Soane, E., Flin, R., Macrae, C. and Reader, T. (2023). Editorial: Organisational Risk and the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*.

https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12460

Editorial

Special Section: Organisational Risk and the COVID-19 Pandemic

Reports of a viral pneumonia began circulating in December 2019. COVID-19 was subsequently identified and declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization in March 2020. The disease's potency and transmissibility have led to infections and deaths around the globe, with far-reaching effects on organisations and communities. Yet, the effects of the pandemic have been variable, as have national and organisational responses. Such variability has emphasized the social nature of how we position risk in policies and practices by evaluating pandemic risks against other priorities, putting in place interventions for ameliorating harms, and taking steps to learn and reduce the severity and likelihood of future pandemics (Dewi et al., 2020).

The daily management of the pandemic has highlighted a host of challenges, such as the safety of critical workers on the frontline of care and service provision; mental health and well-being; the nature of work, jobs, and employment; autonomy and flexibility; social connections within and across organisations, and the interplay between work and home (Bapuji et al., 2020). Hence, organisational handling of the pandemic has placed psychology at the forefront of decision-making, social rules, and behavioural interventions. For example, managers have needed to consider how to balance organisational needs with personal concerns, such as exposure to disease, or fear of vaccines. Employees and contract workers have had to weigh up their fears about illness with their capacity to earn and support

themselves and their families (Blustein & Guarino, 2020). Many of the strategies for handling COVID-19 drew heavily on concepts within organisational psychology, such as compliance, safety, norms, and framing. Furthermore, classic issues examined for many years, such as the trade-offs between productivity and safety, and the potential benefits of flexible working, became central to discussions on managing the pandemic (Pérez-Nebra et al., 2021).

The pandemic can be understood as a process of risk handling with organisations playing a central role in conceptualizing and managing risk, and members experiencing risk on multiple levels (e.g., as employees, as decision-makers, as carers). Risk has been central to messaging and attempts to change behavior throughout the pandemic. Moreover, organisations have engaged in collective and rapid culture change exercises that have been, arguably, unheralded in size and success. Millions of employees have become 'risk aware', adhering to new rules, adopting new ways of working, changing priorities, and engaging in behaviors typically associated with high-risk industries (e.g., testing and reporting). Thus, the pandemic raises important and highly consequential questions for risk researchers concerning the predictability of such an event and the extent to which planning influenced its impact.

Risk concerns the uncertain outcomes of activities that are connected with things humans value and objectives where at least one possible outcome is negative or undesirable (Society for Risk Analysis, 2018). All organisations must accept and cope with some level of risk, however understanding and managing risk can be very challenging for stakeholders and researchers. Not only are risks hard to understand and gauge in the moment, but also future risks are difficult to anticipate, or even be aware of (Hardy et al., 2020). Indeed, businesses are required to simultaneously take risks and remove risks. For example, in aviation, the organisation of hundreds of planes landing and taking off from a single airstrip every day is inherently risky, yet accidents are rare. Moreover, the framing of risk varies depending on the hazards involved and the situations where decision-making occurs. For example, trading in

financial markets requires risk-taking to generate profits, whereas decision-making in nuclear power plants is intended to minimize risks as far as possible. Such issues are central to the theorising about risk that has been developing over several decades and has gained traction and momentum since the start of the pandemic.

To further theorising about risk and organisations, and in collaboration with JOOP editor Professor Julie Gore, we developed our ideas for a collection of studies that draw on experiences of the pandemic and recognise the opportunities it presents to deepen understanding of organisational risk and ways to protect people from harm. In compiling this special section, we aim to represent different theories and voices from the scholarly community. We also seek to reflect the experiences of people living with exogenous hazards and organisational risks. Our intention is to enhance organisational risk narratives by gathering studies that shed light on specific issues and reflecting on their collective contributions.

Given the enormity of the pandemic and its consequences, we appreciate the challenges in studying organisational risk while also being under those same pressures, and we applaud the thoughtfulness, attention and skill that has been focused on developing understanding about the quality of working life during such uncertain times. We are encouraged by the questions at the heart of studies of risk and the pandemic, and by the continued search for humane ways to organize. In continuing to build such insights, we can better serve our communities. In the sections that follow, we consider how the growth of the field has created a foundation for current ways of thinking and then we provide an overview of the studies in this special section.

The development of organisational risk research

Individual-level research

Prior studies have drawn on several traditions to develop theories of connections between risk, people, work, and organisation. One approach to studying risk rests on assumptions about risk as it relates to hazardous phenomena that have physical properties, such as an earthquake, and psychological properties, such as the fear and shame created by an abusive supervisor (Peng et al., 2019), or the thrill of a successful entrepreneurial venture (Nicolaou et al., 2008). Such views about risk are connected with individual-level variability in characteristics, such as personality traits, that influence risk perceptions and behaviors.

Notable progress has been made in the field of personality psychology where much of the research has centered on sensation seeking, a trait with a physiological basis (Aluja et al., 2019) that shapes preferences for novelty, thrills, complexity, and intensity of experiences (Zuckerman, 1994). For example, anti-terror operatives have higher thrill and adventure seeking aspects of sensation seeking than bomb disposal experts, with both groups having higher levels than the general population (Glicksohn & Bozna, 2000). People with high sensation seeking levels are more likely than average to have entrepreneurial intentions (Zhao, Seibert & Lumpkin, 2010). Traders high in sensation seeking show high levels of confidence and trading activity (Grinblatt & Keloharju, 2009).

Moving beyond sensation seeking, research shows a personality profile associated with risk taking that comprises low levels of neuroticism (resilience), agreeableness (tough-mindedness) and conscientiousness (spontaneity) along with high levels of extraversion (social dominance and pace) and openness to experience (Nicholson et al., 2005). Such clusters of traits are associated with behaviors, including lower safety performance (Christian, Bradley, Wallace & Burke, 2009) and medical students' choice to volunteer in healthcare units during the pandemic (Bazan et al, 2021). Moreover, perceptions of CEOs' personality shape the relationships between firm stock risk and shareholder returns, with

CEOs who are perceived as risk takers creating a negative risk-return relationship (Harrison, Thurgood, Boivie & Pfarrer, 2020).

Studies carried out during the pandemic have examined a range of behaviors, with prior assumptions being upheld in some applications. For example, there is a negative relationship between risk-taking trait profiles and preventive behaviors, such as using a face covering (Thoma et al., 2021). Perceived work safety is associated with higher quality sleep, less negative psychological functioning at work, and fewer patient safety incidents or errors among Slovenian physicians (Zupancic et al., 2021). Studies of decision processes show that errors and challenges examined in a range of contexts apply to leaders' choices during the pandemic, such as underestimating the exponential growth of infections, misperceiving risks, taking a short-term view, following the herd and not listening to experts (Kunreuther & Slovic, 2021).

Research has extended psychological models by examining their functioning in the context of the novel threats presented by COVID-19. For example, a study of Canadian workers in a range of jobs early in the pandemic found that potential risk factors (e.g., reduction in income, perceived vulnerability to disease) had negative effects on wellbeing measures that were not reduced by resilience factors (e.g., social support) and highlight needs for mental health support rather than reliance on individual resilience (Coulombe et al., 2021). The pandemic also provides opportunities to challenge previously held notions. For example, Wei's (2020) study of the effects of social distancing finds that higher introversion is associated with greater loneliness, depression, and anxiety, outcomes that are attributed to introverts' difficulty with adjustment (Davidson et al., 2015), and in contrast to expectations that introverts would fare well in less socially involved situations. The consequences of such individual-level approaches are increasingly refined models of traits, perceptions and

behaviors that contribute to achieving beneficial outcomes for individuals as well as more sophisticated managerial practices.

Organisational-level research

At the organisational level, there has been a focus on culture to explain how risks are defined, and how risks shape behavior. For example, in the field of banking, it is increasingly recognised that failures in large-scale financial organisations, which can have huge implications for the industries and society-at large, are at their heart 'social' (REF). This is to say, financial risk in banking, is not objective or neutral. Rather, it is bound into the culture of institutions for their 'risk appetite', how they reward and penalize people, the structures they put in place to guide and bound behaviour, and beliefs on what is 'normal practice' (REF). Increasingly, in this field, work on concepts such as safety culture, which largely originates from domains such as aviation and nuclear power, are being considered as useful for understanding how to manage and regulate bank risk (e.g., in terms of building cultures where people can report incidents, where risk management is shaped by a combination of systems and social norms) (REFS).

Studies of culture pertaining to health and issues related to the pandemic have made similar strides in developing understanding (Cahill, Cullen & Gaynor, 2022). For example, in healthcare, 'cutting corners' is risky (e.g., not following a procedure), but not cutting corners brings other dangers if that means that treatments will not be delivered. In such situations, behavior is influenced by a combination of values, social norms, and beliefs about blame (Dixon-Woods, Suokas, Pitchforth & Tarrant, 2009).

The special section

The pandemic has revealed the utility of psychological theories for understanding risk in organisations. To position this special section in relation to the extant literature, we looked at studies published in the Journal of Organizational and Occupational Psychology. Risk has

been central to articles focusing on individual and organisational safety (e.g. airline safety, Macrae, 2010; hazard exposure and accident likelihood, Willis, Clarke & O'Connor, 2017); individual-level experiences of work (e.g. risk attitudes, Dickson, 1981; risk of stress, Vanhove, Herian, Perez, Harms & Lester, 2016; stress associated with job insecurity, Pelfrene, Vlerick, Moreay, Mak, Koritzer, de Backer, 2010; risk-taking and turnover, Vandenberge, Panaccio, Ben Ayed, 2011). JOOP has also fostered progress in related fields, with a special issue on well-being, health and performance being published in 2015.

Naturalistic decision making was the subject of a special section in the same year that collected studies of team decision processes, with a particular emphasis on developing understanding of naturalistic and descriptive perspectives that examine themes such as the nature of expertise and dealing with fuzzy problems (Gore, Flin, Stanton & Wong, 2015; Klein, 2015).

Taking a wider view of risk within the journal, Kwiatkowski and Duncan's (2006) eloquent argument about organisational psychology draws on the concept of risk to propose that scholars and practitioners of psychology need to maintain a humanistic orientation to avoid "becoming 'servants of power'. If we focus on technique, we risk becoming technicians. If we ignore the political we risk powerlessness". The focus on values and purpose, and the risks associated with losing those lodestones, is an approach that still resonates, especially in the context of the pandemic and its devasting consequences. Bakker and Schaufeli's (2008) approach to positive psychology is similarly relevant in its cautioning against a pathogenic perspective to risk factors and diseases, as well as its exhortation that researchers pay attention to understanding ways to achieve the positive promotion of health and well-being.

We build on the tradition of debate about risk, decisions, and organisation in this journal. In issuing a call for papers that examine organisational risk and the COVID-19

pandemic, our aims were to encourage the growth of new lines of enquiry that extend our theoretical knowledge and contribute to a more integrative stance. Our intention is to broaden understanding of the concept of risk because it is more than a notion that limits enquiry by focusing on specific problems or specific methods. Rather, generating insights into risk has the potential to deepen understanding of many organisational phenomena.

The papers in this special section take us on a journey though the emotions, uncertainties and changes that were hallmarks of the Covid-19 pandemic. They remind us of lived experiences as people navigated their new and challenging situations, and of the organisational changes that were so critical to business continuity. Together, the studies represent a step forward in theorising about risks, people and organisations. Individually, each study provides details on how better to understand risks by using the Covid-19 pandemic to frame debates about emotions, cognitions (TBC), behaviours and contexts. Moreover, TBC of our TBC [number] papers have studied participants from a range of organisations studied which reflects the challenges and opportunities of conducting research through the pandemic and contributes to a broader understanding of risks and organisations. We summarise the research contexts, theoretical considerations and methods covered in the papers in Table 1 to provide an overview of the studies.

Insert Table 1 about Here

Emotions are a strong theme throughout the papers. The focus on emotions in these studies resonates with the daily experience of working throughout the pandemic. The stories told in the papers create a rich picture by examining positive emotions, such as the much-needed feeling of hope (Shen, Hentschel & Hideg; Wang, Zhang & Jia), negative emotions, such as stress (Eby, Robertson, Facteau & Anker), as well as the emotions of different groups, notably workers (Eby et al.; Wang et al.) and leaders (Shen at al.). Moreover, the studies draw on previously developed theories of appraisal (Shen et al.; Wang et al.) and

gender roles (Shen et al.). The more situation-specific Economic Stress and COVID-19 Occupational Risk model (Sinclair et al., 2021) was the basis for Eby et al.'s study.

Examinations of conditional effects represent a second theme. Each of the studies offers theoretical extensions that contribute to explaining how the pandemic changed personal experiences and the role of organisations in supporting or structuring work. Such extensions provide insights into the boundary conditions of theories. Notably, Wang et al. find that women's supervisory behaviours were less affected by emotions and focused on supporting employees and their families, whereas men's supervisory behaviours were influenced significantly by emotions that increased the likelihood of abusive behaviours. Employees' emotional responses to the business threats posed by the Covid-19 pandemic are shaped by perceived social responsibility of HRM practices including training in corporate social responsibility.

The variability of methods used in the studies is a third theme. Although each of the studies takes a quantitative approach, the approaches to data gathering differ. The applications of this range of methods brings the benefits of rigour and experience to the risk domain, while also enabling new insights to be generated. Wang et al. use a multi-wave diary study to gather data from employees over seven working days, with between-participants' data such as socially responsible HRM practices and demographics assessed one month before the diary study of hope, anxiety and insomnia. Doing so does generates data that incorporate some of the variability that may be expected during volatile times and enriches understanding of how pandemic-driven risks to business influence emotions and wellbeing.

Eby et al., also focus on individual-level responses, using a two-wave survey as well as extensive use of Occupational Information Network (O*Net) archival data to develop understanding of the objective risks of contracting COVID-19 alongside workers' subjective risk of contracting the disease while at work. Creating a typology of the riskiness of jobs in

terms of their potential to transmit disease is itself a novel achievement that furthers our understanding of jobs beyond the more widely applied health and safety perspective.

Comparing this more objective element of work with subjective perceptions takes the long-standing idea that subjective and objective views of risk differ (Ford & Tetrick, 2011; Rice et al., 2021) in a new direction that goes beyond the notion that differences need correction to a more interpretive stance on how differences guide understanding of how to mitigate risks in organisations.

Shen et al. examine leader-follower dyads. Such an approach is familiar within the leadership literature, yet less well used in the risk literature. Focusing of dyads creates opportunities to study the nuances of leaders' experiences of emotions during the pandemic and to deepen understanding of when emotions create supportive connections with employees, and when emotions drive more abusive behaviours. More broadly, examining risk from the perspective of dyadic relationships creates insights into the microclimates where risks are generated, perceived and responded to, building on the nascent studies in this area (Hu et al., 2020; Slaughter et al., 2021; Yuan et al., 2021).

Risks are pervasive, so one element of theoretical progression we were keen to see is a multilevel approach to understanding connections between people and organisations. Wang et al. take such a view and develop theorising by showing that the relationship between the effects of business threat due to COVID-19 and insomnia is mediated by employees' daily hope and workplace anxiety and condition upon socially responsible HRM practices. Taking a multilevel perspective such as this is another step towards building a more complete understanding of the microfoundations of organisational risks.

Conclusion

Compiling this special section has involved input from many people. We thank all the contributors and our referees for providing insightful and constructive reviews, particularly

given their own challenges arising from working through the pandemic. We are grateful for all the contributions, and we hope that those whose submissions were not selected will continue their studies of organisational risk. It is a rich field with a bright future and one that contributes much to society, as well as to organisations and scholarly endeavours. Special thanks go to Julie Gore, editor of JOOP and Professor of Organizational Psychology & Evidence Based Management, for inviting us to highlight the importance of organisational risk and to compile this special section. We also thank Hannah Wakley from Wiley and Jeyashree Ramamoorthy from the JOOP office for their unflagging help and support throughout the entire process. The process of putting together the special section has been stimulating and informative. We have learned much about current approaches to understanding risk as well as the lived experiences of people as they navigate pandemic-related risks and challenges. We hope that our readers are similarly informed and inspired, and that the concept of risk has a new resonance that stimulates further research.

References

https://www.who.int/news/item/29-06-2020-covidtimeline

- Aluja, A., Balada, F., Blanco, E., Fibla, J., & Blanch, A. (2019). Twenty candidate genes predicting neuroticism and sensation seeking personality traits: A multivariate analysis association approach. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *140*, 90-102. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2018.03.041
- Bapuji, H., Patel, C., Ertug, G., & Allen, D.G. (2020). Corona crisis and inequality: Why management research needs a societal turn. *Journal of Management*, 46(7), 1205-1222. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206320925881
- Bazan, D., Nowicki, M., & Rzymski, P. (2021). Medical students as the volunteer workforce during the COVID-19 pandemic: Polish experience. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 55, 102109. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2021.102109
- Blustein, D.L., & Guarino, P.A. (2020). Work and unemployment in the time of COVID-19: The existential experience of loss and fear. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 60(5), 702-709. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022167820934229
- Cahill, J., Cullen, P., & Gaynor, K. (2022). The case for change: aviation worker wellbeing during the COVID 19 pandemic, and the need for an integrated health and safety culture. *Cognition, Technology & Work*, 1-43.
- Christian, M. S., Bradley, J. C., Wallace, J. C., & Burke, M. J. (2009). Workplace safety: A meta-analysis of the roles of person and situation factors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *94*(5), 1103-1127 doi: 10.1037/a0016172
- Christianson, M. K., & Barton, M. A. (2021). Sensemaking in the time of COVID-19. *Journal of Management Studies*. Published online. doi: 10.1111/joms.12658

- Davidson, B., Gillies, R. A., and Pelletier, A. L. (2015). Introversion and medical student education: Challenges for both students and educators. *Teaching and Learning in Medicine*. 27, 99–104. doi: 10.1080/10401334.2014.979183
- Dewi, A., Nurmandi, A., Rochmawati, E., Purnomo, E. P., Rizqi, M. D., Azzahra, A., Benedictos, S., Suardi, W. & Dewi, D. T. K. (2020). Global policy responses to the COVID-19 pandemic: proportionate adaptation and policy experimentation: A study of country policy response variation to the COVID-19 pandemic. *Health Promotion Perspectives*, 10(4), 359–365. doi: 10.34172/hpp.2020.54
- Dixon-Woods, M., Suokas, A., Pitchforth, E., & Tarrant, C. (2009). An ethnographic study of classifying and accounting for risk at the sharp end of medical wards. *Social Science & Medicine*, 69(3), 362-369. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.05.025
- Ford, M. T., & Tetrick, L. E. (2011). Relations among occupational hazards, attitudes, and safety performance. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *16*(1), 48-66. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021296
- Glicksohn, J., Bozna, M. (2000). Developing a personality profile of the bomb-disposal expert: The role of sensation seeking and field dependence-independence. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 28, 85-92. doi:10.1016/S0191-8869(99)00083-5
- Gore, J., Flin, R., Stanton, N., & Wong, B. W. (2015). Editorial. Applications for naturalistic decision-making. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 88(2), 223-230. https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12121
- Harrison, J. S., Thurgood, G. R., Boivie, S., & Pfarrer, M. D. (2020). Perception is reality: How CEOs' observed personality influences market perceptions of firm risk and shareholder returns. *Academy of Management Journal*, *63*(4), 1166-1195. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2018.0626
- Hu, J., He, W., & Zhou, K. (2020). The mind, the heart, and the leader in times of crisis: How and when COVID-19-triggered mortality salience relates to state anxiety, job engagement, and prosocial behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *105*(11), 1218-1233. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000620
- Keller, A. C., Ansell, C. K., Reingold, A. L., Bourrier, M., Hunter, M. D., Burrowes, S., & MacPhail, T. M. (2012). Improving pandemic response: A sensemaking perspective on the spring 2009 H1N1 pandemic. *Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy*, *3*(2), 1-37. doi: 10.1515/1944-4079.1101
- Klein, G. (2015). Reflections on applications of naturalistic decision making. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 88(2), 382-386. https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12122
- Kunreuther, H. C. & Slovic, P. Learning from the COVID-19 pandemic to address climate change (2021). Management and Business Review, 1(1). Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3915800
- Kwiatkowski, R., & Duncan, D. C. (2006). UK occupational/organizational psychology, applied science and applied humanism: Some further thoughts on what we have forgotten. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 79(2), 217-224. https://doi.org/10.1348/096317906X102691
- Maitlis, S. & Christianson, M. (2014). Sensemaking in organizations: Taking stock and moving forward. *Acadamy of Management Annals*. 8(1):57-125.
- MacKenzie, D. (2008). An engine, not a camera: How financial models shape markets. MIT Press.
- Medeiros, K. E., Crayne, M. P., Griffith, J. A., Hardy III, J. H., & Damadzic, A. (2022). Leader sensemaking style in response to crisis: Consequences and insights from the COVID-19 pandemic. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *187*, 111406. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2021.111406

- Nicolaou, N., Shane, S., Cherkas, L., & Spector, T. D. (2008). The influence of sensation seeking in the heritability of entrepreneurship. *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal*, 2(1), 7-21. https://doi.org/10.1002/sej.37
- Peng, A. C., M. Schaubroeck, J., Chong, S., & Li, Y. (2019). Discrete emotions linking abusive supervision to employee intention and behavior. *Personnel Psychology*, 72(3), 393-419. https://doi.org/10.1111/peps.12310
- Pérez-Nebra, A., Sklaveniti, C., Islam, G., Petrović, I., Pickett, J., Alija, M., Bal, M., Tekeste, M., Bazana, S., & Sanderson, Z. (2021). COVID-19 and the future of work and organisational psychology. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, 47(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.4102/sajip.v47i0.1854
- Rice, S. P. M., Greenspan, L. S., Bauer, T. N., Rimby, J., Bodner, T. E., & Olson, R. (2021). The impact of COVID-19 on transit workers: Perceptions of employer responses and associations with health factors. *Annals of Work Exposures and Health*, 66(3), 334-347. https://doi.org/10.1093/annweh/wxab080
- Sinclair, R. R., Probst, T. M., Watson, G. P., & Bazzoli, A. (2021). Caught between Scylla and Charybdis: How economic stressors and occupational risk factors influence workers' occupational health reactions to COVID-19. *Applied Psychology*, 70(1), 85–119. https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12301
- Slaughter, J. E., Gabriel, A. S., Ganster, M. L., Vaziri, H., & MacGowan, R. L. (2021). Getting worse or getting better? Understanding the antecedents and consequences of emotion profile transitions during COVID-19-induced organizational crisis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 106(8), 1118-1136. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000947
- Thoma, V., Weiss-Cohen, L., Filkuková, P., & Ayton, P. (2021). Cognitive predictors of precautionary behavior during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *12*, 325. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.589800
- van Woerkom, M., Bakker, A. B., & Leiter, M. P. (2021). Positive psychology interventions in organizations. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 94(2), 221-229.
- Wei, M. (2020). Social distancing and lockdown—an introvert's paradise? an empirical investigation on the association between introversion and the psychological impact of covid19-related circumstantial changes. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 2440. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.561609
- Yuan, Ze, Z., & Zhong, M. (2021). Plug back into work, safely: Job reattachment, leader safety commitment, and job engagement in the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 106(1), 62-70. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000860
- Zhao, H., Seibert, S. E., & Lumpkin, G. T. (2010). The relationship of personality to entrepreneurial intentions and performance: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Management*, *36*(2), 381-404. Doi https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206309335187