

GENEROSITY AT WORK: GENEROUS IDENTITY, ORGANIZATIONAL
CONTEXT, AND ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIORS

by

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ABSTRACT

SHAHAR S. GUR. Generosity at work: Generous identity, organizational context, and organizational citizenship behaviors. (Under the direction of DR. LISA S. WALKER)

Research on prosocial behaviors at the workplace continues to flourish, and generous identity is a variable that has been omitted in previous studies. Generous identity is the extent to which a person defines themselves as generous. The research reported here examines the relationship between generous identity and organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) in three studies. As part of the validation process for the generous identity construct, convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity support was found for the generous identity scale. Additionally, I test the moderating effect of organizational culture on the relationship between identity and behavior. Results show that generous identity and OCBs are strongly and positively correlated, and a collectivist organizational culture does not moderate the relationship between generous identity and OCBs. I also interviewed participants about the prosocial climate of their team and described three themes that emerged from the data. Practical implications inform practice by guiding supervisors and organizations on how to create and maintain a prosocial climate at the team level that facilitates the authentic enactment of generous behaviors.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Theoretical Framework	3
1.2 Literature Review of Related Prosocial Constructs	6
1.3 Organizational Citizenship Behaviors	11
1.3.1 Antecedents of OCBs	12
1.3.2 Measurement of OCBs	13
1.4 Generous Identity and OCBs	14
1.5 Organizational Culture	16
1.6 Team Climate	18
1.6.1 Team Climate and OCBs	19
1.7 The Current Studies	21
CHAPTER 2: STUDY 1	23
2.1 Study 1 Sample	23
2.2 Study 1 Measures	23
2.3 Study 1 Results	25
2.3 Study 1 Discussion	27
2.3.1 Implications	27
2.3.2 Limitations and Future Research	28
2.3.3 Conclusion	29
CHAPTER 3: STUDY 2	30
3.1 Study 2 Sample	30
3.2 Study 2 Measures	30

3.3 Study 2 Results	31
3.4 Study 2 Discussion	32
3.4.1 Implications	33
3.4.2 Limitations and Future Research	33
3.4.3 Conclusion	34
CHAPTER 4: STUDY 3	35
4.1 Study 3 Sample	35
4.2 Study 3 Semi-Structured Interviews	36
4.3 Study 3 Results	37
4.3.1 Creation	38
4.3.2 Maintenance	47
4.3.3 Conflict	60
4.4 Negative Case Analysis	71
4.5 Study 3 Discussion	73
4.5.1 Implications	74
4.5.2 Limitations and Future Research	75
4.5.3 Conclusion	77
CHAPTER 5: GENERAL DISCUSSION	79
5.1 Theoretical Implications	80
5.2 Practical Implications	81
5.3 Limitations	81
5.4 Future Research	83
5.5 Conclusion	83

	vii
REFERENCES	84
APPENDIX A: TABLES	91
APPENDIX B: FIGURES	98
APPENDIX C: SURVEYS	103
APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE	114

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Generosity is the choice to thoughtfully give a commodity to someone in need without expecting a direct benefit. Generosity, genuine and from the heart, happens in workplace settings, but the forces that guide it are still unclear. This paper examines how generosity is perceived and how employees' identity and context shape the way in which they enact on generous behaviors. While several prosocial identities and behaviors have been studied in organizational contexts, this study is the first to focus on generosity when empirically testing the relationships between identity, context, and behavior at the workplace.

Research on the science of generosity is active in the sociological, psychological, and management sciences. There are many centers and initiatives that support bringing this research into practice. For example, the University of Michigan's *Center for Positive Organizations*, established in 2002, provides researchers and practitioners with the tools to create high-performing environments that encourage people to be the best selves that they can be. Also, the University of Notre Dame's *Science of Generosity* initiative, established in 2009, promotes the interdisciplinary empirical development of generosity's impact on society and provides a platform through which researchers from different disciplines can academically collaborate on this topic. Finally, in the entrepreneurial realm, companies such as Fond (2017) promote the advantages of prosocial workplace behaviors by explaining their influence on employee happiness and the company's long-term profitability; Fond offers their services to help businesses achieve success by building and measuring "awesome company cultures" (Fond, 2017:1).

To better inform theory and practice, the plethora of research on the science of generosity can benefit from the inclusion of the generous identity construct (Gur & Olien, 2015). Generous identity is a type of person identity, conceptualized similarly to Stets and Carter's moral identity (2011), that resides within the person. It is a stable identity defined without a context or reference point. Generous identity has the explanatory power to predict how generously people will behave in social situations based on how they define themselves. A generous identity scale is being developed by Gur, Walker, and Barry (under review) to efficiently capture this construct. I expand on this research and use the generous identity scale to predict the workplace construct called organizational citizenship behaviors. In addition, I examine the team and organizational contexts in which generous behaviors occur and analyze the interaction between identity and context when predicting behavior. In doing so, I make an incremental theoretical contribution to identity theory by beginning to find support for convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity of the generous identity construct. Additionally, I make a practical contribution by explaining how context plays a role in the relationship between identity and behavior and what leaders can do to create a prosocial team climate.

In this chapter, I begin by first explaining identity theory as the theoretical framework used throughout this paper. Then I summarize the literature on prosocial constructs, such as helping behaviors, altruism, and volunteering, and their relationship to generosity. I then explain what are the main variables examined in these studies and why they were chosen. Finally, I introduce the three studies reported in this paper and how they relate to the way in which context plays a role in the identity-behavior relationship.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

Sociological identity theory provides the theoretical framework for these studies. According to Burke and Stets (2009), the term ‘identity’ stands for a set of meanings that people use to define themselves. Each person has many identities. People’s identities are determined by their roles (role identity), group memberships or classifications (group identity), and personal attributes (person identity). For example, a woman can have the “mother” role identity if she has a “child” as a referent, a man can have the “Tarheel” group identity if he attends the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and a person can have the “moral” person identity if they define themselves as someone with a strong moral compass.

Each identity is composed of input, identity standard, comparator, and output (Burke & Stets, 2009). The input is the perceived information from the environment. For example, hearing a comment from a friend such as “you are a moral person” is an input related to the moral identity. The identity standard is the set of meanings associated with an identity that characterize that identity. The identity standard also sets the goals for how that identity will be expressed. For example, a person could have a moral identity standard that is very strong such that high morality is what that person strives to achieve. The comparator is the mechanism through which the input is compared to the identity standard. The output is the behavior in a situation that is related to that identity. The four components (input, identity standard, comparator, and output) work together in a continuous loop of meanings to maintain the identity.

This continuous loop of identity verification occurs constantly. When input from the environment matches the identity standards, people are pleased because they are

being authentic to their self-definitions. When input is discrepant with identity standards, people over-correct their behavior to align with their self-evaluations. For example, a study by Swann and Hill (1982) assessed people's self-evaluations of dominance. Then, in an experimental setting, dominant people were told they were submissive and submissive people were told they were dominant, thus providing input that is discrepant with people's identity standards. The results of the experiments show that people over-corrected their output such that dominant people behaved in an extra-dominant manner and submissive people behaved in an extra-submissive manner to attempt to correct future input and match it to their identity standards, thus achieving identity verification.

There are different types of identities. For example, moral identity is a type of person identity (Stets & Carter, 2011) that describes the extent to which people define themselves as moral (Stets & Carter, 2011). A person with a high moral identity standard is more likely to engage in moral behavior, which is the output to their environment that signals they are a moral person. In turn, the feedback or input they receive from their environment will be compared to their identity standard to verify their identity. If anyone calls them immoral, they will over-correct their behavior and engage in a highly moral manner to restore external perceptions so that the input will match their identity. Like moral identity, generous identity is also conceptualized as a person identity.

Generosity and generous identity match in the sense that generosity is a concept that describes enactments of behaviors, and generous identity is a self-definition and the extent to which a person defines themselves as a generous individual while taking the broader concept of generosity into account (Gur & Olien, 2015). Generous identity is considered a 'person' identity because it is attached to a person's self-definition as it

relates to their attributes outside of any context, and it is an attribute that makes a person feel unique from others (Burke & Stets, 2009; DeLamater, Myers, & Collett, 2015). A strong generous identity drives someone to engage in highly generous behaviors towards others, and the output of the enacted generous behaviors strengthens the generous identity by verifying it. In essence, the identity and the behaviors create a positive feedback loop in the identity verification process.

Relevant to this study is the examination of identity with attitudes and behaviors. Attitudes are the beliefs about the self and others, and they are strongly related to their congruent behaviors (Walker & Gur, 2017). A person's identity shapes their attitudes while incorporating the social context into that relationship (Stets & Biga, 2003:419). For example, if someone has an identity standard of a high moral character, that identity standard will shape their attitudes about the morality of certain acts or behaviors using the identity as a guide.

In addition to identity and attitudes being strongly related, attitudes and behaviors are also highly correlated. In a meta-analysis conducted by Kim and Hunter (1993), attitudes and behaviors had a high and positive correlation with each other ($r=.79$), indicating that the two are inter-related. The debate about using attitudes versus behaviors has existed in the field for many years, and some scholars argue that attitudes are not important in scientific research when compared to behavioral indicators (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). However, it is not always possible to directly observe behavior, especially in naturalistic settings, and although some researchers like Baumeister, Vohs, and Funder (2007) take a strong issue with collecting self-reported attitudes and behaviors, this method of data collection is sufficient to answer research questions and

add to our understanding of human behavior. Therefore, with sociological identity theory as the framework, attitudes and their correlated behaviors are viewed as a byproduct of a person's identity.

1.2 Literature Review of Related Prosocial Constructs

Generosity's nomological network contains prosocial constructs such as: helping behavior, altruism, philanthropy, cooperation, and volunteering. These constructs are considered prosocial because they fall under the broad category of behaviors and concepts that individuals enact to benefit others and society (DeLamater, Myers, & Collett, 2015). While each of these constructs is similar to generosity in some way, they are all unique from generosity and from each other (for a detailed review, see Collette & Morrissey, 2007), and the context in which they occur influences the extent to which people enact on them. I now offer a brief review of their similarities and differences.

One of the closest construct in generosity's nomological network is helping behavior. Helping behaviors are any behaviors that result in the benefit or well-being of another person (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006). Helping behaviors are typically studied as spontaneous actions (Amato, 1990), and research on helping behaviors involves experimental paradigms with contrived situations during which the participants are posed with the choice of helping or not helping a confederate in need (e.g., Fischer, Greitemeyer, Pollozek, & Frey, 2006). Generous behavior, on the other hand, is different from helping behaviors because it can occur on a planned basis and without much action involved. It can still benefit others but the giver of the generous act might do very little as compared to an active helper. For example, people can be generous

by passively sharing their time and lending their ear to a distressed friend while they vent (Gur, Walker, & Barry, under review).

Conceptualized as workplace helping behaviors, research in the management discipline by Grant (2013) explains that when it comes to giving, there are three types of people in the workplace: givers, takers, and matchers. Matchers operate under the rules of what social psychologists Mills and Clark (1982) call “exchange relationships” because they strive to match their input in a relationship to their partners’ input to find equilibrium. On the other hand, givers and takers do not seek balance; takers aim to gain more than those they give to and interact with. Givers act generously without expecting anything in return (Grant, 2013), which is most aligned with a “communal” type of relationships (Mills & Clark, 1982). The type of desired relationship (exchange versus communal) influences mood and self-evaluations differently when actors engage in helping behaviors (Williamson & Clark, 1989), hence being a giver, taker, or a matcher can impact how someone views and feels about themselves. While Grant’s classifications of givers, takers, and matchers help make sense of prosocial workplace behaviors, it oversimplifies generosity and generous people.

As stated above, each identity for a person has an identity standard that sets the criteria or the goals for what that identity should be (Burke & Stets, 2009). Generous identity is studied on a spectrum (i.e., low to high) as opposed to viewing it as a categorical variable (i.e., givers, takers, and matchers). Therefore, my research is important because it examines how generous identity is related to prosocial workplace behaviors without imposing people into three specific categories but rather allowing them to rate their self-defined identity on a scale. By finding construct validity support for

generous identity in the current research, future related research can also benefit from including it in their methodology as a way to predict generous behavior.

Like helping behaviors, altruism is defined as helping another person without expecting any reward and bearing any costs (DeLamater, Myers, & Collett, 2015). Altruism, however, is somewhat controversial in its conceptualization and theorizing. Grant (2013) offers a review of the altruism debate (i.e., whether an act benefits someone by making them feel good about themselves is actually altruistic) and concludes that there is a middle ground between selfish and altruistic behavior. I concur; during my interviews on generosity, participants often said that they engage in generous behavior knowing that even if they do not expect a direct benefit, they will eventually be rewarded either directly or indirectly. Many participants from a previous study on generosity suggest that karma always comes around, and therefore they are driven to engage in generous behavior to increase their good karma for the future (Gur, Walker, & Barry, under review).

Another prosocial construct related to generosity is philanthropy, which is driven primarily by self-interest and to gain a positive image (MacKenzie & Collin, 2008). Researchers posit that shame aversion is a major determinant of philanthropic behavior because it is considered socially desirable to have a reputation as someone who is generous (Ellingsen & Johannesson, 2011). Generosity, on the other hand, is driven by the interest of others after identifying a need that they have. Hence, although philanthropy and generosity are about giving resources (mainly in the form of money) to someone else, they stem from different motives and are not the same construct.

Generosity is also related to cooperation. Cooperation can be considered prosocial because people in cooperative situations choose to work together for everyone's benefit (Collette & Morrissey, 2007). Cooperation and generosity are thus related because they are both a choice people make voluntarily. Generosity, unlike cooperation, requires only one person to engage in the generous behavior as opposed to the two or more people working together in cooperative situations. Therefore, while cooperative behavior can be considered generous, not every generous behavior can be considered cooperative—it depends on whether a person engages in a prosocial act by themselves versus a team engaging in prosocial acts simultaneously.

Finally, generosity is similar to volunteering behavior. Volunteering is defined as a planned form of helping behavior, typically studied as a long-term sustained behavior (Clary & Snyder, 1999). Thoits (2013) examined how frequent volunteers can form a volunteer identity that gives people an additional set of meanings by which to define themselves. Volunteering and generosity are both prosocial in the sense that they intend to benefit others. However, volunteering could be court-mandated and hence not a choice that a person makes, unlike generosity which is a choice in which a person decides to engage without being obligated to do so. Additionally, volunteering must occur in specific contexts, such as non-profit organizations or fundraising events that were created to facilitate the behavior, while generosity can occur anywhere and anytime there is an opportunity to help someone in need.

Another construct similar to generous identity is the prosocial personality conceptualized by Penner (2002). Prosocial personality encompasses social responsibility, empathy, moral reasoning, and altruism. While this is related to generous

identity, the prosocial personality is conceptualized as a personality and not an identity. As Stryker (2007:3) explains, personality is the set of traits that an individual has that drive them to behave consistently across situations. On the other hand, identity is how the individual defines themselves as they interact with their environment, in the sense that their identities are built from the way in which they interact and receive input in the form of reactions from others around them (Stryker, 2007). Therefore, generous identity is an identity and not a personality because it is built and maintained from the way in which people are interacting with and reacting to the individual for whom that identity standard exists.

In summary, while many of these prosocial constructs are similar to generosity, they are each different in some way. These nuanced differences make it difficult for research on generosity to advance because it is yet to be conceptualized in a clear and concise manner. Therefore, my research contributes to the current literature by focusing on generosity as the choice to thoughtfully give a commodity to someone in need without expecting a direct benefit, and using generous identity (the extent to which someone defines themselves as a generous person) to predict generous behavior.

Generosity has been contextualized in settings such as religious organizations (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Schafer, 2015) and familial ties (Amato, 1990; Wilhelm et al., 2008). However, I contextualize generosity, and specifically generous identity, in the workplace to advance the organizational science field. Because I am focusing on generous identity, which is a person identity that is stable and context-free, I examine generosity at the workplace in general instead of looking at specific situations and

instances of generous behavior. I choose organizational citizenship behaviors as my main criterion variable due to its conceptual proximity to generous identity.

1.3 Organizational Citizenship Behaviors

The focus of this research is on predicting generous behaviors in the workplace using generous identity. The most well-known current variable in the organizational scholarship that captures generosity at work is known as organizational citizenship behaviors (Organ, 1988). OCBs are defined as extra-role behaviors that aid with the overall productivity and effectiveness of the organization, and could be any discretionary behavior such as helping a coworker, conserving organizational resources, or being a cheerleader to the organization or the team (Lee & Allen, 2002). I choose this variable due to its proximity to generosity in the nomological network within the context of an organization because it is about making a thoughtful choice to give a commodity to someone in the organization or to the personified organization; it goes beyond just helping behaviors or altruism because it also encompasses, like generosity, the sharing of positive energy, lending an ear, and giving only time to another person to benefit them and improve their wellbeing.

The early beginnings of organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) research trace back to Katz (1964), who said that for organizations to function, they cannot only depend on people to carry out their formal and expected duties. In other words, employees need to go beyond what is expected of them to keep the organization running; job descriptions cannot capture absolutely everything that needs to get done for an organization to operate smoothly. Twenty years later, Staw (1984) called attention to cooperative or prosocial behaviors within organizations as a fruitful endeavor to explain

individual performance. Research on prosocial behaviors at the workplace exploded with different terms, and there was confusion about what the construct entails or how to call it (George & Brief, 1992). For example, behaviors that were beyond the expected duties of an employee were called: spontaneous behaviors, enterprising behaviors, proactive behaviors, prosocial organizational behaviors, and organizational citizenship behaviors. The construct and term that prevailed is organizational citizenship behaviors (Organ, 1988; Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000).

Employees can engage in OCBs that directly benefit other employees (OCBIs) or the organization as a whole (OCBOs). For example, going out of one's way to help new employees or taking initiative to help the supervisor when not prompted to are types of OCBIs. Conserving organizational property, maintaining a positive attitude at work, and adhering to organizational rules to maintain order are types of OCBOs (Williams & Anderson, 1991).

1.3.1 Antecedents of OCBs

A review by Podsakoff and colleagues (2000) summarizes the known antecedents of OCBs and separates them by: employee attitudes, dispositional variables, employee role perceptions, demographics, employee abilities, task characteristics, organizational characteristics, and leadership behaviors. Examples of employee attitudes that predict OCBs are job satisfaction (Chen & Chiu, 2008; Organ & Konovsky, 1989) and affective commitment (Morrison 1994). In terms of dispositional variables, Grant and Berg (2012) posit that the agreeableness personality trait will be most linked to OCBIs since it is focused on maintaining positive relationships with others (Barrick & Mount, 1991), while conscientiousness will be linked to OCBOs because it is related to being responsible.

Examples of organizational characteristics that predict OCBs are organizational justice (Penner, Midili, & Kegelmeyer, 1997) and perceived organizational support (Moorman, 1998). And finally, examples of leadership behaviors that predict OCBs are leader-member exchange and reward behavior (Podsakoff et al., 2000).

Research has shown that OCBs tend to be driven more by cognitions than by affect (Organ & Konovsky, 1989). In other words, people's thoughts motivate them to engage in OCBs more so than people's feelings. For example, people might engage in OCBs for the purposes of impression management (Grant & Berg, 2012), merely to protect or enhance their image in the eyes of their supervisors and coworkers (Bolino & Turnley, 1999). Grant and Berg (2012) argue that it is possible for people to engage in prosocial behaviors for both self-gain and benefitting others, and people who are most successful are able to give to others while still promoting themselves (Grant 2013). However, generosity is conceptualized as only helping the beneficiary, while perhaps increasing the good karma of the provider of the generous deed.

1.3.2 Measurement of OCBs

In studies employing only self-report measures, organizational citizenship behaviors and their antecedents might be related at an inflated amount due to common method variance (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986). Podsakoff, McKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff (2003) explain that to control for common method variance, researchers should collect data on employees' organizational citizenship behaviors from different sources. In other words, if OCBs are the criterion in a research study, they should be collected from the supervisor (or a peer) and not the target participant to account for common source bias.

Collecting supervisor-report data on OCBs also accounts for participants' own social desirability bias to look good (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986).

Another methodological issue concerning OCBs involves levels of analysis. In its nature, OCBs occur on a dyadic- or group-level since it is a behavior aims at benefiting another person or the organization as a whole. However, most research on OCBs focuses on the individual level (Schnake & Dumler, 2003). It is recommended to examine group-level antecedents of OCBs in order to fully capture what drives people to engage in them.

1.4 Generous Identity and OCBs

In the workplace, people may choose to persistently engage in OCBs to align their behaviors to their stable generous identity, especially because intrinsic motivators of prosocial behaviors are easier to sustain long-term (Grant, 2008; Grant & Berg, 2012). Therefore, people who see themselves as more generous are also more likely to engage in more generous behaviors when compared to people who see themselves as less generous. For example, this positive feedback loop can occur when an always-helping coworker is willing to stay past the end of the work day with a colleague before a big deadline. If the coworker defines themselves as a generous person, by engaging in generous behavior and receiving verification that they are generous, they confirm and perpetuate their self-definition, which in turn drives them to continue engaging in generous behaviors towards their coworkers in the future.

There has been a call in the literature to go deeper than cognitive motivators to predict OCBs: Penner, Midili, and Kegelmeyer (1997) urged researchers to think about how identity can play a role in dictating the extent to which people engage in organizational citizenship behaviors. Identity is considered deeper than cognition because

it is a consistent (and somewhat permanent) part of the self that stays with the person wherever they go. Therefore, I answer their call-to-action and use generous identity to find more accurate ways to predict OCBs.

There have been other identities that have been studied in relation to OCBs; previous research found that the engagement in OCBs reinforces one's organizational citizen role identity (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004; Krueger 2004; Penner et al., 1997). That is, employees that go out of their way to help their coworkers or the organization at large are engaging in behaviors that strengthen their role identity as a citizen in the organization. Consequently, the stronger the citizen role identity, the more likely the employee is to engage in OCBs both in active and passive ways.

There are, however, problems with using the citizen role identity that generous identity can address. The issue with applying role identity, as opposed to person identity, to the OCB research program is that it is constricting when predicting behaviors because role identity focuses on relationships. A role identity requires at least two actors as a reference point for each other (Burke & Stets, 2009); for example, in a helping situation, the helper is taking on the role of the *giver* and the person getting helped is taking on the role of the *receiver*. Role identity falls short on being able to predict extra-role behaviors in the organizational context because OCBs may stem from an inner source of how individuals define themselves in any situation regardless of the roles filled by the actors involved. Examining person identity and not role identity is a more fruitful endeavor because it allows me to focus more on the people and their generous identity standards sans situations and their situational partners. In other words, in this case, person identity

has more predictive power because it is not focused on situational relationships in the same way that role identity does, but rather on self-defined attributes in general.

Further, from the framework of identity theory and attitudes and behaviors, generous identity is more closely aligned as a construct to organizational citizenship behaviors due to their shared proximity to generosity in their nomological networks, viewed as discretionary behavior that aims to benefit another actor. Therefore, due to its conceptual proximity to OCBs, generous identity, which is a person identity, will be able to predict generous behaviors at the workplace (i.e., OCBs):

Hypothesis 1: High generous identity will lead to high engagement in OCBs.

1.5 Organizational Culture

Organizational culture can play a role in how identity is related to behavior. Barney (1989:657) defines organizational culture as: “a complex set of values, beliefs, assumptions, and symbols that define the way in which a firm conducts its business”. Organizational culture can be studied in the same way that national cultures are studied (Schein, 2010) by defining the culture as either collectivist or individualistic. The culture of an organization and cultural values of individuals dictate behavior because they offer ways in which organizational actors can interpret situations and decide whether to cooperate or not with other actors (Wagner, 1995); individuals with collectivist values are more likely to engage in OCBs (Moorman & Blakely, 1995).

In addition, Perlow and Weeks (2002) found that culture serves as a lens through which helping behavior is interpreted, such that individuals in collectivist cultures welcome the help they receive from their coworkers and offer their help as a learning opportunity. In collectivist cultures, helping each other is an understood part of working

together towards a common goal. Conversely, those from individualistic cultures might view help from others as a negative experience or an unwanted interruption. For example, someone might offer to help as a power-play to show that they are more capable than the receiver of the help. In these situations, the potential receivers would deny the offered help so that they will not seem weak (Perlow & Weeks, 2002).

Although generous identity is not contextualized, OCBs are contextualized in the workplace setting. Hence, the environment will not influence generous identity standards but it could influence the engagement in OCBs. Based on research by Perlow and Weeks (2002), I posit that a collectivist culture will foster a cooperative environment in which generous individuals are more likely to engage in generous behavior above and beyond their engagement of OCBs outside that environment. In other words, a collectivist culture will create a context through which people's generous identities can flourish and be enacted upon freely.

Hypothesis 2a: Collectivist organizational culture will strengthen the relationship between generous identity and OCBs.

On the other hand, an individualist culture that promotes people to compete against each other will deter the generous individuals to engage in more generous behavior. In this environment, conflict will be created between identity and behavior for generous people because they would want to live up to their identity standards and match the input they receive from the environment (i.e., feedback that they are generous) with the output on which they enact (i.e., behaving in generous ways). However, such an individualistic environment is not conducive to the enactment of generous behaviors and

thus generous people will have a hard time verifying their generous identity in this context. Figure 1 illustrates the proposed conceptual model.

Hypothesis 2b: Individualistic organizational culture will weaken the relationship between generous identity and OCBs.

1.6 Team Climate

Identities and organizational culture do not exist in isolation. In addition to organizational culture, team climate as a context can also serve as a potential moderator that changes the extent to which generous people choose to engage in OCBs. Denison (1996) explains that although “culture” and “climate” originated from different disciplinary perspectives, the way they are studied has converged and their distinction is not as important as it used to be in the past. However, like Schein (2010), I differentiate between them and view “culture” as the stable, objective, and value-centered context of the larger organization, while “climate” is the more fluid, subjective, and feeling-centered context of teams.

Team climate is the environment in which work occurs and sets the tone for how team members interact with each other. For example, a higher team consensus on values, norms, and roles leads to better communication and less anxiety (Levi, 2011). The team leader plays a key role in creating and making sense of the team climate (Schein, 2010). Schneider, Gunnarson, and Niles-Jolly (1994) explain that by building a climate of trust and fairness, managers create a group atmosphere in which cooperation and reciprocity are encouraged. Hence, if the leader of the group sets the tone that they trust their team members, the members will in turn trust each other and the leader. Reciprocity therefore plays a big role in how the climate is created and maintained.

Kuenzi and Schminke (2009) reviewed the literature on group climate within the workplace context and suggested that researchers began to integrate the way in which they measure and use theory to study the climate construct. For example, to streamline research findings, one study could examine more than one type of climate. To this end, previous research looked at how employees engage in OCBs in relations to the procedural justice climate (Ehrhart, 2004, Tang & Tang, 2012), service climate (Dimitriades, 2007, Tang & Tang, 2012), and ethical climate (Shin, 2012). For example, perceived justice climate leads to high engagement of prosocial behaviors, especially in those workers who display a high other-orientation (De Dreu & Nauta, 2009). However, there is a dearth of research that examines OCB engagement within the prosocial climate of the team.

1.6.1 Team Climate and OCBs

Previous studies have examined the connection between OCBs and climate (Farooqui, 2012; Walumbwa, Hartnell, & Oke, 2010), and especially how employee engagement is mediating the relationship between psychological climate and OCBs (Kataria, Garg, & Rastogi, 2013). Kataria and colleagues (2013:228) operationalize psychological climate as: supportive management, role clarity, contribution, recognition, self-expression, and challenge. They found that these positive factors indeed contribute to a higher rate of OCB enactment by employees. Hence, positive psychological climate is positively related to OCBs.

A team-level OCB construct, called team citizenship behaviors (TCB), examines the extent to which citizenship behaviors are being enacted upon at the group level of analysis and is composed of altruism, civic virtue, conscientiousness, courtesy,

teamwork, and team mindedness (Pearce & Herbik, 2004). Euwema, Wendt, and van Emmerik (2007) conducted a cross-cultural research study comparing how leadership styles influence TCB based on cultural contexts and found that international culture moderates the relationship between leadership and TCB, especially for directive leadership and less so for supportive leadership. Those in their sample with the lowest TCB had a highly directive leader and an individualistic culture. Supportive leadership increases TCB, and a collectivist culture only slightly strengthened that relationship.

In addition to the research on team citizenship behavior, Grant, Dutton, and Russo (2008) assess another higher-level construct called organizational prosocial identity, but little research has examined the prosocial identity of a team. Previous research has attempted to capture the prosocial essence of a team and called it *cooperative social climate* (Buunk et al., 2005). Cooperative social climate is comprised of a supportive social climate (i.e., the extent to which team members perceive that they help each other), team cohesiveness, team membership exchange (i.e., how much the team members actually help each other), and team satisfaction. However, the cooperative social climate construct seems to only be relevant for teams that are highly interdependent on each other. On the other hand, my proposed construct of a prosocial team climate can occur when team members work on tasks that are independent of each other, and indicates that members are invested in others' success regardless of their in-role duties and whether they need to cooperate or collaborate in order to complete their own individual tasks.

Prosocial team climate can be assessed by combining the individual members' generous identity composition within a team. I posit that when a team is comprised of highly generous people (i.e., people who define themselves as generous and view that as

a quality that makes them a unique person), the collective identity of the team will be a product of this, influencing the team climate to feel more prosocial when compared to teams composed of individuals with lower generous identities. Since prosocial climate is a fairly new concept with sparse research findings, I explore this construct with the following research question as a guide:

Research Question 1: How does a work team's generous identity composition relate to its prosocial climate and impact member's OCBs motivations and enactments?

1.7 The Current Studies

I conduct three studies to (1) test the proposed hypotheses that generous identity leads to organizational citizenship behaviors with the organizational culture moderating that relationship and (2) explore the prosocial climate construct. Study 1 uses a convenience sample and ensures that the items in the scales used in this research have high reliability and capture their respective underlying factor. Study 2 uses data from teams in two organizations and tests the proposed hypotheses. Study 3 is a follow-up study from Study 2 that uses qualitative interviews to explore the construct of a team's prosocial climate.

In addition to test the proposed hypotheses, I am also collecting support materials for the convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity of the generous identity scale. For convergent validity support, I use prosocial identity, positive affect, and the Prosocial Personality Battery, which includes social responsibility, empathy, moral reasoning, and self-reported altruism. For discriminant validity, I use citizen role identity and negative affect. To find support for criterion-related validity, I include the behavior

variable organizational citizenship behaviors, which measures extra-role behaviors at the workplace.

CHAPTER 2: STUDY 1

The goal of Study 1 is to test for Hypotheses 1, 2a, and 2b that examine whether (1) a high generous identity will lead to a high engagement in OCBs and (2) organizational culture moderates that relationship. I administer a survey to 399 working adults from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) participant pool. The results inform whether a relationship between generous identity and organizational citizenship behaviors exists in a sample of working adults and whether generous identity adds predictive value beyond the control variables. In addition, the results support convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity for the generous identity scale.

2.1 Study 1 Sample

Data were collected from 399 working adults on MTurk. They were paid \$2 for their time. One of the selection criteria was that they must have a job since OCBs are contextualized to the workplace. The survey was administered online on Qualtrics. The final sample was 56.2% male with an average age of $M=35.4$ ($SD=10.2$). More than a third of the sample has worked at their current company (34.8%) and current position (37.7%) for 2 years.

2.2 Study 1 Measures

The following scales are used to measure the study variables. All survey items are included in Appendix C. I randomized the order in which all surveys appear to counterbalance order-effects.

Generous identity. An 8-item self-report generous identity scale is used to measure generous identity (Gur, Walker, & Barry, under review). Responses are on a 6-point agreement scale.

New generous identity items. In addition to the 8-item scale, 5 new items are added to examine convergent validity of the scale. These items are aligned with the conceptualization of generous identity as a person identity that makes someone unique from others. Responses are on a 6-point agreement scale.

Organizational citizenship behaviors. A 16-item self-report scale is used to measure both OCBI and OCBO (Lee & Allen, 2002). Responses are on a 7-point scale from “never” to “always”.

Organizational culture. An 11-item scale is used to measure beliefs, norms, and values about individualistic-collectivistic orientation (Wagner & Moch, 1986). Responses are on a 7-point agreement scale.

Control variables. Gender, age, agreeableness, prosocial identity, and general positive affect are included as control variables. Positive affect is related to prosocial behaviors (George & Brief, 1992), which is why I control for general affect. While some studies found that women engage in more OCBI and males engage in more OCBO (Kidder, 2002), not all research yielded these gender differences (Farrel & Finkelstein, 2007). However, because women are perceived as kinder, more soft-hearted, and more helpful (Williams & Best, 1990), these perceptions could feed into their self-definitions and drive them to engage in more helpful behavior, which is why I control for gender. Grant, Dutton, and Russo’s (2008) measure of prosocial identity is included as a control variable that will also be used to test for convergent validity, but although generosity is a type of prosocial behavior, I chose to focus on generous identity for the sake of construct clarity instead of lumping all prosocial behaviors into one construct.

2.3 Study 1 Results

First, I cleaned up the data using the case-wise deletion method by removing any participants who indicated at the very end of their survey that I should not use their data. One participant was removed as a result. Then, I examined the responses to the attention checks and removed 53 participants (13%) because they failed more than one of the seven questions that assessed whether participants were paying attention. Using these criteria, from the original sample of 399, I was left with 345 participants for the analyses.

I then conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in SPSS AMOS for the 7 latent variables: generous identity (13 items), OCBI (8 items), OCBO (8 items), organizational culture (11 items), agreeableness (10 items), prosocial identity (3 items), and positive affect (10 items). Each latent variable could correlate with the others. I calculated the estimates with all 63 items, examined the modification indices (MI), removed an item with a high MI, rerun the model, and repeated the iterative process of removing items with high MIs until the model fit index was satisfactory.

I removed 30 items during this process, with the final model's fit indices of RMSEA=.05 [CI=.04, .05], GFI=.87, and CFI=.95. Factor loadings for the latent variables are presented in Table 1. With the remaining 33 items, I created composite scores for each of the latent variable as an average of the items that loaded onto that factor. I created a composite score to capture the construct in the most efficient way.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations of study variables were calculated using SPSS and are presented in Table 2. All main study variables have adequate variability given their standard deviations. Generous identity has a strong, positive correlation with OCBI ($r=.59, p<.01$) and OCBO ($r=.56, p<.01$). Because gender had a

statistically-significant correlation to both generous identity ($r=-.12, p<.05$), OCBI ($r=-.17, p<.01$), and OCBO ($r=-.18, p<.01$), I included gender as a control variable in the regression analyses. This means that, like previous research that found women to be kinder and softer (Williams & Best, 1990), women in my sample tended to define themselves as more generous and self-report more OCBs when compared to men.

To test for Hypothesis 1, I conducted a linear regression analysis in SPSS using generous identity to predict organizational citizenship behaviors (Table 3). I included the control variables in the first step and generous identity in the second step to see how much additional predictive value generous identity can add beyond what is already known. The variables in the model explain 40.0% of the observed variance in OCBI and 46.9% of the observed variance in OCBO. Generous identity adds an explained 3.2% to the variance observed in OCBI beyond the control variables, but less than 1% to the observed variance in OCBO. The generous identity scale has a significant and positive relationship with OCBI ($b=.42, p<.001$), but not with OCBO ($b=.13, n.s.$).

Finally, to test for Hypotheses 2a and 2b, I conducted a moderated regression analysis in SPSS to examine whether organizational culture strengthens or weakens the relationship between generous identity and organizational citizenship behaviors. I entered all the control variables, generous identity, and organizational culture in the first step, and then the interaction term between generous identity and organizational culture in the second step. The results from the moderated regression analysis are presented in Table 4. The interaction term between generous identity and organizational culture did not add not predict neither OCBI ($b=-.01, n.s.$) nor OCBO ($b=-.02, n.s.$).

2.3 Study 1 Discussion

I found partial support for Hypothesis 1 that there is a strong positive relationship between generous identity and OCBs, specifically for OCBI that focus on engaging in behavior that directly helps another individual; the people who define themselves as more generous than others also tend to self-report performing higher levels of OCBI. OCBI is more congruent to the generous identity construct in its nomological network than OCBO because both generous identity and OCBI are about giving a commodity to someone directly. Generous identity is not statistically significant when predicting OCBO, meaning that other variables, such as agreeableness and positive affect, are playing a bigger role in predicting behaviors that benefit the organization at large instead of targeting specific people to help. I did not find support for Hypotheses 2a and 2b since the moderated regression analyses did not have statistically-significant results.

2.3.1 Implications

In addition to testing the hypotheses, this study adds to identity theory by finding convergent and discriminant validity support to the generous identity construct. The CFA results demonstrate that the latent factors included in the model are distinct from generous identity. As Table 2 shows, generous identity was positively correlated with related constructs such as agreeableness ($r=.68, p<.001$), prosocial identity ($r=.71, p<.001$), and positive affect ($r=.62, p<.001$). Additionally, generous identity is statistically significant when used to predict OCBI after controlling for related variables. Thus, I provided support for the convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity of the generous identity scale. In turn, future researchers can feel more confident should

they choose to use the scale when measuring generous identity in related research on generosity and other prosocial behaviors.

2.3.2 Limitations and Future Research

A limitation to this study is using a somewhat long survey (almost 200 items) with an MTurk sample. About 13% of those who took the survey did not seem to play close attention to the items because they failed more than 1 attention check. If a future study wants to replicate these findings, I recommend shortening the survey to ensure the accuracy of the collected data.

Additionally, the CFA results show that generous identity, agreeableness, and prosocial identity are highly similar latent factors, with factor correlations ranging from .89 to .92. A future study could explore whether the differences in how these constructs were conceptualized make them unique from each other, or if they are all capturing the same underlying variable that captures someone's inclination to want to help others and be around others.

Future research can also explore the interactions between differing identities (such as generous identity and citizen role identity) to examine how participants choose to enact on these self-definitions differently depending on the types of situations they encounter. For example, if someone is high on both generous identity and citizen role identity and they have a coworker who is struggling to get their own work done, is that person more likely to enact on their generous identity and help the coworker or enact on their citizen role identity and focus on their in-role duties? In reality, the two are not always aligned and generosity is a choice that people need to make.

2.3.3 Conclusion

In summary, Study 1 found that the generous identity scale captures its underlying construct. This study also garners support for the convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity of the scale. The strong and positive correlation between generous identity and OCBs makes me hopeful about the predictive ability of the generous identity construct, and future research should examine its criterion-related validity.

CHAPTER 3: STUDY 2

Study 2 was a pilot that explores how self-reported generous identity is related to supervisor-reported OCBs to gather criterion-related validity support for the generous identity scale. I administered two surveys a month apart, one for employees and another for their direct supervisors. Employees were parts of teams in two settings: one in a higher education institution (Site A) and another in a large manufacturing company (Site B). I collected data about generous identity, OCBs, and participant demographics.

3.1 Study 2 Sample

The sample consisted of 15 people from 6 teams. Team size ranged from 1-4 per team. Team members filled out surveys about their generous identity and answered demographics questions at Time 1. Supervisors filled out surveys about each team members' OCBs one month later (Time 2). Anyone who participated was entered into a drawing for one of two \$50 Target gift cards.

3.2 Study 2 Measures

The following scales were used to measure the study variables. All survey items are included in Appendix C. I randomized the order in which all surveys appear to counterbalance order-effects.

Generous identity. A 13-item self-report generous identity scale is used to measure generous identity (Gur, Walker, & Barry, under review). Responses are on a 6-point agreement scale. Self-reported data were collected from both team members and supervisors.

Organizational citizenship behaviors. A 16-item self-report scale is used to measure both OCBI and OCBOs (Lee & Allen, 2002). Responses are on a 7-point scale

from “never” to “always”. Supervisors reported on team members’ behavior one month after team member data were collected.

Demographic variables. Participants’ age and gender were collected.

3.3 Study 2 Results

I used Tableau to analyze and graph the data. Table 5 contains each team’s demographics information, along with averages and ranges of self-reported generous identity and supervisor-reported OCBs. As expected, members of teams from Site A were younger than members of teams in Site B. The range of self-reported generous identity per team was as low as .46 and as high as 1.23 per team, which means that there was some variation when it comes to participants’ self-definitions among teams and within teams. Also, the scores of supervisor-reported OCBs within team ranged from .5 to 3.38 per team, which means that some supervisors rated their team members as engaging in OCBs in almost similar rates and had low variability among team members (e.g., Team 3) while others reported that some of their members engaged in OCBs a lot more than others and had a high variability among team members (e.g., Team 1).

To examine the relationship between self-reported generous identity and supervisor-reported OCBs, I used Tableau to create trend line graph with all 15 participants (Figure 2) and then a graph that shows each team’s trend line separately (Figure 3). The results from the trend models are reported in Table 6. When graphed all together, the trend line from the 15 participants and their managers shows that as generous identity increases by one unit, supervisor-reported OCBs increase by 1.5 units ($p < .01$). These results indicate that participants who see themselves as generous are more

likely to be rated as engaging in higher levels of OCBs when compared to those who see themselves as less generous.

To further explore the results, I created a trend line graph for each gender group (Figure 4). The slope of the line for males was steeper than the slope of the line for females. Females in this small sample viewed themselves as slightly more generous ($M=4.47$, $SD=.56$) than the males in this sample ($M=4.79$, $SD=.49$). This resonates with previous research done by Williams and Best (1990) that found that women tend to be viewed as kinder than men. However, since results from previous research on gender differences and OCB engagement has yet to determine whether men and women engage in OCBs differently (Farrel & Finkelstein, 2007), the results from these trend lines can only help speculate what might be the reason behind the differing slopes. For example, it is possible that when females see themselves as more generous, expectations from them are higher than when males see themselves as more generous. Thus, supervisors will inflate OCB ratings for males because when they do engage in them, it is more surprising and thus memorable. But, since this study has a small sample, this speculation should be tested in a larger sample.

3.4 Study 2 Discussion

These results are the first step in gathering support for the criterion-related validity of the scale by showing that generous identity can lead to OCBs. Even though this is a small sample, being able to show that there is a positive relationship between self-reported generous identity and supervisor-reported OCBs is a promising result.

In addition, Team 1 had the largest slope (2.24), and that was also the team with the largest range of supervisor-rated OCBs. This team also contained the participant with

the lowest self-reported generous identity and lowest supervisor-reported OCBs. This means that when a team member sees themselves as less generous, the supervisor also recognizes that they engage in lowered levels of OCBs. Since Team 1 is from Site A, where the organizational culture is not as collaborative when compared to Site B, this could have neutral connotations because this participant is not expected to behave in a generous manner. Therefore, it is useful to take the organizational context into account when interpreting these results.

3.4.1 Implications

This pilot study shows that there is a positive relationship between generous identity and OCBs when they are reported by different informants. The higher generous identity is, the more likely this person is to receive higher OCB ratings from their supervisor. The results from this pilot are encouraging to continue the search for support for the criterion-related validity of the generous identity scale using OCBs as the criterion.

3.4.2 Limitations and Future Research

A limitation to this study is that I used constructs that have been developed specifically for an organization setting similar to a corporate environment to study behavior in a higher education setting. A lab PI emailed me about this and said that it was hard for him to rate his team members' OCBs, and especially OCBIs, because the questions seemed "irrelevant". Future research can either reword the OCB items to fit the context of a university or use a construct that measures prosocial behaviors within a permanent team more broadly. In doing so, this research can be expanded beyond the

workplace to be used for contexts such as organized religion, sports teams, or hobby groups.

Additionally, examining the relationship between generous identity and negative OCBs, such as absenteeism, complaining, and stealing organizational resources, could be another future research direction. This study focused on positive OCBs and tested how a positive generous identity is related to their engagements. But, some deviant behaviors in the workplace that are the opposite of OCBs might also have a relationship with generous identity. Therefore, by showing that generous identity has a negative correlation with negative OCBs, a future study can further find support for the discriminant validity of the generous identity construct.

Future research can involve the data collection of a larger participant sample to improve the inferences we can make about the results of the data. This study is a pilot and an exploration to that step, and using the same measures in a corporate environment with a larger sample can inform us about whether a prosocial climate moderates the relationship between generous identity and OCBs.

3.4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the results from this small pilot study show that there is a relationship between the extent to which someone defines themselves as generous and the level of OCB engagement rated by their supervisor. Future research can further test this relationship in a larger sample and consider the team context into account.

CHAPTER 4: STUDY 3

The purpose of Study 3 is to answer Research Question 1 with qualitative data. Since results from the pilot in Study 2 are only exploratory, I seek an understanding of not only whether but also why and how the team climate and organizational culture influence behavior beyond individuals' identities. Using thematic analysis, I extract themes from the interviews to explain the relationship between identity, context, and behavior and discuss the essence of a prosocial climate per the participants' points of view.

4.1 Study 3 Sample

I interviewed 12 people who work in teams within the same two organizations from Study 2 (3 participants from Site A and 9 participants from Site B). Anyone who participated received a \$15 Target gift card. I reached a point of saturation in the data after the 10th interview, and the two interviews following that confirmed the overall thematic structure that I noticed was emerging from the data. My sample had an even distribution of females (50%) and males (50%). I conducted my analysis at the individual level instead of the team level, but I noted which people worked on the same teams (there were 8 participants who worked in the same 3 teams and 4 who were the only member from their team to participate). The average age of participants was 37 years ($SD=12$). The participants from Site A were students from all levels (undergraduate, master's student, and doctoral student) who worked in research labs. The participants from Site B were all from the corporate office within the human resources or corporate communications functions.

4.2 Study 3 Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews were conducted over the phone. The semi-structured interview guide (Appendix D) includes 19 questions about the individual's perceptions of their own and other team members' identity and behaviors. The questions focus on what it means to be generous at the workplace and what forces drive generous behaviors or stop them from occurring. I ask questions about perceptions of others' motivations and some factors that could influence generous behaviors at the workplace (such as messages from senior leaders and supervisors) to get a better sense of the reasons why people engage or disengage in OCBs beyond their self-definitions and considering the workplace context.

On averages, the interviews lasted 36.2 minutes ($SD=11$) and took place over the course of two and a half weeks. I transcribed all interviews within 24 hours of conducting them. The number of words per interview on average was 3,535.9 ($SD=1146$), with a total of 42,431 words in all 12 interviews. I followed the six phases of thematic analysis outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) to derive common themes from the participants' responses to answer Research Question 1 of how a work team's climate can influence members' behaviors and motivations. While interviewing and transcribing, I wrote memos about trends that were emerging from the data. I read and re-read the transcribed interviews and my memos. Then, I open-coded 30% of the responses using NVivo (per Sarah J. Tracy, personal communication, April 20, 2015). From there, I collated the Level 1 in-vivo (i.e., in the participants' language) codes into overarching themes (Level 2) and defined each theme to achieve a better understanding of how the team and organizational contexts influence the relationship between generous identity and OCBs. I then went through all 12 interviews with the derived Level 2 themes and their Level 1 codes to see

if the themes work in relation to the in-vivo codes extracted, and refined their names and definitions as needed.

4.3 Study 3 Results

Three large themes emerged from the data that answer Research Question 1, “*How does a work team’s generous identity composition relate to its prosocial climate and impact member’s OCBs motivations and enactments?*” These themes are defined in Table 7 and modeled in Figure 5. The theme Creation describes the drivers of OCBs that, after reinforcement, create the prosocial climate. These creating forces start from the organization at large, extend to the team supervisor and team members, and exist within the person as an identity. The theme Maintenance captures the aspects of the team and the commodities exchanged among team members to describe how a prosocial team is sustained. Finally, the theme Conflict is about the different challenges and tensions that are associated with having a prosocial climate and how employees cope with them.

Before describing in detail, I want to note that the themes of Creation, Maintenance, and Conflict are cyclical and co-related. The order in which I present them is imposed by me on the data, and I chose it based on my preference to view them as having a somewhat linear relationship from creation to maintenance and their associated tensions. However, the creation of a prosocial climate can lead to tensions, and tensions can lead to either maintenance or a creation of a different climate. Therefore, the order in which I present these larger themes is not as important as the themes themselves because they can occur in any direction (similar to the chicken and the egg problem). This disclaimer also related to the overlapping nature of some of the level 1 codes; I imposed boundaries on level 1 codes based on my organization of the data, but the participants see

no difference between some of them. (For example, splitting up the commodities of tasks and energy was a choice I made even though participants do not necessarily make a distinction between the two.)

All three themes support the conclusion that a prosocial team climate is created, understood, and maintained through the organizational culture and structure, the supervisor's modeling of behavior, the team's generalized reciprocity, and the identity of the participants. However, when the organizational culture is not one that encourages and supports collaborations and engagement of OCBs, employees fall back on the supervisor's behavior as an indicator of what is expected of them. I will now describe with thick descriptions how each theme explains the extent to which creating and maintaining a prosocial climate fosters an environment in which people's generous identities can be enacted upon in the forms of OCBs.

4.3.1 Creation

There are four forces at three levels of analysis that facilitate the creation of the prosocial climate of the team: organizational culture at the macro level, supervisor and team behavior at the team level, and identity selection at the individual level. Each of these forces is depicted as equally important by the participants in Site B. For the participants Site A, organizational culture did not play a role in creating a prosocial climate, but the other three forces did. I will now turn to an explanation of each force.

4.3.1.1 Organizational Culture

At this study's highest level of analysis, the organizational culture sets the expectations explicitly and implicitly as to how employees should behave. Participants in

Site B described their organizational culture as “supportive”, “inclusive”, “engaging”, “winning”, and “generous”. For example, Leanne¹ described the culture as:

“...very inclusive, um, very team-minded. It's not very individualistic. People always try to help out other people, and we are successful together, and we do have individual contributors as well as teams, however, all of the individual contributors are generally working toward common goals and overall, I would say, just a very inclusive and diverse culture.”

Leanne said that the culture is “inclusive” and “diverse”, and made the point that everyone in the organization is aligned in terms of the larger organizational performance. Having the same goals is a quality of a collectivist culture (Schein, 2010).

In addition to the descriptors above regarding the overarching culture, participants in Site B said that the senior leaders in this company encourage the employees to collaborate with others across departments to achieve common organizational goals, and make themselves available to the individual contributors whenever they need anything. Bob talked about the CEO embodying the organizational culture by being “*very generous and very open with their time. Very willing to go out of their way to be visible and to help you with anything.*” When asked about the culture of the organization, Bob also explained that:

“The culture of the organization I would say is very supportive. We all have a lot of tasks on our plates at once and I feel like everyone is willing to help each other achieve our goals collectively, and everyone is willing to make time for one another in order to achieve those goals or ask questions around certain projects

¹All participants’ names were replaced with pseudonyms to preserve their confidentiality

that we are all working on together. I would say it's a very collaborative culture as well, mainly because I could knock on the VP's door if I had a question and that's totally acceptable so it's nice to know that we are all working in the same direction.”

By enabling employees to feel comfortable freely approaching senior leaders, the company removes the barrier of formality and creates an environment in which employees feel as though upper management is just as invested in their individual goals as they are. Per the participants, this collectivist culture mentality exists at all levels in the organization.

Also, senior leaders in the organization send messages about the importance of the development of its employees and foster a culture where employees can work on personal growth. Andrea explained that the culture is:

“... designed to make people feel like they are working for a winning company, that they can win themselves personally in their work in their company and can have opportunities to grow and develop, and we work very hard on employee engagement and trying to authentically and genuinely strengthen how engaged all of our employees are across the company.”

In this quote, Andrea described how the employees of her company are encouraged to develop through personal growth and view their development as part of their company's overall success, which in turn leads to people feeling like the company's success is also their personal success.

According to the participants, a big part of the organizational culture is also feeling that employees can take risks as part of their development. When talking about her teammates, Krista said:

“And not afraid to fail. Nobody wants to fail, and I think that's from the top, from our CEO on down. He always has a prescription to fail fast, and I've heard that out in the corporate world, not just in our company. Try things and if you fail, that's okay, that's part of learning, get back up and try again.”

By being willing to take certain risks that have the potential to lead to big gains or cost cuts, the organization fosters an environment in which being creative is encouraged. This is also aligned with the “innovative” culture of the organization in the sense that they are always trying to be the leaders of “cutting edge” technology.

Finally, participants talked about how the organizational culture trickles down to the team level. As Bob said, *“the culture of our team is very reflective of the culture of the organization itself”*. That means that the expected behaviors set by senior leaders that create the organizational culture also become the way in which teams create their group culture. Thus, the organizational culture creates the context for the team culture, which mimics it, and the prosocial aspects of the organizational culture further solidify and get translated into the prosocial climate of the team.

In conclusion, the organizational culture fosters a collaborative environment, similar to the notion of a collectivist culture, in which employees can grow themselves and support each other without fear of repercussions from upper management while they are working towards common organizational goals. In fact, the organizational culture is so supportive and collaborative that senior leaders are not shy from directly asking

employees to help the organization directly by cutting costs and helping the organization with “cash flow”, or help the community through the company by participating in initiatives such as sustainability or volunteer opportunities.

4.3.1.2 Supervisor Behavior

In addition to a supportive organizational culture that encourages cross-functional collaborations, each team’s supervisor is a force that plays an important role in creating a prosocial climate in which people help each other and pick up each other’s “slack”.

Carlos explained that it was “support from the top” that helped encourage people to reach out to their teammates. Carlos elaborated about the leader’s support by saying:

“Part of it is just their own involvement. So, if you have a leader or a supervisor that is actively involved in being generous with their time, and that person encourages other people to participate as well, then that culture starts to breed. When it's encouraged in team building session and team meetings that you are all in this together, we are a team, we live and breathe and succeed by the ability for us to share and to work towards a common goal. That is very important.”

George also saw the value in and importance of the supervisor’s behavior and explained that,

“The leader sets a way of how she or he wants the team to work or lead by example. I think the leader leading by example is most important. He or she doesn't have to come out and say, here's how we are going to work together. But that's fine if a leader wants to say that. But most importantly would be setting the example of leading by acting.”

Hence, the teams' supervisors "set the tone" for the expected behavior of the team by behaving in generous ways themselves.

But, modeling behavior is not the only thing a leader can do to create a prosocial climate for their team—many participants also talked about the ways in which the leader explicitly asks them to help their teammates, whether it is publicly during team meetings or privately via email or IM. When asked about whether her leader explicitly asks her and her teammates to help each other, Hannah said:

"Yes and no. I would say most of the time probably not, however there are times when they might say "hey, coworker A is really swamped right now, can you give him or her a hand?" or "can you take the lead on this because coworker C is struggling with getting this other thing done for the business" or whatever, so things like that but it tends to be more focused I think on workload stuff, um, you know, if there is something that was either unexpected or we are having an influx of something. Um. I think that tends to be where it is, versus just "hey go see if they need anything", that's not typical, it wouldn't shock me but it's not typical."

Hannah's response illustrates how her team leader pays close attention to the workload of each team member and, during times of need, explicitly asks the team members to help each other out, instead of charging them to help each other without fully understanding their needs or workload. This example also illustrates how the leader is aware of the workflow and bandwidth of its team members and tries to get people to "chip in" whenever some teammates are overwhelmed with large tasks. Eve describes these situations when someone on the team has a large task with which they need help as "all hands on deck" in the sense that everyone is encouraged to contribute to the member's

project. The leader, when asking for an “all hands on deck” approach, explains that their member’s success is ultimately the team’s success. This also ties in with the next Creation force, which is the team members and the view that their contributions is helping the “bigger picture”.

4.3.1.3 Team Behavior

Another important driver that creates the prosocial climate is the team members themselves and the way in which they act towards each other. Andrea explained that her teammates and she are a “close-knit group” and they frequently rely on each other. When talking about her team environment, Krista said:

”I would say we just roll up our sleeves and chip in for each other whenever it's needed. That's like just a given and I love that. And we all have each others' backs. And are generous that way with time and expertise.”

Conversely, Fred guessed that if he is ever on “*some sort of team where nobody would help each other then I probably wouldn't help other people in that team as well, so the atmosphere of how people are working with each other affects how you work with those people.*” Fred’s quote implies that the team’s influence can go both ways to either elicit generous behaviors or stop them from happening.

Overall, the notion of generalized reciprocity exists in the sense that participants were more motivated to help others if they feel like the receivers of their help have helped them in the past or they might be willing to help them in the future should a need ever arise. This generalized reciprocity is what the participants are calling “the bigger picture” because they attribute their efforts as helping the larger, common goals of the team and organization. Leanne explained this by saying that “*generosity is thinking of*

kind of the needs of a broader group or needs beyond yourself, and seeking to kind of drive kindness and positivity and foster that in other people as well as yourself.”

However, generosity at work within the context of the team does not have to involve an active behavior. When asked how the generosity of her teammates, Diana replied:

“They have a warm spirit about them. So they kind of have a good spirit in the sort of like the way they show up and that's nice... it's not really necessarily in their every single activity, it's really how they show up when you meet them, when you have time with them.”

In this excerpt, Diana illustrated how having a good attitude at work, which is one of the OCBI dimensions, can count as generous in the sense that people are sharing their “good spirit” with others around them. That, to her, is just as generous as having someone help her on a task. Hannah echoed the sentiment of having a “good spirit”, too:

“To me generosity is caring for others, not just people but also processes or intangible types of things, in a way that you are giving more to them than you are to yourself, if that makes sense. You are putting them first.”

By channeling their positive energy and putting someone else’s needs before their own, employees are creating a prosocial climate in their team where they can all help each other and spread good cheer whenever it is needed, and especially when someone becomes overwhelmed with an important deadline or a large task.

What helps to create this collaborative culture and prosocial climate is the ambiguity that comes with the structure of the work and division of responsibilities. Andrea said that she and her team each have their job duties and tasks, but due to the

common team goals that bind them together, the boundaries are “blurred” which gives them “flexibility to rely on each other as needed”. The team members have “complementary skillsets” that create a natural need and desire to work together on tasks. Looking back at the larger context, Bob attributes the organization’s support of “cross-functional” teams to this collaborative structure at the team level that encourages natural cooperation among members of different teams, too.

To summarize, the team members’ actions and attitudes are both important to the creation of a prosocial climate that fosters generosity by not only creating a support system in which members can depend on each other, but also enabling energy flows through which positivity can be exchanged in spirit, making everyone feel good about the work they are doing and their coworkers.

4.3.1.4 Identity Selection

In addition to the organization, the supervisor, and the teammates, individuals’ identities were a force that helped create the prosocial climate through the process of employee selection. Hannah, for example, talked about how the company tends to hire people who are a good match for their culture. As Bob elaborated on that point, he said:

“...we hire people that fit our culture, that are that collaborative, that are that generous person, so it starts with the hiring process, and again it's not something that we need to talk about or need to be reminded of because it naturally happens.”

Bob also said that anyone who does not fit the culture “sticks out like a sore thumb”. By hiring people who are generous, the organization facilitates and perpetuates the creation of a prosocial climate.

In conclusion, the identity of the individual workers is another force that creates the prosocial climate and facilitates the enactments of generous behaviors, and by hiring people who have similar identity standards, the maintenance of the prosocial climate becomes a given. The following section discusses more about the essence of the prosocial climate and how it is maintained.

4.3.2 Maintenance

Once a prosocial climate is created, participants described its maintenance in ways that encompass its authentic nature, the sharing of all types of commodities, the level of playfulness it adds to the workplace, the mechanisms through which people sustain the prosocial climate, and the confirmation of their generous identities.

4.3.2.1 Authenticity

Participants said that being genuine and authentic matters when it comes to generosity (even outside of the workplace). Many participants talked about how they can tell whether someone is being authentic or fakes it to gain something out of an interaction. As Eve and Krista said, generosity is close to the “heart”. And more specifically, in their current company, Bob said that he “*never get[s] that sense that people are acting out of character to be generous.*” This means that whenever people are being genuinely generous, it shows and comes to the awareness of those who observe it because it seems “natural”. Andrea suggested that perhaps people are raised that way, Eve confirmed that it was her “upbringing” that made her see herself as generous, and Diana explained that being generous is what people “bring to the table”—it is just who they are. As Hannah said:

“I like to think that there is the ingrained "treat others the way you'd want to be treated" that we learn when we are little that for whatever reason is coming out here. And I like to think that the people [who] are successful within my company, within my department are the ones that put others and put the business first. Those are the ones that end up with longevity, and are here in terms of tenure for a very long time, and that continue to be successful in their own trajectory.”

By viewing generosity as ingrained in a person, Hannah illustrated how generous identity can be a part of the individual that stays with them regardless of their context.

Being authentic is a noticeable quality in others, and so is being inauthentic. To illustrate this point, Krista shared this story:

“Just yesterday I had a teammate, not in my immediate team but somebody who's a teammate in our larger group, pinged me through IM and he's got kind of an urgent situation with communications happening... we are all busy and every day we have 500 things on our plates, and I, um, I really didn't have time, but I could tell that he has, and this is an urgency because of no one's fault, it's an opportunity that came up for our company and he had a great idea to jump on it in a certain way, but he kinda said to me, "I don't know what I was thinking. [Laughs] I think my head reacted before my heart" so, I just kinda, my empathy kicked in and he is a younger, greener teammate, and I'm more of a senior member of the team, so I just thought, “well, I am just gonna clear the deck and help this guy”, and so that's where I stick my neck... And I'm a helper, I am more of a loyal helper type, and that's just in my personality, so it's sort of, he triggered that. Plus it helps, I love it when people are just authentic and when somebody

comes to me and says, "hey, I've bitten off more than I can chew," so if you're just honest and like, "omg I need help" that just zaps me right in the heart, [Laughs] I feel things, I will feel anything, I'll just do anything. It doesn't always happen. I had a manager one time, who, you know, it's my manager so I have to eventually do what the manager wants me to do, but would always come to me and sort of, if she had a senior leader that threw something at her and she needed help, instead of approaching it that way, she would try to not pull the wool over my eyes, but should would dress it up, and I was peripheral with that and would think to myself, "just be honest and then my generous spirit will kick in and then you'll have me"."

Here, Krista demonstrates how whenever someone asks for help authentically, she is more inclined to put aside her in-role duties and offer guidance and support as opposed to a request from someone who seems less authentic (perhaps because they are hiding something).

Authenticity also relates to Burke and Stets's (2009) identity framework; as people remain true to their core self-definitions, they are happy because they can exist authentically. Living authentically also means that they do not need to change their patterns or behaviors to over-compensate for a mismatch between the identity standard and the input they perceive from others. Therefore, when generous acts are authentic, because they stem from the natural core of an individual, it makes a big impact on maintaining the prosocial climate because it continues the facilitation of expressing genuine interest in the well-being of a coworker.

4.3.2.2 Commodities

As part of the maintenance of a prosocial culture, many commodities were mentioned by the participants, such as time, knowledge, skills, ideas, a listening ear, meals, advice, and even jokes. However, the two most common commodities participants mentioned in terms of workplace generosity that get exchanged on a daily basis are time and knowledge. Eight participants mentioned the importance of teaching a coworker something and how it is considered generous. For example, George said that it is more generous to actually teach a coworker how to do something instead of doing it for them:

“...having a conversation to explain something as opposed to just, hell even just doing it for someone may seem generous but it's actually not what I would consider generous. Generosity would be taking the time to show someone how to do something if they don't know how to do it. Taking the time to teach, like if someone, and this often happens, but if you want to just learn about an area of a company and you are asking someone who knows about that area to take time out of their day to teach you something that they are not going to reap anything from it but they are taking time out of their day to show you and teach you about that area of the company or process or whatever. I think true generosity is knowing that you are not going to reap any reward or receive anything in the short term or long term, just realizing that I am about to take my time, give this person information and knowledge, and 100% know this isn't going to help me from a work perspective. I think that would be, not to say less generous, but if you think "oh I should do this for this person because down the road I might need this

person for me", it's still generous what you're doing, but it's not as generous I think."

As George viewed it, teaching is the combination of time and knowledge, and some participants like George see teaching as a generous and selfless act because he is not necessarily getting something in return. After teaching her coworker something, Eve said that although her coworker could not directly repay the favor, just knowing that her coworker is "comfortable" in her new role is "payment enough".

In Site A, on the other hand, Ivan said that by teaching something to someone or coaching them, you directly get something in return:

"Every time we were helping somebody else with something else, we always get something, we always learn something from it. Every time we help the undergrads who come in and teach them programming stuff like this, we are always getting something new out of it that we didn't quite realize that increases our skills."

Ivan also explained at another point in the interview that when a new student joins the team, spending time teaching them and getting them "up to speed" is viewed as an investment that translates to having a "more productive" lab member and making their "lives a lot easier" later on. This further demonstrates that generosity is not altruism, and a generous act can also benefit the actor, sometimes by teaching them something new or giving them a return on investment. By teaching members of the team new things, the maintenance of the prosocial climate benefits both those who teach and those who learn.

Other than teaching, letting a coworker vent was the second-highest mentioned commodity when it comes to performing generous behaviors at the workplace. Eve explained that:

“...it's more difficult to sometimes help actually physically to do something, but even just taking a minute and letting somebody vent can actually go a long way, so you know, supporting in that way I think is also very generous.”

Thus, the combination of time and energy, in the form of lending a “listening ear” as Carlos phrases it, can go a long way in maintaining the prosocial climate of the team. For Bob, being someone that people can turn to and confide in was also a generous act at work, especially because his coworkers know they can trust him to be discreet. Bob said that *“generosity starts with being generous with your time and can morph into being a confidant. Folks tend to confide in individuals that are generous with their time but are also respectful of the confidential information.”* Here, Bob demonstrated how the commodities associated with generosity turn from tangible to emotional once people notice that a person is generous and feel comfortable in sharing private information with them. Hence, the support provided by coworkers in a team with a prosocial climate can be instrumental (tangible aid), informational (advice or suggestions), and emotional (expressing empathy and trust).

Another way in which a team can maintain a prosocial climate is by offering a combination of instrumental and emotional support to those who go on vacation. Krista gave the example of how her team gets together before someone takes a long vacation to divide their tasks:

“...when somebody goes on vacation it's like, "okay so-and-so is going on vacation, what do you have on your plate, what's urgent, what are your everyday projects that you got going, let us know and we can divvy everything up” so that

the person can go and not take their laptop... just go and not have to think about work and recharge their batteries. It's so important."

Also, according to Krista, the team does this so often that they also decided to offer to take tasks from their supervisor who went on a two-week trip. In addition to showing how the team can provide a support that is both instrumental and emotional, this example also demonstrates how a maintained prosocial climate facilitates reciprocity not only among team members, but also between team members and their supervisors.

Finally, maintaining the prosocial climate of the team can be done in ways that are not related to the work for which the team is responsible. Ivan gave the example of giving a team member a ride to the airport. Another example from Carlos, Hannah, and Leanne was about making meals for coworkers with health issues, and they explained how by going above and beyond when helping coworkers recover from major illnesses or operations, the team makes the recipient feel like they are receiving "an overwhelming amount of generosity". This also enables the recipient to heal and return to work quicker. Usually, the team leader is the one who orchestrates the meals, but they explain to the team members that they should only participate if they want to:

"...there is a strong understanding that everybody's circumstances are different, and at least my supervisor makes it a point to say that, "so if you can, you can, if you can't, you can't." I think that's important because when it becomes mandatory it's work, it's not generosity."

Carlos's quote above is also aligned with the definition of generosity as being a choice and not a requirement and with the definition of OCBs as being discretionary. His

supervisor makes it clear that it is a choice that people can make, and because of that, it becomes truly generous if someone decides to act upon it and help prepare meals.

4.3.2.3 Playfulness

OCBs are related to having a positive attitude, but, taking it a step further, two participants (Ivan and Krista) mentioned how engaging in OCBs can add a level of levity that turns the work fun. Ivan said that it would be “boring” to work without helping his teammates, and explained that these interactions bring them “closer as friends”. And when the work environment gets stressful, Krista appreciates the sense of humor of her coworker and supervisor and sees it as a way to cheer up:

“...I think we rub off on each other that way, or we both enjoy each others' humor and once you can get laughing at something you're like, yeah this isn't as big a deal as I thought. And the same with, I am thinking of another teammate in particular, just love his sense of humor and we, I think we can pull each other up.”

Krista's quote above shows how being able to laugh at something can reduce the stress associated with it, and with less stress, people are able to continue helping each other and maintain the prosocial climate of their team. Thus, the playfulness component that prosocial climate brings to the work environment also helps the team members to keep maintaining that prosocial climate.

Additionally, two other participants mentioned that the climate of the team was what made it worth coming into work each day. Carlos explained that this prosocial climate of his team is “*the difference between "you have to go to work" vs. "you want to go to work"*”. Diana talked about how her teammates are “pretty good friends actually,

not just colleagues”. She also said that she has the option of working from home, but chooses to come into the office just because she really likes her team and it is a “draw” for her to spend time face-to-face with them. Thus, by bringing this playful component to the workplace, the prosocial environment is maintained and gives people the feeling that their teammates are not just coworkers, but also friends; Carlos and Ivan took it a step further to say their team was a “family”. Participants attribute the emotional bonds created among coworkers to the prosocial climate of the team.

4.3.2.4 Mechanisms

As part of maintain and sustaining the prosocial climate, there are three sub-components related to its essence and processes: (1) underlying expectations, (2) cyclical patterns of behavior, and (3) whistle-blowing. The first, underlying expectations, is about how the prosocial climate is sustained due to the “subliminal” expectations set by the organization and team supervisor. When asked if his supervisor ever explicitly asks them to help each other on the team, Fred said no because it is “more or less understood”.

George elaborates on this by saying:

“I can't think of anything specific. I am thinking if she ever said "can you help so and so to do whatever"... and yes, I would say yes she has done that, but it's not often is the thing because it's kind of understood that we help each other.”

George’s quote illustrated how the prosocial climate fosters a sense of expectation and understanding that the team members can and should regularly help each other. Bob also discussed the undertone of expectations:

“I would say it's almost expected because it is our core value is teamwork and collaboration, so it's not something that we go around carrying a flag saying we

are going to be generous today we are going to help each other out today, it's not outwardly discussed on a daily basis, it's almost an ingrained expectation within the way that we operate as a team.”

Bob and George supported the notion that the prosocial climate is not “outwardly recognized and mentioned” but rather it is something implicit.

The second mechanism that sustains the climate is the cyclical pattern of generous behaviors that occurs naturally once the expectations have been set and the first set of helping behaviors happened. Participants talked about this cyclical pattern in different forms: reciprocity, paying it forward, the ripple effect, or a chain reaction. For example, Carlos said that the existence of generosity and enactment of generous behaviors have “*a motivating effect on other people around*”. George explained the cyclical pattern of generous behaviors by saying:

“...that swirls, it's a spiral up, or you could go the other way and everything just spirals down... when you have a generous team it reaps a lot, it manifests and snowballs and keeps building upon itself and compounding interest kind of thing as opposed to compounding debt.”

According to George, regardless of whether it is generous behavior or selfish behavior, the pattern of behaviors exists and gets maintained by the team members for good or bad. Eve understands that these patterns of behaviors lend themselves available because everyone eventually needs help themselves, so by knowing that they might be in a situation when they will need help from others, participants willingly helped their coworkers without an immediate benefit in mind. This also relates back to the notion of seeing the “bigger picture” when going above and beyond to help teammates.

The third and final mechanism that sustains a prosocial climate is the correction of the behaviors of those who seem less generous. It is a part of sustaining a prosocial climate because it promotes generous behaviors and reduces selfish behaviors. In my level 1 codes, I referred to this as ‘whistle-blowing’ (although this term was never used by the participants themselves) because these situations deal with bringing attention to and handling individuals who are not being generous to others by openly talking to them about it. For example, Eve explained:

“I think we have a type of relationship on our team where I know I felt comfortable just kind of calling them out when I don't feel like we have a kind of generous, helpful kind of approach to a situation.”

Like Eve, Bob also talked about instances where he had conversations “*with those individuals that do not reflect our culture and our generous culture*”. He said that it is apparent once someone does not have a good fit to the collaborative culture created by the senior leaders, and everyone notices it. Thus, by being open and willing to talk about their observations, employees are able to directly sustain the prosocial climate when they are correcting unwanted behavior.

4.3.2.5 Identity Confirmation

Another way in which the prosocial climate is maintained is by the individual maintenance of the participants’ generous identities. Burke and Stet’s (2009) identity theory was evident in the data—participants’ self-definitions and generous identity standards were verbally compared to the input or feedback about their generosity that they provide to those around them to shape their output of generous behaviors within their prosocial climate. Krista illustrated the identity theory framework when she said:

“Nobody wants to pride about your good qualities, but I do see myself as generous... I feel like I am a compassionate person. And I've been told that. Um. And I think that who we are is sort of made up by our perceptions of ourselves and qualities we think we have, but also what's reflected back to us. Right? I think it's made up of both, so I have been told my whole life that, "you have compassion". I feel like I do try to see the other point of view or try to put myself in the other person's shoes...”

In this quote, Krista showed how she sees own self-definitions and uses the information she receives from others to aim to match her behavior to her identity standard. Leanne also explained that generosity is a part of a person’s “core” and that if they are “*self-aware and it's something that they care to develop*”, people can work on being more generous, in essence illustrating how a person’s generous identity standard can drive them to engage in a matched level of generous behaviors. Hence, participants were cognizant of the parallels between their own self-definitions and the perceptions of others about their selves.

When the identity standard and input match, participants were happy. For example, when asked if he sees himself as a generous person, Carlos said:

“I do. I think, and I am fortunate in that I am part of the team that also does as well. So when it comes to my time... my coaching, when it comes to willingness to go out there to the community and make a difference, when it comes to willingness to share with others both knowledge and skills and just a listening ear, those all come into play in my day to day activities.”

In this example, Carlos demonstrated how the comparator mechanism makes someone feel good and “fortunate” when the input and identity standard match for a specific identity, and in turn encourages him to behave in generous ways daily to continue this synchronization. This process of synchronization is aligned with the identity theory framework. Andrea also explained that even if sometimes she cannot act in generous ways due to constraints, she still tries and hopes that she is perceived as generous because she truly wants to be. Bob recalled his recent performance review and explained how his supervisor and teammates said he is “willing to go above and beyond” and “out of [his] way” to help his team, which to him means he is a generous person. He matched his input with his identity standard and felt satisfied about it.

Additionally, Eve explained that her generous identity went beyond just agreeing to help when someone asked, but rather taking more initiative whenever opportunities come up:

“I see myself as a generous person because I try to help in every way, I feel like I always try to, actually be proactively in supporting people, so not always when it's asked of me, but, actually, you know looking for opportunities to help so I think, I consider that as being generous, so I think a lot of people may wait to be asked but I try to be take a more proactive approach as far as my time and energy and efforts when, you know, working with others.”

Eve explained that by anticipating needs and not waiting to be asked to help, she is verifying her generous identity. Eve also said at another point in the interview that generosity is about doing something not because you are obligated to but because “genuinely from your heart you want to contribute or provide or help.”

Just how selecting generous people into the organization helps with the creation of the prosocial climate, the process of identity maintenance of the participants also maintains the prosocial climate. As people verify their identity and compare their identity standard to the input they receive from their environments at the individual level, they also perpetuate a prosocial climate in which generous behavior continues to occur at the team level.

4.3.3 Conflict

The third large theme that emerged from the data is about the conflict that results from having a high generous identity and engaging (or attempting to) engage in OCBs. The codes that emerged under this theme relate to balancing tasks, energy, timing, appropriateness, and selfishness. The conflicts or tensions are internal and external—sometimes people participate in internal “behind the scenes grumbling” but go forth with engaging in the generous behavior anyway, and sometimes people outwardly negotiate how much or how soon they are able to help their team. One of the most common codes under this larger theme is about the need to perform in-role responsibilities and tasks because, per Eve’s response, when they are at work, *“it’s still really important as a business that you are focused on what you were hired to do”*.

4.3.3.1 Balancing Tasks

The first type of tension that I discuss is about the delicacy of balancing tasks at work. Krista talked about the initial shock of taking on someone’s work as an extra task and debated the degree to which it was a conflict:

“...when we are asked to take on more... we want to, and we view it as a necessary...team work...we've got this is in the spirit of teamwork, we have to

help each other for the greater good, but...initially you're like "oh crap how am I gonna fit this in?" so, that's not, that might not be conflict but, um, it's uh, well I guess that is."

In this excerpt, Krista explained the tension between the need to complete her own tasks while also helping her coworkers in the “spirit of teamwork”. When this type of situation comes up, she strategizes about how she will be able to get everything done and follows through the execution.

Andrea also described how a high workload can sometimes lead to fear in people of needing to get their own tasks done to avoid “negative consequences”:

“...we are at work...it can be stressful at times, there's high expectations of everybody in the company, we have high workload[s]...we're expected to do and to produce and to deliver a lot with as little as possible, we are very lean-oriented...if we can do something and get results for less, less time, less money, less whatever, let's try to do it. Don't sacrifice on the end result, we want those, but let's be creative and so, consequently we all have a lot on our plate and we are operating at [a] high volume and you have, you're evaluated on what you do, you've got your own personal objectives, you have your team's objectives, you have performance ratings and those impact your pay and benefits and promotion opportunities...I would say, if you're thinking about those things and those are top of mind for you, then you might be more inclined to focus on your personal performance and how you are perceived and...what you personally deliver.”

As Andrea said, when someone has a lot of responsibility to the point that it may become stressful, they may not have time to focus on their team members' needs and help them by behaving generously towards them.

Additionally, Hannah explained that when people not helping each other, it is attributed to how busy they are:

"I think that there is a, there an understanding that we all have that, you know, we, if somebody is super swamped and nobody is going to help them, the reason the other people won't help is because the workload won't allow us such due to a business need or something, it's not, um, I haven't experienced it just because somebody doesn't want to, there is usually a reason for it..."

Hannah illustrated that people tend to choose to help others, and their lack of helping is because they simply cannot—the desire to help is understood to still be there, though, which makes it acceptable. Therefore, people are easily forgiven if they are not able to provide help at a time of someone else's need.

Moreover, Carlos talked about the balancing of tasks as something that a team member needs to do for the sake of their team, too:

"Now, you have to be careful though because everyone is supposed to get their jobs done so if someone is being so generous that they are not getting their part of a project finished where they are a critical component of it, it is an imbalance of time effectiveness, of them as a resource. You have to be careful to some degree because you can go overboard."

For Carlos, knowing personal limits and not going "overboard" will mean that someone can continue to be a productive team member, which in turn not only helps the person but

also helps the team overall. The balance between wanting to help others but still knowing how much to take on is something that takes time to learn. Carlos said that someone can spend their “entire career just being generous”, but “you might not get any work done.”

4.3.3.2 Timing

In addition to balancing the tasks on “their plates”, participants were also aware of balancing time and the timing of when they offer to help someone out. Participants know how much time they can dedicate to others, and as Jared explained, his team members “*knew how much they ask or how much they can ask others and how much time of the others they can use*”. Because time is an important commodity, especially at work, participants described how a tension related to the prosocial climate is understanding how much time they or their coworkers can actually dedicate to extra-role duties. In addition to being cognizant of how much time they have, Jared also talked about “limits” as to how much help you could ask from others, and this is something that everyone in his team understands since they “know their limits”, but Jared did not specify whether these limits are related to time, energy, or skills.

On top of being aware of how much time can be dedicated to the generous act, participants talked about the actual timing in terms of when the opportunity arises. Eve explained that she sometimes has to turn down requests for her help:

“...because we can have conflicting priorities just like I may have a program launch and then at the same time somebody else has it, so, I have these hard deadlines that I have to meet just like they do, and so there's definitely been times when you are making a last-minute request and if I am really swept up in whatever I am rolling out, I've had to say no, I've had to say I can't get to it

because I have to complete this today, myself, so yeah there, and people don't know what you always have going on when they make a request, but I think it is, I know there have definitely been times when I had to say, "I am sorry I can't help I am too focused on my work, like this has to be done.""

In these situations, Eve said that people understand why she is unable to help them, and there is no anger or bitterness when she says no. As she put it, “it’s just the nature of the work.” Bob handled these types of situations by being honest and direct with those who seek help:

“...earlier this week I was in the middle of updating some of our standard work. It was very tedious, very, I needed to demonstrated high attention to detail for the work that I was doing, and I was getting pinged on instant message from a coworker who was looking for help on one of the projects that we are working on together, I just needed to validate some data for her, and I had to tell her "look I am more than willing to help. I am in the middle of a task right now that is time sensitive that I need to get done. Not that I can't help, but I just can't help right at this time. I will get it done by the end of the day and follow back up with you.”

Here, Bob demonstrated that at times when you cannot drop what you are doing to help some, by being “transparent”, not over-committing so that you can “following through”, and offering to help later, given your reputation of being a generous person, you are still being true to your generous identity.

In addition to deadlines, some participants pointed out that collaborating and helping out can slow down the process and make the project take longer. For example, Bob said that “paralysis by analysis” can “get in the way”:

“...there are just some tasks that need to get done, you just need to do things at certain times, sometimes collaboration can be paralyzing in the sense that you are trying to include too many people to get a response or get an answer or move a project through so sometimes collaborations can be paralyzing if you are trying to include too many people.”

Bob explained the double-edged sword of having a collaborative culture—while it increases the support they can all give and receive, it also can hinder their work progress. George also understands that sometimes things “get bogged down because too many people have to be involved”, so sometimes when he has ideas for other people, he keeps them to himself so as not to slow them down.

Finally, knowing when to be generous or provide help can sometimes be a balancing act, too. As Diana explained:

“...if you are really talking about helping somebody with a work project, sometimes the timing of it, you are not able to be helpful because it's often too late, by the time the person knows they are in trouble it's too late. So, um, one thing that's good about my advanced age is that I am pretty aware of the things that are likely to cause, you know, eventually, people who are thinking they have everything under control and I know it's not going to be true, so I am pretty good at volunteering very early [laughs] at this point because I don't really like to volunteer at the end where it's already a mess... Doesn't feel very good. You don't feel like you are helping that much, and usually you aren't. You are just sharing in the shared misery of the experience at that point.”

In Diana's quote above, she talked about how having the work experience can help her predict at what point she needs to jump in and help someone who might be struggling in the future. The inaccuracy in predicting the best timing in terms of when to offer the help can sometimes result in "shared misery", so balancing the timing of the offer is something participants considered.

4.3.3.3 Energy

One of the internal conflicts that participants discussed is the preservation of the self, and especially when it comes to energy and effort. For example, Krista said that *"you're not gonna great unless you're running on all four cylinders so you have to set boundaries for your life."* Leanne also talked about times when people get so busy that they cannot pay attention to the needs of those around them:

"Sometimes when you get caught up in projects or things where you feel like your needs are super important and urgent and you have like a spotlight on you, maybe you kind of forget about the generosity"

Leanne's quote showed how sometimes people only have enough energy to focus on their own tasks, especially when the "spotlight" is on them, which in turn leads them to "forget" being generous to other.

Some of the conflict with regards to energy can come into play when people are forced to take on the extra responsibility without really wanting to do the task. Diana explained that sometimes they get volunteered by others:

"We have a lot of voluntold things. That's a thing around here, everybody volunteers someone else, so they are voluntold to do something, not so much in

this group but in another group...It's kind of a joke. You know, "I was voluntold I had to do this.""

In this quote, Diana showed how humor, just like how it helps maintain the prosocial climate, continues to play a role in relieving stressful situations by turning an extra task into a laughing matter and enabling the participants to get the task done, even if it is not something they love or enjoy doing.

But, how do participants resolve the disconnect between preservation of self and the maintenance of a generous identity? Some do it through the mere intent to perform a generous act. Whenever Andrea did not have the time or the energy to help someone, she conserved her energy while maintain her generous identity by saying, "I really, really would if I absolutely could". Eve also talked about the "frustrating" aspect that comes with not being able to enact on her generous identity:

"it can be frustrating, because you really want to be able to help in certain situations but I think still sometimes it's just the nature of work, we can't get to everything, so I wouldn't describe it as frustrating, it's kind of like a normal day, you have to sprinkle some "no"s in with the "yes"s, so, it's to be expected."

Eve and Andrea, like others, resolved the conflict between conserving energy and defining the self as generous by reminding themselves that their intent is still aligned with their self-definition.

4.3.3.4 Appropriateness

Even during a period when participants have extra time and energy, they still recognized that they need to make a judgment about the appropriateness of offering to help someone who seems to be struggling. Leanne said it was "pretty clear when [her]

manager is giving someone a stretch assignment” and everyone balances out how much to help them versus letting them work through it on their own:

“I would say that my team does a really good job differentiating, however the culture of the company as a whole being very inclusive, while they may not do the work for me or whoever would need help, they would provide resources and connections to make sure they were supported enough to get the job done... I think that everyone in my department sees the value of networking and helping others with your network but also sees the value in kind of dealing and struggling through an ambiguous task in an ambiguous situation that is a growth opportunity, so I think we have a pretty good balance.”

Leanne’s example also ties back to the organizational culture in the sense that they promote growth and opportunities for employees to develop on a personal level. Hence, by judging the level of appropriateness to help someone with something, people are balancing their generosity with the need of the recipient.

Also, there are times when it is simply not appropriate to help someone out due to strict boundaries. Carlos and Krista both talked about legal boundaries that may occur with confidential or sensitive tasks, such as acquisitions or consultations on projects.

George, on the other hand, said that not every person wants to be helped:

“I can't just constantly assert my ideas, um, if it's something that's not in my lane because that person whose lane it is might feel like you are too up in their business... There's a way, there's such a thing as being too generous if it's not asked for. If it's not welcomed, I would say. I guess that's not, you can think you're

being generous, but if it's not welcomed you are not being generous. It has to be welcomed, I guess.”

Per George, the generous act needs to be “welcomed” by the receiver, otherwise, instead of being perceived as helpful, it might actually be viewed as rude. Hence, determining the appropriateness of whether to offer the help is part of the conflict or tension associated with having a generous identity while understanding the nuances of providing help at the workplace.

4.3.3.5 Selfishness

According to participants, generosity is the opposite of selfishness. Throughout the interviews, when I asked for possible motives for a person to not behave in generous ways at work, participants made the choice to call that behavior “selfish” in their answer because the people who do not help, whether the help is solicited or unsolicited, are “out for themselves”. For example, Bob said:

“I think in general folks tend to not be generous if they feel like they are in a competing situation, or where they are trying to advance within the company and they are more out for themselves than they are for the team and for the company as a whole.”

In this quote, Bob explained that in competitive environments, being generous could hinder someone’s career trajectory, and it may come at the cost of making progress towards the goals of the team and the organization. Some participants, like Hannah, echoed Bob’s sentiment and explain that being selfish in the long-term is detrimental to the company overall:

“I think there is some folks that are really, out for themselves, that are all about what's in it for me and how can I be successful and how can I succeed, and how can I, I, I, and I think when that's the case, you forget that really the true measure of your success is how successful is everybody around you or your team or your team or your department. Our successes and our failures all come together. So forgetting that can cause people to move to that non-generous side.”

As Hannah said, the common goals that the team has trumps the individual career goals that for which some might strive. Therefore, Hannah suggested that reminding those who exhibit selfishness that, as part of the team, they succeed or they fail together, and in this way, the selfish person is reminded of the larger picture which is to contribute to the success of the overall organization.

Ironically, some participants respected those who behaved in selfish ways. Andrea said that she viewed selfishness and putting her own needs first as “the wrong behavior”, but at a different point in the interview she also mentioned she cannot help but “admire” those who behave that way:

“I suppose if you had somebody who just wasn't very cooperative, always seems to be out for themselves and you know, you just wouldn't, who wants to work with that person? [Laughs] On the plus side, I sometimes admire that quality because it is, you know, you almost have to respect it in some cases because they are putting themselves first and those people sometimes get ahead so kudos to them.”

Leanne, like Andrea, also explained that people might “forget” to be generous because “they want to develop themselves personally”, and that can be “a great thing”. Hence, not all participants viewed selfish people with a completely negative connotation.

In summary, the conflicts associated with having a prosocial climate and a generous identity can force people to help at times when they are simply too busy or do not want to help, or they can steer people away from helping if they think the help would not be well-received. The typical ways in which participants resolve these conflicts or relieve these tensions are by matching their intent to their identity standard, explaining to coworkers that they will help later, judging and deeming a time to help as appropriate and necessary, and attributing someone's selfishness to their larger career goals or addressing it by reminding them of the bigger picture.

4.4 Negative Case Analysis

A negative case analysis involves looking for any data that deviates from or disconfirms the pattern of the current findings in the analysis so that we can expand our understanding even further (Tracy, 2013:196-7). Although organizational culture was an important force for the participants working in Site B, the three participants from Site A did not feel the same way. Organizational messages about the culture and values are not as easily communicated to the student population of a higher education institution. As Fred explained:

"...the context of the university, it's not a company or some sort of business where you go to meetings and a big boss shows up and tells you "oh you better be generous to each other". Pretty much we just work in our research teams when we do research, and then go to classes".

Jared also talked about how the team members have "their own projects to concentrate on", so the trickle-down effect that was noticeable for the participants in the corporate

environment that fosters collaborations is not noticeable when compared to the participants in higher education.

However, the supervisor (in their cases, the Principal Investigator or PI) modeling the expected behavior was still a big part of whether participants were motivated to help their team mates. For example, Fred explained, *“I have a sense that [the PI] helps pretty much everyone on the team so I would want to help if someone asked me for help.”*

Moreover, Ivan said that his team’s PI influences their behavior:

“...especially in this kind of grad student mentor setting, he's the mentor of the whole group so the way he conducts himself and the way we see him do things definitely propagates down to us and kinda influences how we conduct ourselves as scientists and as lab workers, and he's a very open, collaborative person and so we see that and we do, we follow suit.”

This negative case analysis shows that when the organizational culture is not a strong force that creates and maintains the prosocial climate of the team, the supervisor’s role becomes more important since it is the only source of information about what behavior is expected. Thus, when a supervisor leads by example, the team members see that as a signal to also behave the same way.

In conclusion, even if the organizational culture is not something of which the participants in the higher education institution are aware, their direct leader can make up for the lack of standard organizational culture by setting the tone for collaborations and support. Other than the lack of a strong organizational culture in the higher education context, the data collected from each of the two sites did not differ on the perceptions of a

prosocial climate, the motives behind engaging in generous behaviors, and the atmosphere that it creates that helps foster emotional bonds.

4.5 Study 3 Discussion

Overall, the themes that emerged from the data described the prosocial climate of a team while considering its creation, maintenance, and associated conflicts. While there was a dissensus about whether a generous act should or should not directly benefit the giver, overall the participants arrived at a consensus with regards to the way in which the prosocial climate is created by the modeled behavior of the supervisor, the help they receive from their teammates, and the satisfaction they get from being authentic to their generous identity.

The themes that emerged from this study relate back to identity theory, especially when considering the identity selection dimension in the Creation theme and the identity confirmation dimension in the Maintenance theme. In terms of identity selection, the people in the organization know that they want to select new employees that fit the culture of the organization so that they will behave in ways that are contingent of the values of the organization. Thus, selecting people who are already generous into the organization means that they will be more inclined to behave generously in any environment and confirm their generous identity. Through their identity confirmation, they are also perpetuating the team's prosocial climate and organization's supportive culture. Therefore, the same way that Burke and Stets (2009) theorized on how the environment is related to the individual by providing input, participants in my study demonstrated that their teams and company help dictate the way in which they behave by not only serving as a mirror but also by creating a structure of expectations and cycles.

Based on the data, a prosocial team climate is an atmosphere in which generosity flourishes in the forms of instrumental, informational, and emotional support in a manner that is authentic with the intentions of developing the self, others, and common goals. Therefore, in a prosocial climate, when a person notices that a coworker is taking on a “stretch assignment”, they may provide resources to be supportive but still manage to ensure that their coworker works independently so that they learn and grow from the experience. Future research can test this definition by asking participants about their team climate as it relates to the dimensions I mentioned above.

4.5.1 Implications

Modeling is the most powerful way to create and maintain a prosocial climate. In this sample, participants implied that they paid attention to the way in which senior level executives behave, including the CEO of the company, and in turn emulate their behavior when they are at work. The behaviors of the senior leaders create a trickle-down effect, and this study explains how supervisors can facilitate their team members’ enactments of OCBs. But, per the participants, the engagement in OCBs needs to be genuine and the actor of the generous behavior needs to be authentic when making the choice to help if the intent is to create a positive feedback loop where a prosocial climate is the norm and not a special occasion. If the behavior is deemed as inauthentic, then employees might be suspicious that the person is hiding something, like an ulterior motive. Hiring people who are generous by nature can resolve this issue as part of the creation of a prosocial climate because they will be inclined to confirm their generous identity when at work, benefitting themselves and those around them.

A recommendation for higher education institutions, should they want to create a prosocial climate on their campus, is to instill the values of the institution in classes so that they are directly reaching the student population. For example, a university can ask teachers to include the values of the university in course syllabi or read them aloud on the first day of class. But, saying the values and acting on them are two separate things; in addition to communicating about the values more, the university could reward teachers who go above and beyond to help their students. For example, they can send them a thank-you card from each student who gives them a nomination for their exceptional generosity. Based on the results from this study, if the teachers exhibit and model generous behaviors, then their students will “follow suit”.

4.5.2 Limitations and Future Research

In this study, I took the narrative inquiry approach which means that I asked my participants to tell me stories so that I can study the relationship between identity and behavior (Tracy, 2013:29). The narratives are the interpretations of the participants, which means that my data reflect their perceptions of reality. However, another approach I could have taken is naturalistic inquiry by observing the participants directly in the office. In doing so, I could have coded for specific behaviors that I observed in person, which is a more objective approach to studying behavior (Baumeister et al., 2007).

Similar to Study 2, one limitation to this study is that I imposed organization-related constructs to the higher education setting. Participants in higher education had a hard time describing the culture of their organization, even when asked about their specific department instead of describing the larger university. Therefore, future research can explore whether the culture of a university influences behavior using an emic

approach from the ground-up. If the culture of the university has no influence on the behavior of the supervisor and team members, then examining the industry standards for these particular teams could be another research study. For example, a study could compare the prosocial climates of research labs in the psychology and engineering departments of different universities and examine what forces create and maintain their team climate and whether these forces are similar or different.

Another limitation is that even though I paid participants for their time, the sample might be potentially biased since I did not have the opportunity to interview all members (in other words, it was still a choice to participate in my study, not a mandate). Hence, it is possible that the people who took the survey in Study 2 are only the people who see themselves as generous, particularly with their time, and especially for someone like me who has a very specific need. And, taking it a step further, those who participated in the follow-up for Study 3 were extra generous with their time because they were willing to share with me their thoughts on two separate occasions. A future research study can target the entire team to ensure that individuals who define themselves as less generous than others still participate and share their insights.

Future research on the relationship between team climate and organizational culture can examine how one is driven by the other. For example, participants in this study said that their team climate is reflective of their organizational culture in the sense that both are supportive and collective in their orientations. However, this team was a part of a function that enabled people to engage in these ways. It is possible that other teams in the same company, especially those that are in the assembly lines of factories, do not have the freedom to support each other as much as teams in the corporate environment.

Therefore, even though some teams in the organization can live the values of the company, these values might not be relevant or applicable to other teams. In the future, research can explore how the organizational culture helps to dictate the team climate, given the type of work that the team does.

Finally, a future research study can also explore the metaphors associated with OCBs. Many participants used the term “chip in” but some also said things like, “roll up your sleeves”, “all hands on deck”, and “staying in your lane”. The metaphors participants choose can shed light on how they subconsciously feel about OCBs and reduce the response bias associated with social desirability. I am curious to see what participants would come up with if I provided them with an explanation of OCBs and then asked them to draw what OCBs feel like at the workplace. I would analyze it per the guidelines suggested by Tracy and Redden (2016). The metaphors can tell a powerful story from the participants’ point of view that might not have been captured using traditional quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. Since people (like Diana) already joke about being “voluntold” to do extra tasks, this could be a methodological breakthrough in the OCB literature.

4.5.3 Conclusion

In summary, results from the qualitative interviews informed how a prosocial climate is created and maintained at three levels of analysis in the company. Additionally, I discuss possible solutions for the conflicts that created some tensions for the participants, such as being transparent about one’s workload or demonstrating an intent to help without physically helping. One of the most important findings in this study is the notion that even in situations when the perceptions of the organizational culture are weak

(in the sense that people are unaware of the nature of their culture), the direct supervisor of a team can model expected behavior and positively influence the extent to which team members engage in OCBs.

CHAPTER 5: GENERAL DISCUSSION

The goal of this paper is to explore the relationship between identity and behavior and the extent to which the context may influence that relationship. In all three studies, I examined how generous identity is related to generous behaviors, operationalized as OCBs in the context of the workplace, and whether the organizational culture or the team climate moderates this relationship. Results from Study 1 show that generous identity is strongly and positively correlated to OCBs, and after controlling for previously-known antecedents, generous identity only adds .6% to the explained variance observed in OCBs. Also, data from Study 1 did not support the proposition that organizational culture will moderate the relationship between generous identity and OCBs. Study 2 served as a pilot and showed that with a small sample of adults working in teams, supervisor's reports of OCBs were related to participants' self-defined generous identity. And finally, results from Study 3 provided suggestions for how to create and maintain a prosocial team climate and resolve conflicts that arise from it.

Results from these studies support the identity theory model (Burke & Stets, 2009), first by showing that there is a relationship between identity and behavior (Studies 1 and 2), and second by providing narratives from the participants' perspectives of their awareness that their identities are composed of their own self-definitions plus how others view them and the perceptions that reflect back to them (Study 3). This research provides support that an identity (such as generous identity) is composed of an identity standard, an input, a comparator, and an output. Participants confirmed that they think about how they see themselves, engage in congruent behaviors, and take note of how others perceive them to compare it back to their own self-definitions.

The way in which participants described their organizational culture in Study 3 resonates with a collectivist orientation because they mentioned aligned individual, team, and organizational goals, succeeding and failing together as a group, and having cross-functional teams comprised of members with complementary skills to facilitate collaborations. Therefore, it makes sense why generosity seemed to be the norm because it is aligned with previous research that connects a collectivist culture with a higher level of OCB engagement (Perlow & Weeks, 2002)

Also, perceived organizational support, a predictor of OCBs per previous research (Moorman, 1998), seems to focal in facilitating the prosocial climate from the organizational level to the team level. Participants implied throughout the interviews that the organization as a unit truly cares about their personal growth and gives them opportunities to develop and “fail fast” to learn and be innovative. The senior leaders also make them feel like they are supportive of their work and celebrate successes together as a company. Therefore, a prosocial climate is similar to a supportive climate in the sense that both foster an other-orientation in people when it comes to teamwork and organizational productivity.

5.1 Theoretical Implications

This research adds to the literature on identity theory by finding support for the convergent, discriminant, and criterion-related validity of the generous identity scale and construct. Generous identity was positively correlated to three of the Big Five personality traits (conscientiousness, agreeableness, and openness to experience), the prosocial identity construct, and positive affect, which lends support for convergent validity by showing that the construct of generous identity is related to similar constructs. On the

other hand, generous identity was negatively correlated with citizen role identity and negative affect, which show discriminant validity in that these constructs are different from generous identity. Finally, when it comes to predicting behavior, generous identity was strongly and positively correlated to OCBs, which provides support for the criterion-related validity for the generous identity scale.

5.2 Practical Implications

In addition to the theoretical implications, this research has implications for practitioners. In Study 3, I outline how a prosocial climate at the team level is created by the organization, the supervisor, the behaviors of team members, and the identities of the individuals. In turn, having a prosocial climate can be maintained through practices such as hiring generous people, correcting selfish behaviors, and confirming one's generous identity by acting in generous ways. When conflict and tension arise due to the prosocial nature of a team's climate, some resolve this conflict by being open and upfront about their in-role duties and still confirming their generous identity due to their intent to act in generous ways.

Also, Study 3's results informs supervisors on the types of conflicts or tensions that occur within a team with a high prosocial climate. Awareness is the first step in finding solutions, and supervisors can be attuned to these issues and signal the desired behavior to team members either by modeling the desired behavior or explicitly asking team members to help each other.

5.3 Limitations

In addition to the limitations specified for each study separately, an overall limitation in the research project is that even though prosocial climate is a team-level

construct and organizational culture is a macro-level construct, I am examining both of them at the individual level of analysis. By using individual-level data instead of nesting individuals and looking at team-level data, I am making claims about the team that are derived from individuals' point of views. Instead, prosocial climate studied at the team level should be an aggregate variable that takes into account all points of views of everyone on the team. And, ideally, organizational culture can be assessed by measuring perceptions from everyone in the organization and aggregating them at the organizational level.

A second limitation to the overall research is that causality cannot be implied using the cross-sectional data from Study 1 or the small sample's data in Study 2. A longitudinal study design with multiple time points can be used to be able to make a stronger claim of causality about the generous identity-generous behavior link.

Finally, another limitation to this study is that participations had the choice to participate. This in turn could lead to a self-selection bias in which those who agreed to take the surveys and be interviewed are generous themselves and wanted to confirm their generous identity by behaving in a generous way and helping me with my dissertation. Conversely, those who could potentially participate but do not define themselves as highly generous could have opted out of the study. Therefore, these results could be skewed in the sense that I am only collecting data from those on the high end of the generous identity scale. Future research, especially on teams, should collect data from every member on the team to be confident that the data collected represent the population. This is especially important when considering the gender composition of the team since women tend to be viewed as more generous; by including every team member

in the study, these gender differences can be further explored sans threat of a self-selection bias.

5.4 Future Research

Future research can examine how generous identity influences the perceptions of generous behavior at the workplace. Similar to Bern's self-perception theory, the ways in which people see themselves provides a lens through which they see others. For example, people with low generous identity standards might have self-interest motives when engaging in generous behaviors, and thus project their own self-interest motives onto others who engage in generous behaviors, even though others' motives might be driven by the desire to help others. Therefore, a future study can assess people's generous identity and ask them to rate others' generosity motives to examine how generous identity influences perceptions of generous behavior.

Future research can also study how generous identity is related to citizenship behaviors outside of the workplace setting but still within an organizational setting. For example, research can test the relationship between generous identity and generous behaviors among athletes. If generous people are more likely to go above and beyond for others, what does it mean to be a generous athlete during a game or in practice?

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, I found validation support for the generous identity scale and suggested ways for how companies and supervisors can create and maintain a prosocial climate in the workplace. Generosity at work, especially when done genuinely from the heart, can promote a prosocial climate and make the atmosphere more enjoyable and the work less stressful.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1. Factor loadings for the latent variables in Study 1

	Positive Affect	Agreeableness	Organizational Culture	Prosocial Identity	OCBO	OCBI	Generous Identity
PANAS1	.83						
PANAS5	.81						
PANAS9	.83						
PANAS10	.81						
PANAS14	.88						
PANAS16	.79						
PANAS17	.74						
PANAS19	.78						
A2		.60					
A5		.71					
A10R		.49					
CB1R			.43				
CN2			.79				
CN4			.69				
CN5			.64				
PI3				.67			
PI1				.89			
OCBO8					.83		
OCBO6					.88		
OCBO4					.89		
OCBO3					.81		
OCBO2					.74		
OCBO1					.70		
OCBI8						.65	
OCBI7						.81	
OCBI6						.76	
OCBI3						.71	
OCBI2						.88	
OCBI1						.82	
GISN1							.81
GIS8							.86
GIS3							.86
GIS1							.61

Note. $N = 345$.

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations of Study 1 variables

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Gender	.56	.50								
2. Age	35.40	10.18	-.09							
3. Generous Identity	4.72	.90	-.12*	-.03						
4. Agreeableness	4.03	.68	-.17**	.10	.68**					
5. Positive Affect	3.43	.95	-.05	.05	.62**	.52**				
6. Prosocial Identity	5.40	1.31	-.14**	.04	.71**	.59**	.46**			
7. Culture	4.03	.68	-.17**	.10	.68**	.32**	.52**	.59**		
8. OCBI	4.71	1.20	-.17**	.09	.59**	.51**	.48**	.50**	.51**	
9. OCBO	4.59	1.44	-.18**	.07	.56**	.56**	.61**	.48**	.55**	.68**

Note. $N = 345$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed). Gender is coded as 0=female and 1=male.

Table 3. Regression analysis predicting OCBs from generous identity

<i>Model</i>		<i>OCBI</i>			<i>OCBO</i>		
<i>Step</i>		<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>R</i> ²
<i>1</i>				.372			.467
	(Intercept)	.77*	.37		-.31	.41	
	Gender	-.20	.11		-.28*	.12	
	Age	.01	.01		.00	.01	
	Agreeableness	.40***	.10		.50**	.11	
	Prosocial Identity	.23***	.05		.15*	.06	
	Positive Affect	.31***	.07		.63***	.07	
<i>2</i>				.404			.469
	(Intercept)	.38	.38		-.44	.42	
	Gender	-.20	.10		-.28*	.12	
	Age	.01	.01		.00	.01	
	Agreeableness	.22*	.11		.45**	.12	
	Prosocial Identity	.11	.06		.12	.06	
	Positive Affect	.20**	.07		.60***	.08	
	Generous Identity	.42***	.10		.13	.11	

Note. $N = 345$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. Gender: 0=female, 1=male.

Table 4. Organizational culture as a moderator for the relationship between generous identity and OCBs

<i>Model</i>	<i>OCBI</i>			<i>OCBO</i>		
	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>R</i> ²
<i>1</i>			.413			.470
(Intercept)	-.12	.43		-.63	.49	
Gender	-.20	.10		-.28*	.12	
Age	.01	.01		.00	.01	
Agreeableness	.19	.11		.44***	.12	
Prosocial Identity	.12*	.06		.12	.06	
Positive Affect	.18	.07		.59***	.08	
Generous Identity	.39***	.10		.12	.11	
Organizational Culture	.14*	.06		.06	.07	
<i>2</i>			.413			.470
(Intercept)	-.57	1.47		-.78	1.66	
Gender	-.20	.10		-.28*	.12	
Age	.01	.01		.00	.01	
Agreeableness	.19	.11		.43***	.12	
Prosocial Identity	.12*	.06		.12	.06	
Positive Affect	.19**	.07		.59***	.08	
Generous Identity	.49	.32		.15	.37	
Organizational Culture	.23	.28		.08	.32	
Generous Identity X Cutlure	-.02	.06		-.01	.07	

Note. $N = 345$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. Gender: 0=female, 1=male.

Table 5. Study 2 teams' demographic information and main variables

#	Site	Size	% Female	<i>M</i> Age	<i>M</i> GI	GI Range	<i>M</i> OCBs	OCBs Range
1	A	4	50%	30.5	4.17	.93	4.17	3.38
2	A	3	0%	26	4.87	.85	5.75	.94
3	B	3	66%	39.33	4.51	1.23	4.69	.5
4	B	3	100%	46.67	4.9	.46	6.52	.94
5	B	1	100%	45	5.54	—	5.88	—
6	B	1	0%	51	4.54	—	5.75	—

Note. *N*=15. GI=generous identity; self-report. OCBs=organizational citizenship behaviors; supervisor-reported.

Table 6. Study 2's trend line models predicting OCBs

		<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>R</i> ²
All Teams	(Intercept)	-1.82	2.07	.48
	Generous identity	1.53**	.44	
Team #		<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>R</i> ²
1	(Intercept)	-5.16	8.65	.78
	Generous identity	2.24	2.07	
2	(Intercept)	2.29	4.19	
	Generous identity	0.71	0.86	
3	(Intercept)	2.89	0.26	
	Generous identity	0.40	0.06	
4	(Intercept)	-0.75	2.79	
	Generous identity	1.48	0.57	
5	(Intercept)	5.88	—	
	Generous identity	—	—	
6	(Intercept)	5.75	—	
	Generous identity	—	—	

Note. *N* = 15. ***p* < .01.

Table 7. Themes from Study 3

Theme Name	Definition	# of Level 1 Codes	References
Creation	antecedents of a prosocial climate	8	130
Maintenance	perpetuation of a prosocial climate	13	114
Conflict	challenges associated with a prosocial climate	5	54

Note. $N = 12$.

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

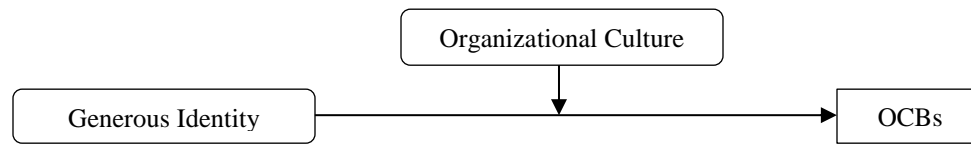


Figure 1. The study's conceptual model

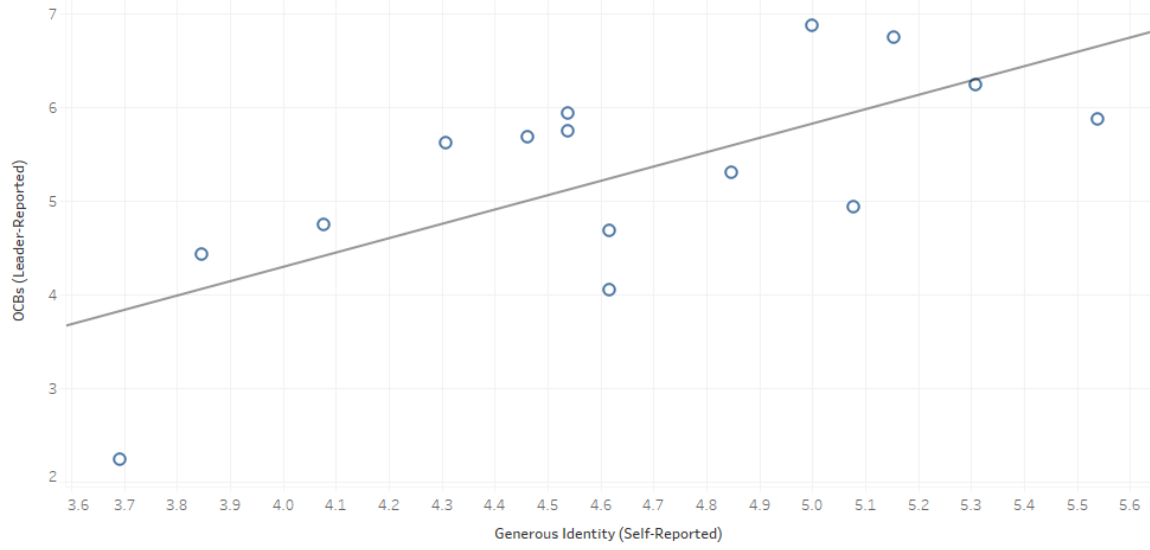


Figure 2. Trend line graph for all Study 2 participants

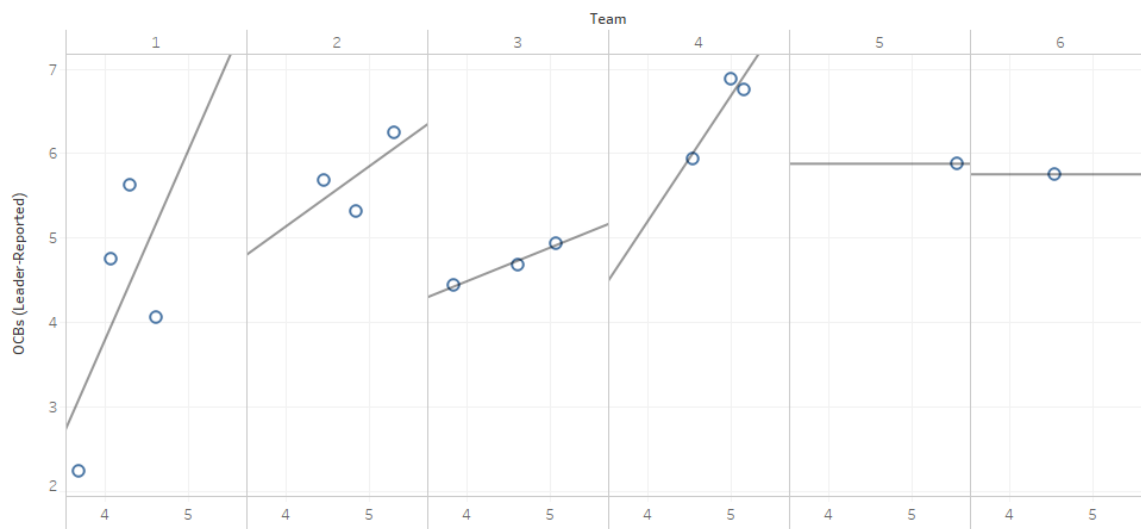


Figure 3. Trend line graphs per team

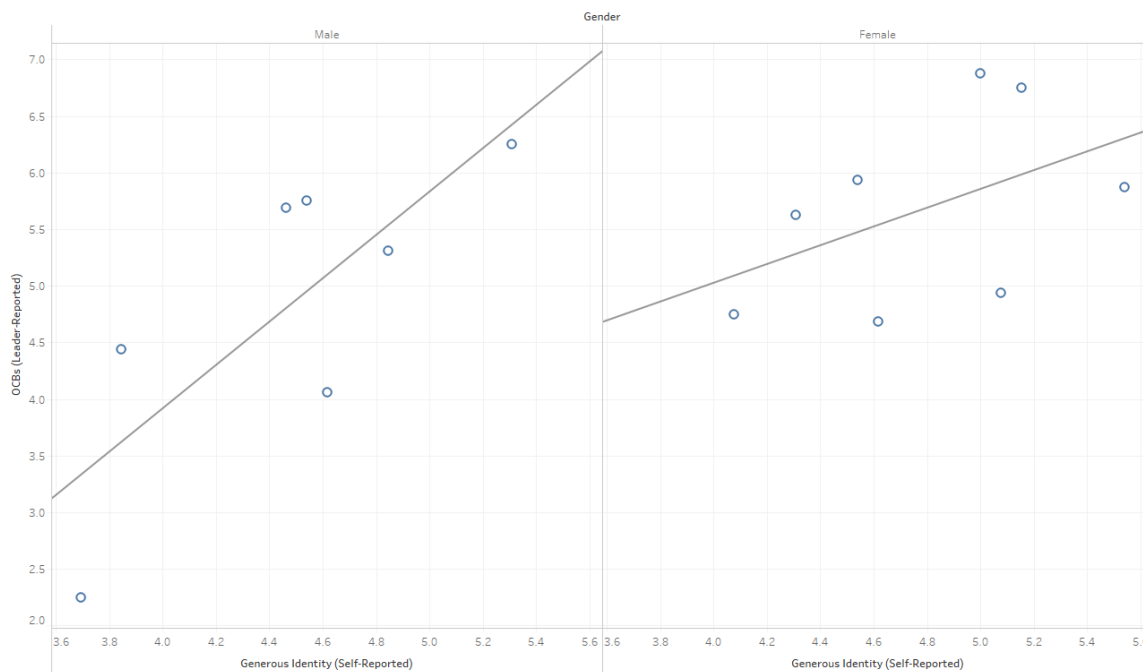


Figure 4. Trend line graphs per gender

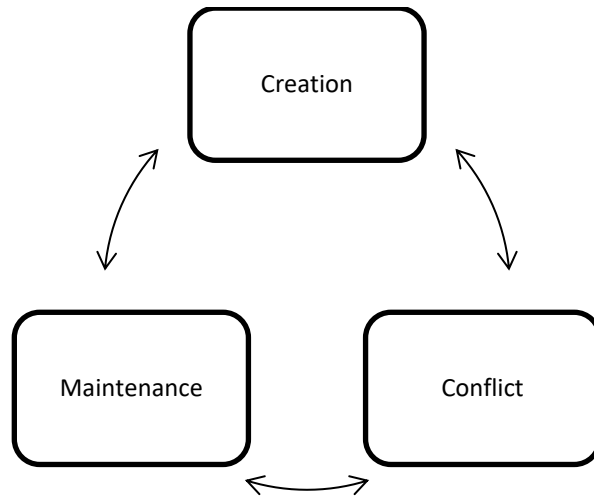


Figure 5. Themes associated with a prosocial climate

APPENDIX C: SURVEYS

Generous Identity Scale (Gur, Walker, and Barry, under review)

Responses to these items are on a 6-point scale: Strongly Disagree (1), Disagree (2), Slightly Disagree (3), Slightly Agree (4), Agree (5), and Strongly Agree (6).

1. I consider myself an open person
2. I like interacting with people
3. I am a kind individual
4. I am generally happy and optimistic
5. I am considerate of others' feelings
6. I believe in being courteous to others
7. I am mindful of myself
8. It is easy for me to be helpful

New Generous Identity Scale Items (generated by Gur)

To test for convergent validity with **Generous Identity Scale**. Responses to these items are on a 6-point scale: Strongly Disagree (1), Disagree (2), Slightly Disagree (3), Slightly Agree (4), Agree (5), and Strongly Agree (6).

1. I am a generous person.
2. It matters to me to be generous.
3. I am more generous than others.
4. My generosity to others makes me unique.
5. I behave generously everywhere I am.

Organizational Citizenship Behavior Items (Lee & Allen, 2002)

Using 7-point scales (1 = never, 7 = always), people are asked to indicate how often they engaged in these behaviors:

OCBI Items (reliability of 0.83)

1. Help others who have been absent.
2. Willingly give your time to help others who have work-related problems.
3. Adjust your work schedule to accommodate other employees' requests for time off.
4. Go out of the way to make newer employees feel welcome in the work group.
5. Show genuine concern and courtesy toward coworkers, even under the most trying business or personal situations.
6. Give up time to help others who have work or nonwork problems.
7. Assist others with their duties.
8. Share personal property with others to help their work.

OCBO Items (reliability of 0.88)

1. Attend functions that are not required but that help the organizational image.
2. Keep up with developments in the organization.
3. Defend the organization when other employees criticize it.
4. Show pride when representing the organization in public.
5. Offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organization.
6. Express loyalty toward the organization.
7. Take action to protect the organization from potential problems.
8. Demonstrate concern about the image of the organization.

Individualism-Collectivism Measure (Wagner & Moch, 1986)

Responses are on a 7-point agreement scale. All the items measuring individualistic-collectivistic beliefs, values, and norms were included in a questionnaire preceded by the following statement:

Sometimes it may be best when people make personal sacrifices for the sake of the work group. Other times it may be best when people concentrate on their own interests and concerns. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about these sorts of things?

Note: higher scores on each item were scored to reflect the respondent's orientation toward collectivistic tendencies, where lower scores reflected more individualistic tendencies.

Beliefs

1. My work group is more productive when its members do what *they* want to do rather than what the group wants them to do (R)
2. My work group is most efficient when its members do what *they* think is best rather than what the group wants them to do (R)
3. My work group is more productive when its members follow their own interests and concerns (R)

Values

1. I prefer to work with others in my work group rather than work alone
2. Given the choice, I would rather do a job where I can work alone rather than do a job where I have to work with others in my work group (R)
3. I like it when members of my work group do things on their own, rather than working with others all the time (R)

Norms

1. People in my work group should be willing to make sacrifices for the sake of the work group (such as working late now and then, going out of their way to help, etc.)
2. People in my work group should realize that they sometimes are going to have to make sacrifices for the sake of the work group as a whole

3. People in my work group should recognize that they are not always going to get what they want
4. People should be made aware that if they are going to be part of a work group, they are sometimes going to have to do things they don't want to do
5. People in my work group should do their best to cooperate with each other instead of trying to work things out on their own

Personality Traits (IPIP: <http://ipip.ori.org/newNEOKey.htm>; Goldberg, 1999; Goldberg et al., 2006)

Please rate the extent to which each statement accurately describes you. Response items: 1=very inaccurate, 2= moderately inaccurate, 3=neither inaccurate nor accurate, 4= moderately accurate, 5=very accurate.

10-item Agreeableness scale (Alpha = .77)

1. Have a good word for everyone.
2. Believe that others have good intentions.
3. Respect others.
4. Accept people as they are.
5. Make people feel at ease.
6. Have a sharp tongue. (R)
7. Cut others to pieces. (R)
8. Suspect hidden motives in others. (R)
9. Get back at others. (R)
10. Insult people. (R)

10-item Conscientiousness scale (Alpha = .81)

1. Am always prepared.
2. Pay attention to details.
3. Get chores done right away.
4. Carry out my plans.
5. Make plans and stick to them.
6. Waste my time. (R)
7. Find it difficult to get down to work. (R)
8. Do just enough work to get by. (R)
9. Don't see things through. (R)
10. Shirk my duties. (R)

10-item Openness to Experience scale (Alpha = .82)

1. Believe in the importance of art.
2. Have a vivid imagination.
3. Tend to vote for liberal political candidates.
4. Carry the conversation to a higher level.
5. Enjoy hearing new ideas.
6. Am not interested in abstract ideas. (R)
7. Do not like art. (R)
8. Avoid philosophical discussions. (R)

9. Do not enjoy going to art museums. (R)
10. Tend to vote for conservative political candidates. (R)

Citizen Role Identity (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004, adapted from Callero, Howard, & Piliavin, 1987)

Responses were made on a 5-point scale, from 1 (Strongly agree) to 5 (Strongly disagree).

Citizen Role Identity-Organization (RIO)

1. Helping the company to succeed is something I rarely even think about. (R)
2. I would feel a loss if I were forced to give up helping the company to succeed.
3. I really don't have any clear feelings about helping the company to succeed. (R)
4. For me, helping the company to succeed means more than just helping the company.
5. Helping the company to succeed is an important part of who I am.

Citizen Role Identity-Individuals (RII)

1. Helping others at work is something I rarely even think about. (R)
2. I would feel a loss if I were forced to give up helping others at work.
3. I really don't have any clear feelings about helping others at work. (R)
4. For me, helping others at work means more than just helping others.
5. Helping others at work is an important part of who I am.

Prosocial Identity (Grant, Dutton, & Rosso, 2008)

All items used a seven-point Likert-type response scale anchored at 1 “disagree strongly,” to 7, “agree strongly”.

1. I see myself as caring
2. I see myself as generous
3. I regularly go out of my way to help others

Team Interdependence (Campion, Medsker, & Higgs, 1993)

Task Interdependence

1. I cannot accomplish my tasks without information or materials from other members of my team.
2. Other members of my team depend on me for information or materials needed to perform their tasks.
3. Within my team, jobs performed by team members are related to one another.

Goal Interdependence

1. My work goals come directly from the goals of my team.
2. My work activities on any given day are determined by my team's goals for that day.
3. I do very few activities on my job that are not related to the goals of my team.

Interdependent Feedback and Rewards

1. Feedback about how well I am doing my job comes primarily from information about how well the entire team is doing.
2. My performance evaluation is strongly influenced by how well my team performs.
3. My rewards from my job (e.g., pay, promotion, etc.) are determined in large part by my contributions as a team member.

PANAS (affect in general; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988)

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you generally feel this way, that is, how you feel on the average. Use the following scale to record your answer: (1=very slightly or not at all, 2=a little, 3=moderately, 4=quite a bit, 5=extremely)

1. Interested
2. Distressed
3. Excited
4. Upset
5. Strong
6. Guilty
7. Scared
8. Hostile
9. Enthusiastic
10. Proud
11. Irritable
12. Alert
13. Ashamed
14. Inspired
15. Nervous
16. Determined
17. Attentive
18. Jittery
19. Active
20. Afraid

Prosocial Personality Battery (Penner, 2002)

Below are a number of statements that may or may not describe you, your feelings, or your behavior. Please read each statement carefully and blacken in the space on your answer sheet that corresponds to choices presented below. There are no right or wrong responses. (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=uncertain, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Social Responsibility

1. When people are nasty to me, I feel very little responsibility to treat them well. (R)
2. I would feel less bothered about leaving litter in a dirty park than in a clean one. (R)
3. No matter what a person has done to us, there is no excuse for taking advantage of them.

4. With the pressure for grades and the widespread cheating in school nowadays, the individual who cheats occasionally is not really as much at fault. (R)
5. It doesn't make much sense to be very concerned about how we act when we are sick and feeling miserable. (R)
6. If I broke a machine through mishandling, I would feel less guilty if it was already damaged before I used it. (R)
7. When you have a job to do, it is impossible to look out for everybody's best interest. (R)

Empathy Scale

8. I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other person's" point of view. PT (R)
9. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them. EC
10. I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective. PT
11. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal. EC (R)
12. If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments. PT (R)
13. When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them. EC (R)
14. I am usually pretty effective in dealing with emergencies. PD (R)
15. I am often quite touched by things that I see happen. EC
16. I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both. PT
17. I tend to lose control during emergencies. PD
18. When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in their shoes" for a while. PT
19. When I see someone who badly needs help in an emergency, I go to pieces. PD

PART 2:

Below are a set of statements, which may or may not describe how you make decisions when you have to choose between two courses of action or alternatives when there is no clear right way or wrong way to act. Some examples of such situations are: being asked to lend something to a close friend who often forgets to return things; deciding whether you should keep something you have won for yourself or share it with a friend; and choosing between studying for an important exam and visiting a sick relative. Read each statement and blacken in the space on your answer sheet that corresponds to the choices presented below. (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=uncertain, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Moral Reasoning

20. My decisions are usually based on my concern for other people. O
21. My decisions are usually based on what is the most fair and just way to act. M
22. I choose alternatives that are intended to meet everybody's needs. M
23. I choose a course of action that maximizes the help other people receive. O
24. I choose a course of action that considers the rights of all people involved. M
25. My decisions are usually based on concern for the welfare of others. O

Below are several different actions in which people sometimes engage. Read each of them and decide how frequently you have carried it out in the past. Blacken in the space

on your answer sheet which best describes your past behavior. Use the scale presented below.

(1=never, 2=once, 3=more than once, 4=often, 5=very often)

Self-Reported Altruism

26. I have helped carry a stranger's belongings (e.g., books, parcels, etc.).

27. I have allowed someone to go ahead of me in a line (e.g., supermarket, copying machine, etc.)

28. I have let a neighbor whom I didn't know too well borrow an item of some value (e.g., tools, a dish, etc.).

29. I have, before being asked, voluntarily looked after a neighbor's pets or children without being paid for it.

30. I have offered to help a handicapped or elderly stranger across a street.

Give and Take Test (Grant, 2013; www.giveandtake.com)

1. You and a stranger will both receive some money. You have three choices about what you and the stranger will receive, and you'll never see or meet the stranger. Which option would you choose?
 1. I get \$5, and the stranger gets \$5 (M)
 2. I get \$8, and the stranger gets \$4 (T)
 3. I get \$5, and the stranger gets \$7 (G)
2. You're applying for a job as a manager, and a former boss writes you a glowing recommendation letter. What would you be most likely to do?
 1. Look for ways to help my former boss, so I can pay it back (M)
 2. Offer to write a recommendation letter for one of my own former employees, so I can pay it forward (G)
 3. Go out of my way to make a good impression on my new boss, so I can line up another strong recommendation for the future (T)
3. A new colleague joins your organization in a different department. When you meet her, she mentions that her husband is searching for a job and doesn't have many contacts in the area. She asks if you happen to know anyone at Kramerica Industries, a local firm, and you say yes. The next day, you remember that you have connections at three other local companies that do very similar work to Kramerica's. What would you do?
 1. Put her husband in touch with all four companies (G)
 2. Find out if there are ways that she or her husband can do me a favor, and then decide whether to connect her only with Kramerica or with the other three as well (T)
 3. Put her husband in touch with Kramerica, and see what type of impression he makes before deciding about the other three (M)
4. You've signed a deal on new office space, and you're scheduled to move in three months. You receive a call from the leasing agent stating that the previous tenant moved out early, and the space is open now. You would be happy to move now: the new office space is nicer than your current space, and it only costs \$10 more per month. However, the leasing agent assumes that your preference is to wait, and you know the agent doesn't want to leave the property vacant for three months. What would you be most likely to say?

1. I'm willing to move now if you can match the price of my current office space (M)
 2. I really prefer to wait, but I'm willing to move now if you give me a significant discount (T)
 3. I'd love to move now, so I'll be glad to accommodate (G)
5. You're working on a project with two colleagues, and there are three tasks that need to get done. As you discuss how to divide the tasks, it becomes clear that all three of you are extremely interested in two of the tasks, but view the third as quite boring. What would you do?
1. Try to convince one of my colleagues to do the boring task (T)
 2. Volunteer for the boring task and ask my colleagues for a favor later (M)
 3. Volunteer for the boring task without asking for anything in return (G)
6. It's 1pm, and you're heading to the airport at 2pm for a business trip out of the country. You receive three requests from people who are looking for your feedback on presentations, and you only have time to grant one. The first request is from your boss's boss, who is seeking your immediate input on a slide deck that he'll be presenting next week. The second request is from a coworker who gave you insightful comments on a major presentation last week. The coworker is a gifted speaker, and has asked for your assistance in fine-tuning some of the language on his slides for a presentation tomorrow. The third request is from a junior colleague, who is nervous about giving his first presentation at the company this afternoon and is hoping for your feedback. Who would you be most likely to help?
1. My boss's boss (T)
 2. My coworker (M)
 3. My junior colleague (G)
7. A colleague leaves your company and starts a software business that is doing quite well. In search of advice for expanding the business, he asks if you can introduce him to the CEO of a successful technology company, who happened to be your neighbor growing up. You haven't spoken to the CEO in five years, and you were hoping to reach out to him in a few months for advice on your own startup ideas. What would you do?
1. Tell him I'll make the introduction (G)
 2. Tell him I'll make the introduction, and then ask him for help with my startup (M)
 3. Tell him I don't feel comfortable making the introduction, since I'm no longer in touch with the CEO (T)
8. Unexpectedly, a former boss of yours writes you a positive recommendation on LinkedIn. What would be your first response?
1. Add my former boss to my list of references (T)
 2. Write a recommendation for my former boss (M)
 3. Write a recommendation for someone else (G)
9. You receive a call out of the blue from an NYU senior who's interested in your field, and you spend 20 minutes on the phone providing some career advice. At the end of the call, the student asks if you have any connections who might be able to help with preparation for job interviews at Google. You tell the student

that you'll think about it and get back with an answer. After the call, you look through your LinkedIn connections and see that an acquaintance from college is now working at Google. Later that night at a family dinner, your cousin, who's in high school, tells you that NYU is her dream school and she's just starting to work on her application. You sit down to write an email to the NYU student. How would you respond?

1. Ask the NYU student to help my cousin, but don't make the introduction to my Google contact—I've already given 20 minutes of my time (T)
 2. Ask the NYU student to help my cousin and offer to make the introduction to my Google contact—I'll follow through if the student helps my cousin (M)
 3. Make the introduction to my Google contact, but don't ask the NYU student for help—I know the job search can be hectic and stressful (G)
10. You work in advertising, and you're leading the development of a commercial to encourage people to drink milk. An intern suggests the tag line, "Got milk?" You decide to use it, and spend the next eight months creating the commercial. You manage to get famous people to wear milk mustaches, and it's a huge hit. One day, the intern makes a comment about not being creative enough to generate a line as creative as "Got milk?" and tells you that he has been accepted to medical school. A few months later, after the intern has left the firm and started medical school, you learn that the commercial will be receiving a major advertising award. You know the intern doesn't remember generating the line, and you're up for a major promotion. You need to list the authorship of the commercial for the awards ceremony. What would you do?
1. List the intern as the first author and myself as the second author, since the intern was the one who generated the memorable slogan (G)
 2. List myself as the first author and the intern as the second author, since this fairly represents our contributions (M)
 3. List myself as the sole author of the commercial, since I did the work and the intern won't ever know or be affected by it (T)
11. In January, you offer a job to a very impressive candidate, with a start date of June. You ask the candidate to make a decision by March, with an early signing bonus of \$5,000. In February, the candidate calls you and asks for an extension until April, expressing a desire to finish interviewing with other companies to make an informed decision. You know that if you extend the deadline, you'll run the risk of losing the candidate, and your next best candidate is not as strong. What would you do?
1. Decline the candidate's request for an extension, and ask for a decision by March as originally requested (T)
 2. Grant the candidate's request for an extension until April, and extend the signing bonus as well (G)
 3. Grant the candidate's request for an extension until April, but explain that the signing bonus will expire in March (M)
12. After growing up in a poor city in El Salvador, Pat earned a scholarship to Stanford. In an essay, Pat expressed the desire to become the president of El Salvador. After graduating from Stanford, Pat returned to El Salvador and helped

- former teachers improve their lesson plans based on knowledge from Stanford. What is the most likely reason for Pat's decision?
1. To give back to the teachers who made attending Stanford possible (M)
 2. To improve educational opportunities for students (G)
 3. To begin building a strong reputation for political advancement (T)
13. A few years ago, you helped an acquaintance named Jamie find a job. You've been out of touch since then. All of a sudden, Jamie sends an email introducing you to a potential business partner. What's the most likely motivation behind Jamie's email?
1. Jamie genuinely wants to help me (G)
 2. Jamie wants to pay me back (M)
 3. Jamie wants to ask me for help again (T)
14. In 2006, after the devastation caused by Hurricane Katrina, a U.S. bank executive led a team of employees on a trip to help rebuild New Orleans. Why do you think he did this?
1. He felt compassion for the victims and wanted to do whatever he could to help (G)
 2. He wanted to make headlines for being a generous, giving organization (T)
 3. He wanted to show his support for bank employees who had family members in New Orleans (M)
15. A colleague is writing an article on how workplaces are changing. The colleague needs to add some information about social media, which happens to be one of your areas of expertise. You spend several hours making a list of relevant resources and readings. A few weeks later, the colleague finishes writing the article, and it appears in a major newspaper. A section of the article is based on your recommendations, but you're never mentioned, let alone thanked or acknowledged. What would your first reaction be?
1. I should approach the colleague and ask for a correction to be printed (T)
 2. My colleague owes me now, so I can bring this up in the future if I need something (M)
 3. It's not a big deal; I was glad to be helpful (G)

Demographics

1. How long have you worked with your current team?
 - a. Less than a year
 - b. 1 year
 - c. 2 years
 - d. 3 years
 - e. 4 or more years
2. How long have you worked at your current position in the team?
 - a. Less than a year
 - b. 1 year
 - c. 2 years
 - d. 3 years
 - e. 4 or more years

3. What is the higher level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
 - a. Less than high school degree
 - b. High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)
 - c. Some college but no degree
 - d. Associate degree in college (2year)
 - e. Bachelor's degree in college (4year)
 - f. Master's degree
 - g. Doctoral degree
 - h. Professional degree (JD, MD)
4. What is your gender identity?
 - a. Male-identified
 - b. Female-identified
 - c. Gender fluid
 - d. Non-binary
 - e. Prefer not to answer
5. What is your age?

Attention Checks (inserted throughout)

1. I know how to spell my name
2. Use a computer or a pen
3. People in my work group wrote the questions to this survey
4. I have never laughed before
5. I know the months of the year
6. I know that the sky is blue
7. I am the richest person in the world

APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. There are no wrong answers. Feel free to use specific examples to illustrate your answers.

Demographic Questions

1. What is your occupation?
2. What is your age?

Definition Questions

3. Can you please describe the culture of your organization? Team?
4. Can you define the term “generosity”?
5. Do you see yourself as a generous person?

Team Questions

6. What does generosity look like at the workplace? Within a team setting? (Ask for examples)
7. Would you say your teammates see you as a generous person?
8. Do you believe your teammates are generous people?
9. Do your teammates typically help each other out even when they are not supposed to? (Ask for examples) Why do you think that is?

Motivation Questions

10. Does the behavior of your teammates influence your own behavior?
11. Does the behavior of your supervisor influence your own behavior?
12. Who is aware of how much or how little people help each other on the team?
13. Why do you think people behave or don't behave in generous ways at work? What motivates them?
14. Does your supervisor explicitly ask you to help each other out? Does the organization?

Conflict Questions

15. Do you ever feel pressured to do something helpful you do not really want to do?
16. Do you ever feel held back from doing something helpful you really want to do?
17. Does conflict arise among your team members due to how much you want or do not want to help each other? (Ask for examples)

Closing Questions

18. What do you think is the most important thing we talked about today?
19. Is there anything else you'd like to add that we haven't already discussed?