has argued that a balanced and diverse network is important for learning and skills transfer (Berry, 1997; Brown, 2000b; Kealey, 1989; Liu & Shaffer, 2005).

In addition to the fully mediated linkages, a number of *partially mediated* linkages were also found. *'Relationships with expatriates'* partially mediated the positive link between categorisation and 'pay justice' and the negative links between categorisation and 'de-motivation due to pay', and categorisation and 'turnover cognitions'. That is, having good relationships with expatriates tended to lessen the feelings of injustice about pay, and at the same time to reduce feelings of both de-motivation due to pay, and thoughts of turnover. Good relationships with expatriates are therefore potentially important for local workers, who reported experiencing significantly more injustice and de-motivation than expatriates in this research, but also

potentially for tempering turnover thoughts amongst expatriates (which may be translated into early departure or withdrawal). This finding is critical, and suggests that good relationships with expatriates may be crucial for successful capacity development within aid organisations.

At the same time, *'relationships with locals'* was found to partially mediate the negative link between categorisation and 'pay comparison'. Having good relationships with local colleagues tended to increase comparison of pay, which is reflected in the finding that 'locals' tended to both have better relationships with other locals and to compare their pay more. The flipside of this finding is that by virtue of their lower quality relationships with locals, expatriates may avoid the feelings of de-motivation and injustice which result from pay comparison (Carr, Chipande, et al., 1998; MacLachlan & Carr, 2005). In this research 'expatriate' respondents did not report feeling de-motivated due to pay, but one possible explanation is that the absence of this de-motivation reflects the relative disengagement of the expatriates in this sample from their local colleagues, which is also reflected in the higher ratings of this group for 'relationships with expatriates'.

The 'relationships with locals' factor also had two *direct effects* on variables in the model: 'self-assessed ability' (positively), and 'thinking about international mobility' (negatively), suggesting that having good relationships with locals may be a key competency in aid work, regardless of whether the worker is 'local' or 'expatriate', and may therefore be reflective of employee ability. Further, and quite logically so, workers with poor relationships with locals are more likely to be motivated to consider moving internationally. However, neither of these variables was found to be linked with job categorisation, and therefore their relevance for the Model of Double De-motivation is limited, and they are removed from the model in its revised form below.

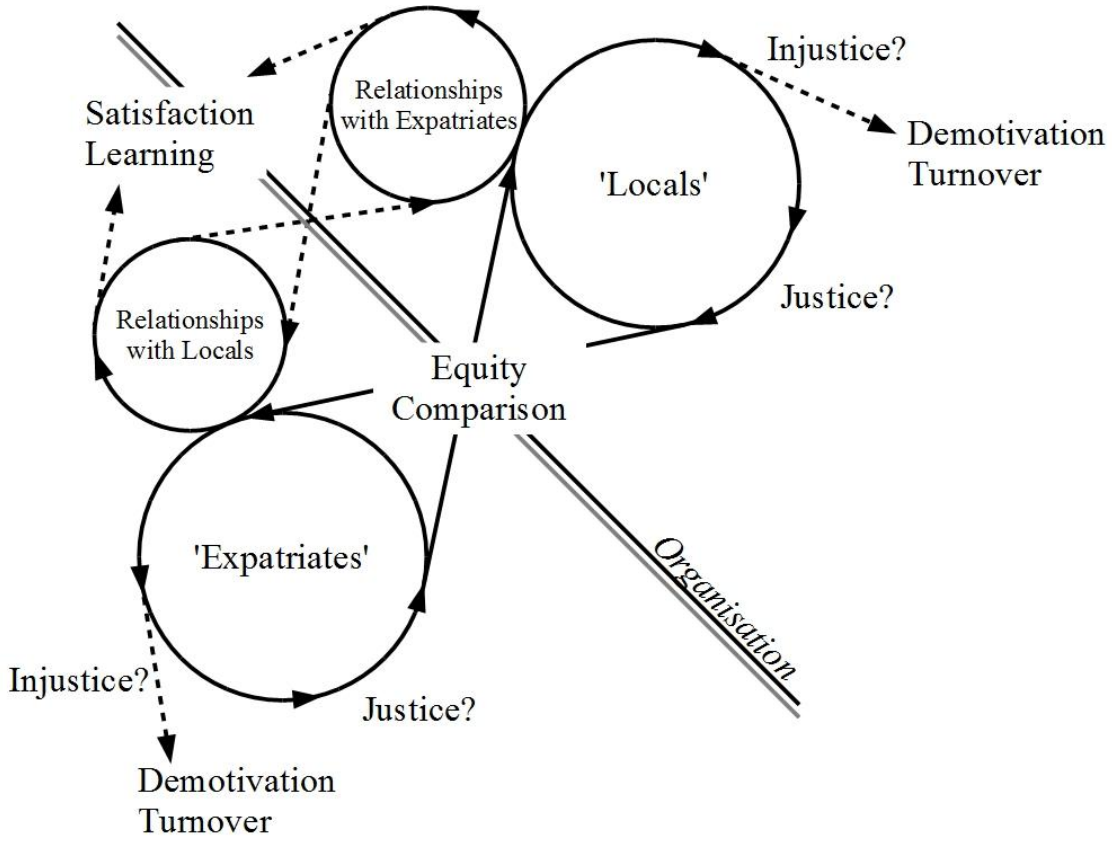

Figure 8.1. Revised Model of Double De-motivation.

The results of this research, then, provide support for the Model of Double De-motivation, and extend it in five key ways, as reflected in Figure 8.1. First, for reasons of parsimony, 'self-assessed ability' and 'thinking about international mobility' are removed from the model, as neither were found to link with job categorisation. Second, the 'pay comparison' variable has been renamed 'equity comparison', to reflect the finding that comparison of outcomes and inputs is underpinned by more than socio-economic differences alone, but also includes socio-political and socio-cultural differences, including status and power. Third, two new dependent variables, 'job satisfaction/work engagement' and 'learning from expatriates and locals' are included on the basis of the regression analyses.

The fourth key extension of the model is the inclusion of 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals' as key mediators, with both variables fully mediating the linkages between job categorisation and both satisfaction and learning, 'relationships with expatriates' partially mediating the linkages between job categorisation and injustice, de-motivation and turnover, and 'relationships with locals'

partially mediating the linkage between job categorisation and equity comparison. Further, the two relationships variables (i.e. 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals') are mutually linked reflecting the moderate correlation between the two variables found in Chapter 5.

Finally, underlying all of the analyses in this study was a crucial moderating role played by *organisations* themselves, as signalled by the significant intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) calculated in Chapter 5. The fifth key extension of the model is therefore the inclusion of 'organisation' as a moderating variable cutting through the model as a whole.

The two relationships variables are included in the revised model inside a second set of interlocking circles. These circles not only link with each other, but also with the larger circles from the original model. The interlocking circles are used in order to indicate the (partial and full) mediating role played by relationships within the model, but also to reflect that relationships are also likely to be impacted *as a result* of the dynamics in the model. For example, the more a worker compares themself with those around them, and feels unjust and de-motivated about it, the less likely they are to work on building relationships with their counterparts, and the barriers between workers from different job categories are likely to be reinforced. The distance between the categories which results is then likely to feedback into the dynamic, causing more comparison, feelings of injustice, and de-motivation, which in turn causes further "escalation" of the phenomenon. As this study was cross-sectional in nature I was unable to explicitly test for the presence of such a recursive link, however a future study could use a longitudinal methodology where the interactions between the variables can be tracked over time.

In summary, this research suggests that the quality of relationships between workers plays an important role in mediating the success of aid initiatives, as measured by various work motivation indicators. Two relationships variables have been included in a revision of the Model of Double De-motivation, which proposes that relationships not only mediate the impact on motivation of disparate remuneration between job categories, but that they may also be affected as a result of feelings of de-motivation and injustice.

8.3 Implications, Limitations, and Future Research

The findings of this research have numerous potential implications for both theory and practice. These implications cut across the disciplines of both psychology and development, with key lessons for the real-world application of I/O psychology to the practice of development and poverty reduction. In this section I offer an integrated discussion of some of the implications, limitations and future research which have emerged from this thesis.

The two most significant contributions of this research have already been discussed in detail above. The first relates to the elucidation of the nature of job categorisation in the aid context. The second, to the refinement and elaboration of the Model of Double De-motivation to include relationships, a variable which plays a key role within the aid context, and particularly through mediating the impact of job categorisation on justice, de-motivation, turnover, job satisfaction/work engagement and learning. Not only does this revision of the model provide an understanding of the psychological mechanisms at play within the aid context, but it also gives an important insight into how improving the quality of relationships between workers might potentially counteract the negative impact of categorisation (and pay disparities) on work motivation.

In terms of theories of organisational justice, the implications of the findings of this study are not clear cut. As already discussed, this research has provided support for the Model of Double De-motivation and equity theory, as well as for previous studies which have found links between distributive justice and withdrawal/turnover (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, et al., 2001). However, at the same time, the mean ratings across all job categories (from Chapter 6) for job satisfaction/work engagement were not significantly different, and were all >4 (on a scale of 1 through 5, where 5 indicates 'strongly agree'). This high rating for job satisfaction/work engagement suggests that on average *all* respondents were highly satisfied, despite 'local' respondents reporting significantly more feelings of injustice than both 'expatriate' and 'expatriate volunteer' respondents. This finding contradicts previous research which has linked distributive justice with job satisfaction both in meta-analytic reviews (Colquitt, et al., 2001; Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001) as well as within the aid arena specifically (e.g. McAuliffe, et al., 2009). One possible explanation for this seemingly contradictory finding, as speculated earlier, is that despite feelings of injustice and de-

motivation which result from workplace inequities, local aid workers may simply be satisfied to have a job.

Ultimately, despite the unexpected finding for the 'job satisfaction/work engagement' variable, this research has suggested that comparison of pay, feelings of pay injustice, de-motivation due to pay, and turnover cognitions result from job categorisation and the equity comparisons workers from different categories make with each other. There is no measure in this research, however, of how these variables may affect *actual* worker behaviour, and the impact they may have on performance and/or counterproductive work behaviours, which have also been linked to distributive injustice (Ferrinho & Van Lerberghe, 2002; Greenberg, 1990). Future research should include indicators which measure the impact of equity comparison on actual behaviour, including performance, turnover, and more counterproductive behaviours like moonlighting.

Future research should also include indicators of *contextual* performance. Contextual performance refers to behaviours that support the organisational, social, and psychological environment in which task performance takes place, like helping others, cooperating with others, taking others' interests into consideration, and volunteering to carry out activities not formally part of the job (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997; van Knippenberg, 2000). Contextual behaviours are generally less contingent on skills, ability and resources, and are behaviours above and beyond the formal requirements of the job (van Knippenberg, 2000). The implication of this is that contextual behaviours can be an easier, and perhaps more subtle, avenue for employee withdrawal than via task behaviours, and such behaviours have been identified as being particularly important for teamwork, while task performance tends to link with more formal job requirements (LePine, Hanson, Borman, & Motowidlo, 2000). Relationship building may be one such behaviour, particularly perhaps for local workers who may use withdrawal of contextual behaviour as a tool to cope with an ineffective expatriate worker (Marai, et al., 2010). Within the aid context, where good relationships are key, the impact of withdrawal of contextual behaviours may be significant, and may undermine aid initiatives even when no indication of poor task performance is apparent.

A key strength of this research is the identification of the important moderating role played by organisational climate, culture, and policies in successful aid outcomes. Organisations which value and encourage good relationships and reduce the salience of job categorisation at work may experience improved employee motivation and

performance as a result. The literature on teams and mergers suggests developing an overarching shared identity as a strategy for breaking down barriers between groups (Hennessy & West, 1999; Toh & DeNisi, 2007). Further research is needed into the feasibility of such a strategy within a context underpinned by inequity, and the impact a shared identity may have on the perceived fairness of pay and benefits. Wenzel (2001; 2004) found that when workers are members of the same salient category they are likely to be more justice orientated to one another, but when they are members of different categories they are more likely to focus on favouring their ingroup, regardless of the need of the outgroup. Making an overarching organisational identity, or 'aid worker' identity, more salient than categorisation as 'local', 'expatriate', or 'volunteer' may therefore be an essential element of any initiative aimed at increasing justice and reducing inequity within the workplace.

As an alternative to developing a shared identity, another potential method for reducing the salience of job categorisation might be to develop and work towards a series of attainable and meaningful 'superordinate goals' (Brewer, 1996; Gaertner, et al., 2000). A superordinate goal is a goal which is shared by members of all groups and which requires commitment, collaboration and input from all groups in order to be attained. The concept was originally offered by Muzafer Sherif (1958) as a successful solution for reducing intergroup conflict during the 'robbers cave' experiments (see Chapter 2, discussion on Realistic Conflict Theory). The value of superordinate goals for reducing conflict and increasing intergroup collaboration has been demonstrated in both experimental settings (e.g. Brown & Wade, 1987) and with cross-functional work teams in organisational settings (e.g. Pinto, Pinto, & Prescott, 1993), and may have the potential to be successfully applied to the aid context, for example through group based bonuses.

This research also has important implications for development theory in terms of better understanding the reasons for the success and failure of capacity development initiatives. While other researchers have highlighted the important role relationships can potentially play in capacity development (Eyben, 2006; Girgis, 2007), this research is the first to psychometrically explore the importance of relationships between workers. As such, relationships with both local and expatriate colleagues were identified in this thesis as central in learning.

Learning was the only theme/factor to emerge across both studies, signalling its robustness and central importance for aid organisations (Gergen, 1994). The 'learning

from expatriates and locals' factor which emerged from the ARQS however, fails to differentiate between sources of learning. Respondents may learn from one group, and not the other (or indeed from another source of learning, including perhaps an organisational culture of learning), but this is not able to be captured by the measure in its current form. Further development of the learning factor to include individual measures of 'learning from expatriates' and 'learning from locals' would enable comparison of ratings of potential links between relationships with worker groups and learning from those groups, and thus bring further insight into the impact of relationships on learning and capacity development. Future research which develops and extends the current factors to include more items may also improve the internal consistency scores of the measure.

A further implication with regard to learning and capacity development is that while capacity development is grounded in the concept of expatriate workers mentoring and empowering local counterparts (OECD-DAC, 2006), the research findings outlined here suggest that the context within which capacity development occurs is underpinned by hierarchy and status, and perpetuates and reinforces power differences between the groups. Such dynamics ultimately impede the relationships between workers, and have the potential to undermine successful capacity development. Not only must development theorists and practitioners recognise the importance of relationships, but they must also understand the mechanism through which relationships are built, and how this mechanism may affect capacity development outcomes.

An unexpected but central finding in this research was that the relationships variable came out as two factors – 'relationships with expatriates' and 'relationships with locals'. This factor structure was found to be reliable and robust, and I have argued earlier in this thesis likely reflects latent constructs, rather than those espoused by the workers themselves (Argyris, 1997; Schein, 2010). The emergence of these two factors points to the importance of *who* workers have relationships with, rather than the importance of having good relationships generally. Further, this key finding enabled identification of the differential impact of relationships with these two worker groups on the variables in the model, and provides insight into the complexities of intergroup relations within the aid context.

Future research could include additional job categories in the model such as 'expatriate volunteers' or 'expatriate consultants', and explore the impact of relationships with these other categories of workers with a goal of gaining insight into

the relationships between all aid workers within the aid context, and identifying how these relationships might also fit within the model.

As well as the various theoretical contributions outlined above, this research has practical implications for aid organisations, and provides important insights into the contribution I/O psychologists can make to the fight against global poverty. Understanding that quality of relationships with both local and expatriate workers is linked to job satisfaction and work engagement highlights the important role work relationships might play in the early return of many expatriates from their assignments. Providing effective pre-departure training for expatriates and expatriate volunteers around relationship building, and the cultural competencies necessary to facilitate relationships, may assist with reducing culture shock and minimising early return. Further, highlighting the important role that building good relationships with local colleagues can play in reducing feelings of injustice, de-motivation and turnover amongst their local colleagues may improve the success of capacity development initiatives.

In addition, by better understanding the impact of job categorisation on organisational outcomes, and the role relationships between workers play in this linkage, we have the potential to assist with the successful recruitment of expatriate workers, and to match workers to the roles where they can be the most effective. For example, higher-paid expatriates might be more effective in shorter term roles, or positions where they have more distance from local workers, in order to limit the negative impact of their higher remuneration on the feelings of (in)justice and motivation of local workers. At the same time (although the evidence for this is mixed and requires further investigation) expatriate volunteers might be better placed to link with local workers on long term projects because of their lower salaries.

Perhaps the most important implication of this research for the practical delivery of aid was the finding that it is crucial to pay attention not only to the needs of the expatriate workers but also to those of the local workers, who may be most negatively affected by categorisation and pay disparities. This finding chimes with the call of the Paris Declaration for alignment and ownership of development projects according to the needs of lower-income nations. Including the voice of local workers in research projects is vital for targeting locally appropriate projects outcomes and ultimately for the achievement of poverty reduction.

Providing training around the importance of relationships with expatriates, and the cultural competencies which facilitate building these relationships may be beneficial for local workers. Those local respondents who reported having better relationships with expatriates, also reported experiencing less feelings of injustice and de-motivation, highlighting the potential value of relationships *between* the groups for capacity development. Care must be taken with developing such training programmes, however, to ensure that they do not function simply to further sustain the power differences and hierarchy present in the status quo. Research should be undertaken which explores alternative systems in which the inequity-based social hierarchy can be broken down, and more equitable workplace relations can be developed.

8.4 Conclusion

Examining the environment within which aid organisations exist provides crucial insight into the success and failure of development projects and capacity development initiatives. This research suggests that aid workers are positioned into job categories on the basis of unofficial job titles which both reflect and reinforce relative differences in power, status and pay. The existence and use of these job categories contributes to building divisions between workers, destabilising relationships, undercutting motivation, and ultimately undermining the success of capacity development initiatives and reinforcing the inequities of the status quo.

According to this research, breaking down barriers between job categories and encouraging positive relationships between both local and expatriate workers can play a vital role in maximising job satisfaction and learning, and diminishing the feelings of injustice, de-motivation and turnover thoughts which result from comparison between the groups. Crucially, organisations themselves play a key role in not only moderating the impact of job categorisation and the inequities it reflects, but also potentially in breaking down the existent social hierarchy which serves to divide workers, impede relationships, and perpetuate the status quo.

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Appendix I: Full Questionnaire

SECTION A – ABOUT YOUR JOB AND YOUR BACKGROUND

First we want to ask you a few questions about your work and yourself. All information is anonymous.

1. **First about your main job:**

(a) Please tell us the formal name of your current main job?_____

i. General category of work? (e.g., "Manager," "Educator," or "Aid worker"):
_____

ii. Specific category of work? (e.g., "HR," "Lecturer in Sociology," or "Nurse"):
_____

(b) How many months in total have you worked in this particular position?_____

(c) If applicable, in how many months is your current contract due to expire?_____

(d) How many years of professional experience do you have in this broad line of work?_____

(e) In which country are you currently working?_____

2. **Now some background information:**

(a) What is your gender? ❑ Male ❑ Female

(b) What is your age? ____ (years)

(c) What is your nationality? _____

(d) How many dependents do you have? ___

(e) What is your highest qualification?

❑ Primary School ❑ Bachelor Degree ❑ Doctoral degree
❑ High School ❑ Postgraduate Diploma ❑ Post-Doctorate
❑ Tertiary Diploma ❑ Masters Degree

(f) What is your specialisation? _____

SECTION B – HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR JOB

Please read each statement and decide how you feel about your main job, using the scale provided:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
3. At my job, I feel full of energy	1	2	3	4	5
4. At my job, I feel strong and vigorous	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am completely engaged in my job	1	2	3	4	5
6. I am enthusiastic about my job	1	2	3	4	5
7. My job inspires me	1	2	3	4	5
8. In general, I don't like my job	1	2	3	4	5
9. When I get up in the morning, I feel like going to my job	1	2	3	4	5
10. I feel happy when I am working intensely at my job	1	2	3	4	5
11. In general, I like working here	1	2	3	4	5
12. I am proud of the job that I do	1	2	3	4	5
13. I get carried away when I am working at my job	1	2	3	4	5
14. All in all, I am satisfied with my job	1	2	3	4	5

Now some questions focused on pay and benefits at work. **Please answer both parts of each question.**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
15. There is de-motivation at work as a result of the pay and benefits given to					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
16. Comparisons between local and expatriate pay and benefits matter to					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
17. There is indignation at work as a result of the pay and benefits received by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
18. In this type of job, the abler workers are mostly					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
19. Some _____ on large salaries feel guilty because they earn much more than local workers					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
20. A patronising attitude can be detected from highly paid and benefited					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
21. In this type of job, the more motivated workers are mostly					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
22. In this type of job, the better performers are mostly					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C – INDIVIDUAL PAY AND BENEFITS IN YOUR MAIN JOB

Please focus on your main job when answering these questions. Again, all information is anonymous.

23. Are you a local person, or an expatriate? ❑ Local ❑ Expatriate
24. Would you classify yourself as:
    ❑ Volunteer ❑ Consultant ❑ Full Time Staff
25. In your current main job, is your salary:
    ❑ Volunteer ❑ Local ❑ International
26. What is your approximate official annual salary, in the currency in which it is paid? (remember that all questions are voluntary) _____ currency:_____
27. What kind of benefits are you contracted to receive, over and above monetary pay?_____
    _____
28. Is your current combined pay and benefits enough for your everyday needs?
    ❑ Yes ❑ No
29. All of us, at times, compare our pay and benefits to other people. Who would those other people be for your main job?_____
30. Expatriate salaries start to become unacceptably large once they reach ___ times a local salary. Choose a number from the following: 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 >10 times.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
31. My job brings me into contact with differently paid and benefited					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
32. I am aware of the pay and benefits received by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
33. I compare my pay and benefits to the pay and benefits received by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
34. I feel indignation about the pay and benefits received by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
35. I feel comfortable about my own pay and benefits compared to the pay and benefits of					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
36. I feel that there is fairness in the process for allocating pay and benefits to					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
37. Differences in pay and benefits hinder collaborative work relations with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
38. In this type of job, I have more ability than most					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
39. I feel that I am treated with respect by differently paid and benefited					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
40. In this type of job, I perform better than most					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
41. A patronising attitude can be detected from					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
42. I feel that there is fairness in the share of pay and benefits given to					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
43. I am de-motivated by the pay and benefits received by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
44. It is awkward working with differently paid and benefited					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
45. I feel devalued by the pay and benefits received by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
46. Given the same task to do, I don't need to work as hard as most					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
47. What matters to me is the pay and benefits received by other					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
48. In this type of job, I am more motivated than most					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
49. I feel I am treated with respect by similarly paid and benefited					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
50. I feel like leaving this					
(a) Job	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Organisation	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Country	1	2	3	4	5
51. I think about leaving this					
(a) Job	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Organisation	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Country	1	2	3	4	5
52. I wish I could leave this					
(a) Job	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Organisation	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Country	1	2	3	4	5
53. Based on your own observations and experiences, what would be the No. 1 improvement that could be made to help manage pay and benefits in your immediate work environment?_____ _____					
54. Why? _____					

SECTION D – WORKING WITH OTHERS

These questions ask you about your interactions with other people, both expatriate and local, at work:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
55. The best ideas come from					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
56. I am learning a lot from					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
57. At work I feel I am listened to by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
58. It is difficult to make friends with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
59. I have a lot to learn from					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
60. I find it easy to talk openly with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
61. My ideas are better than the ideas of most					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
62. I have good working relationships with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
63. At work I provide technical guidance to					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
64. I often socialise with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
65. I will never know as much about this work as					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
66. At work it can be difficult to be understood by					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
67. I have a lot to teach					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5
68. In my main job my capacity has been enhanced by working with					
(a) Expatriates	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Locals	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION E – CULTURE AT WORK

Here we are interested in how your encounters with other cultures at work typically make you feel.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
69. I feel strain from the effort to adapt to people from different cultures at work	1	2	3	4	5
70. I feel generally accepted by the people from these different cultures	1	2	3	4	5
71. I'd like to escape from my cross-cultural environment altogether	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
72. I feel confused about my role working with the new culture	1	2	3	4	5
73. I have found things in my cross-cultural environment shocking	1	2	3	4	5
74. I feel powerless when trying to cope with the other cultures	1	2	3	4	5
75. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my group	1	2	3	4	5
76. Winning is everything	1	2	3	4	5
77. If a co-worker gets a prize, I would feel proud	1	2	3	4	5
78. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required	1	2	3	4	5
79. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused	1	2	3	4	5
80. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others	1	2	3	4	5
81. I feel good when I co-operate with others	1	2	3	4	5
82. I often 'do my own thing'	1	2	3	4	5
83. The well-being of my co-workers is important to me	1	2	3	4	5
84. It is important that I do my job better than others	1	2	3	4	5
85. To me, pleasure is spending time with others	1	2	3	4	5
86. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want	1	2	3	4	5
87. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION F - YOUR PERSONALITY

Values are part of personality. Here are some questions about your own characteristics as a person.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
88. I try to be courteous to everyone I meet	1	2	3	4	5
89. When I'm under a great deal of stress, sometimes I feel like I'm going to pieces	1	2	3	4	5
90. I often feel tense and jittery	1	2	3	4	5
91. I often get angry at the way people treat me	1	2	3	4	5
92. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget	1	2	3	4	5
93. Some people think of me as cold and calculating	1	2	3	4	5
94. I generally try to be thoughtful and considerate	1	2	3	4	5
95. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way	1	2	3	4	5
96. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener	1	2	3	4	5
97. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone	1	2	3	4	5

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVALUABLE INPUT & PARTICIPATION!