At Let's Go, I was once again benefiting others at a personal cost. Although I was helping my clients save money, I was a pushover, losing revenues for the company and sacrificing my own commission. But the following week, I happened to meet a new assistant manager at Let's Go whose position was created as a result of the advertising revenue that my predecessor generated. The job made it possible for her to pay for school. It was the inspiration that I needed: I realized that my colleagues were depending on me. As a student, I didn't have a wife and children yet, but I could see myself as an agent on behalf of college students in search of jobs that would defray the cost of tuition and provide meaningful work experiences. I might be a doormat when lobbying solely for my own interests, but when I was representing the interests of students, I was willing to fight to protect them.

Before a heated negotiation with a merciless French hotelier who demanded a discount, I thought about how the revenue could support job creation, which gave me the resolve to dig in my heels. I added a relational account: if I gave him a discount, it would only be fair to offer the same to our other clients, and I had a responsibility to be consistent. He ended up paying the full price.

After four months, I had set company records by bringing in more than \$600,000 in revenue, nearly doubling my predecessor's tally, and landing more than \$230,000 from cold calls to new prospects. I sold the largest advertising package in company history, and our president announced at a banquet that I was "one of the finest advertising associates ever to come through" the company. At age nineteen, I was promoted to director of advertising sales, which put me in charge of a budget above \$1 million and tasked me with hiring, training, and motivating my own staff.

Right after I was promoted, the Internet bubble collapsed. More than a dozen clients went out of business before our advertising season even started, and six of our ten biggest clients informed me that their advertising budgets had been slashed, so they wouldn't be able to renew. When all was said and done, Let's Go lost twenty-two loyal clients and 43 percent of the total budget from the previous year. The worst blow came when our largest client called. It was Michael, the vice president of the student travel agency that had purchased the record-setting package the previous year. "I'm very sorry to tell you this, because we love your product and value this relationship." Michael took a deep breath. "But due to budget constraints and a declining travel market, I'm not sure if we can afford to advertise this year at all. To even consider it, we'll need a major discount."

Knowing that many jobs depended on revenue from Michael's company, I became an advocate and pushed back. Because his rivals were pulling their ads, I told Michael, it was an opportunity to gain a leg up on the competition—and what better time to invest than during a recession? He said he would check with his boss and get back to me. The following week, he called with bad news: he had authorization to advertise in our books only if he could have the same package as the prior year, and only with a 70 percent discount. This would slash his expenditure of just under \$120,000 to below \$40,000.

While I was trying to figure out how much of a discount we could afford, I went to coach a diving practice. Sitting on the pool deck, it dawned on me that there was a major difference between diving and Let's Go. Individual sports involved zero-sum contests where helping competitors win meant that I would be more likely to lose. In business, though, win-win was possible; my clients' interests didn't have to be at odds with my own. When I began to contemplate Michael's interests, I realized that he might value products to give away for free in his store. I learned from colleagues that our publishing contract gave Let's Go the rights to sell or license any content that didn't exceed twenty pages, so I offered him sponsorship of a new product: twenty-page Let's Go travel booklets that he could hand

out to customers. Customers would appreciate the free travel tips and might stay longer in the store or be more likely to return. Since the funds would come from his distribution budget rather than his advertising budget, he was able to consider the possibility. When I gave further thought to Michael's interests, I realized that the booklets would be more valuable to him if he could sponsor them exclusively, rather than featuring other companies' ads. We agreed on a mutually beneficial deal for exclusive sponsorship, and he ended up spending more than \$140,000, topping my own previous record for the largest ad package in company history.

Whereas advocacy and relational accounts enabled me to become more assertive in win-lose negotiations, it was perspective taking that helped me expand the pie and succeed in win-win negotiations. Ultimately, despite the dot-com bust, this approach led more than half of our renewal clients to increase their ad packages. Our team brought in more than \$550,000 in profits, making it possible to increase the size of our staff and introduce new marketing initiatives. After months of hounding delinquent clients to send their payments, I became the only manager in recent history to bring in 100 percent of accounts receivable, leaving no bad debt. I was elected to the company's board of directors and earned the manager of the year award for leadership, commitment, and business acumen. The lessons I learned at Let's Go stuck with me, and I decided to spend the rest of my career teaching other givers what I had discovered about overcoming the doormat effect.

For a number of years, researchers have known that successful negotiators tend to operate in an otherish fashion. In a comprehensive analysis of twenty-eight different studies led by Dutch psychologist Carsten De Dreu, the best negotiators weren't takers or selfless givers. The takers focused on claiming value: they saw negotiations as zero-sum, win-lose contests and didn't trust their opponents, so they bargained aggressively, overlooking opportunities to create value through developing an understanding of their counterparts' interests. The selfless givers made too many concessions, benefiting their counterparts at a personal cost. The most effective negotiators were otherish: they reported high concern for their own interests and high concern for their counterparts' interests. By looking for opportunities to benefit others and themselves, otherish givers are able to think in more complex ways and identify win-win solutions that both takers and selfless givers miss. Instead of just giving away value like selfless givers, otherish givers create value first. By the time they give slices of pie away, the entire pie is big enough that there's plenty left to claim for themselves: they can give more and take more.

This notion of expanding the pie captures a turning point in Lillian Bauer's career. Although she had learned to push back with clients and place boundaries on the time she spent mentoring and helping takers, she wasn't willing to let go of helping givers and matchers. When junior associates who didn't seem like takers needed help, she still gave in a selfless manner, sacrificing inordinate amounts of her time regardless of her own schedule and demands.

Jason Geller adopted a more otherish approach: he found a way to expand the amount of giving that he could accomplish without increasing the demands on his time. Geller engaged others in sharing the workload, creating opportunities for them to become givers, while keeping himself from becoming overloaded. As a senior manager, when junior analysts asked him for help, Geller would suggest a lunch, and invite a couple newer managers to come along. This opened the door for the managers to have access to him, and for them to provide mentoring to the junior analysts. "It's a great way for them to build the support of folks more junior to them," he says. Instead of doing all of the giving himself, he was able to connect junior analysts with multiple mentors, who provided a broader base

of knowledge and advice.

After being told she was too generous, Bauer adopted an approach that resembled Geller's. She started doing group mentoring sessions instead of only one-on-ones:

I asked myself, "Am I really the only person who can help in this particular instance?" I tried not to think about myself as the only resource I was optimizing, and started connecting people to help each other. Now, I'm quite explicit with my mentees. I tell them, "People did this for me, and you need to do this for other people. There is an expectation that when you receive that kind of generosity from people, you need to pay it forward."

By deciding not to carry the burden alone, Bauer expanded the pie, enabling her giving to have a broader impact while protecting her own time. "If you have a natural mix of givers, takers, and matchers in your company," Bauer says, "you can do a lot to magnify the giver tendency, suppress the more aggressive taker tendencies, and shift the matchers toward giving. There's an energy and a satisfaction that you get out of it. In its own way, it's addictive."

Instead of assuming that they're doomed to become doormats, successful givers recognize that their everyday choices shape the results they achieve in competitive, confrontational situations. The dangers lie less in giving itself, and more in the rigidity of sticking with a single reciprocity style across all interactions and relationships. As the psychologist Brian Little puts it, even if a style like giving is our first nature, our ability to prosper depends on developing enough comfort with a matching approach that it becomes second nature. Although many successful givers start from the default of trusting others' intentions, they're also careful to scan their environments to screen for potential takers, always ready to shift from feeling a taker's emotions to analyzing a taker's thoughts, and flex from giving unconditionally to a more measured approach of generous tit for tat. And when they feel inclined to back down, successful givers are prepared to draw reserves of assertiveness from their commitments to the people who matter to them.

For Lillian Bauer, these shifts in strategy catalyzed a chump change. As Bauer learned to leverage her natural strengths in advocating for others and reading other people's motives, she adapted her behavior to invest in those on whom she could have the greatest influence and encouraged them to give as well. The cumulative effect was that she transformed from a doormat into a successful giver. Even though her generosity initially slowed her rise to partner, she ended up getting there ahead of schedule. Lillian Bauer was one of the first members of her consulting class to make partner.

# The Scrooge Shift

Why a Soccer Team, a Fingerprint, and a Name Can Tilt Us in the Other Direction

How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature which interest him in the fortunes of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, although he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it.

—Adam Smith, father of economics

In 1993, a man named Craig Newmark left IBM after seventeen years to take a computer security position at Charles Schwab in San Francisco. As a single guy new to the Bay Area, he was looking for ways to spice up his social life. In early 1995, he started e-mailing friends to share information about local arts and technology events. Word of mouth spread, and people began to expand the postings beyond events to feature job openings, apartments, and miscellaneous items for sale. By June, the e-mail list had grown to 240 people. It was too large for direct e-mail, so Craig moved it to a listsery. In 1996, a website was born, and it was called Craigslist. By the end of 2011, there were Craigslist sites in more than seven hundred locations around the world. In the United States alone, roughly fifty million people visit Craigslist each month, making Craigslist one of the ten most popular websites in the country—and one of the forty most visited in the world.

Craigslist flourished by appealing to our basic matcher instincts. It facilitates transactions in which buyers and sellers can agree on a fair price, exchanging goods and services for what they're worth. Fundamentally, Craigslist is about trading value in direct exchanges between people, creating a matcher's preferred even balance of give and take. "We're not altruistic," Newmark writes. "From one perspective, we're like a flea market."

Could a system like this function based entirely on giving, instead of matching?

In 2003, an Ohio native by the name of Deron Beal decided to find out. Just like Craig Newmark, Beal was in a new city where he lacked information, so he started an e-mail list of friends. Following the lead from Craigslist, Beal was aiming to create Internet-based local communities of exchange for

anyone to access, connecting people who wanted goods with people who were ready to part with them. But in a radical departure from the typical Craigslist exchange, Beal set an unusual ground rule: no currency or trading allowed. The network was called <u>Freecycle</u>, and all goods had to be given away for free.

The idea for Freecycle was sparked when Beal developed and ran a recycling program for businesses at a nonprofit organization called Rise in Tucson, Arizona. Local businesses began to give Beal used items that were still in good condition but weren't recyclable, like computers and desks. In the hopes of giving the items away to people who needed them, Beal spent hours on the phone offering them to charities, but made little progress. At the same time, he had a bed that he wanted to give away, but thrift shops wouldn't accept it. He realized that he might be able to solve both of these problems with an online community that matched givers and receivers more efficiently.

Beal sent an initial e-mail announcing Freecycle to about forty friends, inviting them to join and spread the word. When some of the earliest Freecycle members started posting items to give away, Beal was caught off guard. One woman offered to give away a partially used bottle of hair dye, which would expire in a matter of hours. "It needs to be used really soon," she wrote, "so if anyone has an urge to go darker, tonight is the night." A Texas man posted a more desirable item—fishing tackle—but had a string attached. He would only give it away to someone from whom fishing tackle had been stolen. "As a kid thirty-four years ago, I stole a tackle box. There's no way I can find the person and make it right, so I'm trying to do the next best thing." With some people finding matcher loopholes in the system, and others trying to give away junk, Freecycle seemed like a lost cause.

But Beal believed that "one person's trash really is another's treasure." And some people gave away actual treasure on Freecycle that they could have easily sold on Craigslist. One person donated a camera in excellent condition worth at least \$200; others gave away good computers, flat-screen TVs, baby car seats, pianos, vacuum cleaners, and exercise equipment. When Freecycle started in May 2003, there were thirty members. Within a year, Freecycle had grown at an astonishing rate: there were more than 100,000 members in 360 cities worldwide. By March 2005, Freecycle had increased tenfold in membership, reaching a million members.

Recently, social scientists Robb Willer, Frank Flynn, and Sonya Zak decided to study what drives people to participate in exchange systems. They were striving to get to the bottom of a vigorous debate among social scientists, many of whom believed that the types of direct exchanges that take place on Craigslist were the optimal way of exchanging resources. By allowing people to trade value back and forth, a system like Craigslist capitalizes on the fact that most people are matchers. But some experts anticipated the rapid growth of systems like Freecycle, where members give to one person and receive from another, never trading value back and forth with the same person. These researchers were convinced that although such a generalized reciprocity system relies on people to be givers and can be exploited by takers, it could be just as productive in facilitating the exchange of goods and services as direct matching.

The intuitive explanation is that the two types of systems attract different types of people. Perhaps matchers were drawn to Craigslist, whereas givers flocked to Freecycle.\* As Deron Beal told me, "If there were only takers, there would be no Freecycle." But Willer's team found that this wasn't the whole story.

Although Freecycle grew in part by attracting people who already leaned strongly in the giver direction, it accomplished something much more impressive. Somehow, Freecycle managed to

encourage matchers and takers to act like givers. To figure out how Freecycle works, Willer's team studied random samples of members at both Craigslist and Freecycle. They collected surveys from more than a thousand members of the two exchange organizations from dozens of communities around the United States, measuring reciprocity styles by asking members to answer a series of questions about whether they generally preferred to maximize their own gains or contribute to others. The givers had donated an average of twenty-one items on Freecycle. The takers could have given nothing, but they had given away an average of more than nine items each on Freecycle.

Interestingly, in fact, people often join Freecycle to take, not give. "People usually hear about Freecycle as a way to get free stuff. Your average person will join thinking, 'I can get something for nothing," Beal says. "But a paradigm shift kicks in. We had a big wave of new parents who needed help in hard times. They received strollers, car seats, cribs, and high chairs. Later, instead of selling them on Craigslist, they started giving them away."

What drives people to join a group with the intention of taking, but then end up giving?

The answer to this question opens up another way that givers avoid the bottom of the success ladder. When dealing with individuals, it's sensible for givers to protect themselves by engaging in sincerity screening and acting primarily like matchers in exchanges with takers. But in group settings, there's a different way for givers to make sure that they're not being exploited: get everyone in the group to act more like givers. The strategy was foreshadowed by Jason Geller and Lillian Bauer, who directly asked their mentees to pay it forward in mentoring groups of more junior colleagues. Earlier, Adam Rifkin, the Silicon Valley giver who was named *Fortune*'s best networker, did the same thing in his entire network. He invited the people who benefited from his giving to help other people in his web of relationships, and a giving norm evolved. As I noted in the opening chapter, people rarely have a single reciprocity style that they apply uniformly to every domain of their lives. If a group develops a norm of giving, members will uphold the norm and give, even if they're more inclined to be takers or matchers elsewhere. This reduces the risks of giving: when everyone contributes, the pie is larger, and givers are no longer stuck contributing far more than they get.

What is it about groups that can tilt members in the giver direction? At the end of this chapter, I'll introduce you to a powerful activity that some of the world's leading companies and business schools have started using to motivate giving among takers and matchers, as well as givers. But first, by unpacking Freecycle's success in motivating matchers and takers to give, we can gain a deeper understanding of what individuals and organizations can do to foster greater levels of giving. The starting point is to ask why people give in the first place.

#### The Altruism Debate

For nearly forty years, two of the world's most distinguished psychologists have locked horns over whether the decision to give can be purely altruistic, or whether it's always ultimately selfish. Rather than debate philosophy, each has come to battle wielding a deadlier weapon: the psychological experiment.

The <u>defendant of pure altruism</u> is C. Daniel Batson, who believes that we engage in truly selfless giving when we feel empathy for another person in need. The greater the need, and the stronger our attachment to the person experiencing it, the more we empathize. When we empathize with a person, we focus our energy and attention on helping him or her—not because it will make us feel good but because we genuinely care. Batson believes that although some people feel empathy more intensely and frequently than others, virtually all humans have the capacity for empathy—even the most disagreeable of takers. As Adam Smith put it centuries ago: "the emotion which we feel for the misery of others . . . is by no means confined to the virtuous and humane, though they perhaps may feel it with the most exquisite sensibility. The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without it."

The <u>devil's advocate</u> is Robert Cialdini, who argues that there's no such thing as pure altruism. He believes that human beings are frequently generous, giving, and caring. But he doesn't think these behaviors are entirely altruistic in origin. He believes that when others hurt, we hurt—and this motivates us to help. Cialdini's first challenge to Batson's claims was that when empathy leads us to help, it's not because our ultimate goal is to benefit the other person. He proposed that when others are in need, we feel distressed, sad, or guilty. To reduce our own negative feelings, we help. Cialdini accumulated an impressive body of studies suggesting that when people feel distressed, guilty, or sad toward another person in need, they help.

Batson's rebuttal: it's true that people sometimes help to reduce negative feelings, but this isn't the only reason. And negative feelings don't always lead to helping. When we feel distressed, sad, or guilty, our ultimate goal is to reduce these negative feelings. In some cases, helping is the strategy that we choose. But in many cases, we can reduce our negative feelings in other ways, such as distracting ourselves or escaping the situation altogether. Batson figured out a clever way to tease apart whether empathy drives us to help because we want to reduce another person's distress or our own distress. If the goal is to reduce our own distress, we should choose whatever course of action makes us feel better. If the goal is to reduce another person's distress, we should help even when it's costly and other courses of action would make us feel good.

In one experiment, Batson and colleagues gave people a choice: watch a woman receive electric shocks or leave the experiment to avoid the distress. Not surprisingly, 75 percent left. But when they felt empathy for the woman, only 14 percent left; the other 86 percent stayed and offered to take the shocks in her place. And of the people who stayed to help, the ones who empathized the most strongly were willing to endure four times as many shocks as those who felt less empathy. Batson and colleagues demonstrated this pattern in more than half a dozen experiments. Even when people can reduce their negative feelings by escaping the situation, if they're feeling empathy, they stay and help anyway, at a personal cost of time and pain. On the basis of this evidence, Batson concluded that reducing bad feelings is not the only reason people help, and a comprehensive analysis of eighty-five

different studies backed him up.

But Cialdini, one of the greatest social thinkers of our time, wasn't done yet. He acknowledged that empathy can drive helping. Feelings of concern and compassion certainly motivate us to act for the benefit of others at a personal cost. But he wasn't convinced that this reflects pure altruism. He argued that when we empathize with a victim in need, we become so emotionally attached that we experience a sense of oneness with the victim. We merge the victim into our sense of self. We see more of ourselves in the victim. And this is why we help: we're really helping ourselves. Quoting Adam Smith again, "By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him, and thence form some idea of his sensations, and even feel something."

Cialdini and colleagues conducted numerous experiments supporting this idea. Empathy leads to a sense of oneness, or self-other overlap, and this leads to greater helping. Batson's team came back with another rebuttal: that *is* altruism. If we empathize with other people to the point of merging our own identities with theirs, we care about them as much as we care about ourselves. Because we no longer place our interests above theirs, helping them is purely altruistic.

Stalemate.

Both camps agree that empathy leads to helping. Both camps agree that a sense of oneness is a key reason why. But they fundamentally differ about whether oneness is selfish or altruistic. I believe there's a middle ground here, and it's one that Deron Beal discovered early on. When he started Freecycle, he wanted to keep used goods out of landfills by giving them away to people who wanted them. But he also had some personal interests at stake. In his recycling program, he had a warehouse full of stuff he couldn't use or recycle, and his boss wanted the warehouse emptied. In addition, Beal was hoping to get rid of an old mattress that he owned. None of his friends needed it, and it was too big to throw away. To dump it, he would need to borrow a truck and drive the mattress to a landfill, where he would be charged for disposal. Beal realized it would be easier and cheaper if he could just give it away to someone on Freecycle.

This is why many takers and matchers started giving on Freecycle. It's an efficient way to get rid of things they don't want and probably can't sell on Craigslist. But soon, Beal knows from personal experience, people who initially give things away for selfish reasons begin to care about the people they're helping. When the recipient arranged to pick up his mattress, Beal was thrilled. "I thought I was getting away with giving a mattress away, that I was the one benefiting," he says. "But when the person showed up at my door and thanked me, I felt good. It was only partially a selfish act: I was helping someone else in a way that made me happy. I felt so darn good about it that I started giving away other items."

After a decade of research, I've come to the conclusion that Beal's experience is the norm rather than the exception. Oneness is otherish. Most of the time that we give, it's based on a cocktail of mixed motives to benefit others and ourselves. Takers and matchers may be most likely to give when they feel they can advance others' interests and their own at the same time. As the primatologist Frans de Waal writes in *The Age of Empathy*, "The selfish/unselfish divide may be a <u>red herring</u>. Why try to extract the self from the other, or the other from the self, if the merging of the two is the secret behind our cooperative nature?"

Consider Wikipedia, the online encyclopedia written for free by upwards of three million volunteers, with more than a hundred thousand of them contributing regularly. When asked why they

write for Wikipedia, hardly any volunteers reported being involved for self-serving reasons, such as to make new contacts, build their reputations, reduce loneliness, or feel valued and needed. But the relatively altruistic value of helping others wasn't the sole factor they emphasized either. Wikipedia contributors aren't necessarily givers across the different domains of their lives, but they're volunteering their time to exhaustively summarize and cross-reference Wikipedia entries. Why? In a survey, two reasons dominated all others: they thought it was fun and they believed information should be free. For many volunteers, writing Wikipedia entries is otherish: it provides personal enjoyment and benefits others.

Beal believes the otherish structure of Freecycle is one of the major reasons that it grew so fast. Giving away items that we don't need, and benefiting others in the process, is the gift economy equivalent of Adam Rifkin's five-minute favors: low cost to oneself coupled with potentially high benefit to others. It's noteworthy that Freecycle's formal mission statement highlights two sets of benefits: members can contribute to others and gain for themselves. The mission is to "build a worldwide gifting movement that reduces waste, saves precious resources & eases the burden on our landfills while enabling our members to benefit from the strength of a larger community."

Beyond this otherish structure, there's a central feature of a Freecycle community that motivates people to start giving. A clue to the mechanism lies in the story of a French consultant who struggled for years to earn the trust of a potential client—until he recognized the power of a sense of community.

#### From Enemies to Allies

During the 2008 global financial crisis, one of the many companies to suffer was a French firm that I'll call Nouveau. Nouveau was headquartered in a small city in the middle of France that boasted a beloved soccer team. The founders had chosen the city as their headquarters in an effort to restore the city's glory, but the population was shrinking and profits were falling, and there was pressure to relocate to a larger city. Nouveau's executives decided to save headquarters with a dramatic reorganization. Seeking outside assistance, the CFO issued a request for proposals to consulting firms. Nouveau was open to working with whichever firm presented the best proposal, with one exception: one particular consulting firm could not be trusted. This firm had been working with Nouveau's chief competitor for years. Nouveau's top brass worried that inside information could be leaked accidentally—or even stolen by a taker.

The suspect consulting firm's <u>lead partner</u>, who I'll call Phillippe, was aware of the distrust from the Nouveau executives. Phillippe's firm had submitted proposals to Nouveau in the past, and they were always rejected. The consultants had repeatedly explained the firm's strict confidentiality policies, but the Nouveau executives didn't buy it. Eventually, the consultants concluded that it was a waste of time to continue making proposals. But Phillippe was genuinely interested in contributing to Nouveau's success, so he led his team in preparing and submitting a proposal for the reorganization. Then they sat down to brainstorm: how can we prove to Nouveau that we're trustworthy?

Phillippe's firm was the last to pitch to Nouveau. At the pitch meeting, Phillippe arrived at Nouveau's headquarters with five consultants in tow. They were escorted into a large room where ten Nouveau executives sat across from them. Phillippe's team presented the proposal, and the Nouveau executives were unmoved. "We like your proposal," one executive said, "but we can't trust you. Why should we enter into a relationship with you? How can we be sure that you will put our interests first?" Phillippe reminded them of his firm's confidentiality policies and code of honor, reinforcing that its reputation hinged on upholding the highest standards for clients, but his promise fell on deaf ears.

Phillippe had run out of logical arguments, so he resorted to the only other ammunition that he had. He reached into his briefcase and pulled out the blue scarf of the city's famed soccer club. Donning the scarf as a symbol of hometown pride, he made a plea: "We've been trying to convince you for many years that our confidentiality policies can be trusted. Since we're not managing to say that with words, we'd like to show our commitment in a different way." The five members of Phillippe's team followed suit, putting the soccer scarves around their necks.

The Nouveau executives were surprised. They asked which partner would take the lead on the project. Phillippe stepped up: "I am going to take the lead, and we will begin our work over the August break. I can commit to this because your headquarters is next to my home."

A few hours later, Phillippe's firm landed the project.

The Nouveau executives had not known that Phillippe was from their city. "This was a reorganization task," Phillippe explains, "and having someone care about this city, and the people living in it, was a plus for the employees and the company. It was a bit of <u>common ground</u>."

Common ground is a major influence on giving behaviors. In one experiment, psychologists in the United Kingdom recruited fans of the Manchester United soccer team for a study. When walking from

one building to another, the soccer fans saw a runner slip on a grass bank, where he fell holding his ankle and screaming in pain. Would they help him?

It depended on the T-shirt that he was wearing. When he wore a plain T-shirt, only 33 percent helped. When he wore a Manchester United T-shirt, 92 percent helped. Yale psychologist Jack Dovidio calls this "activating a <u>common identity</u>." When people share an identity with another person, giving to that person takes on an otherish quality. If we help people who belong to our group, we're also helping ourselves, as we're making the group better off.\*

A common identity was a key active ingredient behind the rapid growth of Freecycle, and the unusually high levels of giving. When Berkeley professor Robb Willer's team compared Craigslist and Freecycle members, they were interested in the degree to which each group experienced identification and cohesion. The more members identified, the more they saw Craigslist or Freecycle as an important part of their self-images, as reflecting their core values. The more cohesion members reported, the more they felt part of a meaningful Craigslist or Freecycle community. Would members experience greater identification and cohesion with Craigslist or Freecycle?

The answer depends on how much a member has received from the site. For members who received or bought few items, there were no differences in identification and cohesion between Craigslist and Freecycle. People were equally attached and connected to both sites. But for members who received or bought many items, there were stark differences: members reported substantially greater identification and cohesion with Freecycle than Craigslist. This was true even after accounting for members' tendencies toward giving: regardless of whether they were givers or not, members who participated frequently felt more attached to Freecycle than to Craigslist. Why would people feel more identified and connected with a community where they give freely rather than matching evenly?

Willer's team argues that for two central reasons receiving is a fundamentally different experience in generalized giving and direct matching systems. The first distinction lies in the terms of the exchange. In direct matching, the exchange is an economic transaction. When members buy an item on Craigslist, they know that sellers are typically trying to maximize their own gains with little concern for buyers' interests. In contrast, in generalized giving, givers aren't getting anything tangible back from the recipients. When members receive an item on Freecycle, they're accepting a gift from a giver with no strings attached. According to Willer's team, this "suggests that the giver is motivated to act in the interest of the recipient rather than in his or her own self-interest," which "communicates a regard for the recipient beyond the instrumental value attached to the item itself." In comparison with an economic transaction, a gift is value-laden.

The second distinction has to do with who's responsible for the benefits you receive. When you buy on Craigslist, if you receive an item at a good price, you can chalk it up to your savvy as a negotiator or the kindness (or naïveté) of an individual seller. You're exchanging back and forth with another individual; you're not getting anything from the Craigslist community. "As a result, participants in direct exchange will be less inclined to identify with the group because they will be less likely to derive the emotional experience of group membership," Willer's team writes. In generalized giving, on the other hand, the community is the source of the gifts you receive. An effective system of generalized giving typically involves cycles of exchange with the following structure: person A gives to person B, who gives to person C. When Freecycle members receive multiple items from different people, they attribute the benefits to the whole group, not to individual

members.

Together, these two forces facilitate the development of a bond with Freecycle. Instead of buying an item from another person, people feel that they're receiving gifts from a community. The gratitude and goodwill generated means that they begin to identify with the community, seeing themselves as Freecycle members. Once this identification happens, people are willing to give freely to anyone who shares the Freecycle identity. This extends their willingness to give across the whole Freecycle community, spurring members to offer items that they no longer need in response to requests when they can help. By giving away things they don't want, takers can feel like they're not losing anything of value, yet maintain the norm of giving so they can still get free stuff when they want it. For matchers, because there's no way to pay it back, paying it forward is the next best thing—especially since they're helping people just like themselves. This is what happened with the parents who gave away baby supplies: they restored their sense of a reciprocal, even exchange by donating items they no longer needed to fellow parents in similar situations.

People are motivated to give to others when they identify as part of a common community. But not all individuals and groups are equally likely to attract this type of identification. There's something else about the Freecycle community that fosters identification—and it's a factor well understood by Adam Rifkin.

## The Search for Optimal Distinctiveness

When I first met Adam Rifkin, I asked him to tell me about the most interesting contacts in his network. "One of my favorite people," he replied, "is Adam Rifkin."

He wasn't talking about himself. Adam Rifkin has developed a strong connection with <u>another</u> man named Adam Rifkin—a Hollywood writer, director, producer, and actor who has been a major contributor to films such as *Detroit Rock City* and *He-Man*. To avoid confusion, I'll call him Hollywood Adam, referring to his endearing doppelgänger as Panda Adam.

In 1992, when Hollywood Adam was just getting his start, Panda Adam moved to Los Angeles to start his doctoral program at Caltech. People would accidentally call Panda Adam when they were trying to reach Hollywood Adam. Panda Adam wanted to get in touch with Hollywood Adam to clear up the confusion, so he put his phone number on the Internet. For three years, no one called. In 1996, Hollywood Adam was in New York, and a friend showed him Panda Adam's website. "I knew nothing about the Internet, and I was impressed with what he'd created. I'd been mistaken for him a number of times, so I called him right away."

It was morning on the East Coast, and just after dawn on the West Coast. The piercing sound of a ringing phone woke a sleeping Panda Adam.

Panda Adam (groggily): "Hello?"

Hollywood Adam: "Adam Rifkin, this is Adam Rifkin."

Panda Adam: "I've been waiting my whole life for this call."

On the surface, they didn't have much in common. As far as they could tell, they weren't related. Panda grew up in New York; Hollywood grew up in Chicago. Panda was a software engineer; Hollywood was in film. But when they met face-to-face, they felt an instant bond. "Hollywood Adam is a fascinating character," says Panda Adam. "His career in Hollywood and mine in Silicon Valley have had more parallels than I would have guessed. Any time somebody asks me for a connection in Hollywood, he's usually the person I start with. Hollywood Adam has made countless introductions to help people I know. Many people in Hollywood are narcissistic and self-centered, but Hollywood Adam is as good-natured and kind as they come. We kind of have the same philosophy."

"Panda Adam is a great guy," says Hollywood Adam. "We have a similar sense of humor. We help each other without keeping score. Neither one of us ever gives it any thought; we just do what's helpful." Panda Adam was the person who introduced Hollywood Adam to Twitter. When Hollywood Adam did a series for Showtime called *Look*, Panda Adam invited him up to northern California to do screenings at YouTube and Twitter. Why did the two Adam Rifkins identify so strongly with each other?

If you're thinking it's a name similarity effect, the data suggest that you're right—at least partially. Brett Pelham, a psychologist at the University at Buffalo, noticed that we seem to prefer people, places, and things that <u>remind us of ourselves</u>. Because we associate our names so strongly with our identities, we might be attracted to major decisions that remind us of our names. In an effort to demonstrate this, Pelham and his colleagues have conducted a mind-boggling, controversial set of studies.

Across five different studies, they found that people are unusually likely to end up living in places that resemble their first names. In one study, Pelham's team searched the forty biggest cities in the

United States for the one hundred most common first names that shared their first three letters with these cities. Then, they matched up names in terms of how popular they were in different age groups. It turns out that people named Jack are *four times* more likely than people named Phillip to live in Jacksonville, even though the names are equally common. (The Phils have apparently retreated to Philadelphia, where they outnumber the Jacks.) And it's not that they're named after these places; people are more likely to *move* to places that resemble their own names (Georgia is twice as likely to move to Georgia as chance would predict).

It works for careers too: in 1990, Dennis was the fortieth most common male first name in the United States. Jerry was the thirty-ninth, and Walter was forty-first.

There were 270 dentists in the United States named Jerry.

There were 257 dentists in the United States named Walter.

How many dentists were named Dennis?

Statistically, there should have been somewhere between 257 and 270.

In reality, there were 482.

If your name was Dennis, you were almost twice as likely to become a dentist as if you had the equally common name of Jerry or Walter. Other studies show that people with the last name Lawyer are more likely to become lawyers than doctors, at rates 44 percent higher than chance; the opposite is true for people named Doctor, at 38 percent greater than chance rates. The attraction also holds for products and people that we associate with ourselves. Pelham and colleagues have found that people prefer chocolates, crackers, and teas that include the letters of their own names—and that they're more attracted to potential dates who have similar initials, even though they insist that this similarity doesn't influence their attraction. And evidence shows that similarity can influence whom we decide to help. Researchers Jeff Galak, Deborah Small, and Andrew Stephen studied more than 289,000 loans to more than 23,000 borrowers on Kiva, a microfinance website where people can give loans as small as \$25 to help people in the developing world escape poverty and start businesses. People were more likely to give microloans to borrowers who shared their first initials or their occupations.\*

It appears that similarity to the self adds a bit of grease to the attraction process: people are just a bit more enthusiastic, friendly, and open-minded when they meet someone who reminds them of themselves. This is what happened to the two Adam Rifkins when they first met. They initially clicked based on a superficial similarity, which opened the door for them to connect based on real similarities—and start helping each other.

But the bond between the two Adam Rifkins goes beyond the fact that they have the same name. To illustrate, imagine that you show up for a study along with a college student. A researcher takes your fingerprints, under the guise of studying whether they reveal anything about your personality. You both fill out a personality questionnaire. As you're getting ready to leave, the student pulls out a paper from her backpack. "For an English class that I'm taking, I need to find someone I don't know to critique my essay. I wonder if you could read this eight-page essay for me and give me one page of written feedback on whether my arguments are persuasive and why? I need the written feedback by this time tomorrow." Would you help her?

You were just in the control group in a study led by the psychologist Jerry Burger, where 48 percent of participants helped. But other participants were led to believe that they had something in common with the student making the request. After they filled out the questionnaire, the researcher

examined a fingerprint evaluation sheet and remarked, "This is interesting. You both have Type E fingerprints."

Now, would you be more likely to help?

It depends on how the similarity was framed. Half of the time, the researcher mentioned that Type E fingerprints are common: about 80 percent of the population has them. The other half of the time, the researcher mentioned that Type E fingerprints are very rare: only about 2 percent of the population has them.

When the similarity was common, 55 percent of participants helped—hardly more than the control group. But when the similarity was rare, 82 percent of participants helped. It was not just any commonality that drove people to act like givers. It was an uncommon commonality. In Pelham's studies, name-similarity effects on where we live, what careers we choose, and whom we marry are stronger for people with rare names than common names. We gravitate toward people, places, and products with which we share an uncommon commonality. This is the bond that the two Adam Rifkins felt when they first connected. Adam Rifkin is a rare name, and the uncommon commonality may have greased the attraction process. Indeed, Pelham's research shows that the more unique your name is, the more likely you are to identify with places that resemble your name.

To explain why uncommon commonalities are so transformative, the psychologist Marilynn Brewer developed an influential theory. On the one hand, we want to fit in: we strive for connection, cohesiveness, community, belonging, inclusion, and affiliation with others. On the other hand, we want to stand out: we search for uniqueness, differentiation, and individuality. As we navigate the social world, these two motives are often in conflict. The more strongly we affiliate with a group, the greater our risk of losing our sense of uniqueness. The more we work to distinguish ourselves from others, the greater our risk of losing our sense of belongingness.

How do we resolve this conflict? The solution is to be the same and different at the same time. Brewer calls it the principle of *optimal distinctiveness*: we look for ways to fit in and stand out. A popular way to achieve optimal distinctiveness is to join a unique group. Being part of a group with shared interests, identities, goals, values, skills, characteristics, or experiences gives us a sense of connection and belonging. At the same time, being part of a group that is clearly distinct from other groups gives us a sense of uniqueness. Studies show that people identify more strongly with individuals and groups that share unique similarities. The more rare a group, value, interest, skill, or experience is, the more likely it is to facilitate a bond. And research indicates that people are happier in groups that provide optimal distinctiveness, giving a sense of both inclusion and uniqueness. These are the groups in which we take the most pride, and feel the most cohesive and valued.

Freecycle initially provided a sense of optimal distinctiveness through its emphasis on protecting the environment. The central goal was different from most recycling movements: instead of reprocessing old materials into new ones, members found recipients who wanted goods that couldn't be reprocessed, keeping them out of landfills. This common purpose created a shared identity within the Freecycle community, fostering a sense of connection across diverse ideologies. The original group of Freecycle volunteers in Tucson included a liberal Democrat who was passionate about environmental sustainability, a conservative Republican who didn't believe in waste, and a Libertarian who wanted to empower people to do things themselves, rather than relying on governmental support. Over time, as membership expanded and diversified, each Freecycle community provided an outlet for people to customize giving to their own interests. In New York, for

example, a local group made a habit of shutting down a city block for Freecycle gifting events.

By fostering a common identity and opportunities for unique self-expression, Freecycle was able to mobilize a giving system based on generalized reciprocity: you give to help others in the community, and you know that someone in the community will give to you. But Willer's team finds that there's a catch: such a system depends on a "critical mass of exchange benefits," which "creates positive sentiments toward the group, sentiments that help fuel further contributions." In other words, people only identify with a generalized giving group after they receive enough benefits to feel like the group is helping them. With Freecycle, this outcome was by no means guaranteed; after all, if the givers on the site had been overwhelmed by takers looking for a free ride, the whole thing might never have gotten off the ground. How did Freecycle accumulate that initial critical mass of giving and discourage free riding?

### Why Superman Backfires and People Conserve Electricity

When Freecycle first launched, one of the early members was a ninety-eight-year-old man. He collected parts to fix up bicycles and gave them to local children. He was an "incredible role model," Deron Beal recalls. Tucson citizens were able to identify with the man as a fellow resident. When they saw him give, he was a member of their unique community, so they felt more compelled to follow his example. New York University psychologist Jonathan Haidt refers to this as *elevation*, the warm feeling of being moved by others' acts of giving, which can "seem to push a mental 'reset button,' wiping out feelings of cynicism and replacing them with . . . a sense of moral inspiration." When elevated, Haidt and psychologist Sara Algoe write, "we feel as though we have become (for a moment) less selfish, and we want to act accordingly."

But it was more than just common identity that made this elderly man such an elevating role model. Consider an experiment by psychologists Leif Nelson and Michael Norton, who randomly assigned people to list either ten features of a superhero or ten features of Superman. When invited to sign up as community service volunteers, the group that listed superhero features was nearly twice as likely to volunteer as the Superman group. Three months later, Nelson and Norton invited both groups to a meeting to kick off their volunteering. The people who had written about a superhero were four times more likely to show up than the people who had written about Superman. Thinking about a superhero three months earlier supported giving. In comparison, thinking about Superman discouraged giving. Why?

When people think about the general attributes of superheroes, they generate a list of desirable characteristics that they can relate to themselves. In the study, for example, people wrote about how superheroes are helpful and responsible, and they wanted to express these giver values, so they volunteered. But when people think specifically about Superman, what comes to mind is a set of impossible standards, like those popularized in the TV series *The Adventures of Superman:* "faster than a speeding bullet, more powerful than a locomotive, able to leap tall buildings in a single bound." No one can be that strong or heroic, so why bother trying?

On Freecycle, givers modeled a standard that seemed attainable. When members saw a ninety-eight-year-old man building bikes for kids, they knew they could do something too. When members saw people giving away items like clothes and old electronics, they felt it would be easy for them to do the same. The small acts of giving that started on Freecycle made it easy and acceptable for other people to give small amounts. Indeed, Cialdini finds that people donate more money to charity when the phrase "even a penny will help" is added to a request. Interestingly, this phrase increases the number of people who give without necessarily decreasing the amount that they give. Legitimizing small contributions draws in takers, making it difficult and embarrassing for them to say no, without dramatically reducing the amount donated by givers.

Although most people joined Freecycle to get free stuff, this doesn't mean that taking was their primary reciprocity style. When people join a group, they look for cues about appropriate behavior. When new Freecycle members saw similar others modeling low-cost acts of giving, it became natural for them to follow suit. By making giving visible, Freecycle made it easy for people to see the norm.

It's a powerful lesson, even more so when we realize how much the visibility of giving can affect reciprocity styles. In many domains of life, people end up taking because they don't have access to

information about what others are doing. Just a few months after Freecycle got off the ground, Cialdini worked with a team of psychologists to survey more than eight hundred Californians about their <u>energy consumption</u>. They asked the Californians how important the following factors were in shaping their decisions to save energy:

- It saves money
- It protects the environment
- It benefits society
- A lot of other people are doing it

The Californians consistently reported that the most important factor was protecting the environment. Benefiting society was second, saving money was third, and following the lead of other people was last. Cialdini's team wanted to see whether people were right about their own motivations, so they designed an experiment. They visited nearly four hundred homes in San Marcos, California, and randomly assigned them to receive one of four different types of door hangers:

*Save money* by conserving energy: According to researchers at Cal State San Marcos, you could save up to \$54 per month by using fans instead of air conditioning to keep cool in the summer.

*Protect the environment* by conserving energy: According to researchers at Cal State San Marcos, you can prevent the release of up to 262 lbs. of greenhouse gases per month by using fans instead of air conditioning to keep cool this summer.

Do your part to conserve energy for *future generations*: According to researchers at Cal State San Marcos, you can reduce your monthly demand for electricity by 29% using fans instead of air conditioning to keep cool this summer.

*Join your neighbors* in conserving energy: In a recent survey of households in your community, researchers at Cal State San Marcos found that 77% of San Marcos residents often use fans instead of air conditioning to keep cool in the summer.

Cialdini's team conducted door-to-door interviews at each household, without knowing which door hangers they had. When asked how motivating the door hangers were, the residents whose hangers emphasized joining their neighbors reported the lowest motivation. They reported 18 percent lower desires to conserve energy than residents with the protect-the-environment hangers, 13 percent lower than residents with the future-generations hangers, and 6 percent lower than residents with the save-money hangers.

But when Cialdini's team looked at the residents' energy bills to see what people actually did, they found something surprising: the residents were wrong about what motivated them. During the following two months, the residents whose door hangers emphasized joining their neighbors actually conserved the *most* energy. On average, the "join your neighbors" hanger led to between 5 and 9 percent fewer daily kilowatt-hours of energy used than the other three hangers—which were all equally ineffective. Knowing that other people were conserving energy was the best way to get residents to follow suit.

But perhaps it was the people who were already conserving electricity in each neighborhood who

responded most visibly, picking up the slack for the electricity takers. To find out whether sharing information about their neighbors' conservation efforts could motivate conservation among people who were consuming high levels of electricity, Cialdini's team ran another experiment with nearly three hundred households in California. This time, they gave residents door hangers that provided feedback on how their electricity consumption compared with similar households in their neighborhood over the past week or two. These door hangers provided feedback on whether residents were consuming less (giving) or more (taking) than their neighbors.

Over the next few weeks, the electricity takers significantly reduced their energy consumption, by an average of 1.22 kilowatt-hours per day. Seeing that they were taking more than the average in their neighborhood motivated them to match the average, decreasing their energy consumption.\* But this only works when people are compared with their neighbors. As Cialdini's team explains:

The key factor was which other people—other Californians, other people in their city, or other residents in their specific community. Consistent with the idea that people are most influenced by similar others, the power of social norms grew stronger the closer and more similar the group was to the residents: The decision to conserve was most powerfully influenced by those people who were most similar to the decision makers—the residents of their own community.

Inspired by this evidence, the company Opower sent home energy report letters to 600,000 households, randomly assigning about half of them to see their energy use in comparison with that of their neighbors. Once again, it was the takers—those consuming the most—who conserved the most after seeing how much they were taking. Overall, just showing people how they were doing relative to the local norm caused a dramatic improvement in energy conservation. The amount of energy saved by this feedback was equivalent to the amount of energy that would be saved if the price of electricity increased by up to 28 percent.

People often take because they don't realize that they're deviating from the norm. In these situations, showing them the norm is often enough to motivate them to give—especially if they have matcher instincts. Part of the beauty of Freecycle is that members have constant access to the norm. Every time a member offers to give something away, it's transparent: others can see how frequent giving is, and they want to follow suit. Because Freecycle is organized in local communities, members are seeing giving by their neighbors, which provides feedback on how their own giving stacks up relative to the local norm. Whether people tend to be givers, takers, or matchers, they don't want to violate the standards set by their neighbors, so they match.

Today, according to Yahoo!, only two environmental terms in the world are searched more often than *Freecycle*: *global warming* and *recycling*. By the summer of 2012, Freecycle had more than nine million members in over 110 countries, expanding at a rate of eight thousand members every week. Many people still join with a taker mentality, hoping to get as much free stuff as possible. But receiving benefits from a group of local citizens who serve as role models for small acts of giving continues to create a common identity in Freecycle communities, nudging many members in the giver direction. Together, the nine million Freecycle members give away more than thirty thousand items a day weighing nearly a thousand tons. If you piled together the goods given away in the past year, they'd be fourteen times taller than Mount Everest. As Charles Darwin once wrote, a tribe with many

people acting like givers, who "were always <u>ready to aid one another</u>, and to sacrifice themselves for the common good, would be victorious over most other tribes; and this would be natural selection."

When I learned about the success of Freecycle, I began to wonder if these principles could play out in everyday life, in an organization without an environmental focus. What would it take to create and sustain a giving system in a company or a school?

## The Reciprocity Ring

When I joined the faculty at Wharton, the world's oldest collegiate business school, I decided to try a giving experiment in my classroom. I announced that we would be running an exercise called the Reciprocity Ring, which was developed by University of Michigan sociologist Wayne Baker and his wife Cheryl at Humax. Each student would make a request to the class, and the rest of the class would try to use their knowledge, resources, and connections to help fulfill the request. The request could be anything meaningful in their professional or personal lives, ranging from job leads to travel tips.

In a matter of minutes, I was facing a line of students—some cynical, others anxious. One student pronounced that the exercise wouldn't work, because there aren't any givers at Wharton: givers study medicine or social work, not business. Another admitted that he would love advice from more experienced peers on strengthening his candidacy for consulting jobs, but he knew they wouldn't help him, since they were competing with him for these positions.

Soon, these students watched in disbelief as their peers began to use their networks to help one another. A junior named Alex announced that he loved amusement parks, and he came to Wharton in the hopes of one day running Six Flags. He wasn't sure how to get started—could anyone help him break into the industry? A classmate, Andrew, raised his hand and said he had a weak tie to the former CEO of Six Flags. Andrew went out on a limb to connect them, and a few weeks later, Alex received invaluable career advice from the ex-CEO. A senior named Michelle confided that she had a friend whose growth was stunted due to health problems, and couldn't find clothes that fit. A fellow senior, Jessica, had an uncle in the fashion business, and she contacted him for help. Three months later, custom garments arrived at the doorstep of Michelle's friend.

Wayne Baker has led Reciprocity Rings at many companies, from GM to Bristol-Myers Squibb. Oftentimes, he brings leaders and managers together from competing companies in the same industry and invites them to make requests and help one another. In one session, a pharmaceutical executive was about to pay an outside vendor \$50,000 to synthesize a strain of the PCS alkaloid. The executive asked if anyone could help find a cheaper alternative. One of the group members happened to have slack capacity in his lab, and was able to do it for free.

The Reciprocity Ring can be an extremely powerful experience. Bud Ahearn, a group president at CH2M HILL, noted that leaders in his company "are strong endorsers, not only because of the hundreds of thousands of annual dollar value, but because of the remarkable potential to advance the quality of our 'whole' lives." Baker has asked executives to estimate the dollar value and time saved in participating for two and a half hours. Thirty people in an engineering and architectural consulting firm estimated savings exceeding \$250,000 and fifty days. Fifteen people in a global pharmaceutical firm estimated savings of more than \$90,000 and sixty-seven days.

Personally, after running the Reciprocity Ring with leaders, managers, and employees from companies such as IBM, Citigroup, Estée Lauder, UPS, Novartis, and Boeing, I've been amazed by the requests that have been fulfilled—from landing a coveted job at Google to finding a mentor to receiving autographed memorabilia from a child's favorite professional football player. But before this happens, just as my Wharton students did, many participants question whether others will actually give them the help that they need. Each time, I respond by asking whether they might be underestimating the givers in their midst.

In a study by researchers Frank Flynn and Vanessa Bohns, people learned that they would be approaching strangers in New York City and asking them to a fill out a survey. The participants estimated that only one out of every four people would say yes. In reality, when the participants went out and asked, one out of every two said yes. In another study in New York City, when participants approached strangers and asked them to borrow a cell phone, they expected 30 percent to say yes, but 48 percent did. When people approached strangers, said they were lost and asked to be walked to a nearby gym, they expected 14 percent to do it, but 43 percent did. And when people needed to raise thousands of dollars for charity, they expected that they would need to solicit donations from an average of 210 people to meet their fund-raising goals, anticipating an average donation under \$50. They actually hit their goals after approaching half as many people—on average, it only required 122 people, whose donations were over \$60 each.

Why do we underestimate the number of people who are willing to give? According to Flynn and Bohns, when we try to predict others' reactions, we focus on the costs of saying yes, overlooking the costs of saying no. It's uncomfortable, guilt-provoking, and embarrassing to turn down a small request for help. And psychological research points to another factor—equally powerful, and deeply rooted in American culture—that causes people to believe there aren't many givers around them.

Workplaces and schools are often designed to be zero-sum environments, with forced rankings and required grading curves that pit group members against one another in win-lose contests. In these settings, it's <u>only natural to assume</u> that peers will lean in the taker direction, so people hold back on giving. This reduces the actual amount of giving that occurs, leading people to underestimate the number of people who are interested in giving. Over time, because giving appears to be uncommon, people with giver values begin to feel that they're in the minority.

As a result, even when they do engage in giving behaviors, people worry that they'll isolate themselves socially if they violate the norm, so they disguise their giving behind purely self-interested motives. As early as 1835, after visiting the United States from France, the social philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville wrote that Americans "enjoy explaining almost every act of their lives on the principle of self-interest." He saw Americans "help one another" and "freely give part of their time and wealth for the good of the state," but was struck by the fact that "Americans are hardly prepared to admit" that these acts were driven by a genuine desire to help others. "I think that in this way they often do themselves less than justice," he wrote. A century and a half later, the Princeton sociologist Robert Wuthnow interviewed a wide range of Americans who chose helping professions, from cardiologists to rescue workers. When he asked them to explain why they did good deeds, they referenced self-interested reasons, such as "I liked the people I was working with" or "It gets me out of the house." They didn't want to admit that they were genuinely helpful, kind, generous, caring, or compassionate. "We have social norms against sounding too charitable," Wuthnow writes, such that "we call people who go around acting too charitable 'bleeding hearts,' 'do-gooders.'"

In my experience, this is what happens in many businesses and universities: plenty of people hold giver values, but suppress or disguise them under the mistaken assumption that their peers don't share these values. As the psychologists David Krech and Richard Crutchfield explained many years ago, this creates a situation where "no one believes, but everyone thinks that everyone believes." Consider a 2011 survey of <u>Harvard freshmen</u>: they consistently reported that compassion was one of their top values, but near the bottom of Harvard's values. If many people personally believe in giving, but assume that others don't, the whole norm in a group or a company can shift away from giving. "<u>Ideas</u>

can have profound effects even when they are false—when they are nothing more than ideology," writes the psychologist Barry Schwartz. "These effects can arise because sometimes when people act on the basis of ideology, they inadvertently arrange the very conditions that bring reality into correspondence with the ideology." When people assume that others aren't givers, they act and speak in ways that discourage others from giving, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy.

As a structured form of giving, the Reciprocity Ring is designed to disrupt this self-fulfilling prophecy. The first step is to make sure that people ask for help. Research shows that at work, the vast majority of giving that occurs between people is in response to direct requests for help. In one study, managers described times when they gave and received help. Of all the giving exchanges that occurred, roughly 90 percent were initiated by the recipient asking for help. Yet when we have a need, we're often reluctant to ask for help. Much of the time, we're embarrassed: we don't want to look incompetent or needy, and we don't want to burden others. As one Wharton dean explains, "The students call it Game Face: they feel pressured to look successful all the time. There can't be any chinks in their armor, and opening up would make them vulnerable."

In the Reciprocity Ring, because everyone is making a request, there's little reason to be embarrassed. By making requests explicit and specific, participants provide potential givers with clear direction about how to contribute effectively. As in Freecycle, the Reciprocity Ring often starts with givers stepping up as role models for contributions. But in every Reciprocity Ring, there are likely to be many matchers and some people who prefer to operate as takers. For a generalized giving system to achieve sustainable effectiveness, as in Freecycle, these matchers and takers need to contribute. Otherwise, the givers will end up helping everyone while receiving little in return, placing themselves at risk for getting burned or burning out. Do matchers and takers step up?

Because people often present meaningful requests in Reciprocity Rings, many matchers are drawn in by empathy. When I heard a powerful CEO's voice tremble as he sought advice and connections to fight a rare form of cancer, the empathy in the room was palpable. "I was surprised by how much I wanted to help," one financial services executive confides. "My job requires me to be very task-focused and financially oriented. I didn't expect to care that much, especially about a stranger I'd never met. But I really felt for his need, and wanted to do whatever I could to contribute and fulfill his request."

Even when they don't empathize, matchers still end up making plenty of contributions. It's very difficult to act like a pure matcher in the Reciprocity Ring, since it's unlikely that the people you help will be the same people who can help fulfill your request. So the easiest way to be a matcher is to try to contribute the same amount that other people do. The Reciprocity Ring creates a miniature version of Panda Adam Rifkin's network: participants are encouraged to do five-minute favors for anyone else in the group. To make sure that every request is granted, participants need to make multiple contributions, even to people who haven't helped them directly. By giving more than they take, participants amplify the odds that everyone in the group will have their requests fulfilled, much like Panda Adam setting a pay-it-forward norm in his network.

But what about the takers? Many audiences are concerned that takers will capitalize on the opportunity to get help without contributing in return. To examine this risk, Wayne Baker and I surveyed more than a hundred people about their giver and taker values. Then they participated in the Reciprocity Ring, and we counted the number of contributions they made. As expected, the givers made significantly more contributions than the takers. The givers averaged four contributions each.

Surprisingly, though, the takers were still quite generous, averaging three contributions each. Despite valuing power and achievement far more than helping others, the takers gave three times more than they got. The Reciprocity Ring created a context that encouraged takers to act like givers, and the key lies in making giving public. Takers know that in a public setting, they'll gain reputational benefits for being generous in sharing their knowledge, resources, and connections. If they don't contribute, they look stingy and selfish, and they won't get much help with their own requests. "Being altruistic is often seen as 'good,' and being greedy or selfish is not," writes Duke behavioral economist Dan Ariely with two colleagues, so giving is "a way to signal to others that one is good."

Research shows that givers usually contribute regardless of whether it's public or private, but takers are more likely to contribute when it's public. In one study, when others could see their results, takers contributed a large number of ideas during brainstorming. But when their results were hidden, takers added less value. Other studies reveal that takers go green to be seen: they prefer luxurious products over green products when their decisions are private, but shift to green products when their decisions are public, hoping to earn status for protecting the environment. I saw a similar trend among Wharton students: each week in class, I opened the floor for a few students to present requests and invited the whole class to contribute. One November morning, five students made requests, and I was stunned to see a student who had described himself as a taker offer to help four of them. Once his reputation among his peers depended on giving, he contributed. By making contributions visible, the Reciprocity Ring sets up an opportunity for people of any reciprocity style to be otherish: they can do good and look good at the same time.

#### Identity Shifts and Reciprocity Reversals

This raises a fundamental question: does a generalized giving system like Freecycle or the Reciprocity Ring motivate takers to become better fakers, or can it actually turn takers into givers? In some ways, I'd say the motives don't matter: it's the behavior itself that counts. If takers are acting in ways that benefit others, even if the motives are primarily selfish rather than selfless or otherish, they're making contributions that sustain generalized giving as a form of exchange.

That said, if we ignore motives altogether, we overlook the risk that takers will decrease their giving as soon as they're out of the spotlight. In one study conducted by Chinese researchers, more than three hundred <u>bank tellers</u> were considered for a promotion. The managers rated how frequently each bank teller had engaged in giving behaviors like helping others with heavy workloads and volunteering for tasks that weren't required as part of their jobs. Based on giving behavior, the managers promoted seventy of the bank tellers.

Over the next three months, the managers came to regret promoting more than half of the tellers. Of the seventy tellers who were promoted, thirty-three were genuine givers: they sustained their giving after the promotion. The other thirty-seven tellers declined rapidly in their giving. They were fakers: in the three months before the promotion, they knew they were being watched, so they went out of their way to help others. But after they got promoted, they reduced their giving by an average of 23 percent each.

What would it take to nudge people in the giving direction? When Harvard dean Thomas Dingman saw that Harvard students valued compassion but thought others didn't, he decided to do something about it. For the first time in the university's four centuries, Harvard freshmen were invited to sign a pledge to serve society. The pledge concluded: "As we begin at Harvard, we commit to upholding the values of the College and to making the entryway and Yard a place where all can thrive and where the exercise of kindness holds a place on a par with intellectual attainment."

Believing in the power of a public commitment, Dingman decided to go one step beyond inviting students to sign the pledge. To encourage students to follow through, their signatures would be framed in the hallways of campus dorms. A storm of objections quickly emerged, most notably from Harry Lewis, a computer science professor and the former dean of Harvard College. "An appeal for kindness is entirely appropriate," Lewis responded. "I agree that the exercise of personal kindness in this community is too often wanting," he wrote on his blog, but "for Harvard to 'invite' people to pledge to kindness is unwise, and sets a terrible precedent."

Is Lewis right?

In a series of experiments led by NYU psychologist Peter Gollwitzer, people who went public with their intentions to engage in an identity-relevant behavior were significantly *less likely* to engage in the behavior than people who kept their intentions private. When people made their identity plans known to others, they were able to claim the identity without actually following through on the behavior. By signing the kindness pledge, Harvard students would be able to establish an image as givers without needing to act like givers.

Dingman quickly dropped the idea of posting signatures publicly. But even then, evidence suggests that privately signing a kindness pledge <u>might backfire</u>. In one experiment, Northwestern University psychologists randomly assigned people to write about themselves using either giver terms

like *caring*, *generous*, and *kind* or neutral terms like *book*, *keys*, and *house*. After the participants filled out another questionnaire, a researcher asked them if they wanted to donate money to a charity of their choosing. Those who wrote about themselves as givers donated an average of two and a half times *less* money than those who wrote about themselves with neutral words. "I'm a giving person," they told themselves, "so I don't have to donate this time." The kindness pledge might have a similar effect on Harvard students. When they sign the pledge, they establish credentials as givers, which may grant them a psychological license to give less—or take more.

When we're trying to influence someone, we often adopt an approach that mirrors the Harvard pledge: we start by changing their attitudes, hoping that their behaviors are likely to march in the same direction. If we get people to sign a statement that they'll act like givers, they'll come to believe that giving is important, and then they'll give. But according to a rich body of psychological detective work, this reasoning is backward. Influence is far more powerful in the opposite direction: change people's behaviors first, and their attitudes often follow. To turn takers into givers, it's often necessary to convince them to start giving. Over time, if the conditions are right, they'll come to see themselves as givers.

This didn't happen to the bank tellers in China: even after three months of helping colleagues, once they got promoted, they stopped giving. Over the past thirty-five years, research launched by Batson and his colleagues shows that when people give, if they can attribute it to an external reason like a promotion, they don't start to think of themselves as givers. But when people repeatedly make the personal choice to give to others, they start to internalize giving as part of their identities. For some people, this happens through an active process of cognitive dissonance: once I've made the voluntary decision to give, I can't change the behavior, so the easiest way to stay consistent and avoid hypocrisy is to decide that I'm a giver. For other people, the internalization process is one of learning from observing their own behaviors. To paraphrase the writer E. M. Forster, "How do I know who I am until I see what I do?"

In support of this idea, studies of volunteering show that even when people join a volunteer organization to advance their own careers, the longer they serve and the more time they give, the more they begin to view the volunteering role as an <u>important aspect of their identities</u>. Once that happens, they start to experience a common identity with the people they're helping, and they become givers in that role. Research documents a similar process inside companies: as people make voluntary decisions to help colleagues and customers beyond the scope of their jobs, they come to see themselves as organizational citizens.\*

Part of the wisdom behind Freecycle and the Reciprocity Ring is that both of these generalized giving systems encourage giving while maintaining a sense of free choice. Although there's a strong norm of giving, it's entirely up to each participant to decide what to give and whom to help. When my Wharton class went through the Reciprocity Ring, as different students chose their own ways to give and peers to help, a distinctive common identity began to develop. "This is a unique group of people at Wharton that cares about each other," one student said. Although the students were competing for the same jobs in management consulting and investment banking, they started helping one another prepare for interviews, sharing tips and offering advice. After the class ended, a group of students took the initiative to start an alumni listsery so that they could continue helping one another. According to one student, "because of the emphasis on the benefit of giving and helping in our shared community, I'd be far more comfortable and likely to ask for (and probably receive) help from a

random member of the alumni group than my other groups."

At the end of the semester, the cynical student who had questioned whether there were any givers at Wharton quietly approached me. "Somehow," he said, "everyone in the class became intrinsically motivated to give, and it transcends the class itself."

## **Out of the Shadows**

Some people, when they do someone a favor, are always looking for a chance to call it in. And some aren't, but they're still aware of it—still regard it as a debt. But others don't even do that. They're like a vine that produces grapes without looking for anything in return . . . after helping others . . . They just go on to something else . . . We should be like that.

—Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor

A number of years ago, an imposing figure made his mark on the sports world. Well over six feet tall and two hundred pounds, <u>Derek Sorenson</u> was a tough, aggressive competitor who struck fear into the hearts of his opponents. He led his NCAA team to a national championship and went on to play in the pros. After his career was cut short by an injury, he was courted by the finest professional teams in his sport to become a contract negotiator. He would be wheeling and dealing with players and agents in the hopes of building a world-class team.

To sharpen his bargaining skills, Derek enrolled in a negotiation course at a leading business school. During each class session, he had the chance to practice negotiating in a variety of roles, ranging from a pharmaceutical executive trying to buy a manufacturing plant to a condo developer in a heated dispute with a carpenter. In one of his earliest negotiations, Derek bought a property as a real estate investment, and in top taker form, he persuaded the listing agent to sell at a price that went directly against her client's interests.

On an icy winter evening, Derek played the role of one of four fishermen who ran competing businesses. They were overfishing to the point that the resource would become extinct, and they sat down to discuss how they should handle the dilemma. One negotiator suggested that they should split the maximum total fishing in four equal parts. Another proposed a different way of matching based on equity rather than equality: since some of them were running larger operations than others, they should each reduce their fishing by 50 percent. They all agreed that this was a fair solution, and the meeting was adjourned. Now, it was up to each negotiator to make an individual decision about whether to honor the agreement and how much to fish.

Two of the negotiators stuck to their commitments, reducing their fishing by 50 percent. The third operated like a giver: she reduced her fishing by 65 percent. The group was all set to keep the resource intact, but Derek chose not to reduce his fishing at all. He took as much as he could, actually increasing his fishing total and decimating the other three entrepreneurs. Before the group met, Derek had the lowest profits of the four. After he took far more than his share of the harvest, his profits were 70 percent higher than the giver's and 31 percent higher than those of the other two. When confronted by his colleagues, Derek responded, "I wanted to win the negotiations and destroy my competitors."

Just a few months later, Derek began a meteoric rise in his career. He was hired by a professional sports team and established a reputation as a dominant negotiator, playing a key role in assembling a team that went on to win a world championship. Derek was promoted in an unusually short period of time and recognized as one of the one hundred most powerful people in his sport—while still in his thirties.

When Derek first started working for his team as a professional negotiator, his job was to manage the budget, identify top prospects, and negotiate contracts with agents to sign new players and keep existing players. Since resources were tight, bargaining like a taker would work to his advantage. Derek began to search for underrated talent, and stumbled upon a gem of a player in the minor leagues. He sat down with the player's agent to negotiate a contract. True to form, Derek made a lowball offer. The agent was frustrated: several comparable players were earning higher salaries. The agent accused Derek of pushing him around and demanded more money, but Derek ignored the demands and didn't budge. Eventually, the agent gave in and agreed to Derek's terms. It was a win for Derek, saving his team thousands of dollars.

But when Derek went home that night, he had an uneasy feeling. "I could just feel through the conversation that he was pretty upset. He brought up a couple points on comparable players, and in the heat of things, I probably wasn't listening too much. He was going away with a bad taste in his mouth." Derek decided he didn't want to end the exchange with the agent on a sour note. So he tore up the contract and met the agent's original request, giving him thousands of extra dollars for the player.

Was this a wise decision? Derek was costing his team money, and potentially creating a precedent for doing so in other negotiations. Besides, the deal was settled. The agent had agreed to the lowball offer and Derek had achieved his goal. Going back on it hardly seemed like a smart move.

Actually, it was much smarter than it first appeared. When Vanderbilt researchers Bruce Barry and Ray Friedman studied negotiations, they had a hunch that sharper negotiators would get better results, as they could gather and analyze more information, keep track of multiple issues, and generate hidden solutions. In one study, Barry and Friedman obtained data on the intelligence of nearly a hundred MBA students. They measured intelligence using each student's score on the GMAT, a rigorous test that is widely used in business school admissions to measure quantitative, verbal, and analytical abilities. The participants negotiated in pairs, playing either the developer of a new mall or the representative of a potential store to anchor the mall. After they finished negotiating, they submitted their final agreements, and two experts assessed the value of the deal to each party.

As expected, the joint gains were highest when both parties were very intelligent. Barry and Friedman broke down each party's gains, expecting to find that the <u>smarter negotiators</u> got better deals for themselves. But they didn't. The brightest negotiators got better deals *for their counterparts*.

"The smarter negotiator appears to be able to understand his or her opponents' true interests and

thus to provide them with better deals at little cost to him- or herself," Barry and Friedman write. The more intelligent you are, the more you help your counterpart succeed. This is exactly what Derek did when he gave the agent more money for the minor league player. He was giving in an otherish way that was low cost to him but high benefit to the agent and the player. A few thousand dollars was small potatoes to his team, but very significant to the player.

What drove Derek to shift in the giver direction? Shortly before the negotiation with the agent, Derek had gained a window into something that mattered deeply to him: his reputation. At the end of the negotiation course, every participant submitted votes for negotiation awards. Derek received zero votes for Most Cooperative, zero for Most Creative, and zero for Most Ethical. In fact, there was only one award for which he received any votes. For this particular award, Derek received the vast majority of the votes. He was the landslide winner for Most Ruthless.

But Derek achieved something more memorable that week. He became the only student in business school history to be voted the Most Ruthless negotiator *in a class that he never took*. At the same time that he was enrolled in his course, another negotiation class was under way. None of these students in the other class ever sat across the bargaining table from Derek. Some of them had never met him. Yet his reputation spread so quickly that they voted for him as Most Ruthless anyway.

Derek was negotiating the way any reasonable person would in a taker's world. As a professional athlete, he had learned that if he didn't claim as much value as possible, he was at risk for becoming a doormat. "It was the team against the player. The team was always trying to take money out of my pocket, so I viewed a negotiation to be a combative process, which produced a winner and a loser," Derek says. "I had to try to take more and more." After being anointed the Most Ruthless negotiator by his peers—and a group of strangers—Derek began to reflect on his reciprocity style at the bargaining table. "While I gained a short-term benefit by taking, in the long run I paid. My relationship with a colleague was ruined, and it caused the demise of my reputation," he said. In the negotiation with the agent, when he ripped up the contract and gave the agent more money, "It built goodwill. The agent was extremely appreciative," Derek reflects. "When the player came up for free agency, the agent gave me a call. Looking back on it now, I'm really glad I did it. It's definitely improved our relationship, and helped out our organization. Maybe Most Ruthless is maturing."

Actually, I believe maturing is the wrong way to describe Derek's transformation. Maturation implies a process of growth and development, but in a sense, Derek was actually taking a step backward to express core values that he had embraced for years away from the bargaining table. Long before he ever negotiated like a taker, his peers perceived him as a generous, helpful person who would make time for anyone who asked. He spent countless hours providing advice to colleagues who were interested in sports management careers and mentoring young athletes who aspired to follow in his footsteps. Growing up, he was elected captain of virtually every team on which he played, from elementary school through high school, all the way through college. He even became captain as a rookie on his first professional team—players twice his age respected his commitment to putting the team's interests ahead of his own.

At the bargaining table, Derek's transition wasn't about learning a new set of values. It was about developing the confidence and courage to express an old set of values in a new domain. I believe this is true for most people who operate like matchers professionally, and my hope is that others like Derek won't wait for a Most Ruthless award to start finding ways to act in the interest of others at work. For Derek these days, a signature form of giving is helping opposing teams gather information

about players. Even though they're competing in a zero-sum sport, he shares knowledge to help rival teams make good decisions about players who have been on his team in the past. "On the field, I want to beat up opposing teams. But off the field, I'm always trying to help them out."

Today, Derek attributes his success in building a championship-winning professional sports team to his shift from taking toward giving. Yet he still worries about what will happen if people outside his inner circle find out about his shift in the giver direction. In fact, Derek Sorenson is a pseudonym: before sharing his story, he asked me to disguise his identity. "I don't want it to get out there that I've given more money than I needed to a player," he says.

These fears persist among many successful givers, but they're not insurmountable. Consider Sherryann Plesse, the financial services executive from the opening chapter who hid the fact that kindness and compassion emerged as her top strengths. When I originally asked her to tell her story, like Derek, she only agreed under the condition that she would remain anonymous. Six months later, she changed her mind. "I've started an underground campaign of givers coming out of the closet," she said. "Being a giver has contributed to my personal and professional success. It's liberating to talk about it. I'm not afraid anymore."

What changed her mind? When Sherryann first recognized her giver attributes, she was focused on the risks: people expected her to be tough and results-oriented, and might see giving as a sign of weakness. But when she started taking a close look around her company, she was struck by the realization that all of her professional role models were givers. Suddenly, her frame of reference shifted: instead of just seeing givers at the bottom, she recognized a surprising number of givers at the top. This isn't what we usually notice when we glance up at the horizon at successful people. By and large, because of their tendencies toward powerful speech and claiming credit, successful takers tend to dominate the spotlight. But if you start paying attention to reciprocity styles in your own workplace, I have a hunch that you'll discover plenty of givers achieving the success to which you aspire.

Personally, the successful people whom I admire most are givers, and I feel that it's my responsibility to try and pass along what I've learned from them. When I arrived at Wharton, my charge was to teach some of the world's finest analytic minds to become better leaders, managers, and negotiators. I decided to introduce them to reciprocity styles, posing the question that animated the introduction to this book: who do you think ends up at the bottom of the success ladder?

The verdict was nearly unanimous: givers. When I asked who rises to the top, the students were evenly split between matchers and takers. So I chose to teach them something that struck them as heretical. "You might be underestimating the success of givers," I told them. It's true that some people who consistently help others without expecting anything in return are the ones who fall to the bottom. But this same orientation toward giving, with a few adjustments, can also enable people to rise to the top. "Focus attention and energy on making a difference in the lives of others, and success might follow as a by-product." I knew I was fighting an uphill battle, so I decided to prove them wrong.

This book is that proof.

Although many of us hold strong giver values, we're often reluctant to express them at work. But the growth of teamwork, service jobs, and social media has opened up new opportunities for givers to develop relationships and reputations that accelerate and amplify their success. We've covered evidence that givers can rise to the top across a stunningly diverse range of occupations, from engineering to medicine to sales. And remember when <a href="Peter Audet">Peter Audet</a>, the Australian financial adviser, seemed to be wasting hours of his time by driving out to help a poor scrap metal worker manage his money? The client turned out to be the wealthy owner of a scrap metal business, resulting in major gains for Peter's firm—but the story doesn't end there.

Peter learned that the scrap metal owner was too busy running the business to take a vacation, and he wanted to help. A few months later, another client expressed that she wasn't happy in her job as a manager at an auto body shop. Peter recommended her to the scrap metal owner, who had a need for her skills, and it turned out that she lived five minutes away from the scrap metal yard. She started work three weeks later, and the client took his wife on their first vacation in years. "Both of these clients are happy and grateful that I think about their whole lives, not just their investments," Peter says. "The more I help out, the more successful I become. But I measure success in what it has done for the people around me. That is the real accolade."

In the mind of a giver, the definition of success itself takes on a distinctive meaning. Whereas takers view success as attaining results that are superior to others' and matchers see success in terms of balancing individual accomplishments with fairness to others, givers are inclined to follow Peter's lead, characterizing success as individual achievements that have a positive impact on others. Taking this definition of success seriously might require dramatic changes in the way that organizations hire, evaluate, reward, and promote people. It would mean paying attention not only to the productivity of individual people but also to the ripple effects of this productivity on others. If we broadened our image of success to include contributions to others along with individual accomplishments, people might be motivated to tilt their professional reciprocity styles toward giving. If success required benefiting others, it's possible that takers and matchers would be more inclined to find otherish ways to advance personal and collective interests simultaneously.

The connection between individual and collective success underlies every story of successful givers in this book. As an entrepreneur, Adam Rifkin built his network of influential people by trying to help everyone he met, launching successful companies and enabling thousands of colleagues to find jobs, develop skills, and start productive businesses along the way. As a venture capitalist, David Hornik invested in lucrative companies and fortified his reputation by helping aspiring entrepreneurs create better pitches and gain funding for their start-ups. As a comedy writer, George Meyer earned Emmys and established a reputation as the funniest writer in Hollywood while elevating the effectiveness of and opening doors for the people who collaborated with him on *Army Man* and *The Simpsons*.

In the classroom, C. J. Skender earned dozens of teaching awards while inspiring a new generation of students, seeing their potential and motivating them to achieve this potential, and Conrey Callahan sustained her energy and was nominated for a national teaching award after she started a nonprofit to help underprivileged children prepare for college. In health care, Kildare Escoto and Nancy Phelps rose to the top of their company's sales revenue charts by striving to help patients. In consulting, Jason Geller and Lillian Bauer made partner early by virtue of the contributions that they made through mentoring and developing others, which in turn enriched the knowledge of junior

colleagues. In politics, Abraham Lincoln became president—and built a legacy as one of the greatest leaders in world history—by helping his rivals earn coveted political positions.

This is what I find most magnetic about successful givers: they get to the top without cutting others down, finding ways of expanding the pie that benefit themselves and the people around them. Whereas success is zero-sum in a group of takers, in groups of givers, it may be true that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

Armed with this knowledge, I've seen some people become more strategic matchers, helping others in the hopes of developing the relationships and reputations necessary to advance their own success. Can people succeed through instrumental giving, where the primary intent is getting? At the beginning of the book, I suggested that in the long term, the answer might be no.

There's a fine line between giving and clever matching, and this line blurs depending on whether we define reciprocity styles by the actions themselves, the motives behind them, or some combination of the two. It's a deep philosophical question, and it's easy to identify with a range of views on how strategic matchers should be evaluated. On the one hand, even if the motives are mixed, helping behaviors often add value to others, increasing the total amount of giving in a social system. On the other hand, as we saw with Ken Lay, our behaviors leak traces of our motives. If recipients and witnesses of our giving begin to question whether the motives are self-serving, they're less likely to respond with gratitude or elevation. When strategic matchers engage in disingenuous efforts to help others primarily for personal gain, they may be hoisted by their own petard: fellow matchers may withhold help, spread negative reputational information, or find other ways to impose a taker tax.

To avoid these consequences, would-be matchers may be best served by giving in ways that they find enjoyable, to recipients whose well-being matters to them. That way, even if they don't reap direct or karmic rewards, matchers will be operating in a giver's mind-set, leading their motives to appear—and become—more pure. Ultimately, by repeatedly making the choice to act in the interest of others, strategic matchers may find themselves developing giver identities, resulting in a gradual drift in style toward the giving end of the reciprocity spectrum.

We spend the majority of our waking hours at work. This means that what we do at work becomes a fundamental part of who we are. If we reserve giver values for our personal lives, what will be missing in our professional lives? By shifting ever so slightly in the giver direction, we might find our waking hours marked by greater success, richer meaning, and more lasting impact.

#### **ACTIONS FOR IMPACT**

If you're interested in applying the principles in this book to your work or your life, I've compiled a set of practical actions that you can take. Many of these actions are based on the strategies and habits of successful givers, and in each case, I've provided resources and tools for evaluating, organizing, or expanding giving. Some of the steps focus on incorporating more giving into your daily behaviors; others emphasize ways that you can fine-tune your giving, locate fellow givers, or engage others in giving.

- 1. Test Your Giver Quotient. We often live in a feedback vacuum, deprived of knowledge about how our actions affect others. So that you can track your impact and assess your self-awareness, I've designed a series of free online tools. Visit www.giveandtake.com to take a free survey that tests your giver quotient. Along with filling out your own survey, you can invite people in your network to rate your reciprocity style, and you'll receive data on how often you're seen as a giver, taker, and matcher.
- 2. Run a Reciprocity Ring. What could be achieved in your organization—and what giving norms would develop—if groups of people got together weekly for twenty minutes to make requests and help one another fulfill them? For more information on how to start a Reciprocity Ring in your organization, visit Cheryl and Wayne Baker's company, Humax (www.humaxnetworks.com), which offers a suite of social networking tools for individuals and organizations. They've created materials to run a Reciprocity Ring in person and a Ripplleffect tool for running it online. People typically come together in groups of fifteen to thirty. Each person presents a request to the group members, who make contributions: they use their knowledge, resources, and connections to help fulfill the request. Another start-up, Favo.rs (http://favo.rs), has created an online marketplace where people can make and fulfill requests for help.
- 3. Help Other People Craft Their Jobs—or Craft Yours to Incorporate More Giving. People often end up working on tasks that aren't perfectly aligned with their interests and skills. A powerful way to give is to help others work on tasks that are more interesting, meaningful, or developmental. In 2011, a vice president named Jay at a large multinational retailer sent e-mails to each of his employees announcing a top-secret mission, with details to be shared on a need-to-know basis in one-on-one meetings. When employees arrived individually for the meetings, Jay unveiled the confidential project. He asked them what they would enjoy doing that might also be of interest to other people. He inquired about their hobbies and personal interests, and what they would love to spend more time doing at the company. He then sent them out into the company to pursue their mission with three rules: it has to (1) appeal to at least one other person, (2) be low or no cost, and (3) be initiated by you.

Throughout the year, Jay checked in to see how the secret missions were going. About two thirds

of his employees had made some effort toward making their visions a reality, and roughly half of those employees succeeded in launching them. One of Jay's favorite missions resulted in a book club where employees read books and discussed topics that were of personal interest and relevance to their jobs. "People had permission to do all of that stuff before I ever asked that question," Jay reflects. "But somehow, asking that question in my role gives people permission to pursue their interests in a way they didn't have before. It's planting seeds, with some percentage of them turning into real initiatives." These seeds have bloomed for many of his employees, and for Jay as well: in 2012, he was selected to become the vice president of HR for a major division of his company, where he's responsible for more than 45,000 employees.

In the secret missions, Jay encouraged his employees to engage in job crafting, a concept introduced by Amy Wrzesniewski and Jane Dutton, management professors at Yale and the University of Michigan, respectively. Job crafting involves innovating around a job description, creatively adding and customizing tasks and responsibilities to match personal interests and values. A natural concern is that people might craft their jobs in ways that fail to contribute to their organizations. To address this question, Amy, Justin Berg, and I partnered with Jennifer Kurkoski and Brian Welle, who run a people and innovation lab at Google. In a study across the United States and Europe, we randomly assigned Google employees working in sales, finance, operations, accounting, marketing, and human resources to a job-crafting workshop. The employees created a map of how they'd like to modify their tasks, crafting a more ideal but still realistic vision of their jobs that aligned with their interests and values.

Six weeks later, their managers and coworkers rated them as significantly happier *and* more effective. Many Google employees found ways to spend more time on tasks that they found interesting or meaningful; some delegated unpleasant tasks; and others were able to customize their jobs to incorporate new knowledge and skills that they wanted to develop. All told, Google employees found their work more enjoyable and were motivated to perform better, and in some cases, these gains lasted for six months. Job crafting worked across reciprocity styles: givers, takers, and matchers all became more effective. The givers saw job crafting as an opportunity to expand their impact, so they generated ways to add more value to other people and the company, such as mentoring junior colleagues, creating better products for clients, and improving training for new hires. The matchers were grateful for the opportunity to pursue more meaningful and interesting work, and reciprocated by working harder. Even the takers recognized that to advance their own careers, they needed to craft their jobs in ways that would benefit the company as well as themselves.

To help people craft their jobs, Justin, Amy, and Jane have developed a tool called the Job Crafting Exercise. It's what we used to conduct the Google workshops, and it involves creating a "before sketch" of how you currently allocate your time and energy, and then developing a visual "after diagram" of how you'd like to modify your job. The booklets can be ordered online (www.jobcrafting.org) and completed in teams or individually to help friends and colleagues make meaningful modifications to their jobs.

4. *Start a Love Machine*. In many organizations, givers go unrecognized. To combat this problem, organizations are introducing peer recognition programs to reward people for giving in ways that leaders and managers rarely see. A <u>Mercer study</u> found that in 2001, about 25 percent of large companies had peer recognition programs, and by 2006, this number had grown to 35 percent—including celebrated companies like Google, Southwest Airlines, and Zappos.

A fascinating approach called the Love Machine was developed at Linden Lab, the company behind the virtual world Second Life. In a high-technology company, many employees aim to protect their time for themselves and guard information closely, instead of sharing their time and knowledge with colleagues. The Love Machine was designed to overcome this tendency by enabling employees to send a Love message when they appreciated help from a colleague. The Love messages were visible to others, rewarding and recognizing giving by linking it to status and reputations. One insider viewed it as a way to get "tech geeks to compete to see who could be the most helpful." Love helped to "boost awareness of people who did tasks that were sometimes overlooked. Our support staff, for instance, often received the most Love," says Chris Colosi, a former Linden manager. "Once you introduce a certain percentage of takers into your system, you need to think about what effect an incentive will have, but I enjoyed the idea of Love for tasks that were outside of someone's job description or requirements."

To try out the Love Machine in your organization, look up a new electronic tool called SendLove. It's available from LoveMachine (www.lovemachineinc.com), a new start-up that asks you to start by choosing a recognition period. Team members can send each other short messages recognizing giving, and the messages are all publicly visible.

- 5. Embrace the Five-Minute Favor. If you visit a 106 Miles Meetup (www.meetup.com/106miles), you might see Panda Adam Rifkin in top form. He's a master of the five-minute favor, and you can follow Panda's lead by asking people what they need and looking for ways to help at a minimal personal cost. Rifkin's two favorite offers are to give honest feedback and make an introduction. For example, here's a simple exercise to get started as a connector. Start by going through your Rolodex, LinkedIn, or Facebook network. Identify pairs of people who share an uncommon commonality. Then, pick one pair a week and introduce them by e-mail. Rifkin also recommends reconnecting with dormant ties—not to get something, but to give. Once a month, reach out to one person with whom you haven't spoken in years. Find out what they're working on and ask if there are ways that you can be helpful. On a related note, you can learn more about David Hornik's approach to giving by visiting Venture Blog (www.ventureblog.com/).
- 6. Practice Powerless Communication, but Become an Advocate. Developing greater comfort and skill with powerless communication requires a change in habits—from talking to listening, self-promoting to advice-seeking, and advocating to inquiring. Jim Quigley, a senior partner at Deloitte who previously served as CEO, decided to work on his powerless communication. He set a goal in meetings to talk no more than 20 percent of the time. "One of my objectives is listening. Many times, you can have bigger impact if you know what to ask, rather than knowing what to say. I don't learn anything when I'm speaking. I learn a lot when I'm listening," Quigley told me. As he shifted from answers toward questions, Quigley found himself gaining a deeper understanding of other people's needs. "It doesn't come naturally to everyone, but it's a habit, and you can form that habit." For more on the power of powerless communication, visit the blogs by Susan Cain (www.thepowerofintroverts.com) and Jennifer Kahnweiler (www.theintrovertedleaderblog.com).

At the same time, it's important to make sure that powerless communication doesn't come at the expense of assertiveness when advocating for others' interests and our own. <u>GetRaised</u> is a free resource that offers advice on negotiating salary increases. According to cofounder Matt Wallaert, the average pay increase is \$6,726, provided that you're underpaid. About half of male users succeed in getting a raise—compared with three quarters of female users (https://getraised.com).

7. Join a Community of Givers. To find other givers, join a Freecycle community to give away goods and see what other people need (www.freecycle.org). Another inspiring community of givers is ServiceSpace (www.servicespace.org), the home of a series of Giftivism initiatives started by Nipun Mehta. Headquartered in Berkeley, California, ServiceSpace has over 400,000 members and sends over fifty million e-mails a year. Yet they still operate by three rules: "no staff, no fundraising, and no strings attached." Through ServiceSpace, Nipun has created a platform for people to increase their giver quotients, divided into three categories: gift economy projects, inspirational content, and volunteer and nonprofit support. One of the gift economy projects is Karma Kitchen, where the menu has no prices. When the bill arrives, it reads \$0.00 and contains just two sentences: "Your meal was a gift from someone who came before you. To keep the chain of gifts alive, we invite you to pay it forward for those who dine after you." Another gift economy project is HelpOthers.org, which collects stories of people playing giver tag: do something anonymously for someone else, and leave a smile card inviting them to pay it forward.

Nipun describes how one woman at a *Fortune* 500 company went to get a drink from the vending machine, and put extra change in with a note: "Your drink has been paid for by someone you don't know. Spread the love." Then, she brought in doughnuts and left another smile card behind. "A guy noticed this trend, and he decides to send an e-mail to the whole building," Nipun says, laughing. "The guy writes, 'I've been trying to track them down for a long time, and I think it's between floors two and three.' Now everybody's on alert for kindness, and a bunch of people start doing it." On the ServiceSpace website, you can order smile cards, help support nonprofit causes, subscribe to the weekly newsletter, or read a thought-provoking list of ways to give, such as paying the toll for the person behind you or thanking people for helping you by writing a complimentary note to their boss. "The more you give, the more you want to do it—as do others around you. It's like going to the gym," Nipun says. "If you've been working out your kindness muscles, you get stronger at it."

Another impressive initiative is HopeMob, billed as the place "where generous strangers unite to bring immediate hope to people with pressing needs all over the world" (http://hopemob.org). For ideas about how to organize your own group of people to perform random acts of kindness, see the initiatives under way at Extreme Kindness in Canada (http://extremekindness.com) and The Kindness Offensive in the UK (http://thekindnessoffensive.com). The Kindness Offensive is a group of people who strive to be aggressively helpful, organizing some of the grandest random acts of kindness in human history. They've provided a toy for every child in a hospital in London, given away half a million pancakes, distributed tons of giveaways at festivals around Britain, provided free medical supplies and housing support to families in need and hosted tea parties for elderly people, obtained an electric guitar for a ten-year-old boy, and landed free front-row seats and behind-the-scenes training at the Moscow Circus for a father hoping to surprise his daughter. It may be no coincidence that the founder's name is David Goodfellow.

You might also be intrigued by BNI (www.bni.com), Ivan Misner's business networking organization with the motto of "Givers gain," as well as the Go-Giver Community (www.thegogiver.com/community)—a group of people who read *The Go-Giver* fable by Bob Burg and John David Mann, and decided that giving would be a powerful way to live their professional lives.

8. Launch a Personal Generosity Experiment. If you'd rather give on your own, try the GOOD thirty-day challenge (www.good.is/post/the-good-30-day-challenge-become-a-good-citizen). Each

- day for a month, GOOD suggests a different way to give. For more examples of random acts of kindness, check out Sasha Dichter's thirty-day generosity experiment (http://sashadichter.wordpress.com) and Ryan Garcia's year of daily random acts of kindness (www.366randomacts.org). Dichter, the chief innovation officer at the Acumen Fund, embarked on a monthlong generosity experiment in which he said yes to every request for help that he received. Garcia, a sales executive at ZocDoc, is performing one random act of kindness every day for an entire year and keeping a blog about his experience, from stepping up as a mentor to thanking a customer service representative. As we saw in chapter 6, this generosity experiment is likely to be most psychologically rewarding if you spend somewhere between two and eleven hours a week on it, and if you distribute it into larger chunks—multiple acts once a week, instead of one act every day.
- 9. *Help Fund a Project*. Many people are seeking financial support for their projects. On Kickstarter (www.kickstarter.com), known as the world's largest funding platform for creative projects, you can find people looking for help in designing and launching movies, books, video games, music, plays, paintings, and other products and services. On Kiva (www.kiva.org), you can identify opportunities to make microloans of \$25 or more to entrepreneurs in the developing world. Both sites give you the chance to see and follow the progress of the people you help.
- 10. Seek Help More Often. If you want other people to be givers, one of the easiest steps is to ask. When you ask for help, you're not always imposing a burden. Some people are givers, and by asking for help, you're creating an opportunity for them to express their values and feel valued. By asking for a five-minute favor, you impose a relatively small burden—and if you ask a matcher, you can count on having an opportunity to reciprocate. Wayne and Cheryl Baker note that people can "Start the spark of reciprocity by making requests as well as helping others. Help generously and without thought of return; but also ask often for what you need."

# **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The seeds for this book were planted by my grandparents, Florence and Paul Borock, who tirelessly invested their time and energy in others without expecting anything in return. Growing up, my curiosity about psychology and fascination with the quality of work life were sparked by my parents, Susan and Mark. My diving coach, Eric Best, showed me that psychology was a major force behind success, introduced me to the power of giving in developing others, and encouraged me to pursue a career that combined psychology and writing. I found that career thanks to Brian Little, whose wisdom and generosity changed the course of my life. Brian embodies the very best of the human condition, and it is due to his depth of knowledge, commitment to students, and ability to captivate an audience that I became a professor. As I began to study organizational psychology, I benefited tremendously from the mentoring of Jane Dutton, Sue Ashford, Richard Hackman, Ellen Langer, and Rick Price. In particular, Jane has challenged me to think more deeply and encouraged me to reach more broadly in striving to do research that makes a difference.

They say it takes an army to write a book, and mine was no exception: I felt very lucky to work with an army of givers whose fingerprints grace each page. Leading the charge was Richard Pine at InkWell, who exemplifies every quality that an author could possibly want in an agent. Richard has a true gift for seeing the potential in ideas and people, and is uniquely skilled and passionate in connecting them in powerful ways that use the written word to make the world a better place. From helping me find my voice in writing for a popular audience and championing the topic, to offering keen insights about the substance and identifying successful givers in our midst, Richard has had an indelible impact on this book and my life.

The other major creative force behind this book was editor extraordinaire Kevin Doughten. Among his many contributions, it is noteworthy that it was Kevin who put George Meyer on my radar and recognized that a unique feature of giver success lies in lifting others up. Kevin knows from personal experience, as this is the influence of his success on his authors. His perceptive, comprehensive feedback sharpened the structure, strengthened the arguments, and enriched the stories and studies—and motivated me to rewrite three chapters from scratch. Along with shaping every sentence in the book, Kevin's guidance has fundamentally altered the way that I approach writing more generally.

At Viking, Rick Kot has gone far above and beyond the call of duty in offering his ingenuity, discerning eye, social capital, and stewardship. I feel fortunate to benefit from his support and the editorial, publicity, and marketing contributions of Catherine Boyd, Nick Bromley, Peter Chatzky, Risa Chubinsky, Carolyn Coleburn, Winnie De Moya, Andrew Duncan, Clare Ferraro, Alexis Hurley,

Whitney Peeling, Lindsay Prevette, Britney Ross, Jeff Schell, Nancy Sheppard, Michael Sigle, Dennis Swaim, and Jeannette Williams, and the givers at Napa Group, LLC.

When I first contemplated the possibility of writing this book, many colleagues provided sage advice. I am especially grateful to Jennifer Aaker, Teresa Amabile, Dan Ariely, Susan Cain, Noah Goldstein, Barry Schwartz, Marty Seligman, Richard Shell, Bob Sutton, and Dan Pink—who not only shared invaluable insights, but also came up with the title. The idea for the book itself was inspired by a discussion with Jeff Zaslow and brought to life through dialogue with Justin Berg, whose vision and expertise immensely improved the form and function.

For discerning feedback on drafts, I thank Andy Bernstein, Ann Dang, Katherine Dean, Gabe Farkas, Alex Fishman, Alyssa Gelkopf, Kelsey Hilbrich, Katie Imielska, Mansi Jain, Valentino Kim, Phil Levine, Patrice Lin, Nick LoBuglio, Michelle Lu, Sara Luchian, Lindsay Miller, Starry Peng, Andrew Roberts, Danielle Rode, Suruchi Srikanth, Joe Tennant, Ryan Villanueva, Guy Viner, Becky Wald, Teresa Wang, Catherine Wei, and Tommy Yin. For leads on stories and connections to interviewees, I sincerely appreciate the help of Cameron Anderson, Dane Barnes, Renee Bell, Tal Ben-Shahar, Jesse Beyroutey, Grace Chen, Chris Colosi, Angela Duckworth, Bill Fisse, Juliet Geldi, Tom Gerrity, Leah Haimson, Dave Heckman, Dara Kritzer, Adam Lashinsky, Laurence Lemaire, Matt Maroone, Cade Massey, Dave Mazza, Chris Myers, Meredith Myers, Jean Oelwang, Bob Post, Jon Rifkind, Gavin Riggall, Claire Robertson-Kraft, Scott Rosner, Bobbi Silten, Matt Stevens, Brandon Stuut, Jeff Thompson, Mike Useem, Jerry Wind, Amy Wrzesniewski, George Zeng, and the extraordinary anonymous givers at Riley Productions (www.rileyprods.com).

For sharing their wisdom, knowledge, and experiences in interviews, along with the people quoted in the book, I thank Antoine Andrews, Peter Avis, Bernie Banks, Colleen Barrett, Margaux Bergen, Bob Brooks, Rano Burkhanova, Jim Canales, Virginia Canino, Bob Capers, Brian Chu, Bob Coghlan, Matt Conti, Mario DiTrapani, Atul Dubey, Nicole DuPre, Marc Elliott, Scilla Elworthy, Mark Fallon, Mike Feinberg, Christy Flanagan, Mike Fossaceca, Anna Gauthier, Jeremy Gilley, Kathy Gubanich, Michelle Gyles-McDonnough, Kristen Holden, Beak Howell, Tom Jeary, Diane and Paul Jones, Rick Jones, Melanie Katzman, Colin Kelton, Richard Lack, Larry Lavery, Eric Lipton, Theresa Loth, Nic Lumpp, Dan Lyons, Sergio Magistri, Susan Mathews, Tim McConnell, David McMullen, Debby McWhinney, Rick Miller, Roy Neff, Randi Nielsen, Scott O'Neil, Jenna Osborne, Charles Pensig, Bob Post, Larry Powell, Kate Richey, Manfred Rietsch, Jon Rifkind, Larry Roberts, Clare Sanderson, Rebecca Schreuder, Bill Sherman, Scott Sherman, John Simon, Ron Skotarczak, Marijn Spillebeen, David Stewart, Craig Stock, Suzanne Sutter, Pat Sweeney, Vivek Tiwary, Vickie Tolliver, Ashley Valentine, Tony Wells, Matthew Wilkins, Yair Yoram, Jochen Zeitz, and Fatima Zorzato.

Rachel Carpenter and Erica Connelly provided a wealth of innovative ideas for spreading the word about this book, and organized a productive ideation session in which Alison Bloom-Feshbach, Zoe Epstein, Sean Griffin, Adria Hou, Katherine Howell, Ian Martinez, Scott McNulty, Annie Meyer, and Becky Wald were kind enough to participate and contribute. For spending a week keeping giver journals, I appreciate the help of Josh Berman, Charles Birnbaum, Adam Compain, Keenan Cottone, Ben Francois, Jean Lee, Josh Lipman, Charlie Mercer, Phil Neff, Mary Pettit, Matt Pohlson, Kiley Robbins, Chris Sergeant, Kara Shamy, Charlene Su, and Nina Varghese.

Many other friends, colleagues, students, and family members helped to brainstorm about the framing and content of the book, including Sam Abzug, David Adelman, Bob Adler, Sebastian

Aguilar, Tanner Almond, Michael Althoff, Dan Baker, Rangel Barbosa, Dominique Basile, Deepa Bhat, Bill Boroughf, Andrew Brodsky, Anita Butani, Lewis Chung, Constantinos Coutifaris, Cody Dashiell-Earp, Kathryn Dekas, Alex Edmans, Mehdi El Hajoui, Mark Elliott, Jerrod Engelberg, Dafna Eylon, Jackie Fleishman, Michelle Gaster, Christina Gilyutin, Guiherme Giserman, Ross Glasser, Matt Goracy, Brett Lavery Gregorka, Dan Gruber, Sheynna Hakim, Howard Heevner, Greg Hennessy, Dave Hofmann, Victoria Holekamp, Rick Horgan, John Hsu, David Jaffe, Amanda Jefferson, Nechemya Kagedan, Melissa Kamin, Jonathan Karmel, Ely Key, Jeff Kiderman, Anu Kohli, Ben Krutzinna, Amin Lakhani, Chester Lee, Amanda Liberatore, Nicole Lim, Lindsey Mathews Padrino, Amy Matsuno, Lauren Miller, Zach Miller, Josephine Mogelof, Lauren Moloney-Egnatios, David Moltz, Brian Nemiroff, Celeste Ng, Dan Oppedisano, Matt Pohlson, Georges Potworowski, Derrick Preston, Vyas Ramanan, David Rider, David Roberts, Jeremy Rosner, Juan Pablo Saldarriaga, Frances Schendle, Christine Schmidt, Margot Lee Schmorak, Ari Shwayder, Kurt Smith, Scott Sonenshein, Mike Taormina, Palmer Truelson, Jonathan Tugman, Eric Tulla, Mike Van Pelt, Jamie Wallis, Michael Wolf, Rani Yaday, Lauren Yaffe, Andrew Yahkind, and Ashley Yuki.

For their encouragement over the years, I thank Traci; Florie; my grandparents Marion and Jay Grant; my in-laws, Adrienne and Neal Sweet; and the Impact Lab. Most of all, I could not have written this book without the support of my wife, Allison. She has devoted countless hours to brainstorming, reading, discussing, and searching, and words cannot describe how much her love means to me. Every time I sat down to write, I drew on the example she sets. When it comes to giving in the family domain, she is the ultimate role model. Our daughters, Joanna and Elena, are the greatest sources of joy and meaning in my life. I am incredibly proud of them, and I hope this book will offer their generation a new perspective on what it means to succeed.

# **REFERENCES**

#### Chapter 1: Good Returns

- Opening quote: Samuel L. Clemens (aka Mark Twain), "At the Dinner to Joseph H. Choate, November 16, 1901," in *Speeches at the Lotos Club*, ed. J. Elderkin, C. S. Lord, and H. N. Fraser (New York: Lotos Club, 1911), 38.
- Story of David Hornik and Danny Shader: Personal interviews with David Hornik (January 30 and March 12, 2012) and Danny Shader (February 13, 2012).
- **preferences for reciprocity:** Edward W. Miles, John D. Hatfield, and Richard C. Huseman, "The Equity Sensitivity Construct: Potential Implications for Worker Performance," *Journal of Management* 15 (1989): 581–588.
- most people act like givers in close relationships: Margaret S. Clark and Judson Mills, "The Difference between Communal and Exchange Relationships: What It Is and Is Not," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 19 (1993): 684–691.
- people engage in a mix of giving, taking, and matching: Alan P. Fiske, Structures of Social Life: The Four Elementary Forms of Human Relations (New York: Free Press, 1991).
- world of engineering: Francis J. Flynn, "How Much Should I Give and How Often? The Effects of Generosity and Frequency of Favor Exchange on Social Status and Productivity," *Academy of Management Journal* 46 (2003): 539–553.
- medical students in Belgium: Filip Lievens, Deniz S. Ones, and Stephan Dilchert, "Personality Scale Validities Increase Throughout Medical School," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 94 (2009): 1514–1535.
- sales people in North Carolina: Adam M. Grant and Dane Barnes, "Predicting Sales Revenue" (working paper, 2011).
- givers earn 14 percent less money: Timothy A. Judge, Beth A. Livingston, and Charlice Hurst, "Do Nice Guys—and Gals—Really Finish Last? The Joint Effects of Sex and Agreeableness on Income," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102 (2012): 390–407.
- twice the risk of becoming victims of crimes: Robert J. Homant, "Risky Altruism as a Predictor of Criminal Victimization," *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 37 (2010): 1195–1216.
- judged as 22 percent less powerful and dominant: Nir Halevy, Eileen Y. Chou, Taya R. Cohen, and Robert W. Livingston, "Status Conferral in Intergroup Social Dilemmas: Behavioral Antecedents and Consequences of Prestige and Dominance," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102 (2012): 351–366.
- **envy successful takers:** Eugene Kim and Theresa M. Glomb, "Get Smarty Pants: Cognitive Ability, Personality, and Victimization," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 95 (2010): 889–901.
- "It's easier to win": Personal interview with Randy Komisar (March 30, 2012).
- "Politics": Bill Clinton, Giving: How Each of Us Can Change the World (New York: Random House, 2007), ix.
- My account of Abraham Lincoln's rise is based primarily on the riveting book by Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals:*The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006).
- more popular than any other politician: Max J. Skidmore, *Presidential Performance: A Comprehensive Review* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2004).
- <u>experts in history, political science, and psychology rated the presidents</u>: Steven J. Rubenzer and Thomas R. Faschingbauer, Personality, Character, and Leadership in the White House: Psychologists Assess the Presidents (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2004), 223.
- "valuable in a marathon": Personal interview with Chip Conley (February 24, 2012).
- "no longer have to choose": Personal interview with Bobbi Silten (February 9, 2012).
- companies regularly use teams: Paul Osterman, "Work Reorganization in an Era of Restructuring: Trends in Diffusion and Effects on Employee Welfare," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 53 (2000): 179–196; and Duncan Gallie, Ying Zhou, Alan Felstead, and Francis Green, "Teamwork, Skill Development and Employee Welfare," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 50 (2012): 23–46.

- service sector continues to expand: Adam M. Grant and Sharon K. Parker, "Redesigning Work Design Theories: The Rise of Relational and Proactive Perspectives," *Academy of Management Annals* 3 (2009): 317–375.
- financial advisers: Personal interviews with Steve Jones (July 13, 2011) and Peter Audet (December 12, 2011 and January 19, 2012).
- single most important guiding principle: Shalom H. Schwartz and Anat Bardi, "Value Hierarchies across Cultures: Taking a Similarities Perspective," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 32 (2001): 268–290.
- afraid to admit it: Personal interview with Sherryann Plesse (October 21, 2011).
- pressured to lean in the taker direction: Dale T. Miller, "The Norm of Self-Interest," *American Psychologist* 54 (1999): 1053–1060.
- putting on a business suit: see Jeffrey Sanchez-Burks, "Protestant Relational Ideology: The Cognitive Underpinnings and Organizational Implications of an American Anomaly," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 26 (2005): 267–308; and "Protestant Relational Ideology and (In)Attention to Relational Cues in Work Settings," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 83 (2002): 919–929.
- **fear of exploitation by takers:** Robert H. Frank, *Passions Within Reason: The Strategic Role of the Emotions* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), xi.
- Chapter 2: The Peacock and the Panda
- Opening quote: Coretta Scott King, The Words of Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York: Newmarket Press, 2008), 17.
- Enron: Bethany McLean and Peter Elkind, *The Smartest Guys in the Room: The Amazing Rise and Scandalous Fall of Enron* (New York: Portfolio, 2004), Mimi Swartz and Sherron Watkins, *Power Failure: The Inside Story of the Collapse of Enron* (New York: Crown, 2004); and Judy Keen, "Bush, Lay Kept Emotional Distance," *USA Today*, February 26, 2002.
- networks come with three major advantages: Brian Uzzi and Shannon Dunlap, "How to Build Your Network," *Harvard Business Review* December (2005): 53–60; and Ronald Burt, *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- **LinkedIn founder:** Reid Hoffman, "Connections with Integrity," *strategy+business*, May 29, 2012.
- **glowing first impressions of takers:** Mitja D. Back, Stefan C. Schmukle, and Boris Egloff, "Why Are Narcissists So Charming at First Sight? Decoding the Narcissism-Popularity Link at Zero Acquaintance," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98 (2010): 132–145.
- feel entitled to pursue self-serving goals: Serena Chen, Annette Y. Lee-Chai, and John A. Bargh, "Relationship Orientation as a Moderator of the Effects of Social Power," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 80 (2001): 173–187; and Katherine A. DeCelles, D. Scott DeRue, Joshua D. Margolis, and Tara L. Ceranic, "Does Power Corrupt or Enable? When and Why Power Facilitates Self-Interested Behavior," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 97 (2012): 681–689.
- <u>ultimatum game</u>: Daniel Kahneman, Jack L. Knetsch, and Richard H. Thaler, "Fairness and the Assumptions of Economics," *Journal of Business* 59 (1986): S285–S300.
- **sharing reputational information:** Matthew Feinberg, Joey Cheng, and Robb Willer, "Gossip as an Effective and Low-Cost Form of Punishment," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 35 (2012): 25; and Matthew Feinberg, Robb Willer, Jennifer Stellar, and Dacher Keltner, "The Virtues of Gossip: Reputational Information Sharing as Prosocial Behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102 (2012): 1015–1030.
- "can't pursue the benefits of networks": Wayne E. Baker, Achieving Success Through Social Capital: Tapping Hidden Resources in Your Personal and Business Networks (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000), 19.
- CEOs in computer hardware and software companies: Arijit Chatterjee and Donald C. Hambrick, "It's All about Me: Narcissistic Chief Executive Officers and Their Effects on Company Strategy and Performance," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 52 (2007): 351–386.
- "network ties are the conduits": Benjamin S. Crosier, Gregory D. Webster, and Haley M. Dillon, "Wired to Connect: Evolutionary Psychology and Social Networks," *Review of General Psychology* 16 (2012): 230–239.
- <u>Facebook profiles</u>: Laura E. Buffardi and W. Keith Campbell, "Narcissism and Social Networking Websites," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 34 (2008): 1303–1314.
- social media to catch takers: Personal interview with Howard Lee (December 11, 2011).
- more LinkedIn connections: Jessica Shambora, "Fortune's Best Networker," Fortune, February 9, 2011, accessed January 26, 2012, http://tech.fortune.cnn.com/2011/02/09/fortunes-best-networker/.
- "Adam Rifkin": Personal interviews with Adam Rifkin (January 28, 2012), Jessica Shambora (February 9, 2012), Raymond Rouf (February 16, 2012), and Eghosa Omoigui (March 14, 2012); visit to 106 Miles (May 9, 2012); Brian Norgard conversation (http://namesake.com/conversation/brian/like-welcome-ifindkarma-namesake-community); Adam Rifkin's website (http://ifindkarma.com/) and Graham Spencer's websites (www.gspencer.net).
- **norm of reciprocity:** Robert B. Cialdini, *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion* (New York: HarperBusiness, 2006).
- "It's better to give before you receive": Keith Ferrazzi and Tahl Raz, Never Eat Alone: And Other Secrets to Success, One Relationship at a Time (New York: Crown Business, 2005), 22.

- "hopes of getting something in return": Personal interview with Dan Weinstein (January 26, 2012).
- "How can I help": Guy Kawasaki interview with Warren Cass, accessed May 14, 2012, www.youtube.com/watch? feature=player embedded&v= OsWvp2X8gk.
- "weak ties": Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited," *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201–233. *pronoia*: Fred H. Goldner, "Pronoia," *Social Problems* 30 (1982): 82–91; and personal interview with Brian Little (January 24, 2011).
- dormant ties: Daniel Z. Levin, Jorge Walter, and J. Keith Murnighan, "Dormant Ties: The Value of Reconnecting," *Organization Science* 22 (2011): 923–939; and "The Power of Reconnection: How Dormant Ties Can Surprise You," *MIT Sloan Management Review* 52 (2011): 45–50.
- <u>energy through networks</u>: Rob Cross, Wayne Baker, and Andrew Parker, "What Creates Energy in Organizations?" *MIT Sloan Management Review* 44 (2003): 51–56.
- "someone else will do something for me down the road": Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 21.
- giving can be contagious: James H. Fowler and Nicholas A. Christakis, "Cooperative Behavior Cascades in Human Social Networks," *PNAS* 107 (2010): 5334–5338.
- **consistent givers:** J. Mark Weber and J. Keith Murnighan, "Suckers or Saviors? Consistent Contributors in Social Dilemmas," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 95 (2008) 1340–1353.
- **professional engineers:** Francis J. Flynn, "How Much Should I Give and How Often? The Effects of Generosity and Frequency of Favor Exchange on Social Status and Productivity," *Academy of Management Journal* 46 (2003): 539–553.

### Chapter 3: The Ripple Effect

- Opening quote: John Andrew Holmes, Wisdom in Small Doses (Lincoln, NE: The University Publishing Company, 1927).
- George Meyer: David Owen, "Taking Humor Seriously: George Meyer, the Funniest Man behind the Funniest Show on TV," *New Yorker*, March 13, 2000; Simon Vozick-Levinson, "For *Simpsons* Writer Meyer, Comedy Is No Laughing Matter," *Harvard Crimson*, June 4, 2003; Eric Spitznagel, "George Meyer," *Believer*, September 2004; Mike Sacks, *And Here's the Kicker: Conversations with 21 Top Humor Writers on Their Craft* (Cincinnati: Writers Digest Books, 2009); and personal interviews with Meyer (June 21, 2012), Tim Long (June 22, 2012), Carolyn Omine (June 27, 2012), and Don Payne (July 12, 2012).
- geniuses and genius makers: Liz Wiseman and Greg McKeown, *Multipliers: How the Best Leaders Make Everyone Smarter* (New York: HarperBusiness, 2010).
- **highly creative people:** Donald W. MacKinnon, "The Nature and Nurture of Creative Talent," *American Psychologist* 17 (1962): 484–495; and "Personality and the Realization of Creative Potential," *American Psychologist* 20 (1965): 273–281.
- creative scientists: Gregory Feist, "A Structural Model of Scientific Eminence," *Psychological Science* 4 (1993): 366–371; and "A Meta-Analysis of Personality in Scientific and Artistic Creativity," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 2 (1998): 290–309
- Frank Lloyd Wright: Roger Friedland and Harold Zellman, *The Fellowship: The Untold Story of Frank Lloyd Wright and the Taliesin Fellowship* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 138; Ed de St. Aubin, "Truth Against the World: A Psychobiographical Exploration of Generativity in the Life of Frank Lloyd Wright," in *Generativity and Adult Development: How and Why We Care for the Next Generation*, ed. Dan P. McAdams and Ed de St. Aubin (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1998), 402 and 408; Christopher Hawthorne, "At Wright's Taliesin, Maybe the Walls Can Talk," *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 2006; and Brendan Gill, *Many Masks: A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: De Capo Press, 1998), 334.
- **Edgar Tafel:** Joan Altabe, "Fallingwater Is Falling Apart," *Gadfly Online*, February 18, 2002; see also Hugh Pearman, "How Many Wrights Make a Wrong?" *Sunday Times Magazine*, June 12, 2005.
- <u>cardiac surgeons</u>: Robert Huckman and Gary Pisano, "The Firm Specificity of Individual Performance: Evidence from Cardiac Surgery," *Management Science* 52 (2006): 473–488.
- Star analysts: Boris Groysberg, Linda-Eling Lee, and Ashish Nanda, "Can They Take It with Them? The Portability of Star Knowledge Workers' Performance," *Management Science* 54 (2008): 1213–1230; and Boris Groysberg and Linda-Eling Lee, "The Effect of Colleague Quality on Top Performance: The Case of Security Analysts," *Journal* of *Organizational Behavior* 29 (2008): 1123–1144.
- interdependence as a sign of weakness: MarYam G. Hamedani, Hazel R. Markus, and Alyssa S. Fu, "My Nation, My Self:

  Divergent Framings of America Influence American Selves," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37 (2011): 350–364.
- this makes their groups better off: Nathan P. Podsakoff, Steven W. Whiting, Philip M. Podsakoff, and Brian D. Blume, "Individual-and Organizational-Level Consequences of Organizational Citizenship Behaviors: A Meta-Analysis," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 94 (2009): 122–141; and Philip M. Podsakoff, Scott B. MacKenzie, Julie B. Paine, and Daniel G. Bachrach, "Organizational Citizenship Behaviors: A Critical Review of the Theoretical and Empirical Literature and Suggestions for Future Research," *Journal of Management* 26 (2000): 513–563.
- expedition behavior: Personal interviews with Jeff Ashby (July 9, 2012) and John Kanengieter (July 13, 2012).
- no longer have a target on their backs: Eugene Kim and Theresa M. Glomb, "Get Smarty Pants: Cognitive Ability, Personality, and

- Victimization," Journal of Applied Psychology 95 (2010): 889–901.
- <u>revealed his skills</u>: Sabrina Deutsch Salamon and Yuval Deutsch, "OCB as a Handicap: An Evolutionary Psychological Perspective," *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 27 (2006): 185–199.
- idiosyncrasy credits: Edwin P. Hollander, "Conformity, Status, and Idiosyncrasy Credit," *Psychological Review* 65 (1958): 117–127; see also Charlie L. Hardy and Mark Van Vugt, "Nice Guys Finish First: The Competitive Altruism Hypothesis," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 32 (2006): 1402–1413.
- **Berkeley sociologist:** Robb Willer, "Groups Reward Individual Sacrifice: The Status Solution to the Collective Action Problem," *American Sociological Review* 74 (2009): 23–43.
- **givers get extra credit:** Adam M. Grant, Sharon Parker, and Catherine Collins, "Getting Credit for Proactive Behavior: Supervisor Reactions Depend on What You Value and How You Feel," *Personnel Psychology* 62 (2009): 31–55.
- study of Slovenian companies: Matej Cerne, Christina Nerstad, Anders Dysvik, and Miha Škerlavaj, "What Goes Around Comes Around: Knowledge Hiding, Perceived Motivational Climate, and Creativity," *Academy of Management Journal* (forthcoming).
- Jonas Salk: David Oshinsky, Polio: An American Story (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 205–206 and 208.
- "evil father figure": Douglas Heuck, "A Talk with Salk Sheds Wisdom," Pittsburgh Quarterly, Winter 2006.
- rare comments about the incident: Academy of Achievement, "Jonas Salk Interview," May 16, 1991, accessed March 15, 2012, http://www.achievement.org/autodoc/page/sal0int-4, and Paul Offit, *The Cutter Incident: How America's First Polio Vaccine Led to the Growing Vaccine Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 57.
- Peter Salk: Luis Fábregas, "Salk's Son Extends Olive Branch to Polio Team," Pittsburgh Tribune, April 13, 2005.
- <u>responsibility bias</u>: Michael Ross and Fiore Sicoly, "Egocentric Biases in Availability and Attribution," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 37 (1979): 322–336.
- top words: Mark Peters and Daniel O'Brien, "From Cromulent to Craptacular: The Top 12 *Simpsons* Created Words," Cracked.com, July 23, 2007; and Ben Zimmer, "The 'Meh' Generation: How an Expression of Apathy Invaded America," *Boston Globe*, February 26, 2012.
- reflect on each member's contributions: Eugene M. Caruso, Nicholas Epley, and Max H. Bazerman, "The Costs and Benefits of Undoing Egocentric Responsibility Assessments in Groups," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 91 (2006): 857–871.
- recognize what other people contribute: Michael McCall, "Orientation, Outcome, and Other-Serving Attributions," *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 17 (1995): 49–64.
- psychological safety: Amy Edmondson, "Learning from Mistakes is Easier Said Than Done: Group and Organizational Influences on the Detection and Correction of Human Error," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 32 (1996): 5–28; and "Psychological Safety and Learning Behavior in Work Teams," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 44 (1999): 350–383.
- major role in innovation: David Obstfeld, "Social Networks, the Tertius Iungens Orientation, and Involvement in Innovation," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 50 (2005): 100–130.
- perspective gap: Loran F. Nordgren, Mary-Hunter Morris McDonnell, and George Loewenstein, "What Constitutes Torture? Psychological Impediments to an Objective Evaluation of Enhanced Interrogation Tactics," *Psychological Science* 22 (2011): 689–694.
- San Francisco hospital: Robert Burton, "Pathological Certitude," in *Pathological Altruism*, ed. Barbara Oakley et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 131–137; Natalie Angier, "The Pathological Altruist Gives Till Someone Hurts," *New York Times*, October 3, 2011; and personal interview with Burton (February 23, 2012).
- put themselves in other people's shoes: Adam M. Grant and James Berry, "The Necessity of Others Is the Mother of Invention: Intrinsic and Prosocial Motivations, Perspective-Taking, and Creativity," *Academy of Management Journal* 54 (2011): 73–96.
- <u>registry gifts and unique gifts</u>: Francesca Gino and Francis J. Flynn, "Give Them What They Want: The Benefits of Explicitness in Gift Exchange," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 47 (2011): 915–922.
- tend to stay within our own frames of reference: C. Daniel Batson, Shannon Early, and Giovanni Salvarani, "Perspective Taking: Imagining How Another Feels Versus Imagining How You Would Feel," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23 (1997): 751–758.
- **goldfish crackers over broccoli:** Betty Repacholi and Alison Gopnik, "Early Reasoning about Desires: Evidence from 14- and 18- Month-Olds," *Developmental Psychology* 33 (1997): 12–21."
- younger siblings: Beatrice Whiting and John Whiting, Children of Six Cultures: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), David Winter, "The Power Motive in Women—and Men," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 54 (1988): 510–519; Frank J. Sulloway, Born to Rebel: Birth Order, Family Dynamics, and Creative Lives (New York: Vintage Books, 1997); and Paul A. M. Van Lange, Wilma Otten, Ellen M. N. De Bruin, and Jeffrey A. Joireman, "Development of Prosocial, Individualistic, and Competitive Orientations: Theory and Preliminary Evidence," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 73 (1997): 733–746.
- "It is amazing": de St. Aubin, 405.

- Reggie Love: Personal interview (May 28, 2012); and Peter Baker, "Education of a President," *New York Times*, October 12, 2010; David Picker, "Amazing Ride Nears End for 'First Brother' Reggie Love," *ABC News*, November 22, 2011; Jodi Kantor, "Leaving Obama's Shadow, to Cast One of His Own," *New York Times*, November 10, 2011; and Noreen Malone, "Obama Still Hasn't Replaced Reggie Love," *New York Magazine*, February 16, 2012.
- C. J. Skender: Personal interviews with Skender (January 16 and April 30, 2012), Beth Traynham (May 4, 2012), Marie Arcuri (May 5, 2012), and David Moltz (May 10, 2012); see also Megan Tucker, "By the Book, Sort of . . ." Business Week, September 20, 2006; Kim Nielsen, "The Last Word: C. J. Skender, CPA," Journal of Accountancy, April 2008; Patrick Adams, "The Entertainer," Duke Magazine, March 4, 2004; and Nicki Jhabvala, "Road Trip: UNC," Sports Illustrated, November 8, 2006.
- <u>Israel Defense Forces</u>: Dov Eden, "Pygmalion without Interpersonal Contrast Effects: Whole Groups Gain from Raising Manager Expectations," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 75 (1990): 394–398, and "Self-Fulfilling Prophecies in Organizations," in *Organizational Behavior: State of the Science*, ed. J. Greenberg (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2003), 91–122.
- intellectual blooming: Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, "Teachers' Expectancies: Determinants of Pupils' IQ Gains,"

  Psychological Reports 19 (1966): 115–118; and Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development (New York: Crown, 2003).
- "Self-fulfilling prophecies": Lee Jussim and Kent Harber, "Teacher Expectations and Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Knowns and Unknowns, Resolved and Unresolved Controversies," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 9 (2005): 131–155.
- **employees bloomed:** D. Brian McNatt, "Ancient Pygmalion Joins Contemporary Management: A Meta-Analysis of the Result," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 85 (2000): 314–322.
- low expectations trigger a vicious cycle: Jennifer Carson Marr, Stefan Thau, Karl Aquino, and Laurie J. Barclay, "Do I Want to Know? How the Motivation to Acquire Relationship-Threatening Information in Groups Contributes to Paranoid Thought, Suspicion Behavior, and Social Rejection," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 117 (2012): 285–297; and Detlef Fetchenhauer and David Dunning, "Why So Cynical? Asymmetric Feedback Underlies Misguided Skepticism Regarding the Trustworthiness of Others," *Psychological Science* 21 (2010): 189–193; see also Fabrizio Ferraro, Jeffrey Pfeffer, and Robert I. Sutton, "Economics Language and Assumptions: How Theories Can Become Self-Fulfilling," *Academy of Management Review* 30 (2005): 8–24.
- new auditors: D. Brian McNatt and Timothy A. Judge, "Boundary Conditions of the Galatea Effect: A Field Experiment and Constructive Replication," *Academy of Management Journal* 47 (2004): 550–565.
- investment theory of intelligence: Raymond Cattell, *Abilities: Their Structure, Growth, and Action* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), and *Intelligence: Its Structure, Growth, and Action* (New York: Elsevier, 1987); see also Frank Schmidt, "A Theory of Sex Differences in Technical Aptitude and Some Supporting Evidence," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 6 (2011): 560–573.
- <u>landmark study of world-class musicians, scientists, and athletes</u>: Benjamin Bloom, *Developing Talent in Young People* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1985), 173.
- "traced the lineage of the world's most beautiful swans": Daniel Coyle, The Talent Code: Greatness Isn't Born. It's Grown. Here's How. (New York: Bantam, 2009), 173.
- ten thousand hours of deliberate practice: Malcolm Gladwell, *Outliers: The Story of Success* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2008); and K. Anders Ericsson and Neil Charness, "Expert Performance: Its Structure and Acquisition," *American Psychologist* 49 (1994), 725–747.
- *grit*: Angela L. Duckworth, Christopher Peterson, Michael D. Matthews, and Dennis R. Kelly, "Grit: Perseverance and Passion for Long-Term Goals," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 92 (2007): 1087–1101.
- "you can't take motivation for granted": George Anders, *The Rare Find: Spotting Exceptional Talent Before Everyone Else* (New York: Portfolio, 2011), 212.
- Stu Inman: Wayne Thompson, Blazermania: This Is Our Story—The Official History of the Portland Trail Blazers (San Rafael, CA: Insight Editions, 2010); and "My Memories of Stu Inman," NBA.com, 2007, accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.nba.com/blazers/news/My\_memories\_of\_Stu\_Inman-208239-1218.html; Jack Ramsay, "Stu Inman was an Old-School Pro," ESPN, 2007, accessed May 14, 2012, https://m.espn.go.com/nba/story?storyId=2750878; Steve Duin, "Stu Inman: The Ultimate Class Act," The Oregonian, January 30, 2007; Mandy Major, "Dr. Ogilvie Was an Acclaimed Pioneer in Sports Psychology," Los Gatos Weekly Times, July 23, 2003; Chris Tomasson, "LaRue Martin's Story Proves One of Redemption, Success," AOL News, January 25, 2011, accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.aolnews.com/2011/01/25/larue-martins-story-proves-one-of-redemption-success/; and "Ultimate Rebound: Draft Bust LaRue Martin Lands NBA Gig," AOL News, February 21, 2011, accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.aolnews.com/2011/02/21/ultimate-rebounddraft-bust-larue-martin-lands-nba-gig/; Jerry Sullivan, "NBA Scouts Are Learning to Think Small," Los Angeles Times, March 11, 1989; Stats LLC, "Stu Inman, Architect of Trail Blazers' Title Team, Dies at 80," Associated Press, January 31, 2007; Rob Kremer, "Stu Inman, RIP" Blogspot, January 31, 2007, accessed May 14, 2012, http://robkremer.blogspot.com/2007/01/stu-inman-rip.html; Dwight Jaynes,

"Pioneer Blazer Won with Character," Portland Tribune, February 2, 2007; Tommie Smith and David Steele, Silent Gesture:

- The Autobiography of Tommie Smith (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), 84; Filip Bondy, Tip-off: How the 1984 NBA Draft Changed Basketball Forever (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2007), 114; Frank Coffey, The Pride of Portland: The Story of the Trail Blazers (New York: Everest House, 1980); Chris Ballard, Chuck Wielgus, Clark Kellogg, and Alexander Wolff, Hoops Nation: A Guide to America's Best Pickup Basketball (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); and a personal interview with Thompson (May 14, 2012).
- teams couldn't let go of their big bets: Barry M. Staw and Ha Hoang, "Sunk Costs in the NBA: Why Draft Order Affects Playing Time and Survival in Professional Basketball," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 40 (1995): 474–494; see also Colin F. Camerer and Roberto A. Weber, "The Econometrics and Behavioral Economics of Escalation of Commitment in NBA Draft Choices," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 39 (1999): 59–82.
- why and when escalation of commitment happens: Dustin J. Sleesman, Donald E. Conlon, Gerry McNamara, and Jonathan E. Miles, "Cleaning Up the Big Muddy: A Meta-Analytic Review of the Determinants of Escalation of Commitment," *Academy of Management Journal* 55 (2012): 541–562.
- <u>California bank customers defaulted on loans</u>: Barry M. Staw, Sigal G. Barsade, and Kenneth W. Koput, "Escalation at the Credit Window: A Longitudinal Study of Bank Executives' Recognition and Write-off of Problem Loans," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 82 (1997): 130–142.
- invest \$1 million in a plane: Henry Moon, "The Two Faces of Conscientiousness: Duty and Achievement Striving in Escalation of Commitment Dilemmas," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 86 (2001): 533–540.
- "keep the prospect of failure hidden": Bruce M. Meglino and M. Audrey Korsgaard, "Considering Rational Self-Interest as a Disposition: Organizational Implications of Other Orientation," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89 (2004): 946–959; and M. Audrey Korsgaard, Bruce M. Meglino, and Scott W. Lester, "Beyond Helping: Do Other-Oriented Values Have Broader Implications in Organizations?" *Journal of Applied Psychology* 82 (1997): 160–177.
- choosing on behalf of others: Laura Kray and Richard Gonzalez, "Differential Weighting in Choice Versus Advice: I'll Do This, You Do That," *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making* 12 (1999): 207–217; Laura Kray, "Contingent Weighting in Self-Other Decision Making," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 83 (2000): 82–106; and Evan Polman and Kyle J. Emich, "Decisions for Others Are More Creative than Decisions for the Self," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37 (2011): 492–501.
- **Bob Gross:** Wayne Thompson, "Bob Gross: Moving Without the Ball," NBA.com, accessed May 14, 2012, http://www.nba.com/blazers/news/Bob\_Gross\_Moving\_Without\_The\_-292398-1218.html; Kyle Laggner, "Former Blazers' Forward Bobby Gross Leaves a Lasting Impression," *Oregonian*, December 17, 2008; and Jews in Sports profile, accessed May 14, 2012, www.jewsinsports.org/profile.asp?sport=basket ball&ID=358.
- givers are willing to work harder and longer: Adam M. Grant, "Does Intrinsic Motivation Fuel the Prosocial Fire? Motivational Synergy in Predicting Persistence, Performance, and Productivity," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93 (2008): 48–58.
- **Def Jam Records:** Personal interview with Russell Simmons (June 26, 2012), and Russell Simmons and Chris Morrow, *Do You: 12 Laws to Access the Power in You to Achieve Happiness and Success* (New York: Penguin, 2008), 156–157.
- <u>Clyde Drexler</u>: Clyde Drexler and Kerry Eggers, *Clyde the Glide: My Life in Basketball* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2011), 109–114.
- Michael Jordan: Michael Leahy, When Nothing Else Matters: Michael Jordan's Last Comeback (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005); Sam Smith, The Jordan Rules (New York: Mass Market, 1993); Jack McCallum, Dream Team: How Michael, Magic, Larry, Charles, and the Greatest Team of All Time Conquered the World and Changed the Game of Basketball Forever (New York: Ballantine Books, 2012); ESPN Chicago, "Charles Barkley Critical of Jordan," March 1, 2012, accessed May 28, 2012, http://espn.go.com/chicago/nba/story/\_/id/7634685/charles-barkley-michael-jordan-executive-not-done-good-job; and Rick Reilly, "Be Like Michael Jordan? No Thanks," ESPN, September 19, 2009, accessed May 28, 2012, http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/columns/story?columnist=reilly\_rick&id=4477759.
- **Dean Smith:** Bondy, *Tip-off*, 3.
- <u>"Talented people are attracted to those who care about them"</u>: Personal interview with Chris Granger (June 26, 2012).
- "champion great talent: Anders, 246–247.
- Chapter 5: The Power of Powerless Communication
- Opening quote: Theodore Roosevelt, "Letter to Henry R. Sprague," *American Treasures of the Library of Congress*, January 26, 1900.
- <u>Dave Walton</u>: Hayes Hunt, "The King's Speech: A Trial Lawyer's Stutter," *From the Sidebar*, March 3, 2011, and personal interviews with Walton (September 6 and December 15, 2011, and March 9, 2012).
- <u>success depends heavily on influence skills</u>: Daniel Pink, *To Sell Is Human: The Surprising Truth About Moving Others* (New York: Riverhead, 2012).
- dominance and prestige: Nir Halevy, Eileen Y. Chou, Taya R. Cohen, and Robert W. Livingston, "Status Conferral in Intergroup Social Dilemmas: Behavioral Antecedents and Consequences of Prestige and Dominance," *Journal of Personality and Social*

- Psychology 102 (2012): 351-366.
- people expect us to communicate powerfully: Susan Cain, Quiet: The Power of Introverts in a World That Can't Stop Talking (New York: Crown, 2012).
- comfortable expressing vulnerability: see M. Audrey Korsgaard, Bruce M. Meglino, and W. Scott Lester, "Beyond Helping: Do Other-Oriented Values Have Broader Implications in Organizations?" *Journal of Applied Psychology* 82 (1997): 160–177; and Michael C. Ashton and Kibeom Lee, "Empirical, Theoretical, and Practical Advantages of the HEXACO Model of Personality Structure," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 11 (2007): 150–166.
- pratfall effect: Elliot Aronson, Ben Willerman, and Joanne Floyd, "The Effect of a Pratfall on Increasing Interpersonal Attractiveness," *Psychonomic Science* 4 (1966): 227–228; and Robert Helmreich, Elliot Aronson, and James LeFan, "To Err Is Humanizing—Sometimes: Effects of Self-Esteem, Competence, and a Pratfall on Interpersonal Attraction," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 16 (1970): 259–264.
- bottom of the social responsibility list: Robert H. Frank, "What Price the Moral High Ground?" Southern Economic Journal 63 (1996): 1–17.
- **Bill Grumbles:** Personal interview (October 4, 2011).
- joy of talking: James Pennebaker, Opening Up: The Healing Power of Expressing Emotions (New York: Guilford Press, 1997), 3.
- top-selling optician: Personal interviews with Kildare Escoto (August 23 and 28, 2011) and Nancy Phelps (August 23, 2011).
- hundreds of opticians: Adam M. Grant and Dane Barnes, "Predicting Sales Revenue" (working paper, 2011).
- expert negotiators: Neil Rackham, "The Behavior of Successful Negotiators," in *Negotiation: Readings, Exercises, and Cases*, ed. R. Lewicki, B. Barry, and D. M. Saunders (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007).
- <u>insurance salespeople</u>: Philip M. Podsakoff, Scott B. MacKenzie, Julie B. Paine, and Daniel G. Bachrach, "Organizational Citizenship Behaviors: A Critical Review of the Theoretical and Empirical Literature and Suggestions for Future Research," *Journal of Management* 26 (2000): 513–563.
- pharmaceutical salespeople: Carl J. Thoresen, Jill C. Bradley, Paul D. Bliese, and Joseph D. Thoresen, "The Big Five Personality Traits and Individual Job Performance Growth Trajectories in Maintenance and Transitional Job Stages," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89 (2004): 835–853.
- salespeople responsible for women's products: Fernando Jaramillo and Douglas B. Grisaffe, "Does Customer Orientation Impact Objective Sales Performance? Insights from a Longitudinal Model in Direct Selling," *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management XXIX* (2009): 167–178.
- planning to vote: Anthony G. Greenwald, Catherine G. Carnot, Rebecca Beach, and Barbara Young, "Increasing Voting Behavior by Asking People if They Expect to Vote," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 72 (1987): 315–318.
- we get suspicious: Marian Friestad and Peter Wright, "The Persuasion Knowledge Model: How People Cope with Persuasion Attempts," *Journal of Consumer Research* 21 (1994): 1–31; Jack Brehm, *A Theory of Psychological Reactance* (New York: Academic Press, 1966); and John Biondo and A. P. MacDonald Jr., "Internal-External Locus of Control and Response to Influence Attempts," *Journal of Personality* 39 (1971): 407–419.
- **self-persuasion:** Elliot Aronson, "The Power of Self-Persuasion," *American Psychologist* 54 (1999): 875–884.
- <u>intention questions</u>: Patti Williams, Gavan Fitzsimons, and Lauren Block, "When Consumers Do Not Recognize 'Benign' Intention Questions and Persuasion Attempts," *Journal of Consumer Research* 31 (2004): 540–550.
- **Don Lane:** Personal interviews (December 16, 2011, and March 30, 2012).
- talking tentatively: Alison R. Fragale, "The Power of Powerless Speech: The Effects of Speech Style and Task Interdependence on Status Conferral," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 101 (2006): 243–261; see also Uma R. Karmarkar and Zakary L. Tormala, "Believe Me, I Have No Idea What I'm Talking About: The Effects of Source Certainty on Consumer Involvement and Persuasion," *Journal of Consumer Research* 36 (2010): 1033–1049.
- <u>Disclaimer</u>: Amani El-Alayli, Christoffer J. Myers, Tamara L. Petersen, and Amy L. Lystad, "I Don't Mean to Sound Arrogant, But . . . The Effects of Using Disclaimers on Person Perception," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 34 (2008): 130–143.
- **Barton Hill:** Personal interview (March 19, 2012).
- psychologists in California: Cameron Anderson and Gavin J. Kilduff, "Why Do Dominant Personalities Attain Influence in Face-to-Face Groups? The Competence-Signaling Effects of Trait Dominance," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 96 (2009): 491–503.
- <u>Psychologists in Amsterdam</u>: Barbora Nevicka, Femke S. Ten Velden, Annebel H. B. de Hoogh, and Annelies E. M. Van Vianen, "Reality at Odds with Perception: Narcissistic Leaders and Group Performance," *Psychological Science* 22 (2011): 1259–1264.
- <u>pizza franchises</u>: Adam M. Grant, Francesca Gino, and David A. Hofmann, "Reversing the Extraverted Leadership Advantage: The Role of Employee Proactivity," *Academy of Management Journal* 54 (2011): 528–550.
- research scientist: Personal interview with Annie (June 13, 2012).
- <u>exercising influence when we lack authority:</u> Katie A. Liljenquist, "Resolving the Impression Management Dilemma: The Strategic Benefits of Soliciting Others for Advice" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2010); and Katie A. Liljenquist and Adam

- Galinsky, "Turn Your Adversary into Your Advocate," Negotiation (2007): 4-6.
- effective ways to influence: Gary Yukl and J. Bruce Tracey, "Consequences of Influence Tactics Used with Subordinates, Peers, and the Boss," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 77 (1992): 525–535; and Gary Yukl, Helen Kim, and Cecilia M. Falbe, "Antecedents of Influence Outcomes," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 81 (1996): 309–317.
- **Board seats:** Ithai Stern and James D. Westphal, "Stealthy Footsteps to the Boardroom: Executives' Backgrounds, Sophisticated Interpersonal Influence Behavior, and Board Appointments," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55 (2010): 278–319.
- <u>regularly seek advice and help</u>: Arie Nadler, Shmuel Ellis, and Iris Bar, "To Seek or Not to Seek: The Relationship between Help Seeking and Job Performance Evaluations as Moderated by Task-Relevant Expertise," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 33 (2003): 91–109.
- "As a favor to me": Jon Jecker and David Landy, "Liking a Person as a Function of Doing Him a Favour," *Human Relations* 22 (1969): 371–378.
- "He that has once done you a kindness": Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Dover, 1868/1996), 80.
- "fundamental rule for winning friends": Walter Isaacson, "Poor Richard's Flattery," New York Times, July 14, 2003.

### Chapter 6: The Art of Motivation Maintenance

- Opening quote: Herbert Simon, "Altruism and Economics," American Economic Review 83 (1993): 157.
- what motivates highly successful givers: Jeremy A. Frimer, Lawrence J. Walker, William L. Dunlop, Brenda H. Lee, and Amanda Riches, "The Integration of Agency and Communion in Moral Personality: Evidence of Enlightened Self-Interest," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 101 (2011): 149–163.
- <u>pathological altruism</u>: Barbara Oakley, Ariel Knafo, and Michael McGrath, eds., *Pathological Altruism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- "failing to study": Vicki S. Helgeson and Heidi L. Fritz, "The Implications of Unmitigated Agency and Unmitigated Communion for Domains of Problem Behavior," *Journal of Personality* 68 (2000): 1031-1057.
- completely independent motivations: Adam M. Grant and David M. Mayer, "Good Soldiers and Good Actors: Prosocial and Impression Management Motives as Interactive Predictors of Affiliative Citizenship Behaviors," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 94 (2009): 900–912; Adam M. Grant and James Berry, "The Necessity of Others Is the Mother of Invention: Intrinsic and Prosocial Motivations, Perspective-Taking, and Creativity," *Academy of Management Journal* 54 (2011): 73–96; and Carsten K. W. De Dreu and Aukje Nauta, "Self-Interest and Other-Orientation in Organizational Behavior: Implications for Job Performance, Prosocial Behavior, and Personal Initiative," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 94 (2009): 913–926.
- "two great forces of human nature": Bill Gates, "Creative Capitalism," World Economic Forum, January 24, 2008.
- Overbrook: Steve Volk, "Top 10 Drug Corners," *Philadelphia Weekly*, May 2, 2007, and Ledyard King, "Program to Identify Most Dangerous Schools Misses Mark," *USA Today*, January 18, 2007.
- **Conrey Callahan:** Personal interview (January 26, 2012).
- **job burnout:** Christina Maslach, Wilmar Schaufeli, and Michael Leiter, "Job Burnout," *Annual Review of Psychology* 52 (2001): 397–422
- call center: Adam M. Grant, Elizabeth M. Campbell, Grace Chen, Keenan Cottone, David Lapedis, and Karen Lee, "Impact and the Art of Motivation Maintenance: The Effects of Contact with Beneficiaries on Persistence Behavior," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 103 (2007): 53–67; Adam M. Grant, "The Significance of Task Significance: Job Performance Effects, Relational Mechanisms, and Boundary Conditions," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 93 (2008): 108–124; Adam M. Grant, "Employees Without a Cause: The Motivational Effects of Prosocial Impact in Public Service," *International Public Management Journal* 11 (2008): 48–66; and Adam M. Grant and Francesca Gino, "A Little Thanks Goes a Long Way: Explaining Why Gratitude Expressions Motivate Prosocial Behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98 (2010): 946–955.
- compassion fatigue: Olga Klimecki and Tania Singer, "Empathic Distress Fatigue Rather Than Compassion Fatigue? Integrating Findings from Empathy Research in Psychology and Social Neuroscience," in *Pathological Altruism*, ed. Barbara Oakley et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 368–384; and Richard Shultz et al., "Patient Suffering and Caregiver Compassion: New Opportunities for Research, Practice, and Policy," *Gerontologist* 47 (2007): 4–13.
- outsourcing inspiration: Adam M. Grant and David A. Hofmann, "Outsourcing Inspiration: The Performance Effects of Ideological Messages from Leaders and Beneficiaries," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 116 (2011): 173–187.
- buffer against stress: Adam M. Grant and Elizabeth M. Campbell, "Doing Good, Doing Harm, Being Well and Burning Out: The Interactions of Perceived Prosocial and Antisocial Impact in Service Work," *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 80 (2007): 665–691; Adam M. Grant and Sabine Sonnentag, "Doing Good Buffers Against Feeling Bad: Prosocial Impact Compensates for Negative Task and Self-Evaluations," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 111 (2010): 13–22.
- radiologists: Yehonatan Turner, Shuli Silberman, Sandor Joffe, and Irith Hadas-Halpern, "The Effect of Adding a Patient's Photograph

- to the Radiographic Examination," Annual Meeting of the Radiological Society of North America (2008).
- <u>Italian nurses:</u> Nicola Bellé, "Experimental Evidence on the Relationship between Public Service Motivation and Job Performance," *Public Administration Review* (forthcoming).
- Wells Fargo and Medtronic: Personal interviews with Ben Soccorsy (January 10, 2012) and Bill George (March 9, 2010).
- Anitra Karsten: see Ellen J. Langer, Mindfulness (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1989), 136.
- give continually without concern for their own well-being: Vicki S. Helgeson, "Relation of Agency and Communion to Well-Being: Evidence and Potential Explanations," *Psychological Bulletin* 116 (1994): 412–428; Heidi L. Fritz and Vicki S. Helgeson, "Distinctions of Unmitigated Communion from Communion: Self-Neglect and Overinvolvement with Others," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75 (1998): 121–140; and Vicki S. Helgeson and Heidi L. Fritz, "Unmitigated Agency and Unmitigated Communion: Distinctions from Agency and Communion," *Journal of Research in Personality* 33 (1999): 131–158.
- <u>random acts of kindness</u>: Sonja Lyubomirsky, Kennon Sheldon, and David Schkade, "Pursuing Happiness: The Architecture of Sustainable Change," *Review of General Psychology* 9 (2005): 111–131.
- overloaded and stressed: Mark C. Bolino and William H. Turnley, "The Personal Costs of Citizenship Behavior: The Relationship between Individual Initiative and Role Overload, Job Stress, and Work-Family Conflict," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 90 (2005): 740–748.
- equilibrium: Madoka Kumashiro, Caryl E. Rusbult, and Eli J. Finkel, "Navigating Personal and Relational Concerns: The Quest for Equilibrium," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 95 (2008): 94–110.
- <u>visible in our writing</u>: James Pennebaker, *The Secret Life of Pronouns: What Our Words Say About Us* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011), 13.
- **software engineers:** Leslie A. Perlow, "The Time Famine: Toward a Sociology of Work Time," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 44 (1999): 57–81.
- **Sean Hagerty:** Personal interview (April 26, 2012).
- Australian adults: Timothy D. Windsor, Kaarin J. Anstey, and Bryan Rodgers, "Volunteering and Psychological Well-Being among Young-Old Adults: How Much Is Too Much?" *Gerontologist* 48 (2008): 59–70.
- American adults: Ming-Ching Luoh and A. Regula Herzog, "Individual Consequences of Volunteer and Paid Work in Old Age: Health and Mortality," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 43 (2002): 490–509; see also Terry Y. Lum and Elizabeth Lightfoot, "The Effects of Volunteering on the Physical and Mental Health of Older People," *Research on Aging* 27 (2005): 31–55.
- <u>diminishing returns</u>: Jonathan E. Booth, Kyoung Won Park, and Theresa M. Glomb, "Employer-Supported Volunteering Benefits: Gift Exchange Among Employers, Employees, and Volunteer Organizations," *Human Resource Management* 48 (2009): 227–249.
- giving has an energizing effect: Netta Weinstein and Richard M. Ryan, "When Helping Helps: Autonomous Motivation for Prosocial Behavior and Its Influence on Well-Being for the Helper and Recipient," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98 (2010): 222–244.
- **fire fighters and fund-raising callers:** Adam M. Grant, "Does Intrinsic Motivation Fuel the Prosocial Fire? Motivational Synergy in Predicting Persistence, Performance, and Productivity," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 93 (2008): 48–58.
- emotional boost from giving doesn't always kick in right away: Sabine Sonnentag and Adam M. Grant, "Doing Good at Work Feels Good at Home, But Not Right Away: When and Why Perceived Prosocial Impact Predicts Positive Affect," *Personnel Psychology* 65 (2012): 495–530.
- **robust antidote to burnout:** Jonathon R. B. Halbesleben, "Sources of Social Support and Burnout: A Meta-Analytic Test of the Conservation of Resources Model," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 91 (2006): 1134–1145.
- **started to burn out:** Jonathon R. B. Halbesleben and Wm. Matthew Bowler, "Emotional Exhaustion and Job Performance: The Mediating Role of Motivation," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 92 (2007): 93–106.
- tend and befriend: Shelley E. Taylor, "Tend and Befriend: Biobehavioral Bases of Affiliation Under Stress," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 15 (2006): 273–277; see also Bernadette von Dawans, Urs Fischbacher, Clemens Kirschbaum, Ernst Fehr, and Markus Henrichs, "The Social Dimension of Stress Reactivity: Acute Stress Increases Prosocial Behavior in Humans," *Psychological Science* 23 (2012): 651–660.
- health professionals: Dirk van Dierendonck, Wilmar B. Schaufeli, and Bram P. Buunk, "Burnout and Inequity Among Human Service Professionals: A Longitudinal Study," *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 6 (2001): 43–52; and Nico W. Van Yperen, Bram P. Buunk, and Wilmar B. Schaufeli, "Communal Orientation and the Burnout Syndrome Among Nurses," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 22 (1992): 173–189.
- willpower: Elizabeth Seeley and Wendi Gardner, "The 'Selfl ess' and Self-Regulation: The Role of Chronic Other-Orientation in Averting Self-Regulatory Depletion," *Self and Identity* 2 (2003): 103–117.
- <u>Utah</u>: Jon Huntsman, *Winners Never Cheat* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008); and Steve Eaton, "Huntsmans Urge Strong Work Ethic," *KSL*, May 8, 2011.
- income and charitable giving: Arthur C. Brooks, *Who Really Cares* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), "Does Giving Make Us Prosperous?" *Journal of Economics and Finance* 31 (2007): 403–411; and *Gross National Happiness* (New York: Basic Books, 2008).