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CITIZENSHIP AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT: GOOD SOLDIERS OR GOOD ACTORS?

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Previous research on organizational citizenship behavior suggests that employees who engage in such behavior are "good soldiers," acting selflessly on behalf of their organizations. However, such behaviors also may be impression enhancing and self-serving. In this article I provide a framework showing how impression-management concerns may motivate citizenship behavior and address the consequences of citizenship in this context, as well as the interaction of impression-management motives with motives identified in previous research on citizenship. Finally, I discuss the methodological issues associated with isolating self-serving from other-serving motivation and implications for future theory development.

In 1983 Bateman and Organ introduced the construct of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), drawing upon concepts of suprarole behavior advanced by Katz and Kahn (1966). Organ describes OCB as "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" (1988: 4). Since its introduction, the topic has received a great deal of research attention. A review of the literature on citizenship indicates that researchers generally maintain that OCBs stem from two motivational bases: (1) job attitudes and/or (2) disposition/personality (Organ, 1990; Organ & Ryan, 1995). The relationship between OCB and job attitudes is rooted in social exchange theory—that is, employees engage in OCBs in order to reciprocate the actions of their organizations. The second rationale holds that OCBs reflect an individual's predisposition to be helpful, cooperative, or conscientious.

Research on citizenship has almost exclusively concerned antecedents consistent with these theoretical bases. Examples of the antecedents examined by researchers include job attitudes (Bateman & Organ, 1983), job cognitions (Organ & Konovsky, 1989), dispositional factors (e.g., agreeableness, conscientiousness, and equity sensitivity; Konovsky & Organ, 1996),

positive affect (George, 1991), positive mood states (Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983), concern for others (McNeely & Meglino, 1994), organizational justice (Niehoff & Moorman, 1993), and collectivism (Moorman & Blakely, 1995). The common denominator across these studies is the notion that citizenship stems from an individual's desire to help others or the organization because of disposition or a sense of obligation; describing such individuals as "good soldiers" or "good citizens" reinforces this idea.

Citizenship researchers argue that OCBs are critical to organizational functioning (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Organ, 1988)—an assertion based largely on the work of Katz, who suggested that "an organization which depends solely upon its blueprints of prescribed behavior is a fragile social system" (1964: 132). However, in contrast to the numerous studies exploring the antecedents of OCB, there is a paucity of research examining the outcomes of citizenship behaviors in organizations (Organ & Ryan, 1995).

Although researchers suggest that enhanced organizational functioning is the focal outcome variable of OCB, there have been few empirical studies addressing the topic. In addition, there are other products of citizenship that have not been examined. In particular, researchers have yet to look at the positive images likely to accrue to individuals who engage in citizenship behaviors. Several researchers recently have noted that engaging in citizenship behaviors might be quite impression enhancing and self-serving (e.g., Eastman, 1994; Fandt & Ferris, 1990; Ferris,

Judge, Rowland, & Fitzgibbons, 1994). That is, people who engage in citizenship are likely to be favorably perceived by others (e.g., supervisors, coworkers, and so on) in their organizations.

Impression-management researchers have identified tactics that people use to enhance their images at work (Jones & Pittman, 1982; Tedeschi & Melburg, 1984). On the surface, many of these impression-management strategies are very similar—if not identical—to citizenship behaviors. For example, helping one's supervisor may be an act of citizenship or an act of impression management. In a finding unrelated to their primary research question, Wayne and Green (1993) noted that impression-management behaviors were correlated positively ($r = .49$) with altruistic citizenship behaviors. Thus, there is an empirical basis for linking these constructs. Moreover, Schnake (1991) points out that unless the motive behind citizenship is revealed, in some cases impression-management behaviors may mistakenly be coded as citizenship; likewise, OCB may sometimes be categorized as impression management. Thus, understanding motive is essential in order for research on citizenship to progress; moreover, the motives underlying citizenship may influence the effect that such behaviors have on individuals' images at work, as well as organization or work group effectiveness.

Given that image enhancement is likely to result from citizenship behaviors, impression-management concerns, in addition to reciprocity or personality/disposition to be helpful, may drive individuals' decisions to engage in such behaviors. My purpose in this article, then, is to explore the role of impression-management motivation in the context of citizenship. In exploring this issue, I seek to further the understanding of impression management and citizenship in three ways.

First, I review the relevant literature on citizenship and impression management, highlighting the conceptual overlap between citizenship and impression management. I then present a general model of citizenship that provides an overview of how motivational concerns, including impression management, influence acts of citizenship and the outcomes associated with them. Thus, in this model a more complex conceptualization of the motivational bases of organizational citizenship is proposed—an approach that seeks to improve our understanding of the intentionality of citizenship behaviors by examining how impression-management concerns interplay with motives of citizenship behaviors identified in past research.[1]

Second, based on Leary and Kowalski's (1990) impression-management motivation model, I outline specific antecedents of citizenship behaviors driven by impression-management concerns. Following their model, I propose that individuals will be motivated to engage in citizenship for impression-management reasons when (1) they believe that citizenship will facilitate the achievement of a "good organizational citizen" image, (2) they value being seen as good organizational citizens, and (3) there is a discrepancy between the good organizational citizen image that they believe others hold of them and how they wish to be viewed. I then detail the effects of citizenship behaviors, in turn, upon organization/work group effectiveness and an individual's image as a good organizational citizen. Thus, I seek not only to explore the impression-management motives underlying citizenship but also to examine the outcomes of citizenship in this context.

Third and finally, I offer recommendations for designing research aimed at empirically determining the motivational bases for citizenship behaviors, specifically addressing the means of developing research designs that will enable researchers to isolate the helping motivation from impression-management motives underlying OCBs. I also discuss implications for future theory development and practical implications.

CITIZENSHIP AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT: DOING GOOD—LOOKING GOOD

According to Organ (1988), OCBs are behaviors that employees (1) are not *explicitly* rewarded for exhibiting nor punished for not exhibiting, (2) are not part of an employee's job description, and (3) are behaviors for which employees do not receive training to perform.

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[1] Although it is likely that individuals' motives generally are mixed, in the interest of clearly contrasting such motives, I at times discuss citizenship behaviors as stemming mainly from impression-management motives or from motives previously identified by researchers.

Organ (1988) proffers five dimensions of organizational citizenship. *Altruism* represents behaviors directed at helping a specific person at work (e.g., a coworker or a supervisor). The label *generalized compliance* is used to describe general employee conscientiousness that surpasses enforceable work standards. *Sportsmanship* describes tolerance of nuisances on the job (i.e., when employees endure impositions or inconveniences without complaint). *Courtesy* refers to the act of "touching base" with others before taking actions or making decisions that would affect their work. Lastly, *civic virtue* behaviors describe the active participation and involvement of employees in company affairs, such as attending meetings, responding to mail, and keeping up with organizational issues. Most of the empirical work on citizenship is based on Organ's (1988) model, and empirical support has been found for his conceptualization[2] (MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Fetter, 1991).

By definition, OCBs are not necessarily selfless acts. Still, by and large, researchers have focused on motives that emphasize either prosocial or social exchange intent. For example,

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[2] There is support for Organ's (1988) conceptualization, although researchers have proposed alternative models. For example, Van Dyne, Graham, and Dienesch (1994) identified—both theoretically and empirically—five dimensions of OCB: (1) *loyalty* (commitment to and promotion of one's organization), (2) *obedience* (adherence to rules and policies), (3) *advocacy participation* (innovative behavior/willingness to be controversial and engage one's coworkers), (4) *functional participation* (self-development and volunteering), and (5) *social participation* (attending meetings and group activities). Although their model overlaps greatly with Organ's, their dimensions are based on geopolitical theory and, thus, include behaviors that are more change oriented and controversial than the more affiliative and promotive behaviors proposed by Organ (1988).

In addition, Moorman and Blakely (1995) developed a four-dimension scale aimed at integrating the Organ (1988) and Van Dyne et al. (1994) models. The dimensions of their model include (1) *interpersonal helping* (altruism behaviors), (2) *individual initiative* (civic virtue and advocacy behaviors), (3) *personal industry* (conscientiousness and functional participation behaviors), and (4) *loyal boosterism* (loyalty behaviors).

Recently, Van Dyne, Cummings, and McLean Parks (1995) suggested that, in the interest of construct clarity, future research should focus on citizenship behaviors that are affiliative and promotive and should not address more challenging and change-oriented behaviors as part of the OCB construct. Based on this recommendation, then, I use here Organ's (1988) model of organizational citizenship, focusing on affiliative and promotive behaviors.

while Organ (1988) acknowledges that engaging in citizenship behaviors on a frequent basis might affect the impression that an individual makes on a supervisor or coworker, he maintains that such behavior is a consequence of other-serving rather than self-serving motivation. In fact, he suggests that to increase the prevalence of OCBs in the workplace, organizations should try to identify and recruit individuals prone to engage in OCBs and should avoid individuals who are egocentric. Similarly, while Podsakoff, MacKenzie, and Hui (1993) state that it may be interesting to understand how political motives affect employees' reasons for engaging in OCBs, they conclude that the intentions of employees are unimportant for understanding the impact that OCBs have on organizational functioning. Thus, although citizenship researchers have acknowledged that impression-management motives may explain citizenship behaviors, none has conducted theoretical or empirical research addressing this point.

Impression management refers to the process by which people attempt to influence the image others have of them (Rosenfeld, Giacalone, & Riordan, 1995). Sociologists and social psychologists have studied such behavior for more than 30 years, but only more recently has the topic received the attention of organizational researchers. During this time, impression management has been documented as a common phenomenon in the workplace, and impression-management behaviors have been discussed in a variety of contexts. These include interviewing (Stevens & Kristof, 1995), performance appraisal (Wayne & Ferris, 1990; Wayne & Liden, 1995), leadership (Wayne & Green, 1993), careers (Feldman & Klich, 1991), feedback seeking (Ashford & Northcraft, 1992), and information seeking (Morrison & Bies, 1991).

Impression-management theorists have identified many strategies that individuals may employ in organizational settings (e.g., Tedeschi & Melburg, 1984). Jones and Pittman (1982) indicate that these tactics fall into five categories: (1) *ingratiation*, where individuals seek to be viewed as likable; (2) *exemplification*, in which people seek to be viewed as dedicated; (3) *intimidation*, where individuals seek to appear dangerous or threatening, (4) *self-promotion*, in which individuals hope to be seen as competent; and (5) *supplication*, where people seek to be

viewed as needy or in need of assistance. Not only can achieving these desired images be facilitated by acts of citizenship, but many measures of impression management include specific behaviors that OCB researchers label as citizenship behaviors.

For example, exemplification strategies of impression management involve such behaviors as arriving to work early and leaving late. Rosenfeld et al. (1995) describe exemplifiers as employees who volunteer for tough assignments, suffer to help others in the organization, and "go beyond the call of duty." Likewise, Jones' (1964) typology of ingratiation tactics suggests that ingratiators engage in behaviors such as making others feel positive about themselves, rendering favors, and conformity. Wayne and Ferris's (1990) impression-management scale includes supervisor-focused ingratiation behaviors, such as agreeing with your supervisor, doing personal favors for your supervisor, and volunteering to help your supervisor on a task. Similarly, Kumar and Beyerlein's (1991) Measure of Ingratiatory Behaviors in Organizational Settings (MIBOS) measures the frequency of such behaviors as listening to others' problems, going out of one's way to run errands, volunteering one's help, and showing one's selflessness. On the surface, exemplification and ingratiation strategies of impression management appear to have much in common with citizenship behaviors.

Volunteering for special assignments and helping out others may provide workers with opportunities to show off their talents and knowledge. As such, these behaviors may be motivated by self-promotion strategies. Likewise, individuals may help out others in order to convey the message that they, too, need help at times. Such a strategy is consistent with research on supplication, which suggests that individuals use such tactics to evoke feelings of social responsibility in others (Rosenfeld et al., 1995). Finally, it is conceivable that individuals might use OCBs as part of an intimidation strategy. For example, if employees are aware that their coworkers cannot stay at work late, they might stay late or threaten to do so. That is, because they can make their colleagues appear less dedicated in contrast, employees might use such tactics to intimidate or threaten their colleagues. Again, there is not only an overlap between impression-management behaviors

themselves and several dimensions of citizenship, but OCBs may also prove instrumental in the achievement of an individual's impression-management goals.
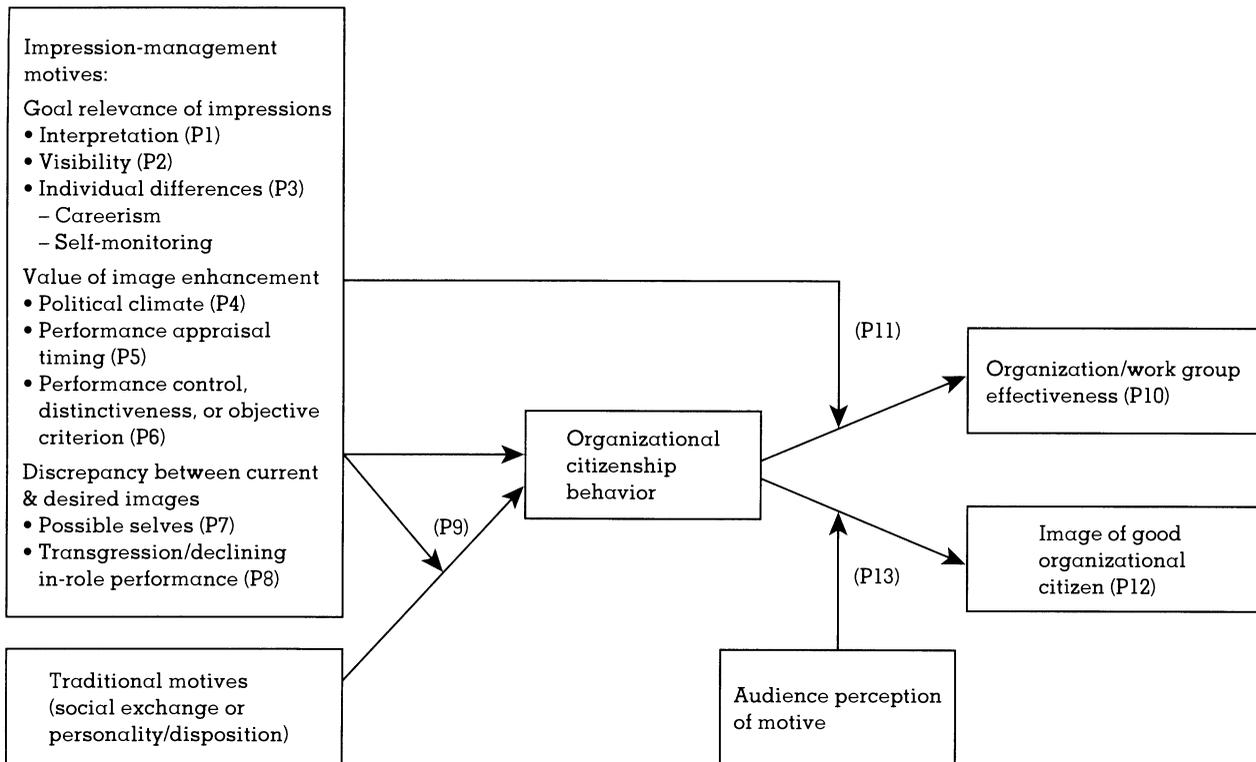
Impression-management theorists suggest that a primary human motive, both inside and outside of organizations, is to be viewed by others in a favorable light and to avoid being viewed negatively (Rosenfeld et al., 1995). As indicated above, engaging in citizenship behaviors in organizational settings is a viable means of achieving favorable attributions. Although there is some disagreement among impression-management researchers regarding the authenticity of the impressions that people convey, Leary and Kowalski (1990) emphasize that impression-management theory does not imply that the impressions created by individuals are necessarily false. In other words, individuals who seek to be viewed as dedicated to their companies may, indeed, truly be committed to their organizations. Thus, I do not maintain here that employees engage in OCBs solely based on impression-management concerns; instead, I suggest that impression-management motives may motivate citizenship in addition to other motives, such as social exchange or personality/disposition.

Figure 1 illustrates the two motivational forces behind citizenship behavior. According to this model, one set of forces reflects the impression-management motive behind OCBs: citizenship behaviors result from an individual's desire to look like a good citizen. The second set of motivational forces encompasses those identified by previous research on this topic (Organ & Ryan, 1995); here, citizenship behaviors result from an individual's genuine desire to help the organization or to help another individual at work based on social exchange or because of their personality/disposition. (Because these are the motives traditionally associated with citizenship behavior, I refer to them collectively as "traditional motives.")

The model indicates that impression-management motives have an additive effect on citizenship behaviors[3] (i.e., in addition to traditional motives). As I argue later, impression-manage-

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[3] Citizenship behaviors are conceptualized here as merely the observable behaviors themselves. That is, I do not consider motivation as part of the citizenship construct itself; thus, OCBs refer to acts of altruism, generalized com-

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FIGURE 1
An Impression-Management Model of Organizational Citizenship Behavior

Impression-management motives:

Goal relevance of impressions
- Interpretation (P1)
- Visibility (P2)
- Individual differences (P3)
  - Careerism
  - Self-monitoring

Value of image enhancement
- Political climate (P4)
- Performance appraisal timing (P5)
- Performance control, distinctiveness, or objective criterion (P6)

Discrepancy between current & desired images
- Possible selves (P7)
- Transgression/declining in-role performance (P8)

Traditional motives (social exchange or personality/disposition)

(P9)

Organizational citizenship behavior

(P11)

Organization/work group effectiveness (P10)

Image of good organizational citizen (P12)

(P13)

Audience perception of motive

ment motives also moderate the relationship between traditional motives and citizenship behaviors (the relationship between traditional motives and OCB is weaker in the presence of impression-management motives). As in previous work, I show OCBs to positively impact organization/work group performance (Organ, 1988). However, the model specifies that impression-management motives moderate the relationship between OCB and organization/work group effectiveness (the relationship between citizenship and effectiveness is weaker when OCBs are motivated by impression-management concerns). Lastly, the model suggests that although an employee who engages in citizenship behaviors generally will be viewed as a good organizational citizen, this outcome is moderated by the audience's perception of the employee's motive.

pliance, sportsmanship, courtesy, and civic virtue, but not motive.

IMPRESSION–MANAGEMENT MOTIVES AND CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIORS

In a 1990 work, Leary and Kowalski reviewed over 30 years of social psychology research on impression management. The objective of their review was to reduce the many variables that affect impression management to the smallest set of theoretically meaningful factors. Based on their review of this literature, the authors developed an expectancy-value model of impression management. According to their theoretical model, three main factors determine the motivation to manage impressions: (1) the goal relevance of impressions, (2) the value of image enhancement, and (3) the discrepancy between current and desired images (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). I discuss each set of factors in turn.

Goal Relevance of Impressions

Individuals are more motivated to manage impressions when they view such impressions as instrumental in achieving their goals (Leary

& Kowalski, 1990). In this article I propose that, in some cases, an individual's goal may be to be perceived as a good citizen. Individuals will be more likely to use citizenship behaviors to achieve such a goal when they believe OCBs will be instrumental in achieving this end. Three factors are likely to affect one's perception of the goal relevance of citizenship behaviors for impression management: (1) interpretation, (2) visibility, and (3) individual differences.

First, individuals are likely to view citizenship as image enhancing when such behavior will be interpreted in a positive manner by observers who influence outcomes that are valued by the individual. However, although it is typically assumed that citizenship is a desirable behavior and, therefore, seen in a favorable light, there are reasons that citizenship may not be viewed as such. For example, a corporate culture that disapproves of political behavior may diminish an employee's expectancy that citizenship behaviors will be viewed positively by others. Nonetheless, to the extent that citizenship is viewed favorably by important others, employees will be encouraged to engage in such behavior.

> Proposition 1: Individuals will be more likely to engage in OCBs when they believe that OCBs will be interpreted favorably by individuals who influence desired outcomes.

Second, citizenship behaviors that are visible are more likely to be relevant to the accomplishment of one's image goal than those that are private. That is, using citizenship as a form of impression management requires that the image-enhancing OCBs be recognized by those who influence desired outcomes—both tangible and intangible. Thus, citizenship behaviors are more likely to facilitate the accomplishment of one's goal to the extent that they are noticed by one's supervisor, coworkers, or other important targets. Individuals will be more likely to view citizenship as goal relevant and, therefore, carry out such behaviors when their expectancy is high that influential others will note their actions.

> Proposition 2: Individuals will be more likely to engage in OCBs when they believe that OCBs will be noticed by individuals who influence desired outcomes.

Third and finally, there is evidence that some individuals are more predisposed than others to believe that impression management is an important factor in accomplishing one's goals. Feldman and Weitz (1991) describe careerism as the tendency to pursue career advancement through non-performance-based means. Careerists believe that merit alone is not enough for achieving upward mobility in organizations and that appearances play an important role in career advancement (Feldman & Klich, 1991). For this reason, individuals with such a disposition often focus more upon image building than hard work. Thus, careerists are more likely to view OCBs as relevant in achieving their image goals than those without a careerist orientation.

Self-monitors are individuals who are sensitive to the social appropriateness of their self-presentations and act like social chameleons, changing their attitudes, perspectives, and behaviors to suit a particular social setting (Snyder, 1974). Fandt and Ferris (1990) have found that self-monitors use impression management in an opportunistic manner. Blakely, Fuller, and Smith (1996) have found that high self-monitors are also more likely to engage in citizenship behaviors. These authors assert that high self-monitors make better citizens because they are more likely to be sensitive to others' need for help and are able to adjust their behavior. Although the same relationship is postulated here, I suggest that self-monitors engage in OCBs because they believe such behaviors help them to "fit in" in a way that enhances their image.

> Proposition 3: Careerism and self-monitoring will be positively associated with OCBs.

Value of Image Enhancement

Whereas the first set of factors addresses individuals' expectations that their acts of citizenship will prove successful in helping them achieve their image goals, the second set of factors related to impression-management motivation is the value of image enhancement itself. That is, individuals are more likely to engage in citizenship for impression-management reasons as the value they place on being seen as good organizational citizens increases. I sug-

gest here that the value of such an image is salient in political climates; in periods of approaching performance appraisal deadlines; and in situations where in-role performance is constrained, where in-role performance is unlikely to be distinctive across employees, or where there is a lack of objective criteria for assessing in-role performance.

Researchers have described organizational politics as a social influence process in which behavior is strategically designed to maximize either short- or long-term self-interest at the expense of others' interests (Ferris, Russ, & Fandt, 1989). When organizational processes such as rule enforcement, performance appraisal, and advancement decisions become politicized and subjective, rather than objective, an individual's image tends to become important. Consequently, as Ralston and Elsass (1989) suggest, individuals react to political environments by increasing their use of impression-management tactics. Therefore, in such an environment, employees are likely to place a premium on improving their personal image and to use acts of citizenship to achieve this end.

> Proposition 4: The greater the level of organizational politics perceived by individuals, the more likely they will be to engage in OCBs.

Because performance appraisals typically affect the distribution of desirable outcomes (e.g., money and advancement), the value of being seen as a good organizational citizen is likely to increase as the evaluation date draws near. Indeed, Werner (1994) found that individuals who engage in OCBs receive higher performance ratings. Research suggests that individuals frequently increase their in-role performance as the performance appraisal period draws closer (Longenecker, Gioia, & Sims, 1987); I suggest here that individuals in organizations will take advantage of rater recency biases by increasing extra-role behaviors as well.

> Proposition 5: Individuals will be more likely to engage in OCBs as the performance appraisal deadline approaches.

Finally, the nature of the job is a factor likely to increase the value of one's image. Specifically, if employee control over in-role performance is limited, individuals may rely upon extra-role behaviors to enhance their image and distinguish themselves. For example, workers on an assembly line may have little opportunity to demonstrate superior performance and may therefore engage in citizenship behaviors, owing to their discretionary nature.

Similarly, situations in which employees have difficulty differentiating their performance from that of their peers may induce citizenship behaviors. For example, if an employee is competing with equally capable coworkers, that employee may be capable of distinguishing himself/herself via extra-role behaviors. Finally, individuals working in jobs with no formal or quantifiable performance criteria will be more likely to engage in OCBs. Ferris et al. (1989) suggest that individuals respond with impression-management behaviors when they are in situations where it is difficult for their performance to be assessed objectively. Thus, employees may use citizenship behaviors in such situations because OCBs become the primary indicator of their performance (i.e., by necessity, it is likely to be the criteria upon which most supervisors will base performance evaluations).

> Proposition 6: Individuals will be more likely to engage in OCBs when their control over in-role performance is limited, when individual in-role performance is difficult to distinguish, or when objective criteria for assessing in-role performance are lacking.

Discrepancy Between Desired and Current Images

The final set of factors related to an individual's impression-management motivation is the discrepancy between one's desired image and the image one believes others may hold. Such discrepancies are likely to arise in at least two cases: (1) when individuals proactively seek to move to a more desirable self-conceptualization or (2) when they are reacting to a loss in their status that is due to transgressions or a decline in their in-role performance.

Research on the concept of possible selves suggests that individuals have ideas of what they would like to become and seek to achieve their ideal selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989). Researchers have shown that impression management can help

people move closer to their desired selves or ideas of what they would like to be or become (Baumeister, 1982). Thus, this research suggests that people may engage in citizenship behavior when they have a possible self of "the good organizational citizen." That is, the citizenship behaviors of some individuals may serve to facilitate the achievement of a goal that moves them from their present conceptualization of self to a more desirable image; citizenship behaviors may act to help individuals maintain this desired image as well.

> *Proposition 7: Individuals with a good-organizational-citizen possible self will be more likely to engage in OCBs.*

Transgression is an act that violates a shared moral or legal code. Researchers in social psychology have established that transgression and subsequent prosocial behavior by the actor are positively related (Tedeschi & Riordan, 1981). In other words, individuals often engage in prosocial acts in order to restore a positive image of themselves. This research suggests that employees will be likely to engage in citizenship behaviors when they have wronged their organization in some respect and are making amends for their transgression. For example, an employee may work overtime because of a damaged image after being caught using the office copier for personal purposes.

Similarly, a discrepancy between one's desired and current image is also likely to be created when an individual's in-role performance is suffering. That is, an employee trying to maintain a positive image may use citizenship behaviors in an effort to offset deteriorating in-role performance. For example, employees who cannot complete in-role assignments may step up their citizenship efforts—an approach that may maintain or increase their good-citizen image by offsetting their declining image or by providing justification for not properly managing their in-role work.

> *Proposition 8: Individuals will be more likely to engage in OCBs when their image has suffered because of transgressions against their organization or because of a decline in their in-role performance.*

THE INTERACTION OF IMPRESSION–MANAGEMENT AND TRADITIONAL MOTIVES

According to Figure 1, citizenship may be a function of impression-management concerns or the genuine desire to help out—or both. Whereas Propositions 1–8 relate the additive effects that impression-management motives have on citizenship behaviors, Proposition 9 suggests that impression-management motives also moderate the relationship between traditional motives and citizenship behaviors. Specifically, the relationship between traditional motives and citizenship behaviors will be weaker in the presence of impression-management motives.

For example, consider the relationship between conscientiousness (a traditional motive) and citizenship in the context of an approaching performance appraisal (an impression-management motive). Employees who are highly conscientious generally engage in citizenship more frequently than those low in this trait (Organ & Ryan, 1995). Therefore, in the absence of impression-management motives, highly conscientious employees will engage in a high degree of citizenship, whereas those low in conscientiousness will engage in a lower degree of citizenship. Similarly, as performance appraisals approach, those high in conscientiousness will exhibit a high degree of citizenship behaviors. However, because of their image-enhancing effects, when performance appraisals approach, even employees who are low in conscientiousness will engage in high levels of citizenship behaviors. That is, the impact of conscientiousness will be weaker when performance appraisals are near. Thus, in this example the presence of an approaching performance appraisal moderates the relationship between conscientiousness and citizenship behaviors.

Take the relationship between organizational justice (a traditional motive) and careerism (an impression-management motive) as another illustration. Among noncareerists, the relationship between organizational justice and citizenship should be fairly strong (Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). However, among high careerists, one expects citizenship levels to be relatively high, even in instances where organizational justice is low. That is, in the presence of an impression-management motive such as careerism, the in-

fluence of organizational justice on citizenship behaviors is diminished. Therefore, I propose the following:

> *Proposition 9: The relationship between traditional motives and citizenship behaviors is moderated by impression-management motives; the relationship will be weaker when impression-management motives are present.*

IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF CITIZENSHIP

Organ and Ryan (1995) note that, since its introduction, most research on citizenship has examined it as a dependent variable. Although confirming empirical work is lacking, in theory, OCBs are thought to facilitate organization performance. Consistent with this perspective, I suggest that OCBs are positively related to organization and work group effectiveness. However, drawing upon impression-management theory, I propose that acts of citizenship also have important enhancement effects on an employee's image. In this section, then, I discuss the relationship between citizenship behaviors and organization/work group effectiveness and image enhancement.

Impression Management, Citizenship Behaviors, and Organization/Work Group Effectiveness

A primary assumption in previous work on OCB is that citizenship plays an important role in organization/work group functioning (Organ, 1988). Researchers have offered several explanations for this assumption. First, citizenship is thought to increase organization performance by reducing the need to allocate scarce resources to maintenance functions within organizations, thereby freeing up these resources for more productive purposes. Second, citizenship can act to improve coordination within work groups, thus reducing friction within organizations and improving effectiveness. Finally, by making them attractive places to work, organizations where citizenship is prevalent may be better able to attract and retain the best employees, thereby improving their performance. Although researchers have little examined these

specific processes, the extant studies, in general, appear to support the idea that citizenship and organization/work group effectiveness are positively related (Podsakoff, Ahearne, & MacKenzie, 1997).

> *Proposition 10: OCBs are positively related to organization/work group effectiveness.*

It is unclear how the motivation underlying citizenship behaviors is likely to impact organizational functioning. For example, Fandt and Ferris (1990) believe that acts of citizenship, regardless of their motive, are likely to facilitate organizational functioning. However, Schnake (1991) speculates that, in the long term, citizenship behavior motivated purely by self-interest will produce dysfunctional outcomes for organizations. Impression-management theorists, too, suggest that impression-management motives are likely to have deleterious effects on the relationship between citizenship behaviors and organization or work group effectiveness.

There are two reasons why impression-management motives are likely to reduce the impact citizenship behaviors have on organization/work group effectiveness. First, as Baumeister (1989) argues, when individuals undertake actions based upon impression-management concerns, they are less able to devote their full attention to the task at hand. Consequently, when employees are concerned with impression management, this concern frequently impairs their performance. For example, employees who volunteer to assist on a task may be so concerned with their image that they are unable to focus their attention on properly executing the task at hand. Moreover, in carrying out their citizenship behaviors, individuals whose primary goal is to increase the welfare of the organization or others are likely to outperform those whose goal is to look good. For this reason, when individuals undertake citizenship based on impression-management concerns, it is less likely that their OCBs will make as great a contribution to organization or work group functioning as will individuals' OCBs that stem from traditional motives.

Second, when citizenship behaviors are motivated by impression-management concerns, individuals may consciously invest less effort or expend less energy in carrying out the behavior. For example, compared with those motivated by

traditional motives, employees who join a task force for impression-management reasons will be more likely to simply show up for meetings and do the minimum required of them. In other words, those volunteering because they sincerely desire to contribute to the organization will be likely to contribute to a greater extent than those who volunteer for impression-management reasons. Likewise, it is probable that employees who show up for work early or stay late as a result of impression-management motives will be more likely to spend some of their time socializing or reading the newspaper, thereby adding little to the performance of their work groups or organizations.

Nevertheless, even citizenship behaviors motivated by impression-management concerns are likely to facilitate organization/work group effectiveness to some extent. For example, even those who come to work early primarily to look dedicated may actually execute important tasks; likewise, although those engaging in citizenship owing to traditional motives may be more dedicated to or focused on their tasks and may execute them more effectively, those whose citizenship behaviors are motivated by impression management are likely to contribute as well, albeit to a lesser extent.

The extent to which motive is relevant in this regard may depend upon the type of citizenship behavior involved. For instance, for the more mundane forms of citizenship, motive may be less critical. However, given more complex acts of citizenship (i.e., those characterized by subtle quality contributions and extended efforts), motive may indeed play an important role. Further, because citizenship's impact on organizational functioning is frequently attributable to subtle contributions, to the extent that employees emphasize only the visible aspects of citizenship, it is less likely that the full value of citizenship will be realized.

Acts of citizenship are thought to enhance the effectiveness of organizations. Although it is unlikely that OCBs motivated by impression management will adversely affect organization/work group effectiveness, acts that are inferior or those that merely appear to be citizenship on the surface are less likely to greatly facilitate organization performance. Therefore:

> *Proposition 11: Impression-management motives moderate the relationship*

> *between OCB and organization/work group effectiveness; the relationship will be weaker when impression-management concerns are present.*

Citizenship Behaviors and Good Soldiers

The premise of this article is that engaging in OCBs can result in image enhancement. That is, employees who engage in such behaviors are more likely to be viewed as good organizational citizens by others. There is empirical support for this idea as well. For example, Werner (1994) found that supervisors use information regarding subordinate extra-role behaviors in determining performance appraisal ratings. Likewise, Podsakoff et al. (1993) indicate that citizenship behaviors affect managers' evaluations of subordinates' effectiveness over and above their objective productivity. Finally, Ferris et al. (1994) suggest that employees who engage in citizenship behaviors are likely to be viewed as better, more committed performers.

> *Proposition 12: Individuals who engage in OCBs will be more likely to be viewed as good organizational citizens.*

Although Proposition 12 suggests that OCBs are likely to foster an image of good organizational citizenship, audience attributions are an important moderator of this relationship. For example, Eastman (1994) found that employees labeled as good citizens received greater rewards from their supervisors than those labeled as ingratiators. Similarly, Jones's (1964) work on ingratiation indicates that impression-management tactics are successful only to the extent that they are perceived as authentic by observers. That is, employees may derive little benefit from engaging in OCBs if their motivation for doing so is perceived as insincere.

Some researchers speculate that engaging in behavior that is viewed purely as impression management may do more harm to one's image than abstaining from such behavior completely (e.g., Jones & Pittman, 1982); however, Liden and Mitchell's (1988) work suggests that individuals will simply derive less benefit from their acts of citizenship when their behaviors are seen as stemming from impression-management motives. Because observers are likely to have difficulty discerning motive, they will most likely

simply discount the credit given to those seen as impression managers.

> *Proposition 13: The relationship between citizenship behaviors and the image of a good organizational citizen is moderated by observer attributions of motive; the relationship will be weaker when observers view citizenship behaviors as motivated by impression-management concerns.*

IMPRESSION-MANAGEMENT MOTIVES AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF OCB

In studying organizational citizenship, researchers have primarily used measures tapping the frequency of OCB (e.g., Bateman & Organ, 1983). Likewise, here I have centered on how impression-management motives drive the extent to which individuals will engage in citizenship. As Proposition 12 suggests, the more an individual engages in OCB, the more likely he or she is to be seen as a good soldier. For this reason, studying frequency of OCB is a logical starting point for investigating the relationship between impression management and citizenship; however, by focusing solely on the frequency of citizenship behaviors, researchers neglect other important features of citizenship, which, if examined, may help researchers better understand citizenship motives and aid them in designing research that identifies the likely motive underlying OCB. Table 1 describes five other characteristics—type, target, audience, timing, and magnitude—that might inform future research on citizenship, particularly research examining its underlying motives.

For example, there has been little attempt on the part of researchers to examine why individuals engage in certain types of citizenship behaviors to the exclusion of others (e.g., generalized compliance behaviors as opposed to altruism behaviors). This is unfortunate, because the *type* of citizenship demonstrated by an individual may affect its image-enhancing potential. In particular, impression-management researchers suggest that images are enhanced when they match the values and preferences of the target (Gaes & Tedeschi, 1978). Thus, for example, if one's supervisor values conscientiousness, an employee's image is likely to be enhanced to the extent that he or she engages in generalized compliance behaviors; if helping teammates is considered paramount by a supervisor, acts of altruism should be of greater benefit to the actor's image.

TABLE 1
Impression-Management-Relevant Characteristics of OCB

Characteristic	Impression-Management Issue	Illustration
Type	Certain types of OCBs may be more image enhancing than others.	In organizations that value cooperation, *altruism* behaviors may be the most image enhancing.
Target	OCBs directed at certain individuals may be more instrumental in achieving one's image goals.	Helping a supervisor may be more image enhancing than helping a coworker.
Audience	Who the citizenship observers are, and how many there are, may affect OCBs' image-enhancing potential.	Citizenship witnessed by a large number of powerful people is likely facilitate impression-management goals to a greater extent than if such behaviors are witnessed by a single unimportant individual.
Timing	Being a good citizen when it counts most may increase the image-enhancing potential of OCBs.	Staying late is likely to be highly valued in general; however, staying late before a critical assignment is due is likely to be more important for enhancing one's image.
Magnitude	The dramatic effect of OCBs is likely to influence their image-enhancing potential.	An act like coming to the office in severe weather is likely to facilitate image enhancement more so than an act like photocopying a document as a favor for someone.

Recent research has examined the issue of *target*, to the extent that this research considers the foci of employee citizenship behaviors (i.e., helping directed at another individual or helping directed at the organization). For example, McNeely and Meglino (1994) found that individuals high in concern and empathy for others were more likely to engage in citizenship directed at specific individuals, rather than the organization. However, researchers have not considered the issue of *which* particular person an individual chooses to help. Targeting one's citizenship behavior to coincide with the preferences of a powerful target is likely to heighten the degree of image enhancement achieved. For example, if a supervisor prefers that his or her subordinates assist their colleagues, altruism behaviors targeted at coworkers should be more image enhancing than those targeted at the supervisor.

The witnesses or *audience* to citizenship behaviors is potentially relevant as well with regard to image enhancement. Clearly, individuals who engage in citizenship for impression-management purposes should derive more image benefit from OCBs when there is an audience present. Further, the more powerful the audience or the larger the audience, the more image enhancing an act of citizenship is likely to be. Thus, the witnesses of employee citizenship behaviors—that is, coworkers, supervisors, or clients—may affect their image-enhancing potential.

Another relevant characteristic of citizenship is the *timing* of such behaviors. Citizenship behaviors may have stronger image-enhancing effects when they are timed strategically (i.e., executed at critical junctures). For example, working long hours to complete a critical assignment may be more image enhancing than staying late to complete regular assignments. In other words, being a good citizen when it counts most is likely to maximize image enhancement.

The final characteristic of citizenship behavior deals with the nature of the behavior in terms of its *magnitude* or its dramatic effect. Magnitude reflects how much effort or personal cost is required on the part of the individual engaging in citizenship. Image enhancement is likely to be greater when acts of citizenship are dramatic, costly, and appear to involve self-sacrifice. That is, certain acts of citizenship are more likely to elicit a positive reaction than others. Even within a particular class of citizenship

behaviors, some behaviors are certain to be more noteworthy than others. For example, an employee may be helpful by making a fresh pot of coffee for his or her supervisor. That employee may also drive his supervisor to the airport at 5:00 a.m. Although both behaviors are forms of altruism, the second behavior would be considered to be of a greater magnitude than the first and, thus, more greatly enhance the employee's image.

I suggest here that these characteristics of citizenship are informative in gaining a more comprehensive understanding of OCB. Moreover, as with the frequency of citizenship behaviors, it is likely that impression-management motives influence the type, target, audience, timing, and magnitude of citizenship behaviors so that the acts are more image enhancing.

> *Proposition 14: Impression-management concerns will motivate individuals to engage in citizenship behaviors that (a) correspond with the type of OCBs preferred by an influential target, (b) are directed in the way that is most valued by an influential target, (c) are noticed by an audience of influential targets, (d) are timed so that their execution occurs at critical junctures, and (e) are of great magnitude in terms of their level of effort or personal cost.*

IDENTIFYING IMPRESSION–MANAGEMENT MOTIVES

Identifying the motivation behind citizenship behaviors is an important undertaking. First, from a theory development perspective, gaining insight into employees' citizenship motives and the distinctions between organizational citizenship and impression management should produce a clearer understanding of both of these constructs. Second, it is valuable to understand impression-management motives because they are likely to influence the impact that OCBs have on organization and work group performance. Here, I address the means of identifying impression-management motives using a variety of research designs.

Because motivation cannot be observed (only behaviors can), many researchers maintain that identifying the motive underlying acts of altru-

ism is impossible. Recently, however, researchers in social psychology have developed a research program aimed at distinguishing self-serving from other-serving motives (e.g., Batson, 1991). Batson and Shaw (1991) state that the premise of this approach is based on three principles. First, motivation or intent cannot be observed directly; it can only be inferred from an individual's behavior. Second, the true motivation for a behavior cannot be ascertained by observing a single behavior that might be attributable to different motives. Third, if an individual's behavior can be observed in different situations that isolate the potential goals of the individual, its underlying motive reasonably can be inferred.

Based on these principles, these researchers outline two steps necessary to infer the nature of one's motive from that individual's behavior. First, the two goals must be identified. In the impression-management–OCB context, these goals are (1) looking like a good organizational citizen and (2) contributing to the organization/work group. Second, the individual's behavior must be observed under circumstances that are varied systematically. That is, the situation must be manipulated in a manner that untangles the relationship between the two potential goals, enabling the individual to obtain one goal without obtaining the other. For example, a researcher could accomplish this by developing research designs whereby individuals can achieve their goals of enhancing their "good soldier" image without actually having to engage in the OCB. In contrast, if an individual engages in citizenship under conditions where he or she believes that a relevant audience will never know those OCBs had been performed (thereby negating the impression-management motive), a motive to help the organization reasonably can be inferred.

Again, the key is not to seek to identify the motivation behind a single behavior but, rather, to infer motivation based upon a pattern of behaviors across a series of systematically varied situations. Indeed, this methodology has already proven successful in research on altruism (Batson, 1991; Batson & Shaw, 1991). The approach described here is most easily implemented in laboratory studies—a research design commonly utilized in research on impression management (e.g., Fandt & Ferris, 1990; Wayne & Ferris, 1990), as well as organiza-

tional citizenship (e.g., Werner, 1994; Wright, George, Farnsworth, & McMahan, 1993). In addition to laboratory experiments, researchers might employ studies where individuals are asked to react to hypothetical vignettes in order to examine the role of motives. Ashford and Northcraft (1992) successfully used hypothetical scenarios in their work on impression management; Orr, Sackett, and Mercer (1989) have studied citizenship behavior using hypothetical accounts as well.

Propositions 1 through 8 suggest some key motives that might be varied using such designs. For example, performance appraisal deadline is a factor that could be studied using hypothetical vignettes. That is, subjects could be assigned to two conditions: (1) performance deadline close or (2) deadline far off. Likewise, subjects could be placed in conditions where they had transgressed/not transgressed against their organizations. In such studies researchers could explore how these conditions affect individuals' propensity to engage in citizenship behaviors.

In addition to OCB frequency, such studies might also examine the other characteristics of citizenship (i.e., type, target, audience, timing, and magnitude). For example, subjects could be placed in a situation where they must choose between engaging in an altruism behavior that, they are informed, will help the organization greatly but will be minimally image enhancing (e.g., helping a colleague finish an important project) or a civic virtue behavior that will only moderately help the organization but will provide them with a great deal of image enhancement (e.g., attending an optional work function, but one that their boss would like them to attend). If an employee's true motive is to help the organization, he or she should opt for the type of OCB that will help the organization most. Such designs could be expanded further to see if certain situational variables influence this decision; for example, subjects could be given the same general choice scenario, but subjects in one condition could be placed in a situation where their performance is based on a highly subjective (as opposed to objective) criterion.

The approach recommended here could also be applied in field-based settings. However, because simply knowing the type of citizenship in which an employee engages is not particularly revealing in terms of motive, such studies must

necessarily entail measuring individuals' citizenship behaviors longitudinally. For instance, impression-management researchers suggest that individuals will tend to derive more benefit from citizenship if they tailor the type of citizenship they use to the preferences of a relevant target. Still, there may be a traditional motive underlying the choice of this type of citizenship (i.e., it may happen to be the most image-enhancing type of OCB, as well as the one that contributes most to the organization). Therefore, in order to infer motive in the field, one must observe a change or deviation in the pattern of citizenship characteristics in the presence of impression-management motives.

For example, in future research scholars might examine citizenship characteristics like type in terms of the specific mix of citizenship behaviors that individuals undertake at various points in time. That is, individuals might rate low in altruism, high in generalized compliance, low in civic virtue, and so on. One might then observe or record, for example, how such behaviors change as performance appraisals approach. Using a survey or observational approach, researchers gathering longitudinal data on employee citizenship behaviors that capture how patterns of these characteristics or others, such as frequency and timing, may change in the presence of impression-management motives may help reveal employees' motives. Similarly, measures of how employees' preferred targets, audiences, and the magnitude of citizenship acts deviate in a more image-enhancing direction can aid researchers in identifying whose behavior is designed to help others or the organization and whose behavior is aimed largely at image enhancement.

Consider two illustrations of how OCBs might look when impression-management motives are absent and how they might appear when impression-management motives are present. First, consider a case in which an employee recently has transgressed against a group of junior colleagues (e.g., by violating a work group norm). In order to make amends for this transgression, the employee has stepped up citizenship behaviors directed at these junior colleagues (assuming here that, typically, the junior colleagues are the least likely target of the employee's OCBs). Thus, a shift in the target of the employee's citizenship behavior can be identified. Consider now a case where the over-

all pattern of an individual's OCBs changes in a more image-enhancing direction when performance appraisals are close. Specifically, when appraisals are close, this individual increases the frequency of OCBs, engages in the OCBs most valued by influential targets, directs OCBs at influential others, executes OCBs in front of large numbers of influential others, performs OCBs when they are most valued, and performs them at greatest personal cost. This example, too, illustrates how the profile of an individual's citizenship behavior might be analyzed.

Finally, qualitative research that investigates the issue of motive is likely to prove useful. For example, Becker and Martin (1995) used a qualitative methodology to examine why employees might try to intentionally look bad at work (i.e., manage poor or unfavorable images). Using a qualitative approach that asks for workers' opinions about their citizenship and impression-management behaviors, as well as that of their coworkers, researchers may be able to obtain richer, more honest, and more telling data than might be obtained using other research designs. Like Becker and Martin's (1995) study, such research would need to be executed in a manner that mitigates against the social desirability and demand effects that may be problematic in qualitative research on this topic.

IMPLICATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this article I have contended that impression management is an important motivational force underlying OCB. I have offered a framework for understanding (1) how concerns about one's image may drive individuals' citizenship behavior, (2) the good citizen image that results from OCBs, and (3) the moderating effects of impression-management concerns upon organization/work group functioning. Understanding the underlying motivation for citizenship is important in advancing research on this topic, for several reasons.

First, Organ and Ryan's (1995) meta-analysis highlights the generally weak and inconsistent predictive power of dispositional antecedents in accounting for citizenship. Likewise, job attitudes explain only small amounts of variance in OCB. A possible explanation for these disappointing results is the overlap between impression management and citizenship. By separat-

ing good soldiers from good actors, researchers may be better able to predict true acts of citizenship. Second, because motivation is likely to adversely affect the impact of OCBs on organization/work group effectiveness, gaining a better understanding of these effects is relevant for researchers and practitioners alike.

This article enhances our understanding of impression management as well. It provides a framework for examining the role of image concerns in the context of organizational citizenship—a widely studied and important context. Further, this article suggests that, like citizenship researchers, researchers of organizational politics and impression management need to examine their key constructs and ensure that they are theoretically and empirically sound. Last, work on impression management mainly has been aimed at studying the effects that such behaviors have for individuals. In contrast, this article suggests that impression-management behaviors ultimately have organizational implications as well. Thus, in future research on impression management, researchers should consider the consequences such behaviors pose for organization functioning and performance.

In addition to methodological issues, I have raised some theoretical questions that must be dealt with in the future. First, what is the nature of the relationship between impression-management and traditional motives of OCB? While I have highlighted the interaction of impression-management and traditional motives of OCBs, further exploration of the interplay of these motives would enhance our knowledge of citizenship, as well as impression management. For example, uncovering those instances where one motive is dominant and the other is subordinate is an endeavor deserving future research attention.

Second, what is the role of observer attributions regarding acts of citizenship? Eastman's (1994) results indicate that judging behavior as citizenship or impression management is a subjective process. More theoretical work is necessary to explain how attributions regarding citizenship are formed. Situational factors, individual factors, and other determinants may affect such attributions. For example, a person's status as a peer or supervisor may influence how that person interprets motives, or situational factors—for example, political climate— may bias one's attribution. Because attributions

of authenticity are likely to impact the instrumentality of citizenship's image-enhancing effects, an improved understanding of these issues is necessary.

The introduction of additional characteristics of OCB is likely to be relevant for research beyond the impression-management question. For instance, understanding the impact of traditional citizenship motives on the various dimensions of citizenship (e.g., type or timing) might improve our understanding of these extra-role behaviors. This is particularly important because it is likely that certain types of OCBs, the directing of OCBs at certain targets, or the timing of OCBs may affect their contribution to organization functioning. For example, altruism behaviors may be more valuable in certain organizational settings than sportsmanship or generalized compliance behaviors.

Also, work that further integrates the impression-management and citizenship research streams would improve our understanding of both topics. In particular, specific impression-management strategies, such as self-promotion or ingratiation, may affect the character of citizenship behaviors. For example, ingratiators may be more sensitive to the target of their citizenship behaviors than the type or timing of their OCBs. Likewise, different impression-management motives may differentially affect patterns of citizenship behavior. For example, if gaining visibility is a person's motive, such a motive may affect the audience of OCBs; however, if the performance appraisal deadline is close, employees may be more concerned with the target or magnitude of their behaviors than with frequency. Thus, while I have offered a general framework explaining the relationship between impression management and citizenship, it is possible that a more microlevel understanding might be achieved in future work.

Finally, if the propositions in this article are true, there are important implications for practicing managers. First, the article illustrates why managers must be careful in assessing the citizenship behavior of their subordinates. Toward that end, I have suggested some key characteristics that might help practicing managers identify employee motives. Likewise, if OCBs motivated by impression management are less likely to facilitate organization performance, organizations should be cautious in how they promote such behavior. Last, impression managers

should be wary that certain factors may reveal their true intent and that such revelations are likely to reduce the odds that they will be seen as one of the good soldiers.

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