

Chapter 2

Challenges and opportunities to developing South–North program partnerships

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Introduction

This chapter poses a number of practical and ethical considerations to developing internationally focused organizational psychology curricula, and partnering with programs in other countries. We focus on the differences, disparities, and power imbalances within our discipline, and reframe them as valuable learning opportunities to develop a new generation of globally and socially aware organizational psychologists. In this chapter, we will argue that organizational psychology has historically tended to focus on the needs of organizations in the wealthier, often “Western” world (sometimes referred to as “the North”) and that, as we move forward in developing an international organizational psychology curriculum, there are critical considerations about the nature of organizational psychology in different contexts, specifically lower income settings (sometimes called “the South”), which must be taken into consideration.

In the title of this chapter, we very intentionally chose to flip the North–South distinction to *South–North*, to reflect the important need to “out” potential implicit paradigms of dominance which exist in many societies around the globe. Throughout this chapter, our preference is to use the terms “higher income” and “lower income” settings when referring to countries sometimes labeled as “Western”/ “non-Western” or “North”/ “South.” However, in some places we have chosen to revert to the terms “North” and “South”, or “Western” and “non-Western” in order to provide

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clarity and facilitate the reader's understanding of the discussion. The potential implications of using these different terms are explored later in the chapter.

Responding to an Emerging Global Social Consciousness

The advancement of the Internet has facilitated an increasingly interconnected world in which individuals are becoming global citizens. Workers are experiencing greater mobility than ever to move across national borders, and organizations are progressively relying on teams from individuals working in all corners of the globe. The internationalization of work is certainly not a new phenomenon and has arguably been around since the dawn of human history. What is newer, however, is the emergence of a global social consciousness (Marsella 1998).

Organizations are increasingly placing a value on corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies and practices, and consumers seem to be showing support for those companies that do (Porter and Kramer 2006). The media tells stories of poor and indecent working conditions for workers in large corporations, and, as a result, discretionary consumers with disposable income talk of boycotting their products. A recent (2012) example is the worldwide call to boycott Apple products because of allegations of abuse at a Chinese factory Apple used to make its phones and computers.¹

In addition, organizations are increasingly creating CSR programs to engage staff in pro-bono community development projects. These projects not only potentially help to create a socially responsible "reputation" for the organization but may also conceivably increase organizational "buy-in" (engagement) from the staff they send on these programs because of transformative experiences they may have (Dickmann and Harris 2005).

For example, the International Business Machines Corporation (IBM)'s Corporate Services Corp (CSC) program gives IBM employees a service-learning experience in lower income settings by engaging in community-driven projects that focus on the intersection of business, technology, and society (Osicki and Carr 2010). In this chapter, we wish to discuss the need not only for an international focus in our curriculum but also for a pro-social focus.

"Internationalization" of Work

The focus is first turned to the need for organizational psychology as a discipline to respond to the increasing internationalization of work. Ryan and Gelfand (2012) recently undertook a "state-of-the-field" review within the US context, whereby they comprehensively reviewed conference presentations, publications in leading journals, undergraduate textbooks and graduate course syllabi, for coverage of

¹ See <http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2012/jan/29/apple-faces-boycott-worker-abuses>.

cross-cultural topics, as well as exploring the internationalization of journal readerships, association membership, members' research foci, and multinational journal article authorships. In reviewing these, Ryan and Gelfand (2012) found evidence that organizational psychology research and practice has already shifted into the international arena; however, in reviewing the content of undergraduate textbooks and graduate syllabi, the authors found no evidence within the US context that the curricula themselves reflect an increasingly international scope.

For example, with very few exceptions (e.g., Landy and Conte 2010), Ryan and Gelfand (2012) found that popular undergraduate textbooks rarely covered the topic of culture beyond a brief mention, and that culture was not infused into all US graduate courses but was rather offered as a class in its own right. By singling out cross-cultural practice as something distinct from everyday organizational psychology work, and not integrating the material into their regular courses, faculty in the USA may be failing to prepare students to meet the needs of the international nature of work they will face when they enter an ever-diversifying multicultural workforce. A more systematic inclusion of cross-cultural issues within and throughout graduate organizational psychology classes, in *addition* to offering more detailed courses in culture, might be one way to help students to meet the demands of an increasingly internationalized workplace more effectively, ethically, and professionally.

A key shortcoming of Ryan and Gelfand's (2012) review is their focus on cross-cultural issues as the only aspect of internationalization, without consideration of other equally important elements, like economic and political diversity. "Culture" does not exist in a vacuum, or in a stand-alone test tube, but rather is braided through, constitutes, and is constituted by the social, economic, political, and geographical contexts in which people live and work. Culture is also as much about "us" and "how we do things" as it is about "them" and "how they do things" (MacLachlan 2006). Thus, we cannot "do culture" without understanding the contexts in which people live, nor can we "do psychology" without understanding how the process of interaction between different groups affects outcomes. Sociocultural, socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and socio-geographical diversity are embedded within all work contexts as a result of the internationalization of work, and must be integrated into all organizational psychology classes.

Growing Demand for a Pro-social Focus in Organizational Psychology

Let us turn now to the need for inclusion of a pro-social focus in organizational psychology. Encouraged by the expansion of organizational psychology into areas such as CSR (e.g., Aguilera et al. 2007) and cross-cultural organizational psychology (e.g., Erez 1994), students are looking for organizational psychology to take the next step and tackle some of the world's big problems, like global poverty and inequality (Carr et al. 2008). The widespread growth of "humanitarian work

psychology” (HWP) in recent years has begun to respond to such needs and demands (e.g., Berry et al. 2011; Carr et al. 2012; McWha et al. 2013).

Humanitarian work psychology refers to the application of organizational psychology to deliberate and organized efforts to enhance human welfare.² As such, HWP incorporates both the application of humanitarian principles to organizational psychology work, including for example promotion of fair and just working conditions for all workers, as well as the application of organizational psychology principles to humanitarian work, including disaster relief, poverty reduction, and sustainable development (Carr et al. 2012, 2013; McWha et al. 2013). This area of organizational psychology focuses critically on the potential application of some of organizational psychology’s tools and theories to help solve some of the world’s most pressing problems, such as poverty, empowerment of marginalized groups, disaster relief, and decent work, as well as the potential for these demands to change the nature of organizational psychology itself—for example, by stimulating new theory.

In 2009, the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology (a steering committee of organizational practitioners, academics, and students with a broad representation of low- to high-income countries) was established. The Task Force aimed to raise awareness of, and establish a niche for, the many and diverse organizational psychologists from across the globe who are interfacing with deliberate and organized efforts to enhance human welfare, at both national and international levels, and both within humanitarian settings as well as in all settings where individuals are marginalized and their right to decent work is threatened.

In September 2012, the Task Force transitioned into the Global Organisation for Humanitarian Work Psychology (GOHWP).³ GOHWP continues the work begun by the Task Force to promote HWP, and aims to provide a space for organizational psychologists interested in HWP to come together and be supported in their efforts. Over 100 individuals from more than 20 countries applied to be founding members of GOHWP, and the organization continues to grow.

Conference presentations in this area have consistently attracted great interest from students and faculty alike, who often leave these symposia asking how they can get involved in these types of projects.

In recognizing such interest, the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP—the world’s largest membership organization for those individuals practicing and teaching organizational psychology)⁴ has begun to take action. SIOP recently gained nongovernmental organization (NGO) consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Committee and is developing an agenda to facilitate the application of organizational psychology tools in the programs and projects of the United Nations (UN) (Scott 2012). Further, SIOP’s 2011–2012 president, Adrienne Colella, committed her year as president to exploring the “impact” of organizational psychology on individuals, organizations, and society, out of which the 2012–2013 president, Doug Reynolds, then focused on developing an online

² See <http://www.gohwp.org>.

³ See previous URL.

⁴ See <http://www.siop.org>.

forum to facilitate members undertaking pro-bono organizational psychology project work. The demand for a globally focused, socially conscious shift in organizational psychology is there, and the field appears to be willing to respond. A crucial first step in making this response is to explore the existing dynamics of dominance and power that are present within the discipline.

Addressing Dominance and Power in Organizational Psychology

Historically, there has been a tendency in organizational psychology to focus on the “developed”, “First”, or “Western” world. These terms privilege particular interpretations of the world: “developed” often conveys a preference for technological sophistication and high incomes; the “West” is hard to find on a globe unless you assume one part is more central; and “First” and “Third” speak for themselves by implying that those countries considered “First World” are rated higher than those in the “Third World” on some unstated judgment scale. While such terminology may be implicitly pejorative, this is not to say that those who use it wish or intend to be so but, rather, that the discourses with which they are most familiar frame the situation in a particular way.

Within organizational psychology, this framing may be a particular challenge as much of the intellectual source for the discipline, as well as its successful application, has been within high-income, often “Western,” countries (Henrich et al. 2010; Mpofu 2002). This fact is not a criticism, but, rather, a candid recognition that can allow us to more clearly address the challenges of developing a truly international curriculum for the discipline. Therefore, organizational psychology has largely been applied in high-income country settings where much of the world’s resources are centered and where demand for the skills of organizational psychologists has tended to focus around improving the efficiency and productivity of organizations and their staff within the for-profit sector.

While we have suggested above that the development of humanitarian work psychology may be seen as reflecting the “pro-socialization” of organizational psychology more generally, its emergence also reflects recognition of the relative paucity of organizational psychology work in many low-income countries (Berry et al. 2011; Carr and MacLachlan 1998;). While there are many understandable practical reasons for this dearth, we believe that there are also attitudinal reasons that are very relevant to the development of an international curriculum.

At a general level, contemporary psychology has largely emerged from higher income areas of the world and as a result has tended to be privileged as authentic and mainstream (MacLachlan 2006). While other psychologies are certainly seen as interesting, they are also marginalized as “Folk” or “Indigenous” psychologies and perceived as less widely applicable. In a truly internationalized curriculum, an organizational psychology that can speak to the lived experience of the world’s largest populations (for instance, India and China) is likely to be of most service.

A challenge for organizational psychology is to create the spaces for mutual learning, and mutual benefit, within and between different cultures and regions (e.g., glocalization; Carr, et al., 2008). Let us briefly consider the psychology of why this may be both a challenge and an opportunity.

Social dominance theory (Sidanius and Pratto 1999) helps to explain why and how inequality thrives, possibly in all societies. According to the theory, issues of power exist inherently at all levels within all societies—including individual, group, organizational, institutional, and cultural levels, and all levels interact to affect the overall system. The theory posits that societies are largely structured into group-based social hierarchies, which tend to favor dominant groups over subordinate groups (Pratto et al. 2006). Hierarchies are underpinned by social status and power, with dominant groups enjoying greater status and power than other groups. With status and power come other privileges such as access to and control of material and symbolic resources, and the ability to create structures within society which protect and sustain their dominance (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). According to this model, community and human development requires people and groups to learn to transcend the pull of self-interest.

One of the critical ingredients of the social dominance theory is *legitimizing myths* which underpin group hierarchies and societal imbalances. These myths suggest the inherent superiority of one group over another and are often facilitated by perceived (or constructed) dichotomies: black and white, rich and poor, able and disabled, men and women, urban and rural, and so on. This dominance is pervasive and resistant to change. For instance, even in contexts of very explicit commitment to discourses of equity, such as a policy of “Health for All” within the health sector, some groups are preferred over others, and many vulnerable groups continue to be excluded from the very health policies that have—arguably—been developed to help them (Amin et al. 2011; MacLachlan et al. 2012).

According to social dominance theory, without necessarily realizing it, dominant groups usually do not like giving up the privileges they receive as a result of their dominant position. Further, dominant group members may find it difficult to understand and accept that they constitute such a “dominant” group, and many group members may be unaware of the injustice they propagate. In such instances, Paulo Freire (e.g., Freire 1970) suggests one first step to address dominance using a process of conscientization whereby people become aware of what they represent and how society treats them. As a discipline, then, a critical first step is to engage in discussion both within the discipline as well as with the community about the dominance which may exist within the field and the impact that it might have *on* the field.

In a similar vein, but at an institutional rather than a disciplinary level, Farmer (2003) talks about “structural violence” as a way to describe how an institution’s social structure can affect the well-being of its members, for example, through institutionalized racism, sexism, or ageism. Structural violence can become embedded within an institution such that it can appear invisible. In the same way, the Bias Free Framework (Burke and Pupulin 2009) can be used to make institutions, companies, teams, or individuals aware of implicit hierarchies by which they operate. This framework consists of 19 questions that help users to identify, analyze, and

eliminate existing biases that help maintain social hierarchies. It is based on a three-dimensional matrix that covers the type of hierarchy (e.g., age, gender, disability, geographical location, etc.), the type of application (e.g., program, policy, research, etc.), and the bias problem and its related solution.

The creation of terms and frameworks like “structural violence” and the Bias Free Framework are calls for more reflexivity in the process of learning to become, or practicing as, an organizational psychologist. While we suggest such methods in the context of poverty-related work, they may be of much broader value to the organizational psychology curriculum more generally (MacLachlan 1991).

In the case of organizational psychology, the ideas of individualism, democracy, choice, and freedom (although often conflated) may be seen by some as intrinsically and self-evidently “better for all”. As a result, ideas associated with these constructs—such as large differences in income or access to health and education—may also come to be seen as self-evident truths. This resultant tolerance for inequality might, thus, increase the possibility of “Western” psychology’s assumed rightful dominance.

While subtle attitudinal barriers can be difficult to address directly, organizational psychology can actively try and promote alternative, distinctive as well as integrative perspectives, and, in doing so, create awareness of the diverse and varied nature of work across the globe. For instance, in terms of research and publication, journals can feature special issues. As an example, in 2010 eight peer-reviewed journals and one peer-reviewed book joined forces to participate in a “Global Special Issue on Psychology and Poverty Reduction”.⁵

In addition, mainstream journals can have target articles and actively seek out commentators from very different contexts and cultures to those who have written papers. An example of one journal which already takes this approach is the journal “Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice”, which regularly puts out calls for commentary responses to focal articles. Further, authors themselves can integrate commentaries into their papers to help fully explore the meaning of a study’s results (Aguinis et al. 2010). For example, in a recent paper Rupp et al. (2013) asked expert practitioners for feedback on the practical significance of their research findings and integrated the feedback, verbatim, into the discussion section of the paper. Finally, prominent professional societies can support new journals that explicitly address the challenges described above. Some professional societies already do this. For example, The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) supports one such journal—the Journal of Social Issues—and the International Association for Research in Economic Psychology (IAREP) supports another—the Journal of Economic Psychology.

In terms of curriculum development, e-based learning offers the potential to have more teachers and learners in the same “classroom” and for them to much more fluidly position themselves across these roles, by giving equal weight to the context, content, and process of organizational psychology (MacLachlan et al. 2010)

⁵ For details, see http://poverty.massey.ac.nz/#global_issue.

and examining these subjects across different settings and conditions, culturally, economically, and politically.

Of course, organizational psychology is not the only discipline to be underpinned by an implicit dominance; the field of global development itself has been criticized for using rhetoric that implies the superiority of the “developers” over those nations being “developed” (MacLachlan et al. 2010). The description of nations as “developing” or “developed” may arguably belittle those individuals from so-called developing nations, by assuming they should and do wish to “improve” by being more like those in the “developed” world and at the same time may imply that those individuals in the “developed” world have reached an end state requiring no further development. In addition, framing nations in such a way also has the potential to hamper research and mutual learning by implying that developing nations are somehow substandard (Jackson 2002) and that research from such nations may be less trustworthy than that originating in “developed” countries (Ryan and Gelfand 2012).

As already highlighted, there are many terms used interchangeably to describe lower income and higher income settings, including developing vs. developed, First World vs. Third World, North vs. South, Western vs. non-Western, Minority vs. Majority, and core vs. periphery. An implied difference between countries, cultures, and economies, and an assumed ability to dichotomize the globe, underpins all of these terms. All (including those we use ourselves) are arguably rife with underlying judgments, generalizations, and stereotypes and, in that sense, may privilege one part of the world over the other and some particular groups within societies over others.

While writing this chapter, we engaged in debate about the relative appropriateness of each of these terms, with a feeling that none are satisfactory. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, we chose to flip the North–South distinction to South–North in the title, to reflect the important need to “out” such paradigms of dominance. Throughout the chapter, to highlight these paradigms and to facilitate the reader’s understanding of the discussion, we use the terms “South” and “North” when talking about aspects of partnership development. We also use the term “Western” when discussing the origins of, and dominant ideologies within, psychology. However, wherever possible, our preference in our writing is to use the terms higher income, middle-income, and lower income settings.

The dominance of “Western” psychology is reflected in the constructs commonly used in organizational psychology and the research examples that tend to be published and cited in curricula. In the remainder of this section, we explore these two areas (constructs and research) in more detail and unravel the implications of the historical dominance as organizational psychology moves forward into a new era of internationalization.

Construct Comparability and Measurement Equivalency

Cross-cultural psychology has begun to infuse certain areas of organizational psychology, for example, global virtual teams (e.g., Gibbs 2009; Leung and Peterson 2011; McWha et al. 2012; Stahl et al. 2010) as well as expatriate assignments,

including both multinational corporations (e.g., Caligiuri 2000; Farh et al. 2010; Liu and Shaffer 2005; Mendenhall and Oddou 1985) and international aid organizations (e.g., Carr et al. 2008; Carr et al. 2010; Hudson and Inkson 2007; MacLachlan and Carr 2005; McWha and MacLachlan 2011). However, despite this infusion, there is often an implicit assumption by some organizational psychologists that organizational constructs can be relatively seamlessly exported/imported to non-Western cultures. In this section, we discuss the need to carefully consider the appropriateness of using existing constructs and measures in different settings, and the potential need to develop context-relevant constructs and measures either in addition to or instead of existing constructs and measures.

In developing an internationalized curriculum for organizational psychology, faculty must recognize that the curriculum taught in the USA and Western Europe cannot be seamlessly exported/imported into other settings. The content taught in these local settings may be appropriate for the context in which it is taught but cannot simply be taken into a global arena without consideration of other contexts and different ways of doing things. As an aside, it is important to note that, as societies continue to become increasingly multicultural, organizational psychologists must continue to reflect on our constructs to ensure their relevance within more diverse local contexts, as well as global contexts. Just as organizations looking to expand into new country settings cannot do so without stopping to think about (and listen to) the cultural and human capital differences within a “foreign” context, so also organizational psychology courses cannot be exported to/imported into different country settings without these same considerations (i.e., developing locally appropriate measures and broadening constructs).

Ultimately, instead of exporting “Western” psychology principles as they stand, faculty and students should continue to push the boundaries of organizational psychology by conducting research focused on different contexts, thereby helping transform the discipline into a truly international discipline representing the contexts and constructs of all countries and people.

A first step in this process, perhaps, is to actively support colleagues in all parts of the globe by creating South–North partnerships. In talking about South–North partnerships, we mean fostering linkages between faculty in different regions of the world that are based on equality and mutual respect (McWha et al. 2012). Such relationships can be leveraged to develop curricula which are both locally and globally relevant and research collaborations which have the potential to enhance our mutual understanding of the similarities and differences across different sociocultural, socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and socio-geographical settings.

The dominance of “Western” psychology (as discussed in the previous section) means that current organizational psychology curricula tend to be dominated by constructs originating from higher income contexts, typically the USA, the UK, and Western Europe. The inclusion of *guanxi* in mainstream organizational psychology (e.g., Mao 2006; Varma et al. 2009) is one example of where the discipline has been flexible to include constructs of importance in other cultures, but such examples are uncommon.

Much contemporary organizational research has embraced the need to recognize and control for covariates relating to individual, group, and national culture. Researchers are becoming more sophisticated at controlling for these levels in the data through using statistical techniques like hierarchical linear modeling (Klein and Kozlowski 2000). Yet, such research often still forgets the need to consider the equivalency of constructs across different contexts. Bias and equivalence are important concepts considered in cross-cultural assessment, and refer to the need to ensure that constructs, methods, and items are not specific to one language or culture, that words and phrases have the same meaning once translated, and that methods are consistent across cultures (de Klerk 2008; Byrne et al. 2009).

In response to calls to consider construct comparability across contexts (e.g., Rousseau and Fried 2001), some organizational researchers have begun to explore whether certain constructs might be universally relevant (e.g., self-efficacy; Scholz et al. 2002), and others relevant only in particular contexts. For example, in terms of organizational citizenship behavior in China, Farh et al. (2004) found five dimensions which overlapped with the US-based literature, but that there were other dimensions of import, including one completely absent in the Western literature (interpersonal harmony). Another example is that we have found the concept of *ubuntu* to be of particular relevance to strengthening networking in Africa, although it is rarely used in Western settings (Mji et al. 2011). Ubuntu refers to a social system of interrelatedness where people's humanity is determined not by their personal qualities but in terms of how they relate to others in their community. The idea that "a person is a person through other persons" encapsulates the essence of the *ubuntu* philosophy, contrasting sharply with more individualized Western understandings of the person, and having real implications for how individuals, organizations, and communities interrelate.

There may be constructs (like Farh et al.'s finding of the "interpersonal harmony" dimension of organizational citizenship behavior) that are culture specific, that is, constructs that are highly important in some settings but not others (Gelfand et al. 2001). Importantly, some constructs might be highly important in *only* non-Western contexts (e.g., *ubuntu*), but they must not be automatically discarded by researchers solely due to their absence in research undertaken in Western settings. Rather, the range of constructs should be broadened to include all globally and locally relevant content and contexts.

Beyond the constructs themselves, there are other aspects of the research process that must be considered for appropriateness in different settings, such as the equivalency of measures. Research instruments should be carefully validated for use in different settings; students must be taught that they cannot assume that a measure validated in one country will measure the same things in different countries. Often, this process will involve translation of the measure into other languages, in which case they must always be back-translated into their original language to ensure consistency (Brislin 1980). Similarly, factor analytic techniques can establish if items co-relate in the same way among different people in different contexts. The validity and reliability of a measure is, therefore, always a product of the intrinsic features of the instrument and the characteristics of the people responding to it, and the

context they are in. Questionnaires are valid and reliable *for people*, not in and of themselves. This truth does not negate the possibility of universal applicability of constructs or measures but does require this universality to be empirically demonstrated, rather than assumed.

Finally, consideration must also be given to the existence of potential cultural response sets, that is, respondents from different cultures might consistently respond to a rating scale in a particular way, such as the tendency towards more extreme or acquiescent responding (Hui and Triandis 1989; Cheung and Rensvold 2000). Research from cross-cultural psychology teaches us that these response styles might allow for similar patterns of responses for individuals with different absolute scores.

When creating South–North partnerships to develop curricula or undertake joint research projects, it is critical that construct comparability and measure equivalency are addressed. This need may be particularly true for academics in the South who are developing curricula themselves; textbooks and syllabi from the USA, UK, or Western Europe cannot necessarily be transported from other settings. All academics must recognize the need to draw from locally relevant literature and to ensure that the constructs and theories being taught take into consideration, and apply to, the local context.

Citing Research Examples

In addition to the need to teach students about ensuring comparability of constructs, and equivalency of measures, we should infuse curricula with examples of research which come from diverse areas—both in terms of different organizational types and structures (for profit, not for profit, multinational, subsidiary, etc.), as well as from different cultural, economic, political, and national settings. Research examples typically used in organizational psychology courses, and in mainstream textbooks, largely come from higher income “Western” settings, with little reflection of the types of challenges organizations in other countries face. Often the location of the research is not specified, as if it did not really matter (when in fact most of the research comes from a minority of settings globally).

An example of one such challenge is dual salaries between local and expatriate workers. Within the international aid sector, and particularly within lower income settings, a dual salary system is commonly implemented. A dual salary system is one in which an organization has two established remuneration scales—one for local workers and one for expatriate workers. There are a range of reasons organizations utilize such a system, including the perceived or assumed need to attract and retain qualified expatriate talent from more resource-rich sectors and markets globally, in order to facilitate “capacity building” and “skills transfer” to local staff. Largely ignored, until now, is the unintended psychological impact of this system on the workers themselves, as well as the (team) work.

Project ADDUP (Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance) is a recent research study undertaken across six countries and led by a team of organizational psychologists (Carr et al. 2010; Munthali et al. 2010; Marai et al. 2010;

Zhou et al. 2010). Project ADDUP explored the linkages between pay and a range of outcome variables, including demotivation due to pay, feelings of pay justice, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and self-assessed ability. Data were gathered across the government, aid, commercial, and education sectors of six countries selected for their geographic and economic diversity: two island economies in Oceania (Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands), two landlocked economies in Africa (Malawi and Uganda), and two “emerging” economies in Asia (China and India; see Carr et al. 2010, for a full description).

Respondents in each of the project sites were asked to report their salary and benefits in order to gauge the extent of the pay differences between local and expatriate workers. As expected, expatriate workers consistently earned more than local workers across all project sites. Pay differences ranged from 10:1 in the Solomon Islands, and 8.5:1 in Papua New Guinea (Marai et al. 2010), to 1.9:1 in China (Zhou et al. 2010), with an overall pay ratio of 4:1. Further, the pay ratio exceeded what respondents reported being able to tolerate (mode=2–3:1). Perhaps of most concern, however, was that, while 81 % of expatriate respondents reported their pay was sufficient to meet their everyday needs, an equivalent proportion of local respondents said that their pay was *not* sufficient to meet their everyday needs.

In light of these figures, then, what is the impact on workers in terms of the outcome measures mentioned above? In the same study, Carr et al. (2010) found that local workers undertook significantly more pay comparison than their expatriate colleagues, experienced significantly more thoughts of quitting, and reported feeling more injustice and demotivation due to the differences in pay between the two groups. Further, they reported being significantly less satisfied/engaged at work.

One of the most notable findings of this study was the critical moderating role found for organizations. In organizations where workers reported often comparing their pay with their colleagues, workers also reported being more demotivated ($r=0.37$) and experiencing feelings of injustice ($r=0.85$). Further, workers reported thinking more about leaving their organization in organizations with overall higher levels of demotivation ($r=0.59$), injustice ($r=0.37$), and comparison ($r=0.46$). Organizations, and by implication the climate and culture they foster, may, therefore, have a critical role to play in the success of aid organizations in terms of both terms of staff performance and capacity building.

Hence, the management practices of aid organizations appear to have potential unintended negative consequences for the achievement of their goal of building local capacity and reducing poverty (directly through decent livable wages for workers and their families, and indirectly through incentivizing human and other services). While these findings may be unsurprising to many readers given the existing literature around pay motivation (e.g., Bloom 1999; Pfeffer and Langton 1993; Shaw et al. 2002; Siegel and Hambrick 2005), what is surprising is that organizational psychologists have not explored before this phenomenon within the aid context—where pay disparities are arguably more salient than elsewhere. Disparities may be more salient in the aid context because of the existence of dual salary systems (as discussed above), which make salary differences between local and expatriate workers explicit, and also because of the context of poverty within many

aid settings, where many local workers do not earn enough money to meet their everyday needs. The research gap (i.e., around understanding pay motivation in aid settings) reflects a need to raise awareness among current and future organizational psychologists of the critical role we can and should be playing in providing potential solutions to organizational problems in all settings, including noncorporate and non-Western settings. Incorporating research examples, such as this one in our curricula, is one way to highlight the value, potential, and scope for organizational psychologists' investigation into aid organizations.

Many students graduate with an awareness of today's globally connected world but with little knowledge of the challenges faced by organizations in lower income countries/low-wage economies. A discussion of these challenges is crucial for developing the next generation of graduates, more and more of whom will be charged with working in a global labor market.

Needs of Faculty and Students in Lower Income Settings

Organizational psychology needs to respond to the demands of a constantly evolving “global” business community. How do universities develop programs that respond to these demands? When reaching out internationally to teach joint courses, or to develop online curricula, it is critical to balance the local needs with the global. In this section, we reflect on some of the different needs faced by academics and students in lower income settings as well as some of the considerations that must be made when developing new partnerships in these settings.

Perhaps the most obvious challenge faced by faculty in lower income settings is access to resources. Limited access to resources can impact the ability of faculty in lower income settings to collaborate with those from higher income settings, both because faculty in lower income nations are often highly overcommitted already and because they often have very limited access to funding to attend conferences. Other challenges impede the ability of faculty in lower income settings to participate, including the digital divide, access to technology, and challenges to publishing in top-tier journals. Further, universities are often limited in the types of courses they have the resource capacity to offer. Many universities do not have the resources to offer a specialized organizational psychology degree. Moreover, some of those universities offering such a degree attempt to replicate the program content offered by schools in the USA and Europe by taking on their readings and course outlines, resulting in students learning about constructs and research (and potentially using measures in their organizations) that may not be relevant to their local context (see previous section for further discussion).

In establishing South–North program partnerships, it is critical to be cognizant of the power and dominance those partners from the North hold with regard to both students and educators of the South (Crampton et al. 2003). The history of colonization and dominance of the South by the North has created an environment in which individuals in the South perceive anything coming from the North as the director

and arbiter of their knowledge and progress (Singh-Manoux 2005). Partnerships must be underpinned by equity and inclusion, and, in order to do so, both partners must reflect on the culture, identity, knowledge, and history of each institution and acknowledge the potential impact of power imbalances on that partnership.

One example of how this power imbalance might manifest is an unnecessary level of admiration granted to individuals from the North by virtue of the environment they come from. Unless both partners recognize this potential and attempt to counterbalance it, the possibility of entering dialogue as equals may be undermined. A further manifestation is that there could be a perception that the partner from the North is a well-funded “expert”, and, therefore, result in an implicit expectation that this partner will undertake the majority of the work related to supplying the intellect and funding for the project. Such a perception ultimately undermines the potential of each partner. Finally, another manifestation of power imbalances could be that the partner from the North might receive artificial responses during interactions with the partner from the South, thereby undermining the ability of partners to generate new ideas together. The local partner may lack confidence in their capability to meaningfully contribute to the discussion despite being holders of the knowledge of their own world, or, worse, they may have developed a perception of colleagues from the North through previous interactions that says “since you know it all, and have it all, then you might as well do it all”.

For example, in one situation experienced by one of the authors in a lower income setting there was a need to capacitate local academics on specific skills to develop an academic program. The development of this program was funded by an international funding agency. A local expert was available and appeared to be an excellent choice to lead the project as she would have related and transferred her skills to local academics with an understanding and interpretation of concepts using local examples. Instead, in this situation, the local coordinator chose an international expert from a higher income setting who was linked to the funding of the project. Though it was more expensive to fly over and pay the international expert, the overall needs of the project funder took precedence and necessitated the local coordinator not to rock the boat by choosing the local expert when the international expert was available. By choosing the international expert, the local coordinator ensured that the funding for the project was not jeopardized. This type of approach, which is underpinned and driven by funding needs, usually leaves local experts unsure of themselves and their expertise, and questioning whether they are respected for the knowledge they have and the experiences they hold.

To address these challenges, it is critical to ensure a true partnership is developed whereby representatives from both institutions achieve an equal voice and actively engage in a mutual learning environment (McWha et al. 2012). Research undertaken within an organizational context suggests that relationships between local and international workers may be critical for the success of organizations in lower income settings (McWha and MacLachlan 2011). A first step in this process may be to bring together the concepts of what makes us all equal even if we dwell in different settings. While there are general differences in the ways people operate, there are core concepts such as laughter, singing, dancing, joy, anger, fear, love, conflicts, friendships, and others that link us all together. Transcending

the differences and focusing on the similarities unlocks our wealth of creativity and knowledge as well as the ability to develop meaningful, equal, and inclusive South–North partnerships.

People in lower income settings face a key challenge in gaining access to education, for reasons of poverty and lack of resources (Mji et al. 2009; Rummens 2009). Given that many educational programs in lower income countries are based on ideologies imported from “Western,” higher income, settings in the North, the few that do gain access to education are sometimes defined by their community as “elitist”; they can be perceived to have lost reality of what is happening at the ground level in their communities in exchange for their increased knowledge of the locally irrelevant imported ideology. This imported education may barely resemble anything related to the lived experience of local people. Hence, the very education that was meant to enable these individuals to assist their communities may have the potential to further alienate and distance them from their people. Ultimately, over time, the feeling of alienation leads many to decide to leave for the enticing opportunities and better salaries in the North (Crampton et al. 2003).

Researchers such as Serpell (2007), Werner and Saunders (1997), and Mkhize (1973) have highlighted the challenges facing universities in postcolonial states, such as many nations in Africa, in adapting former colonial-style education to meet the needs and aspirations of the local people. These authors have argued that education should afford students more opportunities to test formal “Western” theories against an African reality, and vice versa, in order to prepare them for the challenges they will face at work after graduation. Students should be invited to compare and integrate academic theories and perspectives with indigenous interpretations of experience. For instance, psychology students should be encouraged to consider the extent to which “Western” theories should be accepted, modified, or rejected in contexts outside the “West” (MacLachlan and Carr 1994).

Mkhize (1973) expresses concern for vertical programs that present a top-down one-way transfer of knowledge, ideas, values, and practices from so-called “developed” to so-called “developing” societies. He describes this process as a form of *cultural colonization* and asserts that the “developed” world continues to produce and market knowledge and technology to “developing” societies while the latter remains a mere consumer of Western ideas and technology. The end product may be irrelevant to the needs of the local populations, for example, eliminating poverty, improving literacy, and enhancing development. Mkhize (1973) extends this argument by saying that African indigenous frameworks for education are ignored, because, along with the people who espouse them, they belong to the category of marginalized knowledge. This disenfranchisement creates a class of African elites, as mentioned by Werner and Saunders (1997), whose views and lifestyles are similar to their middle-class “Western” mentors and different from those perspectives of their own “traditional” societies.

Despite this somewhat bleak view of the education system in African settings, we echo Crampton et al. (2003) in proposing that higher education has an important role to play in community development and transformation. The higher education sector empowers our teachers, social workers, psychologists, policy makers, and other social group actors to influence existing structures by either validating them

or challenging the existing order and acting as change agents (Fulcher 1989). These individuals have the potential to positively influence the current world, as well as the future.

Students and educators from higher income settings can assist students from lower income settings, and vice versa, in creating this positive transformation by encouraging and reinforcing local knowledge as an important source of learning. In doing so, they will not only move past the role of cultural tourist but also assist local students to appreciate their own culture and knowledge systems (Fulcher 1989).

In summary, in establishing South–North partnerships it is critical to recognize the implicit power and dominance afforded to partners from the North, often due to distribution of resources, as well as aspects of history, including colonization. Both partners must proactively make a commitment to true equality and inclusion from the outset. The increased global mobility of people has created exciting possibilities for sharing by people from different backgrounds with similar interests and concerns and has the potential to enable equal opportunity for all individuals to participate in sharing a range of resources, including developmental, educational, and economic resources (Rummens 2009). While cross-cultural psychology has begun to infuse certain areas of organizational psychology, balancing the needs and knowledge of the South with that of the North represents a critical challenge. Such a balance might be attained through the inclusion and infusion of local knowledge systems that are lying dormant in communities who instead embrace the “advanced” educational technologies of the North. Finding this balance between local and global is essential for meaningful and equal partnerships to occur (Crampton, et al. 2003).

Global Service Learning: Infusing International Experiences into Academic Curricula

In this chapter, so far, we have highlighted some of the implicit so-called “Western” underpinnings in our discipline, so that the faculty might be cognizant of the potential role this dominance can play in developing an international organizational psychology curriculum. We now wish to turn to a discussion of the importance of infusing practical international experiences into curriculum, for example, by providing students an opportunity to engage in meaningful international experiences first hand in a safe and structured way. Such experiences have the potential to expand students’ worldviews and teach them to reflect on their role as global citizens.

Global service learning (GSL) is an increasingly popular approach utilized by universities to raise awareness of international contexts and help shape students into global citizens. GSL is a relatively new pedagogical approach to developing international student experiences, which borrows from the domains of service learning, study abroad, and international education (Bringle et al. 2011). It is often offered as an alternative to summer internship programs students in the USA engage in. Many students are looking for opportunities to spend their summer abroad, and, increasingly, they are looking for options to contribute to local communities. GSL provides one such opportunity in a structured, meaningful, and transformative way.

Global service learning is defined as:

a structured academic experience in another country in which students (a) participate in an organized service activity that addresses identified community needs; (b) learn from direct interaction and cross-cultural dialogue with others; and (c) reflect on the experience in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a deeper understanding of global and intercultural issues, a broader appreciation of the host country and the discipline, and an enhanced sense of their own responsibilities as citizens, locally and globally. (Bringle and Hatcher 2011, p. 19)

According to Bringle and Hatcher (2011), there are four key elements of GSL programs through which students engage in a process of learning through service. The first key element is that GSL is an academic activity, not a volunteer opportunity. This fact means that students often receive course credit for participation in the program, and that faculty assume a key role in the program through identifying and assessing learning outcomes and collaborating with community partners to ensure that activities both inside and outside the classroom meet the academic goals of the course. Further, faculty members often accompany students on all or part of the program, to guide and support them through the service-learning experience.

Second, the community service activities themselves must be educationally meaningful within the context of the program and must be identified in collaboration with community partners to ensure that the activities are of mutual value. In this way, GSL goes beyond students traveling abroad to assist with manual labor but engages the students meaningfully in the activities. Further, and crucially, it explicitly recognizes and involves community partners as equal partners—far from individuals or universities in the North prescribing what activities students will work on, a crucial element of GSL is that the program is developed collaboratively, and community partners themselves identify which of their needs the students can help to fill.

A third important element of the GSL approach is the concept of reflection (Ash and Clayton 2004, 2009). Structured reflection activities are integrated into the program to facilitate interpretation of program and academic activities, as they happen. Students are encouraged to critically reflect both on the activities they engage in as part of the program, as well as on their own context and values. These reflection activities include considering the impact of their presence in the international setting, as well as the impact of the international experience on their own lives. As such, students should be encouraged to think about not just the content of what they do, but also the context, and the process—the “how”—of what they do (MacLachlan et al. 2010). Interview research by Eyler and Giles (1999) suggests that the more rigorous the reflection on service learning in terms of quality and quantity of reflection, the better the academic learning outcomes. Further, more rigorous reflection predicted openness to new ideas, problem solving, and critical thinking.

One approach to guiding the reflection process which some readers may find useful is the DEAL Model (Ash and Clayton 2009). DEAL is short for (1) Describe, (2) Examine, and (3) Articulate Learning (see Fig. 2.1). This model guides students through a process of prompts to assist them in describing their experience in an objective and detailed manner, to step beyond description and examine how their experience links to the learning outcomes of the program, and finally to articulate

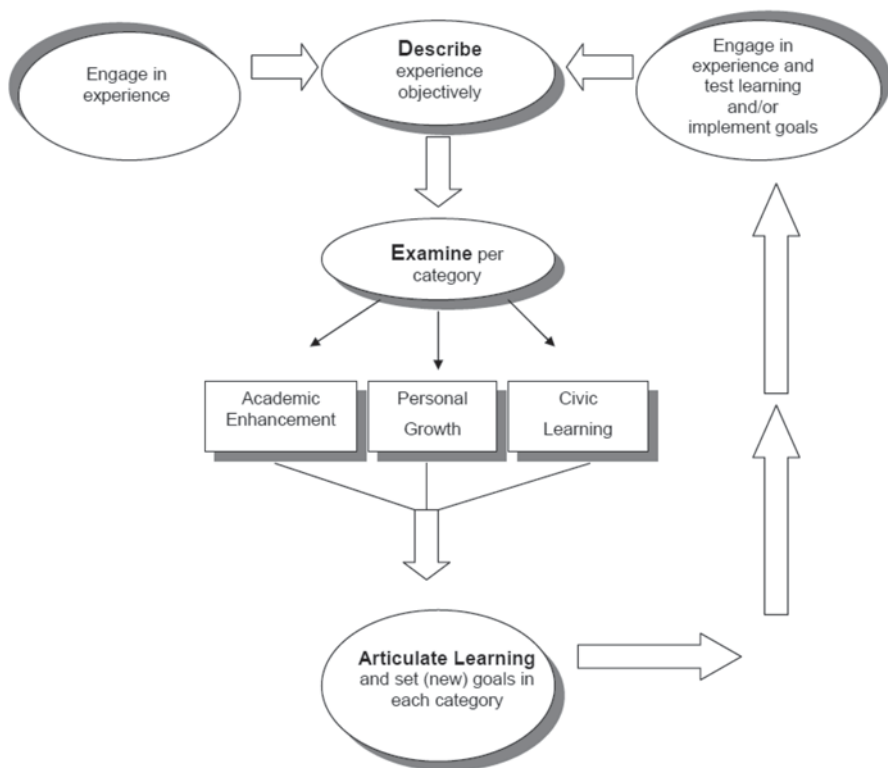


Fig. 2.1 Ash and Clayton's schematic overview of the DEAL model for critical reflection

their learning through answering four questions: (a) What did I learn? (b) How did I learn it? (c) Why does it matter? and (d) What will I do in light of it? The DEAL model can be applied in a variety of media, for example, online, in person, through written assignments, group discussion, etc., but however it is implemented it is designed to assist students to use their reflection as a vehicle *for* learning, rather than an expression *of* learning after it has already occurred (see Ash and Clayton 2009 for full details of this model).

The fourth key element of GSL programs is a strong emphasis on civic responsibility as a central objective. Through a combination of the elements of academic learning, reflection, and service, students attain an understanding of their role as global citizens, both within their local home environment, as well as globally. To this end, GSL programs are often described as being *transformative* experiences (Kiely 2004). Students return with a greater understanding of the connection between their actions at home, and the condition of others around the globe, as well as a deeper understanding of themselves.

Over and above these four key elements, an important emphasis is placed on preparing students for the international experience. Students are taught about the principles of GSL, and of reflection, and are guided to reflect on the culture of their own institution, their cultural background, and some of the issues of dominance

and power discussed earlier in this chapter. Students are taught the importance of humility and of recognizing that there are many different perspectives on any topic. In doing so, they learn the importance of listening and observing local and indigenous practices, without attempting to impose their own way of thinking. While the knowledge that students gain in these areas is crucial for the success of their international experience, students also attain lifelong learning about working in diverse settings, and being global citizens. Longitudinal research suggests that students who engage in GSL initiatives carry this learning with them, long after they have graduated from university and moved into the workforce (Kiely 2004).

GSL programs are not designed to be one-way programs, that is, they are not designed singularly for students from the North to travel to the South to engage in service. On the contrary, programs are designed to be mutually beneficial, both in the sense that the students make a meaningful contribution to the local community and in that students from the South can be brought to the North to engage in similar activities—in terms of both academic learning and providing service to communities in the North. The underlying principles of the program are the same, regardless of where the students are traveling, and the learning can be equally transformative.

The transformative learning that students gain from participating in GSL activities sets them up to work effectively within international contexts in the future. Further, incorporating GSL activities within our organizational psychology curricula meets the demand for a practical, socially responsible aspect to our discipline and provides students an opportunity to practice their skills within an international context.

GSL in Practice: The ILR-SVYM Program, India

This past month has been a life-changing experience for me. I learned more about India, disability studies, and myself each day that I was here. Working in India... epitomizes Global Service Learning, as it has brought purpose to the studies I do at home. (Cornell University ILR-SVYM student participant, 2011)

One example of a successful GSL program is the ILR–SVYM program, developed and implemented jointly by the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement⁶ (SVYM; an NGO in Southern India) and the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations⁷ (ILR). These two institutions have been jointly implementing a GSL program in Karnataka State, South India for the past 3 years.

Initiated by a Cornell faculty member who had previously worked at SVYM, this program has grown since its inception, with eight ILR students participating in the program's pilot year (2011), expanding to 16 ILR students just the year after. A faculty member from the ILR School International Programs office accompanies the students to India for the first 2 weeks of the trip.

Typically, GSL programs are structured in one of two ways, either learning and service activities are integrated throughout the duration of the program or students

⁶ See <http://www.svym.org/index.html>.

⁷ See <http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/>.

engage first in an intensive learning program (often 2 weeks long) followed by their service experience. The benefit of the latter structure is that a group of students can be brought together for the initial learning portion and then broken up into smaller groups and sent to different locations to complete their service.

It is this latter structure which is utilized in the ILR–SVYM program. For the first 2 weeks, all students attend the “learning” portion of the program at SVYM in Mysore. This portion of the program consists of participation in three courses: (1) Indian Civilization and Culture, (2) Gender Relations in India, and (3) Indian Labor History and Current Workforce. In addition to these three courses, students have the opportunity to take classes in yoga and Kannada (the official language of Karnataka) and participate in some local outings.

After the 2-week immersion in learning about Indian culture and context, the students spend 4 weeks working on a project in an area predetermined by SVYM. Students typically work in pairs in different locations across South India. The projects are all related to topics the students study within the ILR school, including, for example, labor market research, disability studies, gender and diversity issues, child labor, and human resource management. Students may be assigned readings prior to the trip in order to ensure they have the necessary background knowledge in an area.

Student assessment includes an independent study paper, completed in the Fall semester following the program under faculty supervision and graded jointly by ILR and SVYM. In addition to the academic paper, students are required to submit two five-page reflective papers, one while in India and the other on their return to the USA.

GSL programs require considerable work and commitment from faculty, particularly in terms of establishing relationships with program partners, identifying appropriate lodging and locations for service activities, setting learning outcomes, and supporting students while they are on their international experience. Faculty must also understand the GSL approach, as outlined earlier in this chapter, and be committed to ensuring that any GSL experience meets the four key elements outlined by Bringle and Hatcher (2011). While a successful GSL program requires intensive effort, however, these experiences have the potential to be very meaningful and transformative for students, both through expanding their horizons in terms of social justice and also in terms of providing context and meaning for their studies back home. We know from longitudinal research that this positive transformative impact remains well beyond graduation from university and entry to the workforce (Kiely 2004).

Conclusion

This chapter addresses the increasing internationalization of work by highlighting the challenges internationalization presents for a discipline embracing the scientist–practitioner paradigm. This paradigm has generally, and often unwittingly, privileged “Western,” “Northern,” “industrialized,” or “developed” country knowledge and practices, resulting in overly simplistic assumptions about their binary opposites, which have usually been constructed as inferior and/or “other.” Yet, inter-

nationalization presents real opportunities to revise curricula in order to promote the inclusion of difference: different knowledge sources, different content, different processes, and different cultures and contexts.

These challenges can also help to further develop the pro-social potential for our discipline. While the social dominance of a Western perspective will not disappear overnight, it does not necessarily mean that this privileged position must disempower others; dominance can also be used to facilitate the empowerment of other perspectives. Furthermore, by embracing new initiatives in learning, such as GSL programs, organizational psychology, its students, and practitioners may be able to learn as much from addressing “difference” as they can contribute to enhancing the life and work of those in different cultures and contexts from our discipline’s origins.

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