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Differentiating Good Soldiers from Good Actors*

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ABSTRACT In a qualitative interview study, 20 Hong Kong Chinese informants were asked to report stories about colleagues who were either 'good soldiers' or 'good actors'. In stories about good soldiers, informants attributed their colleagues' organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB) primarily to prosocial or pro-organizational motives. Informants' stories about good actors broke down into three major subcategories of citizenship-related impression management: OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives; alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with minimal compliance; and alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with counterproductive behaviour. When distinguishing good soldiers from good actors, informants adopted two criteria for attribution: wilful behavioural inconsistency, i.e. low generality of behaviour across contexts; and alleged false pretence, i.e. discrepancy between claims or allusions and actual deeds. Our findings partially supported a prior hypothesis from attribution theory, that consistency was a criterion for attribution, but indicated that consensus, i.e. correspondence between the focal colleague's behaviour and other employees' behaviour, failed to differentiate good soldiers from good actors. Informants generally regarded OCB as socially desirable only when it was attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives.

INTRODUCTION

Organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB) has been encapsulated as 'going above and beyond the call of duty' (Bolino and Turnley, 2003, p. 60). OCB is regarded as a voluntary contribution by the employee that reciprocates good treatment by the organization or work group (Deckop et al., 2003; Farh et al., 1990; MacKenzie et al., 2001; Organ and Konovsky, 1989; Organ and Ryan, 1995; Podsakoff et al., 1996). OCB is believed to facilitate working relationships, coordination and co-operation, i.e. to 'lubricate the social machinery of the organization' (Bateman and Organ, 1983, p. 588), and it is no surprise that OCB is typically regarded as a socially desirable behaviour, and is valued by managers (Ferris et al., 1995; Smith et al., 1983).

The relationship between OCB and impression management interests us because OCB, by definition, is likely to be less formally and explicitly controlled and rewarded than is task performance, and the procedures through which OCB comes to be rewarded

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may be less transparent and less accountable than the procedures for allocating rewards for task performance. While employees might believe that OCB is highly valued and indirectly rewarded by superiors and authorities, they might also regard it as less formally and rigorously monitored and audited than is task performance, where results are more likely to speak for themselves. Employees might therefore consider using impression management as a tool for drawing attention to their own putative OCB, and/or they may suspect that other employees are doing this.

Such impression management might or might not involve actual OCB. If it does, an employee would perform actual OCB but would do so primarily in order to gain favour through being seen as a good citizen by influential parties (Bolino, 1999). If it does not, an employee would profess or pretend to engage in OCB without actually engaging in OCB, i.e. he or she would engage in 'pseudo-OCB', as when claiming to have spent the whole weekend in the office completing a work project, while having actually spent that time using office equipment to conduct personal affairs. The attributions that an employee makes about the putative OCB by particular colleagues might reflect, and/or have important implications for, the quality of the working relationships, coordination and cooperation between that employee and those colleagues. These may be better when colleagues regard each other as 'good soldiers' engaging in OCB primarily for prosocial or pro-organizational motives, rather than as 'good actors', who merely pretend to perform citizenship behaviour, or who, while engaging in OCB, do so primarily for self-interested motives, such as a desire to give a favourable impression to superiors.

This paper is based on a phenomenological study of employees' attributions about their colleagues' putative OCB and/or impression management. Through this interview-based research, we developed a conceptual model with two typological dimensions that distinguish OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives from citizenship-related impression management. We identified the criteria through which employees differentiate between these two categories, and the model also includes simple minimal compliance (doing no more than is required), simple counterproductive work behaviour (CPB), and three major subcategories of citizenship-related impression management. We go on examine the relative social desirability/undesirability of these categories and major subcategories and to discuss implications for further research. Previous investigators have struggled to understand the relationship between OCB and impression management. We, too, have struggled, but our conceptual model, grounded in the research data, offers a solution to a conceptual conundrum that prior research studies have been unable to resolve.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Conceptions of OCB

The term OCB was coined by Bateman and Organ (1983), but is traceable to Katz's (1964) idea of 'innovative and spontaneous activity that goes beyond role prescriptions', and further back to Barnard's (1938) concept of 'willingness to cooperate'. Because several alternative OCB definitions and OCB-related concepts have been developed in

the last two decades (Brief and Motowidlo, 1986; Podsakoff et al., 2000; Van Dyne et al., 1995), Motowidlo (2000) urged researchers in the field of OCB to specify and justify their chosen definition.

Our research was guided by Organ's (1988, p. 4) original definition of OCB, i.e. 'individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization'. Since we were interested in attributions about voluntary behaviour, we regarded this definition as more appropriate than Organ's (1997, p. 91) alternative definition of OCB as 'contributions to the maintenance and enhancement of the social and psychological context that supports task performance', i.e. as contextual performance (Borman and Motowidlo, 1993, 1997), because the latter includes behaviours that may be required (Dillard et al., 2000). For similar reasons, we decided not to adopt other definitions (Graham, 1991; Schnake, 1991; Van Dyne et al., 1994).

Conceptions of Impression Management

Although impression management is a separate and distinct construct from that of OCB, the observed behaviour associated with it may appear very similar to OCB. This is reflected in the overlap between measures of the impression management dimensions of ingratiation, exemplification, and self-promotion, and measures of OCB (Bolino and Turnley, 1999, p. 189).

Impression management has been defined as 'those behaviors individuals employ to protect their self-images, influence the way they are perceived by significant others, or both' (Wayne and Liden, 1995, p. 232), 'the process by which individuals influence the beliefs and feelings others hold about them' (Bond, 1991, p. 195), or 'behaviours that individuals use in order to create a favourable image of themselves among their colleagues or superiors' (Bolino and Turnley, 2003, p. 68). While these definitions allude to behaviour, the motives that observers attribute to a colleague's behaviour may also play a major role in determining whether this is regarded as impression management (Ferris et al., 1995). Accordingly, in this paper, we shall consider impression management to include motives as well as behaviour.

Although deception, insincerity, manipulation and Machiavellianism were prominent concerns in the early literature on impression management, they are not essential characteristics of impression management (Rosenfeld et al., 1995, p. 6; Schlenker and Weigold, 1992; Tetlock and Manstead, 1985). However, these connotations linger on, and suggest that impression management motives and/or behaviour may be regarded as questionable (Feldman and Klich, 1991) in terms of social desirability (Edwards, 1957).

Potential Motives for OCB

Two contrasting sets of potential motives for OCB, prosocial/pro-organizational versus impression management oriented, have been identified in prior literature. Prosocial/pro-organizational motives for OCB include 'the genuine desire to help out'

(Bolino, 1999, p. 89), the intention to maintain the other's well-being (Schnake, 1991, p. 740), commitment to the organization and a desire to help it succeed (Rioux and Penner, 2001). Impression management oriented motives for OCB (Bolino, 1999; Bolino et al., 2004; Ferris et al., 1995) may entail the anticipation of positive appraisals and consequent rewards (Rioux and Penner, 2001). Schnake (1991, p. 740) regards the resulting behaviour as 'organizational political behaviour' rather than as OCB, while Ferris et al. (1991, pp. 58–9), allude to 'superficially prosocial behaviours that are actually opportunistic'.

While, *pace* Schnake, we do not regard OCB *per se* as defined by attributed motives, the motives that are attributed to an employee's OCB are likely to influence how that employee's behaviour is cognitively evaluated, interpreted and labelled (Ferris et al., 1995, p. 240). Eastman (1994) found, through an experiment, that employees, to whose OCB a superior attributed prosocial/pro-organizational motives, were allocated greater rewards than were employees, to whose OCB a supervisor attributed impression management motives. Colleagues' evaluations of other colleagues' OCB may similarly be coloured by the motives that they primarily attribute to the behaviour. Although the impact of attributed motives on the social desirability of OCB has not as yet been investigated, Bolino posited that while OCB in general is likely to be regarded as socially desirable (Bolino, 1999, p. 91, proposition 12), OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives would be regarded as less socially desirable than OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives (Bolino, 1999, p. 92, proposition 13).

The Concept of Pseudo-OCB

It is possible also that a colleague might believe that a fellow colleague is merely professing or pretending to perform the behavioural content of OCB, without actually engaging in OCB. For example, he or she may have heard the fellow colleague boasting about having contributed various ideas and analyses to a task force, yet he or she may have heard from other members of the task force that this colleague never contributes to the task force discussions and engages in social loafing at the task force meetings.

Our term for the type of citizenship-related impression management that entails the alleged mere posing as, or pretence of, engaging in OCB without actually engaging in OCB is 'alleged pseudo-OCB'. A dictionary definition of 'pseudo-' is 'not genuine but having the appearance of' (Wordnet, 2005). To our knowledge, although Bolino (1999) comes tantalizingly close, there have been no prior direct references in the OCB or impression management literature to pseudo-OCB or similar terms such as 'pseudo-citizenship'. However, there are references to 'pseudo-harmony' (Leung et al., 2002; Wu, 2002), as when distorting or withholding facts in order to fit others' opinions, a form of ingratiation that may jeopardize organizational performance (Wu, 2002, p. 366). As with OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives, if colleagues regard one another as engaging in (alleged) pseudo-OCB, rather than as performing 'true acts of citizenship' (Bolino, 1999, p. 96), they may not regard such action as socially desirable.

THE STUDY

Research Questions

Bolino and Turnley (1999, p. 204) recommended that:

> Future research should examine the relationship between impression management and citizenship behaviors more closely. As an example, it would also be interesting to see how individuals and supervisors differentiate good organizational citizenship from impression management.

Accordingly, we sought to understand the processes through which people at work might come to think of their colleagues as either good soldiers (good citizens driven by altruistic motives) or as good actors (impression managers). We realized, however, that informants might attribute multiple motives to their colleagues' putative OCB. For example, a colleague's 'pride in work' (Hodson, 1999, p. 310; 2001, pp. 211–12) can be attributed both to a service-oriented need to perform excellently and to a desire to demonstrate or boast about work achievements. Eastman and Pawar (2005) coin a term, 'constructive utilitarian behaviors' to denote behaviours that are regarded as high both in concern for self-interest and in concern for organizational interest. In such cases, attributions about the major or primary motive may govern how the behaviour is cognitively evaluated. We recognized also that various minor behavioural subtypes of OCB have been identified (Podsakoff et al., 2000). With these considerations in mind, our research questions developed into the following:

1. What are the criteria underpinning whether organization members regard their non-subordinate colleagues' behaviour as (a) OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives rather than as (b) citizenship-related impression management?
2. Do the underlying criteria that organizational members use to distinguish between OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives vis-à-vis citizenship-related impression management apply regardless of the minor behavioural subtype of citizenship behaviour (e.g. conscientiousness)?
3. How do social desirability assessments of OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives compare with social desirability assessments of citizenship-related impression management?

Suitability of Qualitative Research Design to Address the Research Questions

Our research questions are typical of those that are used in qualitative research, in that they are open-ended and process oriented (Seale, 1999, p. 39; Willig, 2001, p. 19). They also reflect that we sought to analyse subjective beliefs, assumptions and attributions, and that we did not seek to make claims about objective reality (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Creswell, 1994). Accordingly, the first two research questions call for explanations of how individuals make sense of, and arrive at attributions about, their colleagues' citizenship-

related behaviours and the motives behind them. Citizenship-related behaviour is filtered through subjectivity. For example, if one organization member believes that another stays late at the workplace without actually working (see Bolino, 1999, p. 91) and thus engages in pseudo-OCB, even if the first member were convinced that this was a clear-cut case of pseudo-OCB, it would be very difficult for him or her to prove that this was a case of dissimulation as distinct from genuine behaviour (see Ferris et al., 1991, pp. 58–9). Similarly, motives cannot be directly observed (Bolino and Turnley, 1999, pp. 189, 199; Schield, 2004), and attributed motives for OCB might reflect liking, disliking, or other subjective biases rather than the 'real' motives for OCB (Eastman, 1994, p. 1389). Acknowledging the importance of subjectivity, Bolino (1999, p. 95) recommended that using qualitative research to pursue such questions might 'obtain richer, more honest, and more telling data' than quantitative research. While OCB has already been studied extensively, distinguishing good soldiers from good actors is a relatively recent concern, and qualitative methods 'can . . . be used to gain new perspectives on things about which much is already known' (Hoepfl, 1997, p. 49). Our third research question emerged after data collection, as is typical in qualitative research (Willig, 2001, p. 19).

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Our focus was on the naïve phenomenology of the observer with respect to citizenship-related behaviour, involving the collection of informants' subjective accounts about their colleagues, through interviews (Creswell, 1998, p. 51; Polkinghorne, 1989; Spiegelberg, 1978).

Interview Guide

We prepared an interview guide in English, but because our study was conducted with Hong Kong Chinese informants, a bilingual colleague translated this into Chinese. Another bilingual volunteer provided a back translation. The interview guide focused on obtaining two sets of stories about non-subordinate colleagues: stories of (a) OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives; and of (b) citizenship-related impression management. It began with a confidentiality pledge and stated that the research focus was 'to reveal cases of "genuine" OCB, and to distinguish them from cases of "impression management" '. It defined OCB as the behaviour of those who 'do more than is formally required in their job and contribute voluntarily to overall effectiveness without immediate concern for formal rewards or recognition'.

The main part of the interview guide was based on a selection of behavioural subtypes of OCB (see Table I), each of which was allocated one section within the interview guide, which ended with a section for miscellaneous stories that were not elicited by earlier sections.

A large number of behavioural subtypes of OCB, with considerable conceptual overlap, have been identified in previous research (Podsakoff et al., 2000, p. 516). It was impracticable to include all of them, and some arbitrary selection was therefore inevitable. We sought to include behavioural subtypes of OCB that (i) we anticipated that colleagues might have been in a good position to observe, (ii) were broadly defined so as

Table I. Indicative definitions of behavioural subtypes of OCB provided in the interview guide

Label of the behavioural subtype of OCB	*Definition provided in the interview guide*
Conscientiousness	Is careful in his/her work, dependable, punctual, willing to take on new duties, adhering to company rules, etc
Team player*	Contributes positively to team spirit, tolerates inconvenience, does not whinge or complain about trivial problems, and has a positive attitude towards the work even when circumstances are difficult, is sportsmanlike
Courtesy*	Avoids causing unnecessary inconvenience to colleagues and to internal or external customers, makes it easier for them to get things done, gives them early warnings of potential problems, etc
An informal leader at your level*	Keeps in touch with relevant developments and informs others about them; plays a constructive role in improving working arrangements and in helping to make changes effective; freely shares knowledge, skills and expertise with others
Altruism*	Is other-centred, cares about colleagues and is helpful to them if they have problems with their work, helps to solve the problems of internal and external customers
Harmoniousness	Is fair and respectful to other colleagues and to internal and external customers; does not cause them any harm, and does not cheat, trick, slander or deceive them
Stewardship	Uses company time, resources and benefits in a disciplined, economical, and honest manner that demonstrates high integrity and trustworthiness in utilizing/protecting company resources

Note: * In the analysis, these were combined into a more general behavioural subtype, helpfulness.

to incorporate a range of potential citizenship behaviours, and (iii) were potentially important in Chinese culture. In relation to (i), some behavioural subtypes of OCB, such as loyal boosterism (Graham, 1991; Moorman and Blakely, 1995) were excluded because we assumed that they would generally take place off-site. In relation to (ii), we included 'team player', in order to subsume cheerleading (Organ, 1988) and sportsmanship (Organ, 1990). Likewise, 'informal leader' (see Bales, 1950) was intended to subsume individual initiative (Moorman and Blakely, 1995), constructive suggestions (George and Jones, 1997), use of insider knowledge to facilitate production, and peer training (Hodson, 1999, 2001). In relation to (iii), two behavioural subtypes of OCB, harmoniousness and stewardship (protecting company resources), were included because they had been uniquely identified in a prior study of OCB in another Chinese society, Taiwan (Farh et al., 1997).

Each substantive section of the interview guide began by defining its focal behavioural subtype of OCB, as in Table I, and then asked informants to describe two stories relevant to that behavioural subtype of OCB, one story featuring a colleague engaging in OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives, the

other story featuring a colleague engaging in behaviour that 'may have given those in authority the false, misleading or insincere impression' of that behavioural subtype of OCB.

Informants were asked to focus on stories featuring non-subordinate colleagues rather than on subordinates or on themselves. There were two reasons for this. First, studies of OCB have tended to obtain self-reported data or data from superiors, rather than from colleagues, whose perspectives, we believed, might provide new insights. Second, we anticipated that colleagues might have closer and more prolonged access to the behaviour patterns of other colleagues than would superiors, and hence might be better able to indicate what, if any, behavioural nuances had formed the basis of attributions regarding motives and behavioural authenticity.

Theoretical Sampling Design

Cultural assumptions may influence perceptions and evaluations of OCB (Paine and Organ, 2000; Turnipseed and Murkison, 2000), and we assumed that they might also influence the perceived salience of the distinction between good soldiers and good actors. The location of the study in Hong Kong provided an opportunity to interview local Chinese informants, whom we believed would find the distinction especially salient, relative to informants from the West, and would therefore constitute a rich source of relevant data.

This is because there are strong expectations in Hong Kong that employees should engage in OCB (Lam et al., 1999), which may reflect traditional Confucian values, emphasizing hard work, selflessness and interpersonal harmony (Ip, 1999; Lau and Kuan, 1988; Pye, 1995, p. 41; Westwood and Posner, 1997). For example, expectations about overt conscientiousness may be manifest in the tendency for Hong Kong employees to work longer hours and take fewer holidays than in other major cities across the world (UBS, 2003, p. 23). However, since OCB entails exceeding formal requirements (Bolino and Turnley, 2003), it is very demanding to deliver on a constant basis, and individual employees may suspect, for example, that some colleagues are pretending to work more conscientiously and harmoniously than is actually the case. Also, since Hong Kong is a high power distance society (Westwood and Posner, 1997; Wong and Birnbaum-More, 1994), we anticipated that status gaps between subordinates and superiors would intensify competition to be looked upon favourably by superiors, constituting another reason why we expected that informants would pay close attention to whether their colleagues were good actors or good soldiers.

Besides focusing on Hong Kong Chinese informants, we sought, within this frame, to obtain a heterogeneous sample in terms of age, occupation, industry, specialism, gender, and educational qualifications. We were able to achieve this diversity by recruiting informants through networking (snowballing). Informants who were already acquainted with the researchers were interviewed first, and were asked to refer others to the study (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981; Hornby and Symon, 1994, pp. 169–70). Through this approach, we sought to reduce the psychological distance between the informants and the interviewer, anticipating that our topics of investigation might otherwise be regarded as comparatively sensitive (Brannen, 1988) in Chinese societies, where 'face' is important

(Bond and Hwang, 1987, pp. 247–8), and where interviewees tend to be circumspect (Shenkar, 1994).

Our sample of 20 informants comprised seven males and 13 females. We assigned the code names F1–F13 to female informants and M1–M7 to male respondents. Their ages ranged from below 30 to over 45, with a median age of 38. There were two employees from separate government departments, three employees from different higher education institutions (two teachers, one administrator), and 15 employees from 14 different Chinese or foreign-owned companies across various industries, including manufacturing, media, consultancy, trading, and transportation. Most were professionals, technical specialists, supervisors or managers. Their ranks ranged from junior administrator up to director; functions included finance, human resources, information technology, logistics, marketing, merchandising, psychology, quality assurance, translation, and sales. Two had PhDs, eight had Masters Degrees, but five had no post-school qualifications.

How the Interviews Were Conducted

Solo interviews were conducted with 18 informants, while a joint interview took place with two additional males (from different organizations) who asked to be interviewed together. The interviews were designed to encourage the informants to engage in storytelling (Boje, 2001; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1997; Gabriel, 1995), were conducted in semi-structured, in-depth format and lasted approximately 75 minutes each.

The interview guide was faxed or emailed to informants two days before each interview. The interviewer was a female Hong Kong Chinese senior research assistant with a decade of qualitative research interviewing experience in business and academic contexts. We anticipated that the demographic similarities between the interviewer and the informants, i.e. maturity and ethnicity, would also facilitate rapport. The interviewer engaged in open-ended questioning, while encouraging interviewees to tell stories in their own ways (Kvale, 1996, p. 129). She probed for specific illustrations (Weiss, 1994, p. 71) and encouraged self-questioning, while taking care to avoid value judgements. For example, in keeping with a phenomenological approach, she refrained from challenging informants on whether their stories were 'correctly' matched with a particular behavioural subtype of OCB, or were 'correctly' presented either as examples of OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives or of citizenship-related impression management. To facilitate disclosure, she suggested that informants refer to colleagues as 'colleague A', etc, rather than by name. She reminded informants that they could pass on to the next item if they could not give an example. The interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed from Cantonese into English, yielding in all 110 pages of single-spaced text.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis proceeded through many stages and iterations, and was conducted collaboratively, with the help of the interviewer. We performed most parts of the analysis individually and independently, prior to comparing notes and arriving at agreements

through dialogue. While we did not use qualitative analysis software, we used various features of Word, such as keyword search, annotation, tabulation, and cut and paste, as tools for retrieving and organizing data.

After excluding stories about informants' behaviour or that of their direct subordinates, we created a code identification number and a short summary for each of the remaining 198 stories, in order to expedite retrieval from records of the relevant portions of the interview transcripts. We then attempted to sort these stories into the two initial categories, but found that it was necessary to create two additional categories in order to accommodate all the stories. The four final categories are defined and illustrated in the next section.

We then convened a focus group for a member check of the characteristics of category (b), citizenship-related impression management, because some informants had appeared to be confused about what this category meant. The focus group comprised a convenience sample of five prior interview informants (two males, three females), plus another female with extensive working experience, who had previously volunteered for the interview study but had been unavailable at the time. The original interviewer facilitated the meeting, which lasted two hours, and was video-recorded in order to facilitate transcription. The focus group members were presented with 26 one-line items, each of which summarized a story that we had assigned to category (b). Using a five-point scale, members were asked to rate the extent to which each item was a (i) relevant and (ii) clear example of citizenship-related impression management. We found that of the 26 items, only 10 were judged by all focus group members to be both relevant/highly relevant and clear/very clear category examples. Reflecting on this, we apprehended that citizenship-related impression management comprised three different and mutually exclusive major subcategories.

In a parallel analysis, we discovered that team player, informal leadership, courtesy, and altruism could all be redefined as forms of helpfulness (see Table I), and we created a revised behavioural sub-typology which comprised four minor subcategories: conscientiousness, helpfulness, harmoniousness and stewardship. The interviewer performed an independent sorting of all the stories of category (a), OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives, into these four minor behavioural subcategories and agreed with 86.5 per cent of the sub-categorizations that had been made by the authors. Similarly, the interviewer performed an independent sorting of all the stories of category (b), citizenship-related impression management, into the minor behavioural subcategories of conscientiousness related, helpfulness related, harmoniousness related, and stewardship related impression management, and agreed with 75.5 per cent of the sub-categorizations that had been made by the authors.

FINDINGS

We now present our findings in four sections. First, we explain and illustrate the final categories and major subcategories. Second, we identify, explain and illustrate two criteria for attribution, which distinguished the stories of OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives from the stories of citizenship-related impression management. Third, we analyse the relative social desirability or undesirability of the

final categories and major subcategories. Fourth we summarize our major contributions. We follow with sections on limitations and on further directions.

Categories and Subcategories of Stories

The final categories were: (a) OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives; (b) citizenship-related impression management; (c) simple minimal compliance; and (d) simple counterproductive work behaviour (CPB). Citizenship-related impression management broke down into three major subcategories: (b_1) OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives; (b_2) alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with minimal compliance, and (b_3) alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with CPB. Table II gives definitions and general illustrations of each final category and major subcategory, and Figure 1 indicates the relationships between them.

Stories of OCB Attributed Primarily to Prosocial/Pro-Organizational Motives

All 20 informants provided at least one story of category (a), OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives. These 89 stories all featured colleagues, whom informants believed (1) had undertaken OCB and (2) had done so primarily out of genuine desire to help, cooperate with, or care for another person and/or the organization. Among them, there were 23 stories of conscientiousness, 50 of helpfulness, 7 of harmoniousness, and 9 of stewardship. Story 1, below, illustrates helpfulness that informant F3 attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives.

> *Story 1*: As a newcomer, I didn't know how to do many tasks. A female colleague coached me very patiently, without laughing at me or mocking me. Her attitude was very good. She was a very nice person who put herself in your shoes. She did not show off in front of the boss that she had taught me. If I didn't ask her for help, she would ask silently whether I needed help or not. Once I made a typing error, but I didn't realize it. I was supposed to submit the memo to the boss. She discovered it and told me to correct the mistake before I gave it to the boss. I told her I didn't know how to rectify the mistake. Then she took the memo and corrected the typo and other grammatical errors for me. She advised me to check the memo again before I submitted it to the boss. (F3)

Stories of Citizenship-Related Impression Management

Between them, 18 informants related 53 stories that primarily featured citizenship-related impression management. Among these, 16 stories related to conscientiousness, 25 to helpfulness, 9 to harmoniousness, and 3 to stewardship. Some of these stories featured colleagues, whom informants believed had actually undertaken OCB, but most of them featured colleagues, whom informants believed had merely claimed or pretended to engage in OCB, without actually having undertaken OCB.

Table II. Definitions and illustrations of the final categories and major subcategories

Final categories and major subcategories		*Definitions*	*General illustrations*
(a) OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives		The informant believes that a colleague (1) undertakes OCB and (2) does so primarily out of genuine commitment, i.e. desire to help, cooperate with, or care for another person and/or the organization	A colleague volunteers help to other colleagues, whenever they need this help in order to get their work done
(b) Citizenship-related impression management	(b_1) OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives	The informant believes that a colleague (1) undertakes OCB, but (2) does so primarily in order to create a good impression in the eyes of significant others, and thus for personal advantage	A colleague offers help to other colleagues only when a superior is present
	(b_2) Alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with minimal compliance	The informant believes that a colleague (1) does not actually engage in OCB and instead (2) engages in minimal compliance, while (3) seeking to give significant others the impression that he/she engages in OCB	A colleague professes to go out of his/her way to help other colleagues, but in practice he/she helps other colleagues only when instructed by a superior to do
	(b_3) Alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with CPB	The informant believes that a colleague (1) does not actually engage in OCB and instead (2) engages in behaviour that is polar-opposite to OCB, while (3) seeking to give significant others the impression that he/she engages in OCB	A colleague sabotages another colleague's work while pretending to provide him/her with spontaneous help and guidance

(c) Simple minimal compliance	The informant believes that a colleague (1) does not actually engage in OCB and instead (2) engages in minimal compliance, while (3) making no attempt to give significant others the impression that he/she engages in OCB	A colleague helps other colleagues only when instructed by a superior to do, and does not claim or pretend to be any more helpful than this
(d) Simple counter-productive work behaviour	The informant believes that a colleague (1) does not actually engage in OCB and instead (2) engages in behaviour that is polar-opposite to OCB, while (3) making no attempt to give significant others the impression that he/she engages in OCB	A colleague sabotages another colleague's work, and does not claim or pretend to be helpful to that colleague

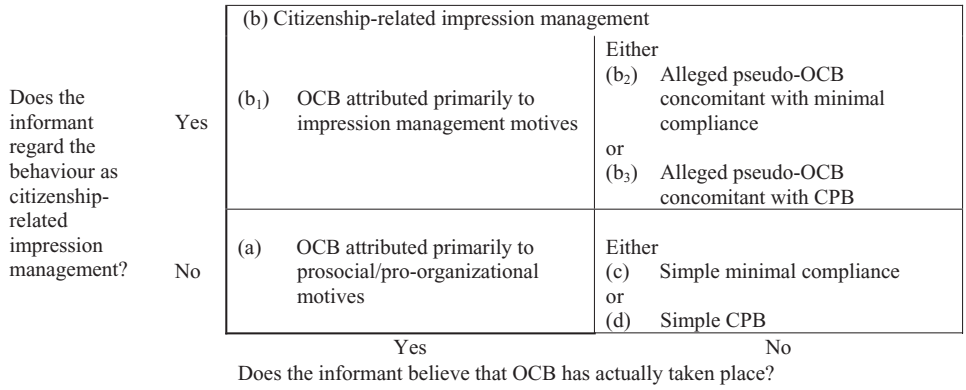

Figure 1. Relationships between final categories and major subcategories

Among the 53 stories of citizenship-related impression management, 9 fell into major subcategory (b_1), OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives. Informants believed that the colleagues in these 9 stories had actually undertaken OCB, but attributed the OCB primarily to the colleagues' desire to impress others. For example, in Story 2, below, informant M2 acknowledged a senior colleague's helpfulness, but in the final sentence he expressed his attribution that the help had been offered in order to convey a positive impression to others.

> *Story 2*: Normally when he coached me, he did not teach me all the details and his explanation was not clear, and there were many reasons why I could not ask him questions, we were very busy and he had his own work to do. A newcomer usually had to assess the work situation of the senior so as not to affect his work. Also, if you asked too many questions, he would not like it too much. However, I remember one incident when I thought he put on a show for other people to see. It was on our way back to the company after we had finished lunch at a restaurant. The occasion was not very suitable and seemed peculiar, but he taught me a lot of things in front of many colleagues. I felt that he did it so that other colleagues could see that he had coached the newcomer. (M2)

A total of 27 stories fell into major subcategory (b_2), alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with minimal compliance. Informants alleged that the colleagues in these stories: (1) had not actually undertaken OCB; (2) had actually engaged in minimal compliance; and (3) had sought to give others the misleading impression of engaging in OCB. For example, in Story 3, below, informant F3 alleged that a female colleague, while actually confining her attendance to standard working hours, had dissembled OCB by giving a superior the false impression that she had been working extra hours on an unpaid basis.

> *Story 3*: Our official working time is from 9 am to 8 pm, but the company allows us one hour of flexible working. A female colleague comes to work at 9 am, earlier

than the boss whose office hours are from 9:30 am to 6:20 pm. When the boss leaves the office, she still stays in the office, but she leaves at about 7 pm. She gives the boss the impression that she is always around. She does not violate the company's time regulation but she uses this working pattern to impress the boss. I asked her about this and she said that she wanted the boss to assume that she worked till 8 pm, and she asked me not to reveal that she didn't. The boss once asked if there were colleagues working from 9 am till 8 pm, she replied 'me too' but in fact she does not. (F3)

Altogether, 17 stories fell into major subcategory (b_3), alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with CPB. Informants alleged that the colleagues in these stories: (1) had not actually undertaken OCB; (2) had actually engaged in CPB; and (3) had sought to give others the misleading impression that they had engaged in OCB. For example, in Story 4, below, informant F13 alleged that the leader of Team B, while pretending to 'help' Team A, had actually set Team A up to appear inadequate in comparison to Team B, thus acting against Team A's interests, and constituting concomitant CPB.

Story 4: Team A was very close to finishing a project. It was about 90 per cent completed. The leader of Team B approached the leader of Team A and offered to help him to finish his project by asking members of Team B to do the remaining 10 per cent of the work. Afterwards, the leader of Team B bragged to their boss saying that Team A was incapable of completing the project and that Team B rescued it. (F13)

Story 4 corresponds to what Lasch (1979), a cultural historian cited in Feldman and Klich (1991, p. 76), has labelled 'antagonistic cooperation', where colleagues pretend to be allies while concomitantly looking for material to use in subsequent denunciations.

Stories of Simple Minimal Compliance

Several informants provided stories featuring the absence both of perceived OCB and of perceived citizenship-related impression management, which we labelled category (c), simple minimal compliance. In such stories, informants alleged that colleagues had wilfully failed to engage in OCB, while not concomitantly engaging in citizenship-related impression management, and not breaching bare minimum in-role requirements. Although the literature offers no prior labels for such behaviour, the concept resembles what Judson (1991, p. 48) terms 'doing only what is ordered'. Story 5, below, provides an illustration.

Story 5: When I used to ask an accounting colleague to generate the sales figures for me, he always told me that the data would be available later, say in one day, or even 2 to 3 days. But if I told him that the managing director needed the data, he would give it to me within the hour. Since I always need the figures to do my job I asked him on several occasions if he could teach me how to generate the data, but he put off doing

this until the managing director asked him to do so. Then he said 'no problem' and taught me that afternoon. (F9)

According to informant F9, the accounting colleague, rather than engaging in OCB, or attempting to give the impression that he was engaging in OCB, engaged in minimal compliance by providing help only when instructed to do so by the superior, and simply made excuses for not performing OCB.

Stories of Simple CPB

Several informants provided stories of category (d), simple CPB, where they alleged that colleagues had wilfully acted in a counterproductive manner, while not concomitantly engaging in citizenship-related impression management. CPB (Kelloway et al., 2002) is a more recent term for what other authors have referred to as 'negative OCB' (Greenberg, 1990; Parks and Kidder, 1994; Puffer, 1987), anti-citizenship behaviour (Ball et al., 1994; Podsakoff and MacKenzie, 1997, pp. 146–7), workplace deviance (Robinson and Greenberg, 1998), organizational or interpersonal deviance (Bennett and Robinson, 2000), counterproductive performance (Rotundo and Sackett, 2002) and destructively deviant behaviour (Warren, 2003). Story 6, below, provides an illustration of simple CPB.

Story 6: A programmer did not follow the company's standard or his boss's instruction, and used his own methods to complete a project. He seemed to me to use and even waste a lot of his time going above and beyond what the job required. But he did not share his knowledge with others. When someone took over the project later to do a maintenance task, that person didn't know how to handle the program and needed to spend more time picking up the job. From the programmer's viewpoint, his method was better for the company and for the project. I think his motives were two thirds to show off his ability; and one third to make it difficult for the company to fire him. (F13)

This illustration was controversial because the interviewer judged initially that Story 6 belonged to category (b_1), OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives, because of the mention of 'going above and beyond what the job required', and the mentions of 'to show off his ability' and 'to make it difficult for the company to fire him'. After discussion, however, the interviewer agreed with us to categorize Story 6 as 'simple CPB'. The story featured CPB because, according to informant F13, the programmer colleague had breached procedures and instructions, wasted company time, and neglected the need to pass on necessary knowledge. The CPB was 'simple' because informant F13 believed that the programmer had not pretended or professed to engage in OCB.

Some stories of simple CPB described dereliction of duty, violation of company rules, or unauthorized absence, similar to Kelloway et al.'s (2002) CPB item, 'stayed out of sight to avoid work', and similar to reverse scored items in OCB instruments such as 'takes undeserved work breaks' (Farh et al., 1990, p. 712), and 'sometimes misses work for no good reason' (Turnipseed and Murkison, 2000, pp. 211–12). Other stories

described incivility, bullying, or antagonism, similar to 'starts arguments with other employees' (Turnipseed and Murkison, 1996, p. 43). In addition, there were stories describing what informants regarded as misappropriation of company property, not dissimilar to Kelloway et al.'s (2002) CPB item, 'taken company equipment or merchandize', and some stories describing what informants regarded as perpetration of harm or inconvenience to others, not dissimilar to Kelloway et al.'s (2002) CPB item, 'blamed your co-workers for your mistakes'.

Descriptive Statistics

Table III gives descriptive statistics about the stories. Male and female informants and colleagues were represented across all four final categories and major subcategories of stories. In aggregate, 125 different colleagues featured in the 161 stories about the behaviour of individuals, while, as indicated in the far right-hand column of the table, the remaining 37 stories were about patterns of behaviour that were shared by two or more colleagues.

CRITERIA FOR ATTRIBUTION

Through comparisons between the 89 stories categorized as (a) OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives and the 53 stories regarded as (b) citizenship-related impression management, we identified two criteria, alleged wilful behavioural inconsistency and alleged false pretence, that distinguished between the two categories, (a) versus (b).

All but one of the stories of citizenship-related impression management featured either alleged wilful behavioural inconsistency, or alleged false pretence, or both. While 21 such stories featured alleged wilful behavioural inconsistency, as many as 40 featured alleged false pretence. By contrast, none of the stories of OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives featured either alleged wilful behavioural inconsistency or alleged false pretence.

In the stories of citizenship-related impression management that featured alleged wilful behavioural inconsistency, informants believed that there was a self-serving discrepancy between colleagues' engagement in OCB in certain contexts and their failure to engage in OCB in other contexts. For example, in Story 2, above, informant M2 reports that a colleague's helpfulness in front of an audience was inconsistent with his behaviour when there was no audience.

In stories of citizenship-related impression management that featured alleged false pretence, informants believed that there was a self-serving discrepancy between a colleague's claim or allusion about engaging in OCB and his/her actual deeds, as illustrated in Story 3 and Story 4, above.

Table IV illustrates alleged wilful behavioural inconsistency and alleged false pretence in summaries of stories of each of the four minor behavioural subtypes of citizenship-related impression management.

We also checked whether two additional variables from attribution theory (Eastman, 1994) – distinctiveness, i.e. lack of generality of an employee's OCB across potential

Table III. Statistical summary of the reported stories

Final categories and major subcategories of story	*Total no. of stories*	*No. of stories reported by the 13 females*	*No. of stories reported by the 7 males*	*No. of stories featuring only males*	*No. of stories featuring only females*	*No. of stories featuring colleagues with unspecified or mixed gender*	*No. of stories featuring solo behaviour of individuals*	*No. of different colleagues featuring in stories about individuals*	*No. of stories of shared behaviour*
(a) OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives	89	54	35	45	32	12	72	51	17
(b) Citizenship-related impression management (b$_1$) OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives	9	4	5	3	6	0	9	9	0
(b$_2$) Alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with minimal compliance	27	17	10	15	9	3	23	23	4
(b$_3$) Alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with CPB	17	13	4	7	5	5	14	11	3
(c) Simple minimal compliance	22	16	6	8	7	7	14	13	8
(d) Simple CPB	34	23	11	15	15	4	29	25	5
Total	198	127	71	93	74	31	161	125*	37

Note: * This figure is less than 132 because a small number of colleagues featured in more than one final category or major subcategory of story.

Table IV. Illustrations of the distinguishing attributes of citizenship-related impression management

Minor subtype	*Distinguishing attributes*	
	Alleged false pretence	*Alleged wilful behavioural inconsistency*
Conscientiousness-related impression management	'At a staff meeting, a male lecturer was among those volunteering to help with Open Day, and he said that it was an important event. But later on, he said that he was busy on certain dates, and he chose some easy, less time consuming tasks to do' (M5)	'If the sales director is in town, the sales manager comes to the office very early in the morning and stays until very late. When the sales director is out of town, she often takes sick leave. She arrives very late and leaves the office sharply after office hours' (M1)
Helpfulness-related impression management	'I asked the personnel manager if he had any opinion about a project that I had been assigned. He gave me a sentence of very general advice, but he told our boss, the personnel director, that he had taught me how to do it' (F6)	'In front of the boss, a senior colleague always answers other colleagues' questions enthusiastically. But if the boss is not around, she either doesn't answer or her reply is very brief and unhelpful' (F3)
Harmoniousness-related impression management	'The translation officer never protests if his boss alters a correct translation of his into an erroneous one. He wants to avoid embarrassing his boss. Through casual conversations, I know that he does not respect his boss, but he is very skilful in hiding his real feelings. I feel the relationship is not sincere' (M2)	'Someone offers you a little favour, such as a restaurant coupon, or recommends a certain foot massage master who is really good, or loans you a video. By doing so, the person wants to build up a personal relationship. But nobody is so friendly as to share his or her knowledge or skills with you' (F8)
Stewardship-related impression management	'A secretary told her superior that she was fully implementing a voluntary resource saving policy that she had initiated, whereas she was only partially implementing it' (M6)	'A department head created rules to stop his staff from using the common drive to store their personal material. However, he downloaded unauthorized software onto his own computer' (F6)

targets; and consensus, i.e. where the characteristics of the employee's OCB were shared with other employees' OCB – might also be criteria for distinguishing between category (a) and category (b).

First, distinctiveness featured neither in any of the stories of category (a) nor in any of the stories of category (b). Thus there were no stories of colleagues giving extra help only to superiors but not to others, or being conscientious about some assignments but not others, or investing effort in developing good relations with some people but not others, or protecting some company resources but not others.

Second, since a mixture of category (a) stories and category (b) stories were characterized by consensus (shared behaviour), this did not appear to be a criterion for

attribution. As indicated in the far right hand column of Table III, 17 stories assigned to category (a) were characterized by shared behaviour, while 7 stories assigned to category (b), including 4 from major subcategory (b_2), and 3 from major subcategory (b_3), were also characterized by shared behaviour. For example, respondent F4 reported shared behaviour in relation to category (a), where a group of colleagues voluntarily organized and took part in a roster of unpaid overtime work on Sundays, while respondent F7 reported shared behaviour in relation to major subcategory (b_2), where she alleged that several colleagues pretended to get on well together, while lacking genuine harmony or co-operation. Furthermore, respondent F8 reported shared behaviour in relation to major subcategory (b_3), where she alleged that a group of colleagues covered for one another's illicit absence from work by taking one another's telephone calls and fabricating excuses.

SOCIAL DESIRABILITY/UNDESIRABILITY

Informants tended to make unprompted evaluative comments about the desirability or undesirability of the behaviour under description. Our analysis proceeded on the assumption that informants made the behavioural distinction first, and then arrived at the value judgement. The data indicated that among the categories identified in this research, informants regarded only OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives as socially desirable. For example, as illustrated in Story 1 above, F3 commented, 'Her attitude was very good', and 'she was a very nice person', while in relation to another story, M6 commented, 'Such an attitude and personal quality is very unique nowadays'.

Informants indicated that OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives was either neutral or mildly socially undesirable. For example, in Story 2 above, informant M2 described the behaviour as 'peculiar' and 'not very suitable'. Informants tended to indicate that alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with minimal compliance was mildly socially undesirable. For example, informant M4 described a colleague's behaviour in one such story as 'very superficial'. Informants indicated that alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with CPB was strongly socially undesirable, as when informant F10 referred to a former colleague as having 'cheated' the management.

Informants indicated that most instances of alleged simple minimal compliance were socially undesirable, as when informant M1 commented, 'She washed her hands of it completely – she is very selfish'. Informants appeared to regard all instances of alleged simple CPB as socially undesirable. An indicative comment was, 'I don't know why the matter was not followed up by the personnel department', by informant F4.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

We now summarize our contributions in relation to the three research questions.

1. What are the criteria underpinning whether organization members regarded their non-subordinate colleagues' behaviour as (a) OCB attributed primarily to

prosocial/pro-organizational motives rather than as (b) citizenship-related impression management?

Informants used two criteria to distinguish good soldiers from good actors: wilful behavioural inconsistency, attributed as a self-serving discrepancy between engaging in OCB in certain contexts but not in other contexts; and alleged false pretence, attributed as a self-serving discrepancy between colleagues' claims or allusions about having engaged in OCB and their actual deeds.

We may compare these two criteria for attribution with Eastman's (1994) hypothesis, derived from Kelley's (1967) covariation model, regarding the bases upon which observers would label an employee a good citizen (i.e. high consistency, low distinctiveness, and high consensus) rather than an ingratiator (i.e. low consistency, high distinctiveness, and low consensus). Our study supported Eastman's hypothesis with respect to consistency, i.e. generality of OCB across time, place or other contexts; but it provided no evidence as to whether distinctiveness, i.e. lack of generality of a colleague's OCB across potential targets, would distinguish good soldiers from good actors; it did not support Eastman's hypothesis regarding consensus, i.e. the extent to which the focal colleague's OCB resembles other employees' OCB, and it indicated that there was an additional criterion, i.e. alleged false pretence. Eastman's (1994) prior experiment notably offered no evidence to support distinctiveness and consensus as criteria for distinguishing OCB from impression management.

Our study gave no basis for judging whether distinctiveness, such as giving extra help to the boss but not to peers, is a criterion for attribution, because informants reported no stories of this kind. This may possibly reflect that good actors tend to avoid 'brown nosing', believing that it is not only socially undesirable but also readily detectable by superiors.

Our study yielded evidence that consensus failed to differentiate good soldiers from good actors, and was not a criterion for attribution. Some good soldier stories featured consensus, as in the story by F4 of the group of colleagues who voluntarily operated the Sunday roster, while other good soldier stories featured non-consensus, as indicated by the previously cited comment by M6, 'Such an attitude and personal quality is very unique nowadays'. Furthermore, some good actor stories featured consensus, as in the story by F7 of colleagues who pretended to get on well with one another, but lacked genuine harmony or co-operation, while other good actor stories featured non-consensus, as when M2 referred to the behaviour of the colleague in Story 2 as 'peculiar'.

Our finding that alleged false pretence was a criterion for attribution, as in Story 3 and Story 4, is consistent with connotations of impression management as deception and distortion. This phenomenon has been noted in earlier literature on impression management (Rosenfeld and Giacalone, 1991, p. 9) but has not been a main focus of more recent literature. Along with our discoveries of subcategory (b_2), alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with minimal compliance, and of subcategory (b_3), alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with CPB, it suggests that Kelley's (1967) covariation model may be limited to predicting attributions about the causes of behavioural events that observers assume have actually taken place (Martinko, 1995).

2. Do the underlying criteria that organizational members use to distinguish between OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives vis-à-vis citizenship-related impression management apply regardless of the minor behavioural subtype of citizenship behaviour (e.g. conscientiousness)?

As illustrated in Table IV, the two criteria for differentiating good soldiers from good actors applied to a diverse set of minor behavioural subtypes of OCB: conscientiousness, helpfulness, harmoniousness and stewardship. Further research is needed to establish whether the two criteria for attribution also apply to other minor behavioural subtypes of OCB, such as loyal boosterism (Graham, 1991; Moorman and Blakely, 1995), that were not investigated in this study.

3. How do social desirability assessments of OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives compare with social desirability assessments of citizenship-related impression management?

Informants generally regarded only OCB attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives as socially desirable. Analysis suggests that subcategory (b_1), OCB attributed primarily to impression management motives, comprises one socially desirable attribute in the form of OCB, which is counterbalanced or outweighed by one socially undesirable attribute: opportunistic motives. By contrast, subcategory (b_3), alleged pseudo-OCB concomitant with CPB, comprises no socially desirable attribute, but includes three socially undesirable attributes: opportunistic motives, attempts to mislead, plus additional counterproductive behaviour regarded as intentionally covered-up by the impression management behaviour.

LIMITATIONS

We acknowledge three generalizability-related limitations of our research. First, all informants worked in office and/or professional contexts. Further research could examine whether the findings of this study also apply in factory floor contexts, where 'careerist' orientations to work, which might motivate citizenship-related impression management (Feldman and Weitz, 1991), may be less common.

Second, although culture among Hong Kong Chinese people is influenced by the West, it also reflects traditional Chinese values (Lau and Kuan, 1988), with relatively greater emphasis on benevolence (*ren*) (Lau, 1979) and on disapproval of calculative instrumentality (Pye, 1995, p. 41), as compared with western cultures. Our findings regarding the social undesirability of citizenship-related impression management may reflect these traditional values. Our finding that wilful behavioural inconsistency was a criterion for attribution may reflect that Hong Kong is a high-power distance society (Wong and Birnbaum-More, 1994), where the issue of the presence or absence of superiors is of relatively great importance. Further research in non-Chinese cultures would reveal the impact of culture on our current findings.

Third, our study did not address some behavioural subtypes of OCB that have been identified in prior literature, such as civic virtue and loyal boosterism (Graham, 1991;

Moorman and Blakely, 1995), and our focus was on citizenship behaviour at the individual level rather than on group citizenship behaviour (Chen et al., 2005). Further research could examine whether our findings generalize to these other behavioural subtypes of OCB and to the group level.

We also acknowledge four reliability-related limitations. First, informants may have held prior biases that constituted additional, hidden criteria for attribution. For example, Story 2 might have reflected a disliking of the senior colleague. Second, since research question 3 calls for comparisons of extent, if the question had been developed a priori, before the data collection phase, it could have been addressed more rigorously with quantitative methodology. Third, our data comprises subjective accounts from isolated informants, whose attributions about particular colleagues may have differed from those of other parties who were not interviewed. A similar absence of triangulation may have limited the reliability of prior research studies of citizenship behaviour that have been based only on ratings by superiors. Fourth, it is conceivable that an individual whom others regard as a good soldier, might privately regard himself/herself as a good actor, directing citizenship-related impression management at everyone, while avoiding making inflated claims about the behavioural content of his/her own OCB, in order to avoid attributions of wilful behavioural inconsistency and false presence.

Future studies could seek to overcome the potential distorting effect of such attribution errors and biases, by asking clusters of informants, including superiors, to refer to the same pool of employees, and by including self-reports, making it possible to identify the extent of inter-subjective agreement or disagreement regarding particular employees' citizenship-related behaviour. However, triangulated research designs for this sensitive topic may face high access barriers, arising from concerns among potential informants about whether the strict confidentiality of their material can be guaranteed, and may therefore be difficult to implement.

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Measurement scales related to the three major subcategories of citizenship-related impression management could be developed, and inter-rater reliability between self-ratings, peer-ratings and ratings by supervisors could be investigated. Such research could ask respondents to rate the authenticity of colleagues' citizenship-related behaviour, and the relative contribution of various attributed motives.

Relational social capital may be investigated as a dependent variable. Bolino et al. (2002, pp. 511, 514) theorized that OCB fosters liking, trust and identification among employees and, in turn, builds relational social capital in organizations. Further research could clarify whether OCB builds relational social capital only when it is attributed primarily to prosocial/pro-organizational motives, and could test similar propositions regarding group cohesiveness (Seashore, 1954), psychological sense of community at work (Burroughs and Eby, 1998), and (reversed) perceptions of dysfunctional politics (Anderson, 1994; Ferris and Kacmar, 1992; Kacmar and Ferris, 1991). If it is assumed also that relational social capital is a key organizational resource for competitive advantage (Bolino

et al., 2002, p. 509), a further proposition to test in future research would be that colleagues' attributions about citizenship-related behaviour affect organizational effectiveness.

NOTE

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