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Professor Bob Garvey holds the chair in Business Education at York St. John Business School. He is one of Europe's leading academic practitioners of mentoring and coaching. Bob has extensive business experience across many sectors. This includes large and small business, the public and voluntary sectors. He has developed many training films and contributed to international Webinars and developed interactive training materials. Bob currently mentors a number of people from a variety of organisations. Bob has published many papers on the practice of coaching and mentoring in a variety of journals and is a member of the European Mentoring and Coaching Council. His latest book, *A Very Short, Fairly Interesting and Reasonably Cheap Book About Coaching and Mentoring* was published by SAGE in November 2011. He regularly contributes to the professional journal 'Coaching at Work' and currently, he is working on a new major text book for SAGE Publications with Professor David Gray from Surrey University and Professor David Lane from Middlesex University.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF COACHING AND MENTORING

VOLUME I

Issues Concerning Definitions

Edited by

Bob Garvey



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Contents

Appendix of Sources	xv
Editor's Introduction: The Fundamentals of Coaching and Mentoring <i>Bob Garvey</i>	xxxiii

Volume I: Issues Concerning Definitions

Part 1: Mentoring

1. Toward a Conceptualization of Mentoring <i>Eugene M. Anderson and Anne Lucasse Shannon</i>	3
2. Mentoring Relations: A Definition to Advance Research and Practice <i>Charles C. Healy and Alice J. Welchert</i>	13
3. A Dose of Mentoring <i>Bob Garvey</i>	25
4. Mentoring Revisited: A Phenomenological Reading of the Literature <i>Andy Roberts</i>	41
5. A 'Rough Guide' to the History of Mentoring from a Marxist Feminist Perspective <i>Helen Colley</i>	69
6. Who Wants to Be a Mentor? An Examination of Attitudinal, Instrumental, and Social Motivational Components <i>Hetty Van Emmerik, S. Gayle Baugh and Martin C. Euwema</i>	87
7. An International Perspective on Mentoring <i>David Clutterbuck</i>	105
8. Authority and Influence in Eighteenth-Century British Literary Mentoring <i>Anthony W. Lee</i>	125

Part 2: Coaching

9. The Coaching Paradox <i>Michelle Krazmien and Florence Berger</i>	143
10. Executive Coaching: It's Not Just about the Executive <i>Ruth L. Orenstein</i>	153
11. A Coach or a Couch? A Lacanian Perspective on Executive Coaching and Consulting <i>Gilles Arnaud</i>	175
12. Coaching – The Latest Buzzword or a Truly Effective Management Tool? <i>Linda Edwards</i>	197

13. How Do We Describe Coaching? An Exploratory Development of a Typology of Coaching Based on the Accounts of UK-based Practitioners 203
Peter Jackson
14. Executive Coaching: A Conceptual Framework from an Integrative Review of Practice and Research 219
Baek-Kyoo (Brian) Joo
15. The Coaching Schematic: Validation through Expert Coach Consensus 245
Andy Abraham, Dave Collins and Russell Martindale
16. The British Eclectic Model in Practice 273
Alison Hardingham

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

17. Instructor, Coach, Mentor: Three Ways of Helping for Managers 283
David Megginson
18. What's in a Name? A Literature-based Approach to Understanding Mentoring, Coaching, and Other Constructs that Describe Developmental Interactions 297
Caroline P. D'Abate, Erik R. Eddy and Scott I. Tannenbaum
19. The Mentoring/Counseling/Coaching Debate: Call a Rose by Any Other Name and Perhaps It's a Bramble? 323
Bob Garvey
20. The Meaning of Coaching and Mentoring 327
Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson
21. Scoping the Field: Definitions and Divergence of Practice 349
Simon Western

Volume II: Purpose and Context

Part 1: Mentoring

22. An Examination of the Impact of Career-Oriented Mentoring on Work Commitment Attitudes and Career Satisfaction among Professional and Managerial Employees 3
Samuel Aryee and Yue Wah Chay
23. Students, Schools and a Matter of Mentors 17
J.G. McNally
24. Mentoring in the Information Age 27
James G. Clawson
25. Perspectives on Mentoring 45
Terri A. Scandura, Manuel J. Tejada, William B. Werther and Melenie J. Lankau
26. Structure and Agency in an Institutionalized Setting: The Application and Social Transformation of Control in the Big Six 57
Mark W. Dirsmith, James B. Heian and Mark A. Covaeski

27. Faculty/Student Mentor Program: Effects on Academic Performance and Retention	93
<i>Toni A. Campbell and David E. Campbell</i>	
28. Mentor Functions and Outcomes: A Comparison of Men and Women in Formal and Informal Mentoring Relationships	109
<i>Belle Rose Ragins and John L. Cotton</i>	
29. Power/Knowledge and Psychosocial Dynamics in Mentoring	149
<i>Nic Beech and Anne Brockbank</i>	
30. Critical Reflections on Mentoring in Work Settings	171
<i>Ann Darwin</i>	
31. Mentoring and the Tolerance of Complexity	187
<i>Bob Garvey and Geof Alred</i>	
32. Formal Entrepreneurial Mentoring: The Efficacy of Third Party Managed Programs	201
<i>Leonard Bisk</i>	
33. Engagement Mentoring for 'Disaffected' Youth: A New Model of Mentoring for Social Inclusion	217
<i>Helen Colley</i>	
34. The Effects of Mentoring on Academic Careers over Time: Testing Performance and Political Perspectives	245
<i>Catherine Kirchmeyer</i>	
35. Sexual Dynamics in Mentoring Relationships – A Critical Review	267
<i>Lynn M. Morgan and Marilyn J. Davidson</i>	

Part 2: Coaching

36. Coaching for Higher Performance	285
<i>Richard Phillips</i>	
37. Coaching a Leader: Leveraging Change at the Top	291
<i>Leo Giglio, Thomas Diamante and Julie M. Urban</i>	
38. The Very Real Dangers of Executive Coaching	305
<i>Steven Berglas</i>	
39. Health Coaching: A Developing Field within Health Education	315
<i>Stephen Palmer</i>	
40. Learning Developmental Coaching	319
<i>James M. Hunt and Joseph R. Weintraub</i>	
41. Coaching: The Successful Adventure of a Downwardly Mobile Executive	339
<i>John Blattner</i>	
42. A Theory of Team Coaching	353
<i>J. Richard Hackman and Ruth Wageman</i>	
43. Another Bad Day at the Training Ground: Coping with Ambiguity in the Coaching Context	381
<i>Robyn L. Jones and Mike Wallace</i>	
44. Creating a Coaching Culture	399
<i>David Megginson and David Clutterbuck</i>	
45. Advances in Coaching Practices: A Humanistic Approach to Coach and Client Roles	407
<i>James E. Bartlett II</i>	

46. Peer Coaching: A Relational Process for Accelerating Career Learning 413
Polly Parker, Douglas T. Hall and Kathy E. Kram
47. A Discourse Analysis of the Disciplinary Power of Management Coaching 441
Anne Ellerup Nielsen and Hanne Nørreklit

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

48. Colleagues Helping Colleagues: Mentoring and Coaching 457
Peggy A. Hopkins-Thompson
49. Coaching Expatriate Managers for Success: Adding Value beyond Training and Mentoring 465
Geoffrey N. Abbott, Bruce W. Stening, Paul W.B. Atkins and Anthony M. Grant
50. An Analysis of the Impact of SME Organisational Culture on Coaching and Mentoring 489
Dave Peel
51. Innovations in Coaching and Mentoring: Implications for Nurse Leadership Development 501
Sandra L. Fielden, Marilyn J. Davidson and Valerie J. Sutherland

Volume III: Researching Coaching and Mentoring

Part 1: Mentoring

52. Evaluating Mentoring 3
Stephen Gibb
53. The Problem with Research in Mentoring 17
David Clutterbuck
54. An Examination of Organizational Predictors of Mentoring Functions 21
Regina M. O'Neill
55. Construct Equivalence across Groups: An Unexplored Issue in Mentoring Research 43
Ekin K. Pellegrini and Terri A. Scandura
56. Mentoring and Human Resource Development: Where We Are and Where We Need to Go 55
Sarah A. Hezlett and Sharon K. Gibson
57. Demystifying Gender Differences in Mentoring: Theoretical Perspectives and Challenges for Future Research on Gender and Mentoring 77
Angela M. Young, Steven Cady and Marguerite J. Foxon
58. Toward a Useful Theory of Mentoring: A Conceptual Analysis and Critique 107
Barry Bozeman and Mary K. Feeney

59. Meeting the Challenge of Doing an RCT Evaluation of Youth Mentoring in Ireland: A Journey in Mixed Methods <i>Bernadine Brady and Connie O'Regan</i>	125
60. Who Is a Mentor? A Review of Evolving Definitions and Implications for Research <i>Dana L. Haggard, Thomas W. Dougherty, Daniel B. Turban and James E. Wilbanks</i>	143
61. Seeing the Forest and the Trees: A Complex Adaptive Systems Lens for Mentoring <i>Rachel Jones and James Corner</i>	171

Part 2: Coaching

62. Maximizing the Impact of Executive Coaching: Behavioral Change, Organizational Outcomes, and Return on Investment <i>Joy McGovern, Michael Lindemann, Monica Vergara, Stacey Murphy, Linda Barker and Rodney Warrenfeltz</i>	195
63. Principles and Processes in Coaching Evaluation <i>D.E. Gray</i>	209
64. Trudging toward Dodoville: Conceptual Approaches and Case Studies in Executive Coaching <i>Richard R. Kilburg</i>	225
65. Executive Coaching: The Road to Dodoville Needs Paving with More Than Good Assumptions <i>Rodney L. Lowman</i>	239
66. Executive Coaching: A Review and Agenda for Future Research <i>Daniel C. Feldman and Melenie J. Lankau</i>	249
67. Business Impact of Executive Coaching: Demonstrating Monetary Value <i>Vernita Parker-Wilkins</i>	271
68. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Executive Coaching: Beyond ROI? <i>Kenneth P. De Meuse, Guangrong Dai and Robert J. Lee</i>	279
69. Toward a Profession of Coaching: Sixty-Five Years of Progress and Challenges for the Future <i>Anthony M. Grant and Michael J. Cavanagh</i>	299
70. Researching Coaching: An Eclectic Mix or Common Ground? A Critical Perspective <i>Bob Garvey</i>	317
71. ROI Is a Poor Measure of Coaching Success: Towards a More Holistic Approach Using a Well-being and Engagement Framework <i>Anthony M. Grant</i>	329

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

72. Researching Coaching and Mentoring <i>Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson</i>	345
--	-----

Volume IV: Professionalisation, Competence, Ethics and Training

Part 1: Mentoring

- | | |
|---|----|
| 73. The Ethics of Mentoring
<i>Dennis J. Moberg and Manuel Velasquez</i> | 3 |
| 74. Ethical Issues in Mentoring: The Role of HRD
<i>Kimberly S. McDonald and Linda M. Hite</i> | 31 |
| 75. Gate-Keeper, Supervisor or Mentor? The Role of Professional Bodies in the Regulation and Professional Development of Solicitors and Family Mediators Undertaking Divorce Matters in England and Wales
<i>Lisa Webley</i> | 45 |
| 76. Training Mentors – Behaviors Which Bring Positive Outcomes in Mentoring
<i>Robert Garvey and Gunnela Westlander</i> | 63 |

Part 2: Coaching

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 77. Executive Coaching: The Need for Standards of Competence
<i>Lloyd E. Brotman, William P. Liberi and Karol M. Wasylyshyn</i> | 93 |
| 78. The Wild West of Executive Coaching
<i>Stratford Sherman and Alyssa Freas</i> | 101 |
| 79. Coaching in Organizations: Current Trends and Future Opportunities
<i>John Bennett and Mary Wayne Bush</i> | 113 |
| 80. Coaching in the UK – An Introduction to Some Key Debates
<i>David A. Lane</i> | 123 |
| 81. The Future of Coaching as a Profession
<i>David A. Lane, Reinhard Stelter and Sunny Stout Rostron</i> | 137 |
| 82. Continuing Professional Development for Coaches
<i>Dianne R. Stober</i> | 151 |
| 83. Journeys towards the Professionalisation of Coaching: Dilemmas, Dialogues and Decisions along the Global Pathway
<i>David E. Gray</i> | 165 |
| 84. Ethics and Professional Standards in Supervision
<i>David Lane</i> | 183 |

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 85. Defying Definition: Competences in Coaching and Mentoring
<i>Philip Ferrar</i> | 199 |
| 86. Competencies, Standards and Professionalization
<i>Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson</i> | 209 |
| 87. Are We Obsessed with Skills and Competences in C&M?
<i>Bob Garvey</i> | 225 |

Volume V: The Relationship with Psychology and Therapy

Part 1: Mentoring

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 88. Phases of the Mentor Relationship
<i>Kathy E. Kram</i> | 3 |
| 89. Mentoring: Narcissistic Fantasies and Oedipal Realities
<i>Howell S. Baum</i> | 23 |
| 90. Role of Protégé Personality in Receipt of Mentoring and Career Success
<i>Daniel B. Turban and Thomas W. Dougherty</i> | 45 |
| 91. Managers and Leaders: Are They Different?
<i>Abraham Zaleznik</i> | 61 |
| 92. Transference, Countertransference and Mentoring: The Ghost in the Process
<i>M.J. McAuley</i> | 79 |
| 93. Mentors' Motivations at Work as Predictors of Protégés' Experiences in a Formal Mentoring Program
<i>Melenie J. Lankau, Robert R. Hirschfeld and Chris H. Thomas</i> | 93 |
| 94. Mentoring – A Relationship Based on Trust: Qualitative Research
<i>Ferda Erdem and Janset Özen Aytemur</i> | 101 |

Part 2: Coaching

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 95. Psychoanalysis and Coaching
<i>Roland Brunner</i>
Translated by <i>Louise Tillo</i> | 113 |
| 96. The Impact of Life Coaching on Goal Attainment, Metacognition and Mental Health
<i>Anthony M. Grant</i> | 117 |
| 97. Rational–Emotive Behavior Therapy: A Behavioral Change Model for Executive Coaching?
<i>Jessica Sherin and Leigh Caiger</i> | 129 |
| 98. A Bridge over Troubled Water: Bringing Together Coaching and Counselling
<i>Tatiana Bachkirova and Elaine Cox</i> | 141 |
| 99. The Foundations of a Psychological Approach to Executive Coaching
<i>Peter Bluckert</i> | 153 |
| 100. Executive Coaching: Towards a Dynamic Alliance of Psychotherapy and Transformative Learning Processes
<i>David E. Gray</i> | 163 |
| 101. Evidence-based Coaching: Flourishing or Languishing?
<i>Anthony M. Grant and Michael J. Cavanagh</i> | 189 |
| 102. The Art of Thinking Narratively: Implications for Coaching Psychology and Practice
<i>David B. Drake</i> | 217 |

103. Towards a Systemic Model of Coaching Supervision: Some Lessons from Psychotherapeutic and Counselling Models <i>David E. Gray</i>	239
104. A Survey of Executive Coaching Practices <i>Joyce E. Bono, Radostina K. Purvanova, Annette J. Towler and David B. Peterson</i>	257
105. Using Socratic Questioning in Coaching <i>Michael Neenan</i>	297

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

106. The Negative Side of Positive Psychology <i>Barbara S. Held</i>	317
107. The Psychological Influences on Coaching and Mentoring <i>Bob Garvey</i>	347

Volume VI: Coaching and Mentoring Relationships, Learning and Development

Part 1: Mentoring

108. Dysfunctional Mentoring Relationships and Outcomes <i>Terri A. Scandura</i>	3
109. Reconceptualizing Mentoring at Work: A Developmental Network Perspective <i>Monica C. Higgins and Kathy E. Kram</i>	25
110. Learning to Produce Knowledge – The Contribution of Mentoring <i>Geof Alred and Bob Garvey</i>	63
111. An Examination of the Role of Age in Mentoring Relationships <i>Lisa M. Finkelstein, Tammy D. Allen and Laura A. Rhoton</i>	77
112. Not All Relationships Are Created Equal: Critical Factors of High-Quality Mentoring Relationships <i>Troy R. Nielson and Regina J. Eisenbach</i>	107
113. The Impact of Learning Goal Orientation Similarity on Formal Mentoring Relationship Outcomes <i>Toby Marshall Egan</i>	127
114. The Role of Interpersonal Comfort in Mentoring Relationships <i>Tammy D. Allen, Rachel Day and Elizabeth Lentz</i>	141
115. Protégés' Learning in Mentoring Relationships: A Review of the Literature and an Exploratory Case Study <i>Sarah A. Hezlett</i>	155
116. Mentoring for Transformative Learning: The Importance of Relationship in Creating Learning Communities of Care <i>Nancy L. Southern</i>	177
117. "It's Not What I Expected": A Qualitative Study of Youth Mentoring Relationship Failures <i>Renée Spencer</i>	187

118. It Is Not Only Mentoring: The Combined Influences of Individual-level and Team-level Support on Job Performance <i>I.J. Hetty van Emmerik</i>	209
119. Trust as a Moderator of the Relationship between Mentoring and Knowledge Transfer <i>Michelle M. Fleig-Palmer and F. David Schoorman</i>	231
120. A Review of Developmental Networks: Incorporating a Mutuality Perspective <i>Shoshana R. Dobrow, Dawn E. Chandler, Wendy M. Murphy and Kathy E. Kram</i>	249

Part 2: Coaching

121. The Coaching Network: A Program for Individual and Organizational Development <i>Jennifer Bowerman and Gordon Collins</i>	289
122. Facilitating Management Learning: Developing Critical Reflection through Reflective Tools <i>David E. Gray</i>	299
123. Coaching: A Process of Personal and Social Meaning Making <i>Reinhard Stelter</i>	321
124. I Doubt Therefore I Coach: Critical Moments in Coaching Practice <i>Erik de Haan</i>	335
125. I Struggle and Emerge: Critical Moments of Experienced Coaches <i>Erik de Haan</i>	353
126. Which Characteristics of a Reciprocal Peer Coaching Context Affect Teacher Learning as Perceived by Teachers and Their Students? <i>Rosanne C. Zwart, Theo Wubbels, Theo Bergen and Sanneke Bolhuis</i>	385
127. Optimizing the Learning in Action Learning: Reflective Questions, Levels of Learning, and Coaching <i>Francesco Sofo, Roland K. Yeo and Jacqueline Villafañe</i>	411
128. Organizational Investments in Social Capital, Managerial Coaching, and Employee Work-related Performance <i>Andrea D. Ellinger, Alexander E. Ellinger, Daniel G. Bachrach, Yu-Lin Wang and Ays Banu Elmadağ Baş</i>	429
129. Towards Co-constructed Coaching: Exploring the Integration of Coaching and Co-constructed Autoethnography in Leadership Development <i>Steve Kempster and Marian Iszatt-White</i>	451

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

130. Conversational Learning <i>Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson</i>	475
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Editor's Introduction: The Fundamentals of Coaching and Mentoring

Bob Garvey

Structure of Introductory Section

This extended introductory section starts with a general introduction to the collection. There is then a brief comment on the sheer variety of contexts and purposes of both coaching and mentoring.

The next section explores and demonstrates the rapid growth of coaching and mentoring around the globe and suggests that they are still growing.

The global economic context and worldwide labour market present further challenges and this section examines the potential for coaching and mentoring to help address these issues.

Next, the theory behind this collection is explored. The notion of discourses and dominant discourses is important. The ways in which coaching and mentoring are talked about gives insight into practice. Each article in the collection represents a discourse type and it is important to consider the writer's position when reading, interpreting and understanding the content.

There are six volumes in this collection, and each volume has within it particular discourses. As raised earlier, these discourses vary article by article.

The final section of this introductory section offers a brief overview of the articles in each volume.

Introduction

This collection brings together some of the key literature in the fields of coaching and mentoring (C&M). This is timely because the mentoring literature is extensive and in a process of maturation and the coaching literature is now reaching a 'critical mass' that enables a meaningful meta-view to be taken. The themes in the mentoring literature, to some extent at least,

chime with the developing coaching literature and this in turn links to the longer tradition of therapeutic literature. In brief, the early therapeutic literature was, in the main about trying to 'prove' that it worked. It then went on to look at various therapeutic models and their particular efficacy. Interspersed with these developments was literature focused on professionalising the talking therapies. In more recent times the literature has focused on relationships. This pattern can be found in the mentoring literature and is now emerging as a pattern in the coaching world. These volumes aim to help unify and clarify key similarities and differences between coaching, mentoring and to some extent, therapeutic interventions.

Variety of Settings

C&M activities are found in a variety of settings and are employed for a range of different purposes. The articles here are a mixture of seminal and classic articles, more recent cutting edge research- and practice-based pieces. This mix reflects the field and brings these volume together, attempts were made to access material from the different contexts of C&M in order to address the variety, complexity and, at times, contradictory issues found in both practice and research.

Rapid Global Growth

C&M activities are fast growing and developing across the world. In the UK, C&M are widespread through all types of organisation – public, private, large, small and not-for-profit. For example, in recent years, the UK Home Office has spent £10M per annum on mentoring for young offenders and this is set to increase even at the current time of economic austerity; the Department for Education and Science (DfES) spent £25M on young people's schemes and in the National Health Service (NHS), approximately 250,000 people are engaged in mentoring activity or 20% of all staff. In addition, the issue of health coaching is now firmly on the agenda as part of a wellbeing agenda for the whole population. Possibly due to globalisation, there are company mentoring schemes across the world operating across boundaries through the uses of technology. There are also social schemes, voluntary sector schemes, schemes aimed at developing enterprise and Small, Medium Sized Enterprises (SMEs), supporting research, developing teachers and pupils in most corners of the world.

In the field of executive coaching, expenditure in both the private and public sectors is still high at approximately £250 per hour per executive or more. The Bresser Global Survey of Coaching (2008–09) and the Bresser European Survey of Coaching (Bresser, 2009) both showed that there is an estimated 43,000–45,000 business coaches currently operating worldwide. There is a wide distribution across the world but the greatest intensity of

coaching activity can be found in 20% of the world's population in Europe, North America and Australia where it is estimated that 80% of all business coaches of the world practice. With nearly 30% of the EU population, the UK and Germany accommodate more than 70% of all EU coaches (UK: 7500; Germany: 5000). The UK and Ireland have the highest density of operating coaches (about 1 business coach per 8000 inhabitants). According to this survey, there is no doubt that coaching activity is on the rise in the whole of Europe and across the globe.

The Labour Market and Skills

A further issue is labour market skills and the role C&M may play here. The 'Global Employment Trends' report of 2013 states that unemployment across the globe has increased by 28 million since 2008 and has increased by 4 million in 2012 alone. One million of these may be found in developed economies but the rest can be found in developing economies, particularly in East Asia, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The report argues that this is not only in part created by the austerity programmes advocated by Governments in developed economies but also points out that there are major skill shortages in the global economy.

In the US, Tyson (2012) suggests that there is a mismatch between the needs of employers for technologically based skills and those available in the labour market. She argues that '... mismatches become larger during recessions, reflecting greater churn in the labor market as workers move between shrinking and expanding sectors'. She goes on to suggest that the 'technological change is accelerating, fuelling demand for more skills at a time when the workforce's educational attainment levels have plateaued'. This is indeed a worrying situation for the US, as 'the gap manifests itself in much higher unemployment rates for high school-educated workers than for college-educated workers at every stage of the business cycle.' She argues that the US must invest more in its education system, which has itself reached a plateau in recent years. Clearly, this is a longer-term solution. A more immediate solution may be found in C&M activity in the workplace.

In the UK, the CIPD Barometer Report (2012) suggests that UK employers are facing five key issues for 2013:

- Resourcing and talent planning
- Reward management
- Learning and development
- Absence management
- Employee attitudes

While all these may have an interest to the C&M worlds, the issues of resourcing and talent, learning and development and employee attitudes are probably the most important.

Labour market resourcing in the UK presents a similar challenge to that found in the US and elsewhere. However, organisations are recruiting more young people, particularly graduates and are looking to develop this pool for the future often through mentoring initiatives. The surveyed organisations also report that they are looking to focus recruitment on more specialist or 'expert' areas but that competition for employment is increasing and they are receiving higher numbers of applications from 'unsuitable' candidates. Organisations are reporting a reduction in the use of diversity practices in recruitment. In terms of retention, managerial and professional levels remain the most difficult to retain. The methods most commonly employed to assist retention are linked to improving skills, learning and development opportunities and these are often facilitated through coaching or mentoring schemes.

In terms of learning and development, on-the-job development is the most popular, perhaps reflecting the economic situation. However, the most commonly cited area for growth in the survey for the next two years is the 'greater integration between coaching, organisational development and performance management to drive organisational change'. There is still a strong focus on talent management particularly for senior people's positions. C&M are increasingly employed in this aspect of development. The most commonly adopted approaches to leadership development in international settings are C&M. Furthermore, C&M can play a role in all the important aspect of innovation, so vital in today's highly pressured economy.

In terms of staff attitudes, stress is a major concern as two-fifths of employers report an increase in stress-related absence with 52% in the public sector. The main reasons for this are linked to management style, organisational change and personal issues. While organisations are not reporting C&M as ways of addressing these issues, clearly, the individual nature of C&M could contribute to addressing the problems of stress in the workplace.

The CIPD(2012) survey also cites 'coaching by managers' as the most preferred approach to learning and development. The survey indicates that 53% of respondents employ C&M to develop the skills of international managers and 51% of respondents rank 'coaching' in first place for being the most effective in 'talent programmes' with 25% placing 'mentoring and budding' in fourth place.

Consequently, both C&M are extensive, worldwide and employed for many different purposes.

The Theory behind This Collection

One way of thinking about C&M is through the notion of discourses.

Language is the primary motor of a culture. From the moment one wakes to breakfast with one's family until falling asleep to the late night news one is swimming in words. I have already argued that we take our

cultural ways of seeing for granted most of the time, so it is not surprising that we rarely reflect upon the major symbols of that culture. Yet these symbols constitute the phenomenon of language. Language is culture in action, but just as we are led to believe that our culture is 'natural' so too, do we come to overlook the intricacies of our language. It has been said that fish are oblivious to the water in which they live. They are not aware of it until they are taken from it. So it is with human beings and language. (Webster, 1980)

The major symbols of culture are represented therefore through discourses – ways of talking. In an organisational context, language, when backed-up by behaviour and organisational structures, becomes the driver of change or the maintainer of the status quo.

In the case of C&M, in themselves, emerging social activities, there are many discourses, for example there is the discourse of standards and competencies, the discourse of Return on Investment (ROI) and value, the discourse of performance of change, of learning and development and of psychology. There is the discourse of organisational behaviour, definition and purpose, the discourses contained within research and professionalisation. All of these create narratives to serve various purposes. And, it is important to understand that:

... language is never 'innocent'; it is not a neutral medium of expression. Discourses are expressions of power relation and reflect the practices and the positions that are tied to them. A discourse here refers to all that can be thought, written or said about a particular thing such as a product (like a car, or a washing detergent), or a topic or specialist area of knowledge (such as sport or medicine). In this sense, the ability to employ a discourse reflects a command of knowledge of a particular area. It also implies that this facility is employed in relation to people who lack such command and have no legitimate claim to such knowledge. For instance, command of a particular discourse, such as that of medicine or law, also allows control over those who do not, such as patients and clients.' (Layder, 1994:97).

The above quotation suggests that the power of discourse to shape and control is indeed very strong. Within the C&M worlds, no one discourse, as yet at least, is stronger than the other at the present time but, over time this may change as dominant ones emerge and dictate terms.

The Definitional Discourse

The definitional discourse is one which continues in the C&M worlds. One discourse found in the definitional debate is that C&M are as 'old as the hills' (Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Brunner, 1998; de Haan, 2008; Garvey & Megginson, 2004; Healy & Welchert, 1990; Hughes, 2003; McDermott &

Jago, 2005; Zeus & Skiffington, 2000). In exploring the volumes in this collection, the reader will encounter this discourse many times.

In the case of mentoring, the term did indeed originate in Homer's *Odyssey* from ancient Greek times. 'Mentor' is a Greek word meaning 'of the mind'. In fact, in the ancient Greek version, Mentor is not very effective and is replaced by Zeus' daughter, Athene. She does a much better job! The story is also incredibly violent (Garvey & Megginson, 2004) and while that can be explained through reference to the time in which it was written, nevertheless, such violence seems incompatible with the developmental and supportive discourse associated with mentoring today.

There is an alternative source for the modern mentoring model. Roberts (2000), Garvey et al. (2009) and Lee (2010) clearly show that the modern antecedents for mentoring are derived from the eighteenth-century writings of Fénelon (1651–1715). Fénelon published *Les Aventures de Télémaque* in 1699 in the French language and then in English in 1712.

Fénelon was of the 'Enlightenment' period. His book was deeply influential on educational philosophy with its roots firmly in the humanist school. It was aimed at spreading morality and enlightened ideas to the widest possible audience, including women and children. The basis of the work was indeed Homer's epic poem but in Fénelon (1808), Mentor is presented as the hero with his speeches and advice on how to lead. Mentor denounces war, indulgence and selfishness. He argues for altruism and recommends the overhaul of government, the abolition of the mercantile system, cruel peasant taxes and advocates a parliamentary government and a Federation of Nations to settle disputes between nations peacefully.

Eighteenth-century France viewed Fénelon's (1808) work as a political manifesto presenting an ideal political system based on the concept of the paradox of a monarchy-led republic. There was a clear focus on the development and education of leaders – something with which both mentoring and coaching are associated today. Fénelon (1808) implied that leadership could be developed through guided experience. Louis XIV saw this as a challenge to the divine right of kings and he restricted his movements so that he remained in Cambrai. However, Rousseau, probably the founder of the notion of 'experiential learning', was influenced by Fénelon as were other eighteenth-century writers on mentoring. For example, Caraccioli (1760) and Honoria and the term 'Mentor' was employed by Lord Chesterfield and Lord Byron. These different uses of the concept of 'Mentor' employed three main descriptions of 'mentor' as 'bending', 'stern' and 'unique'.

As for coaching, Garvey et al. (2009) tracks the first use of the term in literature to 1849 in Thackeray's novel, *Pendennis*. Here, coaching is briefly discussed as a process designed to assist academic performance at Oxford University. During the nineteenth century in England there were many different references to coaching in the popular press. These references refer to coaching in relation to sport, skills development in science and craft and life skills.

It is interesting to note that in history, mentoring was written about in books as a process of education, whereas coaching was written about in the popular press as a news story related to an achievement of some kind. This suggests that mentoring was a formalised and recognised educational process in its past and that coaching was and activity embedded in social processes with improved performance as its purpose. This could be one explanation for the variations found in modern day practice in coaching and a fairly consistent process throughout history in mentoring.

So, mentoring is derived from eighteenth-century writings and coaching from nineteenth-century reports. Both have identifiable 'history' and both have educational roots.

So, why the relentless 'old as the hills' claims?

There are many speculative answers to this question. A simple explanation is poor scholarship! One writer writes, others read it and regurgitate it in their own work without any critical thought. I have done this myself.

Another explanation may be that coaching in particular is often positioned, as mentioned above, as 'performative learning' (Lyotard, 1984). Here, as the title suggests, the focus is on improving performance through coaching. Writers in this vein are likely to make links with ancient survival, craft skills development and sporting activities from history and imply that people 'must have been coached.' This was indeed the case in the evidence from the nineteenth century and probably the case further back in time but why the direct claim of ancient origins when there is no evidence?

Furthermore, explanation could be found in the managerial discourse where positioning, competition and branding are dominant. Therefore, 'old as the hills' claims give credibility. These claims suggest that we are not dealing with a 'fad' or a made up construct, that coaching has status and history – a track record of performance.

Speculating further, if the writer, as Clutterbuck and Megginson (2005) suggest, is positioning themselves in a 'camp' they may be tempted to make disparaging and inaccurate remark about the 'other' in an attempt to position themselves in a better light!

We have recently produced a model that demonstrates how practitioners in both fields have tried to claim the facilitative end of the developmental spectrum for themselves, while denigrating the other by placing it at the directive end. We argue that this strategy is futile...[...] we have been as guilty as many other writers of engaging in these shenanigans (Clutterbuck & Megginson, 1995; Clutterbuck & Megginson, 1999). (Clutterbuck & Megginson, 2005)

Another way to look at definition in C&M is through the question – 'what is truth?' Truth is clearly an elusive concept and one way to consider 'truth' is through the notion of 'alethic pluralism'. Darwin (2010) argues that there are four possible ways in which something can be 'true'. Stokes (2010) summarises these as follows:

Table 1: Towards a theoretical description of coaching and mentoring

<i>Antecedents</i>	<i>Mediating concepts</i>	<i>Practical applications</i>
Sport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals and Targets • Measurement • Competitiveness • Performance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GROW Model • Mental Rehearsal • Visioning • Goal Focus • The Inner Game
Developmental Psychology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education Theory • Conversational Learning Theory • Motivations • Sense Making • Theories of Knowledge • Mindset • The Role of Language • Narrative Theory • Situated Learning • Adult Development Theories • Age Transitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of Dialogur • Holistic Learning • Knowledge Productivity • Johari's Window
Psychotherapy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional Disturbance • Stress and Well-Being • Blindspots & Resistance to Change • Transference • Generativity • Narrative Theory • Age Transitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7-Eyed Model of Supervision • CBT Techniques • Psychometrics • Challenge • Devil's Advocacy • Visioning • Solution Focus • The Dream • The Inner Game • Johari's Window
Sociology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisational Theory Relationships • Change, Power & Emancipation • Language, Culture & Context • Dominant Discourse • Strategy • Mindset • Narrative Theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 360° Feedback • SWOT & PESTS • Performance Management • Human Resource Management Practice • ROI • Discourse Analysis
Philosophy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power, Morality & Mindset • Dominant Discourses & Meaning • The Notion of Expert 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence Based Coaching • Existential Coaching • Ethical Frameworks & Standard

- Correspondence – what is said about a social phenomenon must be true if it corresponds with what can be seen in the 'real' world.
- Coherence – what is said about a social phenomenon must be true if the claims made seem plausible and internally consistent.
- Consensus – what is said about a social phenomenon must be true if there is consensus between people about what it does.
- Pragmatism – what is said about a social phenomenon must be true if it works and is therefore practically adequate.

Taking an historical view of mentoring, the 'Correspondence' view of truth in terms of the multiple definitions is described fully. The purpose of mentoring is clear and 'corresponds' with people's lived experience. Perhaps this is an explanation for its popularity in the eighteenth-century. As for the

'Coherence', 'Consensus' and 'Pragmatism' view of truth, the mentoring literature is contestable as its meanings seem to vary between different contexts and for the different purposes to which mentoring may be employed.

Taking an historical view coaching, the numerous variations of practice and applications make a definition based on a 'Correspondence' position contestable. The many different descriptions of coaching in many different contexts mean that the 'Coherence' perspective is also debatable. As for the 'Consensus' view, this is hard to analyse due to the different groupings, approaches and contexts for coaching. However, some groupings, that is, professional bodies, do have a 'Consensus' on what they believe to be true about coaching and will define it accordingly. The one area of general agreement in the coaching world is that it works! Therefore, the 'Pragmatic' definitions may hold 'true'!

Another way to consider definition is to look at the various subject matter roots or antecedents of C&M. Garvey et al. (2009:225) take these different antecedents and bring them together in the table on page xl.

Phillips (2007:38) argued that 'One thing one learns[.....]is the value of weak theory: theories that are obviously wrong, invite conversation; strong theories create a fight-or-flight situation.'(Brackets added). This position seems wholly appropriate for social phenomena such as C&M and this table brings together the diverse antecedents of C&M and shows how, through mediating concepts, the antecedent develops in practice. Clearly, both C&M are socially constructed, dynamic and subject to reconstruction in various settings to suit a variety of purposes, overlaid with international and cultural considerations, it is not surprising that there is such diversity of meaning, definition and practice.

However, definition does have a function which is discussed in the section on 'The Research Discourse'.

The Purpose and Context Discourse

Mentoring is employed in many different settings, for example:

- Manufacturing industries
- Retail businesses
- The health sector
- Airlines and travel businesses
- Financial services
- Tourism and leisure industries
- Educational institutions
- Petrochemical industries
- Public sector and government
- Charities, not for profit and social sector

- The armed and emergency services
- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and social enterprises (Alred & Garvey, 2010)

Coaching is also employed in a variety of settings, probably most of the above list. However, the purposes of both mentoring and coaching are also immensely varied within these settings.

Mentoring is often linked to social inclusion, social integration, staff retention and career development. Mentoring is also associated with transition and change and so is often employed where people are taking on new job roles or being inducted into the organisation. It is linked to leadership development, succession planning and management development and diversity programmes. It is often about developing self-efficacy and holistic insight. Mentoring is used as part of a knowledge transfer process, experiential learning and learning from experience agenda.

Coaching is often linked to performance improvement and writings often talk of 'improving a manager's effectiveness'. Coaching can involve skills development, career development and be employed as part of a retention strategy. Coaching is used within health settings to develop self-efficacy; it is employed in diversity programmes, leadership development and linked to management development. Coaching, like mentoring may be used as part of a knowledge transfer process, experiential learning and learning from experience agenda.

What is clear is that both mentoring and coaching share similar purposes in a range of contexts.

However, according to Clutterbuck (2004) there is a distinct US model of mentoring that emphasises 'career sponsorship', whereas the European perspective is more 'developmental' in approach although there is evidence (Kram & Chandler, 2005) that mentoring in the US is changing to include a more developmental emphasis. The decades of US research shows that the 'sponsorship' perspective brings with it many advantages for mentee, mentor and their host organisation. Carden (1990) and Allen et al. (2004) note that on the positive side, sponsorship mentoring activity can enhance knowledge, emotional stability, problem solving, decision-making, creativity, opportunity, leadership abilities in individuals and organisational morale and productivity. Kram (1983:616) states that mentoring performs a psychosocial function; the mentee is socialised into a specific social context and develops self-insight and psychological wellbeing. In contrast, there is evidence (Carden, 1990; Ragins, 1989 & 1994; Ragins & Cotton, 1991; Ragins & Scandura, 1999) that mentoring with a career sponsorship orientation can be exclusive and divisive, encourage conformity among those with power, maintains the status quo and reproduces exploitative hierarchical structures. These elements can also lead to the relationship breaking down or abuse within a relationship because of its link to power.

In the UK, studies (Clutterbuck, 1992; Garvey, 1995; Rix & Gold, 2000) demonstrate that 'developmental' mentoring offers the same kind of positive benefits as identified within the US model but with fewer of the negative effects.

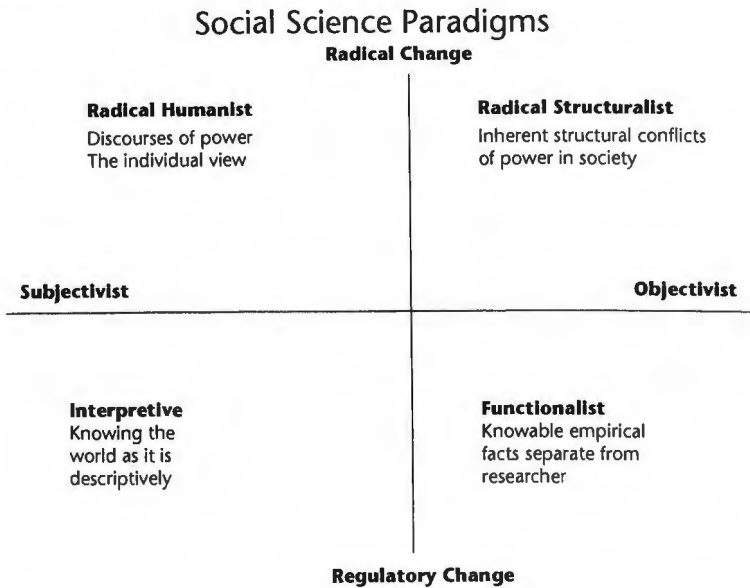
The Ridler Report (2011) indicates that there is some recent evidence that both C&M are developing shared purposes. The Ridler Report based its findings on the survey returns from the purchasers of coaching services. It shows, under the heading of 'executive coaching', that coaching is associated with helping people in transition and change. Levinson et al. (1978) establish this in relation to mentoring. Both C&M are linked to leadership development. Garvey (2011) argues that both are linked to learning and development, often in a work setting and are often associated with performance improvement. Ridler (2011) also shows that coaching can be linked with talent management as does Garvey (2012) in relation to mentoring. In the Ridler Survey, a coach may be viewed as a 'sounding board'. In the mentoring literature, this function is also reflected in, for example, Clutterbuck (1992) and Zey (1989). Ridler suggests that personal chemistry is an important factor in the outcomes of coaching as do Clutterbuck (1992) and Zey (1989) on mentoring. One interesting finding in Ridler (2011) is that purchasers of coaching are not looking for coaches who work with a 'content free agenda' but rather for those with appropriate and relevant experience in relation to the coaching issue. This may include specific subject knowledge or experience and there is an expectation that this will be brought into the conversation. This is very similar to the long established model of mentoring where the mentor's experience is employed as part of the learning process.

To develop the learning and development functions of both C&M further, Lyotard's (1984) perspective on learning is helpful. Pedler et al. (2005:62) summarise Lyotard's (1984) framework of learning as:

- 'Speculative – knowledge for its own sake, concerned with theoretical rigour and unconcerned with application
- Emancipatory – knowledge that helps us overcome oppression and attain the highest human potential
- Performative – knowledge that helps action in the world, to resolve problems and to produce better goods and services.'

Lyotard argues that all learning has the potential to serve all three functions and indeed, when it does, there is the potential for fully developed people to emerge from the learning process.

Some coaching and more mentoring writers focus on the 'Emancipatory' aspects of learning in their writings on mentoring and coaching. Few write exclusively about the 'Speculative' nature of coaching or mentoring. Modern organisational life and to some extent, social life, seem to focus on performative knowledge at the expense of the others, or at least, this is a strong



From Burrell and Morgan (1979).

discourse. This is a source of tension and places pressures on people. It also raises ethical issues. Kantian moral philosophy is very clear, that to treat people as 'ends' in themselves is a morally appropriate act. However, to treat people and 'means to an end', as is the potential in performance-oriented coaching or mentoring, is immoral. An exclusively 'performative' approach to C&M is therefore, at best, morally dubious and at worst immoral because it is an infringement of personal freedom, autonomy and choice. In addition, to ignore the other aspects of learning as presented by Lyotard means under-developed people who are not capable of critical thought. This makes them susceptible to manipulation and dependency which may be part of the management control discourse but has nothing to offer individuals or organisations that are looking to develop independently minded people who are capable of innovation, creativity and good leadership.

The Research Discourse

The research discourse in C&M is particularly interesting. According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), there are four main sociologically informed paradigms. These are informed by questions such as:

- Is reality a given or a product of the mind?
- Must one experience something to understand it?
- Do humans have 'free will', or are they determined by their environment?

- Is understanding best achieved through the scientific method or through direct experience?

These questions inform the development of social theories that position social change as either 'regulatory' or 'stable' against the notion of 'revolutionary' or 'radical' change. The theories may also be informed by notions of 'subjectivity' or 'objectivity' in human affairs. Burrell and Morgan (1979) produced a Cartesian diagram to illustrate these paradigms reproduced here on page xlv.

It is important to consider research in C&M in terms of the particular discourse to which the researcher may subscribe. However, a researcher may not express this as part of the methodology section of an article and the reader may not therefore be able to subject the article to critical interpretation.

A common discourse in mentoring research is rooted in the 'Functionalist' quadrant. The resultant method is hypothesis testing employing large surveys. This particular discourse sets out to 'prove' and seeks 'cause and effect' explanations and assumes that human behaviour is rational. The researcher in this paradigm is positioned as neutral and objective. The professionalising coaching world calls for similar approaches to research.

The 'Interpretive Paradigm' is based on the assumption that human behaviour cannot be predetermined and predicted because it is an on-going process. This paradigm seeks to explain stability and regulatory change descriptively through the eyes of individuals. There are examples of this type of research in the mentoring and coaching worlds. It is often case study-based and the researcher is often positioned as a participant and therefore not neutral. In coaching research, this is often practitioner-based where practitioners investigate their own practice.

The 'Radical Humanist Paradigm' is concerned with emancipation and freeing people from social constraints that restrict human capabilities. This paradigm sees dominant discourses or ideologies as restrict human development and progress. There are few examples of this type of research in mentoring and even fewer in coaching research.

The 'Radical Structuralist Paradigm' sees inherent structural conflicts within society. This generates constant change and creates political and economic crises. In the UK, there are few studies in mentoring, particularly in the public and educational sectors that take this position. This is where mentoring is employed as part of a political agenda, for example, in youth mentoring schemes.

To return to the definition discourse, Schon (1987:3) said 'On the high ground, management problems lend themselves to solution through the application of research-based theory and technique. In the swampy lowland, messy confusing problems defy technical solution.'

What is clear in this collection of articles is that often both mentoring and coaching share similar skills, processes and intents. The arguments for

difference are often related to the context, whether it is paid or voluntary and the view taken on the use of 'experience' by the coach or mentor. In these terms, it would appear that there is the basis for a consensus view of definition. However, there are vested interests here which can be found within the discourses writers subscribe to and within the particular research paradigm employed in the research. There are 'power' positions to defend and these shape practice.

As for research, definition is just one position in research philosophy and specifically enables research of a more 'objectivist' nature. However, Garvey (2011) argues that C&M are in Schon's 'swampy lowlands' and this generates challenges in research terms. It is necessary in the 'objectivist paradigm' to be able to define the social phenomenon under investigation in order to differentiate one from another; however, definition, in essence is reductionist and simplifying. Clearly in the context of management, simplicity has appeal but the variety of practice, context and intent within the worlds of C&M mean that it is more appropriate to develop the 'subjectivist paradigm' and to work towards a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1974) of mentoring and coaching. In this way the variations could be highlighted in a complexity, non-reductionist way based on the assumption that human behaviour is not predictable and predetermined because we have 'free will'. Taking this view may enable a tolerance of variation which could be emancipating (Lyotard, 1984) as opposed to restricting and controlling.

In reading this collection, the reader is invited to consider the author's philosophical position and ask 'what discourse is he or she connecting to?' It is this that will help the reader to understand the article with a critical and active mind. As discussed, 'truth' is an elusive topic and this article is a collection of multiple truths.

The Professionalisation Discourse

In the coaching world in particular but also dragged along with it is the mentoring world, the professionalisation discourse is gaining ground. This is strongly associated with the development of professional bodies, the concept of professionalisation and regulation. So,

Positioning oneself and being positioned in certain discourses, telling stories and being 'told' by stories, becomes therefore the basis for personal identity. (Edwards & Usher, 2000:41)

Clearly, this is not only about individual identity but also about the collective identity. Groups of people, for example, professional bodies, therefore develop a discourse of their own which has the effect of both including those who subscribe to the language and excluding those who do not. Other professional groups, for example, accountants, lawyers and doctors do the same

thing. In the C&M environment, which is new and emerging, this is an issue for professional bodies to be aware of and for practitioners to be wary of because professional bodies, as they emerge, will attempt to position and differentiate themselves in a particular discourse.

One discourse that appears to have driven the professionalisation discourse is found in the article in Volume IV called 'The Wild West of Executive Coaching'. This is a particularly interesting discourse in that it has been employed by the coaching world to argue for professionalisation. The origins of this discourse are traceable to an article published by Morris, B. & Tarpley, N.A. (2000). In this piece various people are questioned and their answers are as follows:

The Academic Warren Bennis

'a lot of executive coaching is really an acceptable form of psychotherapy. It's still tough to say, 'I'm going to see my therapist.' It's okay to say, 'I'm getting counseling from my coach'.

'I'm concerned about unlicensed people doing this.'

A Representative from Ernst and Young

'I've met so many consultants who just call themselves coach. '(some) Corporate coaches.....don't know what's meant by the Big Five.'

'... so many people are coaching, and they don't have the experience or the skills.'

'Coaching really is the Wild West of HR.'

A Representative from the International Coaching Federation

'We do have to watch ourselves. There are going to be unethical coaches.'

The President of the Society for Industrial and Organisational Psychology

'If somebody comes in and doesn't know anything about your job or your organization and they lay out a plan for you, it's time to run.'

The article also draws on interview data from a Learning and Development professional. The authors use the following language in their write-up about the professional's problem with recruiting an executive coach – 'She faced a stampede'; Kicking up dust; Wildly diverse qualifications' presumably to

extend the wild-west metaphor. The authors summed-up by employing these phases: 'Untamed terrain of executive coaching; Like the wild-west of yester-year; This frontier is chaotic, largely unexplored and fraught with risk . . . yet immensely promising'.

In essence, the article states that companies chart their own courses in the world of executive coaching as if that were a bad thing. That there is no scientific (functionalist paradigm) evidence that executive coaching works and no evidence about the efficacy of the various process models employed by coaches. That there were no barriers to entry as if there should be and that coaches were largely self-styled with self-styled qualifications. However, they conclude with the idea that executive coaching might be promising, pioneering and has appeared as an exciting new approach, but this is played down.

The second article is in a similar vein and contains six main discourse lines as follows:

- Therapy Discourse – a more acceptable form of therapy for executives and this discourse also advocates regulation, professionalisation, qualifications and ethical standards.
- Control Discourse – standards and competency frameworks.
- Fear Discourse – chaos is a bad thing.
- Self-appointed Discourse – somehow it is not proper that coaches are self-styled.
- Problematising Discourses – the Wild West is a problem and the solution is . . .
- A performative model of coaching as advocated by the authors who are executive coaches

Taken together, it is all the above which professional bodies have latched onto to justify their claims for, interestingly, self-regulation (as opposed to self-styled), competency frameworks, standards, qualifications and ethical frameworks.

The end result seems to be a professional body with either inclusive or exclusive membership depending on how you interpret it. In other words, professional bodies position themselves in relation to 'the other' as different and exclusive or, they may position themselves as inclusive and all-embracing of the eclectic mix found in the practice of C&M. Certainly, 'exclusivity' is easier to operate, position, market and brand. This will fit with the managerial discourse or rational pragmatism which seeks to simplify the complex, asks for certainty, controllability, measurement and competition. Many, but not all, coaches and mentors are tempted to serve managers with the promise of the magic bullet and construct frameworks, inevitably drawn from research and scholarship, to serve this purpose. There is then disappointment if things do not work out and faddism when they do. Eventually,

however, the fad grows beyond its capability as the market becomes flooded with alternatives and substitutes or brands all positioning for a place. The quality diminishes with new entrants, variations of practice grow and then new professional bodies form to try to protect, inform, control and regulate!

A way forward is to take a diversity informed perspective. Diversity presents a big challenge to humankind and it is a complex subject. Attempting to reduce diversity to simple policies and procedures makes little difference without embedded learning and the key things that need to be learned are 'tolerance', 'acceptance' and 'respect'.

Tolerance is a complex behaviour and has two main meanings. A common meaning is to 'put up with'. This offers nothing to the person in that simplistically something or someone maybe either tolerable or intolerable and the perception of a situation makes it more or less tolerable. Here, 'complexity' is experienced as 'complicated' and this creates frustration, discomfort and drains energy.

An alternative and more productive mean is to 'sustain' and persist and remain functional in complex conditions. The prevailing situation is viewed positively and as an opportunity for learning.

This is a genuine alternative discourse offered by C&M and offers opportunities to move us forward into a new diverse future. Lane (2011:95) offers an interesting summary and an alternative way forward:

What happens is a more chaotic space in which there are multiple ideas and little agreement about what we might do and low predictability of outcome. In a professional world populated by diverse and disconnected stakeholders each operating for their own ends it is difficult to prescribe any frameworks – all is contestable. [. . .] . . . using universal features such as ethics provides possible nodes around which conversations can happen.

The 'wild west' discourse has fuelled an ethical debate. Ethics is a moral philosophy in which complex issues of good and evil, right and wrong, justice and injustice are considered. Most professional bodies create normative and often punitive ethical frameworks which mean in practice that coaches or mentors can either be ethically right or wrong. The consequence of being 'wrong' could mean expulsion from the professional body. Normative or perhaps managerial certainty in response to complex issues is often a recipe for problems with these codes offering 'protection from harm' without considering the potential benefits of actions that a code might deem as unethical. This can result in genuine ethical dilemmas, for example, 'when is it Ok to break confidentiality'?

Ethical thinking (rather than codes) weighs up benefit versus harm on a case by case basis. Furthermore, ethics are socially defined and they are often created in a period of time to satisfy particular prevailing conditions. A set of rules created by one group of people to guide another in the future may not

remain contextually relevant. Therefore, it is ethically dubious to develop universal codes for future and unknowable situations because ethics are dynamic. Many professional bodies claim that their ethical frameworks reassure potential clients or sponsors. They claim to ensure quality control, standards, accountability and protection. These are bold claims, so, given the complex arguments surrounding ethical behaviour, is it possible to deliver on these promises?

We also need to be mindful of the environments in which C&M are found and therefore, the discourses of management. In 1998, Richard Sennett argued that the trend to short-termism and fragmentation in the management of the labour market in western-developed societies meant that people did not build up a strong sense of obligation towards their employers or their work colleagues. Furthermore, he argued that contemporary working arrangements corroded the moral character of employees and stripped work of its moral dimension. Because they were not valued, many workers did not value the organisation for which they worked or felt a personal obligation to be interested in and support other colleagues with whom they worked. This concern, expressed some 15 years ago seems to have developed and intensified with the global financial crisis of 2008 (see above section of LabourMarket and Skills). Power seems to be vested in fewer, wealthier hands.

For this situation to change for the benefit of humanity as a whole there is a need for a change in the dominant discourse of managers. This quasi-scientific, derived from Socrates discourse is mainly about power and cause and effect decision making; a 'technical' discourse that translates into organisational policies based on 'good practice' thinking. It creates 'objective' standards, competency and ethical frameworks; objectives and 'objective' measurement. But, given that objectivity in human affairs is 'a figment of our minds; it does not exist in nature' (Skolimowski, 1992:42) management has been barking up the wrong tree for years! Sadly, this is a really serious point. This discourse offers little room for any other kind of thinking because managerialism creates differentiation and 'exclusivity'.

C&M have the potential to provide a real and relatively painless change of discourse. An alternative to the negative aspects promoted by the Wild West discourse could position The 'Wild West' as pioneering, innovative, creative, working at the boundaries, complex, adventurous, exploratory with challenge. After all, a Cowboy tends the animals, looks after the environment, mends the fences and does a good and worthwhile job.

C&M are positioned in most of the literature in this collection from this different discourse – a humanistic one that values learning and cedes power with notions such as the 'coachee's or mentee's agenda'.

But, there is irony herein that both C&M offer an alternative and inclusive discourse to managerialism and yet they have been absorbed by the power of the managerial discourse as practitioners seek to make a living. Clearly, there is a tension between theory and practice and there are moral arguments here.

Sadly, all too often, coaches and mentors subscribe to two discourses – the technical discourse and the humanistic discourse.

While practitioners ape the dominant management discourse and live in another discourse when working as coaches and mentors, there will be no change.

Another way of thinking about these tensions or incongruity between what is 'said' and what is 'done' is through Argyris' (1974) notion of 'theory in use and espoused theory'. If what is said does not match what is done then there is incongruity. Most people are aware of this and the actor who is saying one thing but doing another has little credence. So, are C&M at a credibility cross-roads by potentially at least subscribing to two discourses at the same time?

The Psychology Discourse

Particularly, psychology is a strong driver in the coaching world. One explanation for this can be found in the section 'Labour Market and Skills' above. There are pressures on unemployed people and people in work to acquire and develop an array of personal and interpersonal skills. As discussed above, the labour market is challenging and turbulent and this means that life gets tough because it becomes increasingly more difficult to accurately anticipate the behaviour and responses of others; the number of interacting organisations increases with more diversification; it becomes even more difficult to keep control of activities within organisations and there is less time to respond to change. A simple job search on the web will yield the following requirements from people seeking employment:

- Strong leadership skills, including ability to build and motivate a team as well as willingness to deal with conflicts up front.
- Political and cultural sensitivity, including ability to adapt well to local cultures.
- Diplomatic and tactful.
- Proven ability to function well in a potentially volatile and sometimes stressful environment.
- Strong liaison and communication skills.
- Ability to resist external pressures.
- Innovative and creative thinking.
- Strong analytical and reporting skills.

Furthermore, Arnaud (2003) notes the competitive sporting philosophies employed within the business sector which is 'more bitter, individualistic and prevalent in the workplace now than ever before.' (2003:1132). He suggests that the relentless pressure to perform and to boost individual employability due to poor job security leads to the need for 'personalized counselling, both

on the part of those most directly concerned and on the part of the heads of organizations and top executives. . . ' (Arnaud, 2003:1132). Arnaud (2003) suggests that this explains the rise of coaching with a psychological dimension and notes that these approaches range from 'post-Rogerian techniques to clinical approaches' (Arnaud, 2003:1132). To live, work and function in the modern capitalist world there are huge pressures on people that are very likely to have a psychological impact. However, Parsloe and Wray (2000) differentiate coaching from therapy and suggest that is an action taking, results- and performance-oriented process that produces and sustains change over time. This sounds like a Pragmatists perspective aimed at appealing to the rational pragmatic manager. Whitmore (1997) argues that coaching is 'proactive' and therapy is 'reactive'. Carroll (2003) argues that counselling is a remedial activity, and Parsloe and Wray (2000) suggest that therapy is grounded in theory and and they assert that coaching is not therapy, are they inferring then that coaching has no theory? Brunner (1998:516) would agree when he states that coaching is ' . . . a domain devoid of any fixed deontology'. Grant (2001:5) is clear when he suggests that coaching is essential for a 'normal population' whereas, counselling, 'regardless of differences in techniques and philosophies between psychotherapeutic schools, clinical psychotherapy per se is primarily remedial and concerned with repairing or curing dysfunctionality'.

So, therapy is for the dysfunctional with a 'healing' or 'remedial' agenda and coaching psychology is for the 'worried well'! So like the distinctions made between mentoring and coaching, there is the same 'boundary setting' or 'positioning' going on in the literature between coaching psychologists and therapists. This is despite, according to Berglas (2002), that coaching is often used as a 'remedial action' in organisations.

Perhaps due to their professional background, it is coaching psychologists who are calling strongly for a research base and education programme, for example, Dean and Meyer (2002:12) state that psychological training 'will assure that the coach has the basic knowledge and clinical skills needed to accomplish the objectives and goals.' However, Filipczak (1998:203) argues that psychological training for coaches is 'potentially harmful' because a psychologist may not have any understanding of the business environment and they may have a tendency to see a business as 'as another dysfunctional family that needs to be fixed' (Filipczak, 1998:34).

On the research front, most psychological research is objectivist and functionalist in nature and much of it is inconclusive. Kilburg (2004:207) confirms this view – 'I find it somewhat ironic, intellectually puzzling, and paradoxically reassuring that after a century of trying to specify the effectiveness of psychotherapy, the field now finds itself dealing with the major empirical conclusion that the differences between approaches would appear to be nil but nevertheless positive for patients across problem conditions'.

There is, of course, the issue of fees! Bono et al. (2009) shows that psychologists who coach charge higher fees than 'ordinary coaches' and receive up to 50% of their income from coaching. So the education and research calls may not be totally neutral or innocent.

In the mentoring world, there does not appear to be the category of the 'mentoring psychologist'. Rather, in the mentoring discourse, psychological frameworks are often employed as part of theory building. For example, Kram's (1983:616) 'psychosocial function', Beech & Brockbank (1999) drawing on psychosocial dynamics to discuss power within mentoring relationships, Aryee & Chay (1994) looking at commitment and career satisfaction within mentoring and McAuley (2003) applying the psychodynamic notion of transference and counter-transference within mentoring relationships, Turban & Dougherty (1994) employing personality type to look at mentoring and Colley (2002) emphasising emotional support and the emotional labour of mentoring. Finally, Johnson et al. (1999), Levinson et al. (1978), Moberg & Velasquez (2004) and Ragins & Scandura (1994) linking mentoring activity to the psychological concept of 'generativity' (Erikson, 1978).

Summing up, in the coaching world there are tensions between the different branches of psychology and therapeutic practice and psychology is seen as a key element of knowledge for practice, whereas, in the mentoring world, psychology is often used to build and develop theory.

The Relationships and Learning Discourse

The nature and make up of C&M relationships and their influence on learning is a central discourse in both. There are several elements to consider within the relationship dynamics in both C&M and these relationships are no less complex, dynamic, serious or influential than other types of human relationship (Beech & Brockbank, 1999; Erdem & Aytemur, 2008; Kempster & Iszatt-White, 2012; Zwart et al., 2009).

Kilburg (2004) argues that after 100 years of research into different models of counselling and therapy where no one approach is more effective than another, he concludes that it is the relationship between the parties that really matters. In an interesting book 'Relational Coaching' by de Haan, Kilburg's argument is supported. So, what is it about the relationship discourse which makes C&M potential very helpful for learning?

Simmel's (1950) writings on the dyad contribute to our understanding of both C&M relationships. He stated that two is the maximum number of people needed for true confidentiality. Clutterbuck & Megginson (1999) and Wasylyshyn K.M. (2003) point out that confidentiality is fundamental to the success of C&M relationships. However, there is a potential downside. Simmel (1950) suggests that observing strict confidentiality can create mutual dependency within the relationship and the question of dependency

is not so discussed in the coaching literature but within the mentoring literature it is regarded as something to be avoided (Beech & Brockbank, 1999; Merrick & Stokes, 2008; Sosik & Godshalk, 2005). However, the certainty that any dyadic relationship may end can be a powerful influence on the partnership. According to Simmel (1950), the sense of the end has the potential to lead to either greater dependency or a lack of trust due to the inherent risk of the relationship closing down. However, he also states that this risk can bring the pair closer together.

Simmel (1950) suggests that a relationship may end if the initial expectations of the relationship are not met or if the pair meet too often and talk about the same topics without interest or value. Similarly, the regularity of the 'content' of the discussions can lead to boredom and end the relationship (Simmel, 1950:126). Neilson & Eisenbach (2003) found in mentoring that renewal through regular feedback about the relationship within the relationship was a significant contributor to successful outcomes and, in a study within the UK Health Sector, Garvey (1995) noted that the outcomes of mentoring relationships are reported as positive if the mentee drives the agenda. The question of 'who drives the agenda in coaching?' is a central theme with most writers suggesting that the agenda is with the coachee (Rosinski, 2004 and Starr, 2008).

The discourse of 'the learner's agenda' (see e.g., Cox, 2013; Garvey, 2010, Megginson et al., 2006; Starr, 2008) is strong in both C&M literature. The learner's agenda is a powerful discourse which clearly differentiates C&M from other learning interventions. It is in tune with the model of adult learning put forward by Knowles (1984). Rather than 'teaching' in a pedagogic way, Knowles suggested that adult learners learn both independently and collaboratively with others therefore, the learning is 'andragogic' as follows:

- Based on the adult's need to know
- Experience-based
- Involving, shared and participative
- Relevant and applied
- Problem-centred rather than content-oriented
- Driven by the individual's internal motivations rather than external motivators (after, Knowles, 1984)

This model of learning positions C&M on the humanistic and moral is on high ground. It directly links to Kantian philosophy where to treat someone as an end in themselves by valuing them for their own sake is morally appropriate. This could also relate to Rogers' (1969) core condition of learning – 'unconditional positive regard' as a moral underpinning to learning relationships.

Another discourse is that both C&M can develop self-awareness in individuals and the self-aware manager is a 'good' manager. Perhaps 'self-aware' is an inadequate term because it feeds the discourse, which dominates

management discourses, that all forms of judgment, wisdom and right feeling are really cognitive modes of knowledge. An individual is self-aware as a participant in a social process and therefore, 'self-aware' is relational. Self-awareness is not found in the practice of self-examination, as one might be transparent but it exists in social contexts with others and is not practiced in isolation. Self-aware is therefore developed in relation to the others by reflection, dialogue and as a result of reflexivity. Therefore, learning becomes a way of being in the social world, not a way of coming to know about it. It is not an added extra to the 'real' business of work but rather, a disposition or a cast of mind. Without this engagement or participation, there is no learning of any value.

The potential power of C&M is found in helping, through dialogue a person to develop a sense of the self at work, learning the language of the organisation and being valued through active participation in talk.

There is, of course, the potential for the Argyris' (1974) concept of 'espoused' and 'lived' here, particularly if the 'performative' model of learning is preferred over others as is often the case in coaching. Segers et al. (2011) in their study of the coaching industry present some interesting but contradictory findings. Whilst the authors acknowledge that the coach works with the coachee's agenda, such as,

'... dealing with change, clarifying and pursuing goals, developing leadership (e.g., changing leadership style from top-down management to participative style, or learning to develop others), team building and career transitions.' and 'dealing with more intimate, personal and professional questions. This can involve the creation of a personal reflective space ...' and '... career decisions, work-life balance, and learning to cope with emotions in the workplace'. (p.205).

They also state that coaches are not necessarily hired to do these things but report that this is indeed what they do. So, whilst it may appear that the coachee's agenda is preferred by coaches, there is clearly an organisational agenda in play, here with Commissioners of coaching, HR Departments and Line Managers all playing a role. Moreover, with the very limited number of studies on this topic being available and with the reporting often coming 'from the coaches themselves' (p.208), the reliability of the 'learner's agenda' claim must be in doubt. Perhaps the agenda in coach training, which emphasises the coachee's agenda discourse is influencing this rhetoric to the exclusion of other discourses where experience may play a part.

A further point which resonates with the points made earlier (see comments on the Ridler Report) may be that the rise of the notion of 'coaching manager' may be a way of the organisational agenda coming to the front as a response to the external coach exclusively pursuing the coachee's agenda? In this way, the 'internal coaching managers' could be a managerial attempt to bring more control into the system. Seger's (2011:209) remark that 'the

agenda has an influence on HR managers' preferences of who to engage', this would suggest that commissioners of coaching do indeed have an agenda and select coaches with specific skill sets or experiences.

The Ridler Report (2011:7) states 'business expertise is crucial in building initial credibility with the buyer. This may well come from the coach's business career prior to being a coach'.

An additional aspect of relationships is found extensively in the mentoring literature (Clawson, 1996; Mullen, 1994; Smith, 1990; Zey, 1984) but not in the coaching literature is the link made to the mentor's unconscious motivation to mentor to Erikson's (1978) concept of 'generativity'. This is the desire to either procreate or influence the next generation, to leave a mark on the world. Erikson (1978) argues that if we are not generative, we stagnate.

What is clear is that learning within these types of relationships seems to depend on the quality of these relationships and the ability of the coach/mentor to be appropriately supportive, trustworthy, challenging and aware of their own learning needs and for the coachee/mentee to have a desire to learn and progress, to trust and to take action.

The Articles

In this collection the articles are presented in a date order. This is to some extent significant in that, it is possible to see developing patterns in the literature over time. The modern day starting point in the literature for mentoring was probably the book 'The Seasons of a Man's Life' by Levinson, D.J., Darrow, C.N., Klein, E.B., Levinson, M.H. and McKee, B. This was first published in 1978. Within this collection, the earliest publication on mentoring is 1983 and this represents more or less the start of research into mentoring in the US. This publication by Kathy Kram is probably the most commonly cited article on mentoring and it might be regarded as a 'seminal work'.

The chronology of the articles is interesting in that, to some extent at least, it highlights the development of thinking in mentoring from the relatively general articles about the nature and form of mentoring, its uses and efficacy, and into more focused articles on the details of relationships.

The coaching literature is also arranged in the order of date with the earliest publication in this collection being 1996. The modern history of coaching stems, arguably from Timothy Gallwey's (1974) book 'The Inner Game of Tennis'. The 'inner game' offers insight into the psychology of human performance and may be associated with various approaches to therapy, for example, psychodynamic, cognitive-behavioural, humanistic-existential, transpersonal and integrative-eclectic. Perhaps the earliest reference to business related coaching is made in 'A Managers Guide to Coaching' by Megginson & Boydell (1979). This was a manual with coaching defined as 'a process in which a manager, through direct discussion and guided activity, helps

colleague to solve a problem or to do a task better than would otherwise have been the case' (p. 5). In 1988, Sir John Whitmore published his book 'Coaching for Performance'. This work is widely cited and seen as perhaps a seminal text in coaching.

Possibly the earliest publication in a journal in the UK which explores coaching, mentoring and instruction was 'Instructor, coach, mentor: three ways of helping for managers' by David Megginson published in *Management Learning* in 1988.

Overall, this collection is an attempt to reflect the sheer variety of applications of C&M in a broad range of 'business' settings. Whilst compiling this collection of readings, it also became apparent that there is currently an imbalance of publications between C&M. This imbalance is quite subtle and reflects certain trends.

Some of the examples are:

Volume I: Issues Concerning Definitions

There are plenty of articles which discuss definitional issues in C&M both separately and together as similar concepts. In fact, most articles have a definitional section so that the reader can understand the content of the piece within the context of the definition.

However, there are no universally agreed definitions for either coaching or mentoring; nor is there ever likely to be! Garvey (2011) argues that this is because they are social phenomena rooted in a range of social contexts and therefore, subject to dynamic change through usage. There is, however, much conflicting literature on what C&M are, and often those who write about coaching make negative comments about mentoring and those who write about mentoring make negative comments about coaching (Clutterbuck & Megginson, 2005:15-17). It is also clear that there is much posturing and positioning. Gibb & Hill (2006) suggests that the difference of opinion on definition has created a situation that is almost tribal. It is evident therefore, that this creates 'camps' and tribalistic behaviour as characterised by the burgeoning of 'professional' bodies, strong brands, competition between the various interest groups and 'turf' protection. In essence this means that authors, practitioners, clients and researchers may not be discussing the same social phenomena and may be attributing different meanings to both C&M.

The piece, 'Authority and Influence in Eighteenth-Century British Literary Mentoring', in Volume I is perhaps not one the reader might expect. It is taken from the introduction to a volume on the mentoring construct found within the literature of the eighteenth century. It is included here to first illustrate the depth to which mentoring as a concept penetrated British society during the eighteenth century. It reinforces the idea that mentoring's origins were not, as many other authors, some of whom are selected in the collection, found in

the Ancient work of Homer but in a French publication by Fénelon first published in French in 1699 and later translated into English in 1750.

Volume II: Purpose and Context

There are numerous articles on both C&M that explore the purpose of coaching or mentoring within certain contexts. This collection could have been filled with such articles and here choices have been made in an attempt to cover the variety of publications.

What is clear is that there are different purposes for C&M and the different definitions create different narratives, which in turn create different dominant discourses, all of which, influence theory and practice. Some definitions specifically raise the issue of objectives and often place these with the coachee or mentee. This is, despite the sponsors having a clear purpose for investing in the coaching or mentoring activity. These purposes can be learning and development, but they can also be linked to performance improvement, *change*, *career progression*, gaining employment and in some cases, *compliance* (but this is never stated) with social norms. Often the purpose of C&M is developed from the social context and different contexts produce different discourses and as a result, if a C&M arrangement is to be successful, the purpose needs to relate to the discourse of the context for which it is intended.

Volume III: Researching Coaching and Mentoring

There are fewer examples of articles specifically about researching the subjects of C&M. Whilst mentoring has a long record of a particular approach to research (Garvey et al., 2009), especially in the US but for coaching, there is little other than output studies, ROI studies and accounts mainly written by coaches themselves or coaching consultancies and a number of practitioner-based studies. The McGovern et al. article of 2001 'Maximizing the impact of executive coaching: behavioural change, organizational outcomes, and ROI', is a classic in this genre. However, ROI is not without its critics and this collection includes articles which offer an alternative.

Lowman (2005:90) states that executive coaching has 'caught on more as an area of practice than as one of theory or research'. This situation is showing signs of change as more research is beginning to appear. Additionally, the different models of C&M and the different philosophies that underpin research practice in C&M means that the research is of varying quality and what is being researched may not be the same thing. On one hand, this leads to a rich descriptive (Geertz, 1974) picture of what these social phenomena are about on the other confusion and fuel for competitive tribalism.

Volume IV: Professionalisation, Competence, Ethics and Training

Within books, among practitioners at conferences and in professional journals there is much debate about professionalisation. This discourse seems also to have developed the concerns found throughout the C&M industry about standards, competencies and codes of ethics. Here, C&M practitioners are looking to bodies like the European Coaching and Mentoring Council (EMCC), the Association of Coaching (AC), the International Coaching Federation (ICF) to establish guidelines for best practice and the Universities in Europe and the US are increasingly beginning to develop accredited programmes to address the standards issue. Added to this, private sector consultancies are flooding the market with a range of training offers, particularly for coaching.

Professionalisation is essentially a social norming process in which a trade or occupation sets rules, standards, qualifications and involves compliance measures and sanctions. Professionalisation usually involves the creation of a professional body that has the function of controlling, vetting and objectifying the trade or occupation by differentiating itself as a body with integrity and competence. A professional body also defines those who are amateurs, unqualified and of lower standing. In this way, the concept of professionalisation could be viewed positively either as creating standards of membership and practice or negatively as a narrow elitist group that excludes. Both positions are power plays.

Then, there is the issue of commercialisation. The dominant arena at present is in coaching consultancy where large sums of money can be made. This creates brands, tribes and commodified products. In turn, this leads to a managerial discourse which has an influence on all the above issues. There is less 'commercialisation' of mentoring activity but, within the public sector, there is a tendency towards commodification and managerialism.

Professional bodies are creating their own regulations in order to 'self-regulate' the 'profession'. Among academic articles there are fewer pieces on this subject but there are publications which cover issues such as training of coaches and mentors, competencies and ethics.

Volume V: The Relationship with Psychology and Therapy

This number of articles available in relation to coaching psychology is considerable which suggests that this is a major area of concern for psychologists and therapists. With this in mind, psychologists and therapists are also involved and positioning themselves in the market place. There is an ongoing debate in the coaching literature (Bunning, 2006; Hart et al., 2007; Kilburg, 2004) on the role of psychology in executive coaching in particular. This generally focuses on the distinction between psychotherapy and coaching, which is a similar debate to the C&M. Additionally, Grant & O'Hara (2006) speculate that 'some individuals seek coaching as a socially acceptable

form of therapy'. In support of Grant & O'Hara but with a sting in the tail, Williams & Irving (2001:3-7) state 'Coaching looks like counselling in disguise – without the stigma, but also without the ethics'. To add the ethical debate, in an article by Bono et al. (2009), the authors observe that qualified psychologists charge more for coaching than for therapy and more than non-psychologist coaches for their services and that they derive 50% of their income from coaching.

In the mentoring literature, as mentioned above, there are fewer articles which debate or research the links between psychology, therapy and mentoring. However, mentoring literature tends to employ psychological and therapeutic concepts in order to build theory.

Volume VI: Coaching and Mentoring Relationships, Learning and Development

There is a reasonable spread of articles over the years which examine the links and claims made about learning relationships and mentoring and coaching.

C&M are often described as 'learning relationships'. Learning is a complex issue and generally happens under certain conditions (Rogers, 1969), it is social and often happens through experience and dialogue about that experience (Habermas, 1974; Vygotsky, 1978 and Bruner, 1990). Both mentoring and coaching are focussed dialogic and social activities – in theory, they meet the conditions for quality learning. How far this extends in practice is another debate to discuss. In this collection there are a variety of pieces looking at factors such as age, goal orientation, networks of learning, motivations and conversational learning.

Like all human relationships, there is the potential for much good to emerge but also harm. It is interesting to note that there are far more articles about the abuses of mentoring relationships from US authors than European and there are very few about problematic relationships in coaching. It is only possible to speculate as to why this might be the case. One possible explanation might be found in the discourses associated with career sponsorship mentoring, as found predominantly in the US and developmental and social mentoring found in Europe. As for the lack of articles exploring problematic coaching relationships; currently, many articles on coaching are written by coaches or academics who are pro-coaching. As yet, the literature has not matured sufficiently to examine the darker sides as yet. Perhaps this will change in time as it has in the mentoring literature.

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mentoring
and Anne Lucasse Shannon

Part 1.1

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Toward a Conceptualization of Mentoring

Eugene M. Anderson and Anne Lucasse Shannon

Articles about mentoring beginning teachers have pervaded educational journals during the past few years. Most have discussed responsibilities of a mentor (Nuefield, 1987; Huffman and Leak, 1986; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, McKee, and Braxton, 1978), detailed the development of mentor programs within a school district (California mentor teacher program, 1983), or provided a review of the current literature on mentoring (Galvez-Hjornevik, 1985; Merriam, 1983). Few, however, have provided the field of education with a clear conceptualization of the act of mentoring (Merriam, 1983). This lack of clarity has created problems for school districts and collaborating schools of education that have wanted to develop teacher mentor programs around a sound conceptual framework.

This article establishes a conceptualization of the mentoring process that is rooted in historical reference and serves as a model for use by those who design and implement teacher mentor programs. In the discussion that follows, we (a) review the historical development of the term "mentoring," (b) examine the problems inherent in current concepts of mentoring, (c) propose what we believe to be the essential characteristics of mentoring, and (d) discuss implications of the proposed mentoring model for development of teacher mentor programs.

Historical Perspectives

The term “mentor” has its roots in Homer’s epic poem, *The Odyssey*. In this myth, Odysseus, a great royal warrior, has been off fighting the Trojan War and has entrusted his son, Telemachus, to his friend and advisor, Mentor. Mentor has been charged with advising and serving as guardian to the entire royal household. As the story unfolds, Mentor accompanies and guides Telemachus on a journey in search of his father and ultimately for a new and fuller identity of his own. At times, throughout the story, Athene, goddess of wisdom, who presides over all craft and skillfulness, whether of the hands or the mind, manifests herself to Telemachus in the form of Mentor.

The account of Mentor in *The Odyssey* leads us to make several conclusions about the activity which bears his name. First, mentoring is an *intentional process*. Mentor intentionally carried out his responsibilities for Telemachus. Second, mentoring is a *nurturing process*, which fosters the growth and development of the protégé toward full maturity. It was Mentor’s responsibility to draw forth the full potential in Telemachus. Third, mentoring is an *insightful process* in which the wisdom of the mentor is acquired and applied by the protégé. Clawson (1980) asserts that it was Mentor’s task to help Telemachus grow in wisdom without rebellion. Fourth, mentoring is a *supportive, protective process*. Telemachus was to consider the advice of Mentor, and Mentor was to “keep all safe.”

It is also reasonable to conclude from Athene’s activities in *The Odyssey* that role modeling is a central quality of mentoring. Taking human form, Athene provided Telemachus with a standard and style of behavior which he could understand and follow. Athene helps us comprehend that mentors need to make themselves available to protégés as role models and to understand how their modeling can stimulate perspective, style, and a sense of empowerment within the protégé.

A New English Dictionary (Murray, 1908), documents various uses of the term “mentor” dating from around 1750. These uses confirm the historical meaning of mentoring and further imply that a mentor may be a person or a personified thing. It has not been until the last ten to fifteen years, however, that much about mentoring has appeared in the professional literature. Clawson (1980), for example, identifies the mid 70s when mentoring for a professional career became a topic of research. Eng (1986) suggests that this emphasis on mentoring coincided with the Human Resources Development Movement in business. Since the mid-70s, mentoring has increasingly been used to describe a variety of functions in a variety of vocational fields. Yet no commonly accepted meaning of the term has been developed (Speizer, 1981).

Current Concepts of Mentoring

There is a relatively small number of studies on mentoring, and most of these have centered on career development in the field of business (Alleman, 1986;

Murphy, 1986; Zey, 1984; Phillips-Jones, 1982; Levinson et al., 1978). Within these studies various definitions of mentoring have been offered.

Phillips-Jones (1982) defines mentors as influential people who significantly help protégés reach their life goals: "They have the power – through who or what they know – to promote . . . welfare, training, or career" (p. 21). She identifies six types of mentors: *Traditional mentors* are usually older authority figures who, over a long period of time, protect, advocate for, and nurture their protégés. They permit their protégés to move up the organizational ladder on their coattails. *Supportive bosses* are persons in a direct supervisory relationship with their protégé. Like traditional mentors, supportive bosses teach and guide, but they function more as coaches than as long-term protectors and advocates. *Organizational sponsors* are top-level managers who see that their protégés are promoted within the organization. Unlike traditional mentors and supportive bosses, they do not stay in day-to-day contact with their protégés. *Professional mentors* comprise a variety of career counselors and advisors. Protégés pay for services from these mentors. *Patrons* are persons who use their financial resources and status to help protégés prepare for and launch their careers. *Invisible godparents* help protégés reach career goals without their knowing it. They make "behind the scenes" arrangements and recommendations (pp. 22–24, 79–89).

Alleman (1986) stipulates that a mentor is a person of greater rank or expertise who teaches, counsels, guides, and develops a novice in an organization or profession. Expanding on her definition, she identifies nine mentor functions: (a) giving information, (b) providing political information, (c) challenging assignments, (d) counseling, (e) helping with career moves, (f) developing trust, (g) showcasing protégés achievements, (h) protecting, and (i) developing personal relationship/friendship (pp. 47–48).

Levinson et al. (1978) and Zey (1984) represent contrasting views of mentoring. Levinson et al. (1978) view mentoring as:

One of the most complex, and developmentally important, a man [sic] can have in early adulthood. The mentor is ordinarily several years older, a person of greater experience and seniority in the world the young man [sic] is entering. No word currently in use is adequate to convey the nature of the relationship we have in mind here. Words such as "counselor" or "guru" suggest the more subtle meanings, but they have other connotations that would be misleading. The term "mentor" is generally used in a much narrower sense, to mean teacher, adviser, or sponsor. As we use the term, it means all these things, and more. (p. 97)

In contrast to this personal, relatively broad and informal view of mentoring, Zey (1984) defines a mentor as:

a person who oversees the career and development of another person usually a junior, through teaching, counseling, providing psychological support, protecting, and at times promoting and sponsoring. The mentor

may perform any or all of the above functions during the mentor relationship. (p. 7)

In this definition, mentoring is viewed as a formal process within an organization that promotes the career development of the protégé to the benefit of the organization and the individual.

Those within the field of education have also provided us with definitions of mentoring. Fagan and Walter (1983) very simply define a mentor as "an experienced adult who befriends and guides a less-experienced adult" (p. 51).

Similarly, Klopff and Harrison (1981), conceptualizing mentoring as an enabling process, state that mentors are "competent people who serve as teachers, advisors, counselors, and sponsors for an associate, who may be younger and of the same or different sex" (p. 42). Klopff and Harrison go on to say that the mentor and associate mutually gain "insight, knowledge, and satisfaction from the relationship" (p. 42). They stipulate that all of the processes or functions found within this definition must be enacted for mentoring to occur.

Daloz (1983) draws upon a travel metaphor when he characterizes a mentor as a guide on a journey. During the trip the mentor carries out three functions: (a) pointing the way, (b) offering support, and (c) challenging.

While additional definitions from business and educational literature could be cited, we believe that these definitions serve as a representative sample from which we can express several concerns.

First, some definitions of mentoring, by their generality, are too vague or ambiguous to be helpful to teachers assuming a mentor role. An example of vagueness is found in Fagan and Walter's conception of a mentor as "an experienced adult who befriends and guides a less-experienced adult" (p. 51). Such definitions do not give mentors enough specific direction for what they are to do or how they are to do it. Further, it is difficult from studying the definitions as a group to know whether mentoring involves a set of functions that are conjunctively or disjunctively joined. This ambiguity is found in the contrasting definitions of Zey (1984) and Klopff and Harrison (1983). While Zey indicates that mentoring may be expressed within *any or all* of a number of mentoring functions (i.e., teaching, counseling, supporting, protecting, promoting, and sponsoring), Klopff and Harrison (1983) emphasize that all processes or functions of mentoring (i.e., teaching, advising, counseling, sponsoring, and modeling) must be present or the role being enacted is not mentoring. The question is, must the mentor exhibit, or have the disposition to exhibit, all of the designated mentoring functions within a particular mentoring context, or can the mentor specialize in only one or another of the designated mentoring functions to the exclusion of the others? We will return to this point.

Second, while we recognize the complexity of the mentoring process, we are concerned by the lack of conceptual frameworks for organizing the various mentoring functions and behaviors found within the definitions of mentoring.

For example, Alleman (1986) cites four mentoring roles and nine mentoring functions without establishing a clear relationship between the two sets. Lack of a rationale for and relationship among these thirteen variables constrains what contribution they might make.

Third, while most of the definitions of mentoring indicate that a mentor should promote the professional and/or personal development of the protégé through a set of mentoring functions, they do not highlight as much as we think they should that (a) mentoring is fundamentally a nurturing process, (b) that the mentor must serve as a role model to the protégé, and (c) that the mentor must exhibit certain dispositions that help define the process. In summary, most definitions do not provide what we believe to be the essence of mentoring in light of its etymological and historical derivation.

A Proposed Concept of Mentoring

In light of the problems expressed above, what constitutes a fruitful concept of mentoring for those who wish to develop and implement mentor programs for new teachers? We will respond to this question by offering a basic definition of mentoring, discussing five mentoring functions and related behaviors, delineating some basic mentoring activities, and specifying some necessary dispositions of mentors.

First, we believe that mentoring can best be defined as:

a nurturing process in which a more skilled or more experienced person, serving as a role model, teaches, sponsors, encourages, counsels, and befriends a less skilled or less experienced person for the purpose of promoting the latter's professional and/or personal development. Mentoring functions are carried out within the context of an ongoing, caring relationship between the mentor and protégé. (Anderson, 1987)

The essential attributes of this definition are: (a) the process of nurturing, (b) the act of serving as a role model, (c) the five mentoring functions (teaching, sponsoring, encouraging, counseling, and befriending), (d) the focus on professional and/or personal development, and (e) the ongoing caring relationship. A brief discussion of each of these attributes will provide a better context for their inclusion.

Nurturing implies a developmental process in which a nurturer is able to recognize the ability, experience, and psychological maturity of the person being nurtured and can provide appropriate growth-producing activities. The concept of nurturing also implies several notions embedded in the "gardening" metaphor. The nurturer helps provide an environment for growth, considers the total personality of the person being nurtured in deciding how best to be helpful, and operates with a belief that the person being nurtured has the capacity to develop into fuller maturity.

Closely related to the nurturing process is the act of serving as a role model. Mentors provide the protégés with a sense of what they are becoming. Protégés can see a part of their adult selves in other adults (Levinson et al., 1978). By their example, mentors stimulate growth and development in their protégés.

We view the five basic mentoring functions as *conjunctive*, (i.e., a mentor must stand ready to exhibit any or *all* of the functions as the need arises). We take this position for two reasons. First, the five functions as a group historically have been associated with a person called a mentor. Second, requiring a mentor to engage in all five functions carries with it the potential for better discriminating who is and is not mentoring and assigning more potency to the role.

Mentoring can focus on professional and/or personal development. We allow this option because we believe, as does Clawson, that mentoring can vary in terms of its scope of influence (Clawson, 1980). While their scope of influence can and does vary within mentoring relationships, the spirit of mentoring, as we understand it, suggests that true mentors are inclined to be concerned about the comprehensive welfare of their protégés.

Lastly, in our definition of mentoring, we stipulate that mentoring must involve an ongoing, caring relationship. Levinson et al. (1978) assert that the essence of mentoring may be found more within the kind of relationship that exists between the mentor and protégé than in the various roles and functions denoted by the term, "mentoring." We believe the caring relationship is at least of equal importance. The kind of relationship we advocate in mentoring is similar to that of a good substitute parent to an adult child.

With the above definition as our base, we now expand briefly on the five functions of mentoring: teaching, sponsoring, encouraging, counseling, and befriending. First, by teaching we mean basic behaviors associated with teaching, including: modeling, informing, confirming/disconfirming, prescribing, and questioning. In the context of mentoring, these behaviors are guided by principles of adult education.

Sponsoring involves being a kind of guarantor. Sponsoring within the context of mentoring involves three essential behaviors: protecting, supporting, and promoting. Teacher mentors can protect their protégés from something in the environment (e.g., helping to get a very troublesome student removed from their class), or by helping protect protégé from themselves (e.g., encouraging them not to stay up late every night preparing lessons until their health is impaired). Teacher mentors can support their protégés when they participate in an activity assigned to them (e.g., preparing lesson plans together). As sponsors, teacher mentors can promote their protégés both within the instructional and social systems of the school program. They can, for example, not only introduce them to other teachers and help them feel included but also recommend that their protégé serve on a school committee.

Encouraging is a process that includes the behaviors of affirming, inspiring, and challenging. Teacher mentors can affirm their protégés for who they

are and what they can do; they can inspire them by their example and words; and they can offer challenge by inviting them to become involved in a variety of growth producing experiences.

Counseling is a problem-solving process that includes behaviors such as listening, probing, clarifying, and advising. To the degree that protégés are willing and able, teacher mentors can help them solve their own problems.

Lastly, mentoring demands befriending. While it is difficult to delineate all of the behaviors associated with befriending, two critical ones stand out: accepting and relating. As a friend, teacher mentors will in continuing ways convey to their protégés that they understand and support them; and that they have time for them.

Again, we have selected teaching, sponsoring, counseling, encouraging, and befriending as basic functions within our conception of mentoring for two reasons. First, they logically flow from the historical meaning of the term mentoring. Second, they have the capacity to organize a number of more specific functions of mentoring cited in the literature.

To clarify the concept of mentoring, we need to illustrate how mentoring functions are carried out within the teaching context. Examples of basic mentoring activities in the area of education include: demonstrating teaching techniques to a protégé, observing the protégé's classroom teaching and providing feedback, and holding support meetings with the protégé. The point is this: As we think about the concept of mentoring, we need to identify various activities in which mentoring functions can be expressed. To be of even further assistance, we might eventually identify times in which these activities can best take place.

To take the concept of mentoring one final step, we need to identify dispositions that mentors should have as they carry out their mentoring functions and activities. Drawing on the definition of dispositions offered by Katz and Rath (1985), we define a mentoring disposition as an attributed characteristic of a mentor, one that summarizes the trend of the mentor's actions in particular contexts. Dispositions are broader constructs than skills and denote recurring patterns of behavior.

Mentoring dispositions may arise from the concept of mentoring and also from the values held by those who develop mentor programs. We offer three dispositions that we believe are essential to the concept of mentoring. First, mentors should have the dispositions of opening themselves to their protégés by, for example, allowing their protégés opportunities to observe them in action and conveying to them reasons and purposes behind their decisions and performance. Second, mentors should have the disposition to lead their protégés incrementally over time. Third, mentors should have the disposition to express care and concern about the personal and professional welfare of their protégés.

The schematic in Figure 1 summarizes the essence of mentoring and its basic components. It indicates that basic to mentoring is a relationship in which

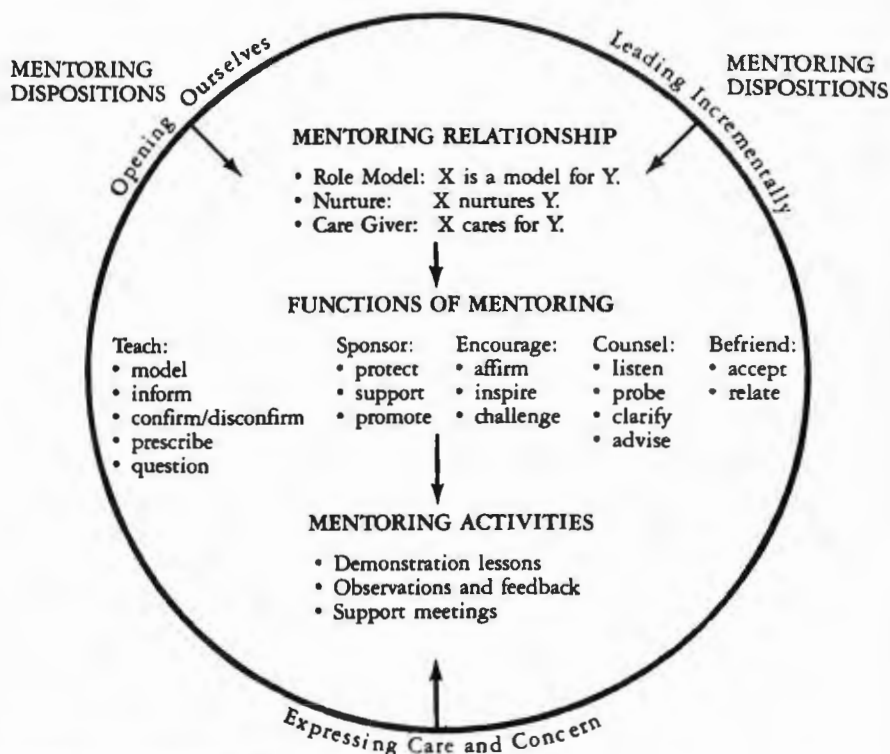


Figure 1: Mentoring model

the protégé views the mentor as a role model and the mentor nurtures and cares for the protégé. Entailed in the mentoring relationship are five mentoring functions and related behaviors that are carried out within various mentoring activities. The entire mentoring process is styled by a set of dispositions displayed by the mentor.

Implications

In developing teacher mentor programs it is all too easy to focus prematurely on such tasks as designing job descriptions for mentors, selecting mentors and protégés, providing some initial orientation sessions, and then getting a program underway. To do so, without first thinking carefully about the concept of mentoring, is to run the risk of developing programs that are incomplete, lack integrity, and duplicate programs that in some form have already been tried.

We believe that those who develop mentor programs for beginning teachers should embed them in a definition of mentoring that captures the essence of the mentoring relationship. Further, developers must decide what they believe are the essential functions of mentoring; they must identify possible

mentoring activities in which these functions can be expressed; and they must develop the dispositions that mentors are to exhibit as they carry out the functions and activities.

Only when a strong and clear conceptual foundation of mentoring is established can effective mentor programs for beginning teachers be constructed.

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Mentoring Relations: A Definition to Advance Research and Practice

Charles C. Healy and Alice J. Welchert

In an effort to revitalize our nation's competitive vigor, the school reform movement has co-opted a strategy of the ancient Greeks: mentoring. As Odysseus entrusted his son and posterity to a sage elder, moderns have recognized a resource in seasoned educators and seek to exploit their wisdom for future generations of teachers. A movement begun in the 1970s, as many corporations and government agencies launched mentoring programs, continued unabated in the 1980s, as colleges, universities, school districts, and states established programs to enhance the quality of faculty and administrators through mentoring.

The desire to enlist mentors in optimizing career development and more recently in promoting excellence in education has inspired a flurry of research and development projects on mentoring (Gray & Gray, 1986). Unfortunately, the seeds of empirical study have been cast too broadly to yield a harvest of cumulative knowledge given that inconsistent, idiosyncratic definitions of mentoring are employed (Bogat & Rednar, 1985; Merriam, 1983) that frequently lack grounding in theory. Absence of definitional consensus is stymieing efforts to synthesize empirical findings into a coherent body of knowledge and to identify important unanswered questions.

We are not the first to note that mentoring is referred to in widely disparate terms that impede investigation: "One problem in the mentoring literature is the lack of any one comprehensive, yet functional, definition" (Bogat & Rednar, 1985, p. 851). However, a frequent response to the definitional conundrum

has been a nod in its direction while proceeding with an admittedly inadequate formulation. Our purpose, consequently, is to advance a definition of mentoring, derived from current thinking in developmental-contextual theory, that is both functional and comprehensive. By functional we mean a definition that articulates the essence of mentoring so that it is distinguished from other superior/subordinate interactions, bridges the hiatus between formalized and classical mentoring, and implies corollaries that highlight significant unanswered questions. By comprehensive we mean a definition that is able to accommodate the observations from studies of mentoring relationships.

Our definition incorporates the developmental-contextual notions that stage denotes a qualitatively distinct level of organization and that context both influences the organism's development and is changed by it (Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1986). It expands Levinson's (1978) influential developmental definition by postulating that an organism's transformation depends as much upon the dynamic potentials of its context as upon its own changing capacities. This formulation conceptualizes development as a nexus of dynamic, bidirectional, organism-context interactions with probabilistic outcomes.

Within this framework, we consider mentoring to be a dynamic, reciprocal relationship in a work environment between an advanced career incumbent (mentor) and a beginner (protégé) aimed at promoting the career development of both. For the protégé, the object of mentoring is the achievement of an identity transformation, a movement from the status of understudy to that of self-directing colleague. For the mentor, the relationship is a vehicle for achieving midlife "generativity" (Erikson, 1963), meaning a transcendence of stagnating self-preoccupation via exercise "of an instinctual drive to create and care for new life . . ." (Erikson, cited in Yamamoto, 1988, p. 186).

Two elements of the definition are fundamental and distinguish mentoring, whether formal or informal, from other superior/subordinate helping relationships such as teaching and supervising: reciprocity between mentor and protégé and accomplishment of an identity transformation by each party. With respect to reciprocity, many discussions of mentoring acknowledge that benefits may accrue to the mentor, but potential for mentor development is typically regarded as a serendipitous by-product rather than as an integral constituent of the relationship. The proposed definition posits mutual exchange as a *sine qua non* of mentoring.

Contrasting mentoring with supervising and teaching clarifies the reciprocity in mentoring. The mentor, but not the supervisor *per se*, engages in interactions vis-a-vis the protégé aimed at passing on his or her professional legacy – a manifestation of generativity. Mentors transmit a complex legacy of professional acumen that reflects their own unique ability to identify salient issues and heuristics in the work environment. They cultivate qualitative changes in the protégé's approach to tasks rather than his or her immediate productivity.

Mentors, but not the teacher *qua* teacher, invite protégés to partake of the wisdom and style that have enabled them to excel professionally. These professional troves are not concepts and methods from textbooks but approaches with which the mentor applies the knowledge of the craft. Zuckerman (1977) noted that as the relationship blooms, protégés integrate aspects of this professional approach into their repertoire. Their initially unequal relationship with the mentor becomes reciprocal as their practice incorporates and thereby perpetuates essential elements of their mentor's professional legacy. In adapting the art of the mentor to new challenges, protégés become living transmitters of their mentors' artistry. Although mentors' collaboration in this adaptation may assist them in upgrading their professional expertise, the distinctive achievements of a mentor appear to be selfless transmission of one's professional legacy to posterity by empowering a protégé in its rendition and the intrinsic satisfaction of such a contribution.

Given our definitional emphasis on the contextual nature of mentoring, it follows that the evolution of the relationship and the developmental trajectories of its participants are influenced by many interacting variables, including mentor/protégé personalities, shared history, and mutual and separate contexts. Clearly, mentoring dynamics not only depend on events circumscribed by the relationship. For instance, if a mentor's insistence on a particular instructional strategy improves student evaluations of the novice teacher, the protégé is likely to become more self-revealing and imitative of the mentor. The broader context, however, such as the school's culture and family demands, also affect the protégé's satisfaction with such experimentation and propensity for self-revelation and imitation.

The proposed definition is applicable not only to those spontaneous mentorships that arise by mutual consent between parties but also to mentorships established via formal programs. Moreover, efforts to institute mentorships without reference to a definition that captures their essence may trivialize them. Little (in press), for instance, reported that many teacher mentoring programs were falling short of expectations because they were initiated without sufficient consideration of their structure and objectives, or of the institutional conditions necessary for them to succeed in educational settings. More critical of institutional mentoring programs, Yamamoto (1988) believed that much of what passes for mentoring, for example the formalized assistance in networking and coaching in professional skills, degrades "yet another human phenomenon of profundity . . . by a misguided attempt at popularization and standardization" (p. 188). Gehrke (1988) too warned that mentorships are debased when they are viewed as self-promoting business arrangements rather than as transforming gift exchanges. Hardcastle (1988) likewise suggested that the core qualities of significant mentorships are absent from formal affiliations labeled as mentoring.

What emerges from the literature is a polarized view of mentoring. On one hand, there is "classical" mentoring worthy of the name – it is dynamic,

occurs spontaneously between two people of goodwill and commitment, is long term, multifaceted, and potentially profound in impact. On the other hand are assigned, short-term, cost-effective arrangements of limited significance that have, in the minds of some, sullied and usurped the title *mentoring*. Formalized mentoring (read inferior) lends itself to quick, albeit myriad operational definitions and critique, whereas true mentoring has an ineffable quality that ought not be violated by crassly quantitative methods (Gehrke, 1988, preferred "affectionate research").

However, thinking that pits "true" mentoring against "imitation" mentoring begets an unproductive state of affairs. For one thing, the conclusion that deliberate attempts to foster mentoring are doomed to yield limited results is premature given that formalized mentoring programs are a relatively recent phenomenon and there has been little time to hone and evaluate them. For another, the essence of mentoring has not been sufficiently explicated to distinguish institutional mentoring from other staff development programs. Thus, the suggestion that intentional mentoring debases a human phenomenon of profundity is a hypothesis to be tested, not a truism to be affirmed.

Already there is limited evidence that the essence of mentoring as advanced by the developmental-contextual definition – reciprocity and potential for qualitative transformation – may be tapped by a formal program. An evaluation of the California Mentor Teacher Program (Ruskus, 1988) indicated that some participating mentors did reap career benefits far beyond the nominal \$4,000 annual stipend they received. Mentors interviewed cited collegiality, a positive sense of efficacy, the opportunity "to have a broader impact than they would have as regular teachers" (p. 219), and the exercise of leadership as benefits. One mentor (p. 219) felt that the program facilitated her creativity; another (p. 219) felt that it allowed him leverage to have an impact on adults. A master teacher (p. 220) said the mentor role allowed mentors to reinforce and refine their own philosophies and thus was professionally enriching. Several mentors (p. 221) said the program allowed them to grow professionally in ways not possible without it; others (p. 222) mentioned that they had more control over their own destinies. The perceptions of these mentors indicate that they not only gave assistance to protégés but received benefits significant to their own growth. These examples suggest that formal programs may promote the developmental-contextual hallmarks of reciprocity and qualitative transformation and need not degrade a profound human relationship.

Sampling Improvements

A major methodological flaw in many of the studies reviewed for this article was a tautological definition of mentoring that produced positively biased samples. In these investigations, questions to respondents elicited only the recall of relationships with positive outcomes – for example, did they have

an association with a senior worker instrumental in advancing their careers? Asked in this form, less successful examples of mentoring are likely to go unreported and we do not learn from the failures. By establishing the domain of mentoring relations a priori as those designed to promote reciprocity and further the goal of participant transformation, our definition may eliminate biased sampling.

Lacking a consistent definition of mentoring, those qualities considered desirable in a mentor have often been mistakenly advanced as criteria for the mentoring function. A case in point is sensitivity. The sensitivity of the mentor to the protégé's individuality and tact in giving feedback refer to the mentor's *skills*, not to the type of relationship. These qualities cannot be invoked to categorize relationships as mentoring or nonmentoring because they emerge during the course of the association and permit only *ex post facto* classification. For example, when Clawson (1980) found that outstanding supervisors were more likely than their marginal counterparts to relate to subordinates in a manner characterized by such elements as mutual respect, agreement about one another's roles, consistency, and informality, he concluded that these elements distinguished effective from ineffective supervision, instead of supervision from non-supervision. In the same manner, determining whether such virtues as interpersonal sensitivity are requisite for productive mentoring, or whether certain relational dynamics are exclusive to mentoring (as opposed to teaching or supervising), require adoption of inclusion and exclusion criteria for mentoring associations such as proposed here.

Mentoring and Development

Our review covered published research that labeled relations between workers as *mentoring* or some synonym such as *grooming*. Studies of relations between graduate or professional school students and professors were included in our review, but those between other students and their teachers were not. We assessed whether the literature supports the contextual-developmental definition of mentoring as a reciprocal association between superior and subordinate that effects their mutual transformations. We also sought empirical evidence of particular mentoring dynamics that might account for such a transformation, and documented instances of mentor/protégé development.

Protégés

From the developmental perspective, protégés do more than become proficient in a given domain. The process of transformation reaches fruition when the protégé, vis-a-vis mentor, is no longer understudy but peer. Protégés' new collegial status evolves through a continual refinement of their work functions as they exercise increasingly sophisticated, independent judgments (Dalton,

Thompson, & Price, 1977). The imbalance between superior and subordinate shifts to an affiliation between equals as mentors and protégés alike acknowledge the culmination of this transitional period.

Many studies document protégé gains beyond those of mere task competency, giving credibility to the notion of qualitative developmental change. Zuckerman (1977) found that under current or soon-to-be Nobel Laureates, future Laureates incorporated standards of work, modes of thought, and identities as elite scientists. However, substantive knowledge gain was not a product of their mentoring. Shelton (1982) reported that women completing a year-long formal mentoring program were more promotable than matched controls; Cameron and Blackburn (1981) found that both formally and informally established mentorships were effective in socializing college administrators. Dalton et al. (1977) observed that as protégés gained technical competence and confidence in their own judgment they no longer required close supervision; Bova and Phillips (1984) observed that protégés not only honed specific job competencies, but also acquired risk-taking and political skills. Phillips (1977) reported similar gains for protégés and discovered a bidirectional exchange in the relationship as protégés assisted mentors collegially.

Mentoring studies elucidate the probable means as well as the modes of protégé transformation. Elite scientist mentors evoked excellence by setting high standards and by illustrating the art of intuiting important questions (Zuckerman, 1977). Hardcastle (1988) also found mentors set high standards and gave protégés unique insights into their potential. Kram (1985) and Phillips (1977) observed a number of potentially beneficial functions performed by mentors in the corporate world such as sponsorship and exposure. Gehrke (1988) inferred that mentors awaken protégés to their potential and elicit their commitment to express it.

Although these studies support the thesis that some protégés achieve developmental advances through mentoring, they do not confirm Levinson's (1978) contention that mentoring relationships are indispensable avenues to transformation. Even though some professional accomplishments, for example, those mentioned by Conway (1981) for nursing, may be attainable only through a mentor's grooming, many workers have matured without mentoring (Kram, 1985; Phillips, 1977), and some in spite of it (Grant & Zeichner, 1981; Watkins, 1977). When protégés estimated the contribution of mentoring to their career development, moreover, many indicated that it was not one of the most important factors (Anderson & Devanna, 1980; Phillips, 1977).

Mentors

The contextual-development definition maintains that mentors as well as protégés can be transformed through mentoring. Career development in professional and managerial fields occurs as workers successfully redefine their

roles, assuming capacities such as specialist, troubleshooter, consultant, leader, and mentor, while they simultaneously negotiate a balance between career demands and other life roles (Dalton et al., 1977). To achieve developmental transformation, advanced career incumbents must press toward higher levels of functioning. For example, they must integrate new advances in their fields into their existing skill repertoires or introduce their own innovations. They must also transmit their fund of experience to followers and consultees.

Mentoring functions are conducive to precisely these kinds of advances and thus it is plausible that mentors, in the very act of guiding and promoting others, act to effect their own transformations. Indeed, evidence is amassing that mentoring potentiates *developmental change*. Blackburn, Chapman, and Cameron (1981) observed that academic mentors derived gratification from collaborating with protégés to produce new knowledge, and Dalton et al. (1977) and Kram (1985) reported that successful mentoring was recompensed with intrinsic satisfaction, added responsibilities, and leadership recognition.

Corollary 1: Readiness

The proposition that development progresses through discrete stages has several corollaries that action research may explore to enhance mentoring. One corollary is that the degree of maturity that both parties bring to the relationship influences its outcome. Although researchers have not formally investigated protégé motivation and readiness, they have identified qualities that enhance mentoring that appear to reflect maturity level. For instance, individuals must often show exceptional promise to be accorded protégé status (Hall & Sandler, 1983; Kanter, 1977; Phillips, 1977). Additionally, many Nobel Laureates intentionally sought out elite mentors (Zuckerman, 1977), implying that constructive mentorship may be secured through proactive, systematic career planning, rather than conferred by another. Dalton et al. (1977) hypothesized that MBAs, scientists, and engineers new to organizations appear to need sufficient maturity to relate effectively to authority while maintaining their autonomy.

The literature is far richer on the topic of mentor readiness, implying that professional maturation and status necessarily affect the quality of mentoring. It is intuitively reasonable that those best able to promote the growth of others must have first developed their own capacities. Dalton et al. (1977) noted that the most qualified technical, professional, and managerial mentors assumed increased responsibility for guiding the career development of others and had expanded their network of contact to benefit their protégés. Others (Kanter, 1977; Kram, 1985; Schein, 1978) also observed that mentors must possess power and professional respect to garner opportunities for their protégés. Certainly, the notion of reciprocity suggests that continual, high-level

performance by mentors propels protégé development; conversely, a slackening of mentor productivity may inhibit it.

Corollary 2: The Developmental Process of a Mentoring Relationship

A second corollary is that mentorships pass through qualitatively distinct periods, which is consistent with the findings of Phillips (1977) and Kram (1985) that mentoring relations pass through periods that are distinguishable. Phillips named the stages of mentoring: mutual admiration, development, disillusionment, parting, and transformation, reflecting the developmental advances of the protégé. With Phillips' nomenclature as a point of departure, Kram (1985) studied mentoring dyads and proposed a different nomenclature: initiation, cultivation, separation, and redefinition.

Both terminologies portray a similar sequence: initially, both participants get a sense of one another as the mentor assists and observes the protégé. As their interaction becomes motivating and commands energy, both experience increasing mutuality and willingness to risk for one another. During this time optimum learning occurs and maximum accomplishments result. Phillips (1977) and Kram (1985) believed that this intense interaction gradually wanes as the parties distance themselves; at the separation juncture they must either redefine their relationship based on collegiality or suffer a deteriorating alliance.

Phillips and Kram deepened our understanding of mentoring relations. Their work supports the inference that two indispensable elements promote an optimally enhancing relationship: mentor and protégé must experience the relationship as a reciprocal venture, and each party must increasingly esteem the other. Their findings can be interpreted as showing that participants need to perceive mentoring as a *quid pro quo* arrangement for them to invest sufficient energy to promote growth. Mentors, no less than protégés, may require assurance that their partners will give as well as receive.

Phillips (1977) and Kram (1985) underscored the necessity of evaluating the process of mentoring, from inception to resolution, to verify the transformations posited by the stage construct. They challenged researchers to discover factors in the mentorship, including its method of initiation and its parties' contexts, which advanced it to the mutuality phase. Neither insisted that mentor and protégé choose each other at the outset, but both hypothesized that commitment to one another as people and appreciation of one another's professional contributions increased the possibility of transformation. Other important research questions they suggested are: What percentage of mentorships in particular environments advance to the mutuality stage? What are the outcomes of mentorships that terminate before mutuality is achieved?

Corollary 3: Mentoring and Participants' Contexts

Another corollary of the contextual-development definition is that mentorships change participants' contexts even as contexts shape mentoring. Initial mentoring transactions will likely abide by the culture and organization of their host sites, but as a mentorship evolves, its transactions can diverge from and change those parameters. Therefore, the impact of a mentorship cannot be appreciated unless change in contexts is taken into account. In a school where team teaching is out of vogue, for instance, mentor and protégé are unlikely to team teach at the start of this relation. However, as mentoring succeeds, they might arrange joint efforts and in so doing prompt their colleagues to reevaluate the team approach. Certainly the mentoring team's perceptions of contextual responses are likely to influence their subsequent transactions, so that understanding the course of mentoring requires examining interactions with the parties' contexts. Although researchers have shown that contextual variables such as school organization and teacher's ethos need to be considered in anticipating the course of mentoring, the contextual-developmental perspective alerts us to focus on the ongoing interactions of the mentorship with its context.

The proposition also warns us against overlooking the parties' nonwork roles. By introducing new significant others into their lives and adding new responsibilities and prerogatives to the work role, mentorships alter their participants' life space. The roles participants must balance along with mentoring are likely to affect the nature and consequences of the transactions in a mentorship. Phillips (1977) noted that mentorships of single, opposite-sex partners occasionally ended in marriage, and Kram (1985) reported that one of the mentorships she observed terminated because of the mentor's problems with a teenage son. Disregarding the parties' lifespace can only blur appreciation of their mentorships.

In addition to mandating attention to contextual interaction, the perspective provides concepts such as normative history-graded influences (i.e., those specific to a cohort arising from idiosyncratic events in the generation) and age-graded influences (i.e., those stemming from biosocial maturation) to help isolate contextual influences and make sense of their impact. For instance, given normative history-graded influences, we would expect today's mentors to choose male protégés, despite their endorsement of equal opportunity, given the norms operative during their socialization. Under-representation of women among the ranks of protégés would follow and, indeed, this has been documented in some studies (Adler, 1976; Bogat & Redner, 1985; Hall & Sandler, 1983), but not in others (Anderson & Devanna, 1980; Busch, 1985; Cameron & Blackburn, 1981). Age-graded influences, in contrast, predict that women and men of similar age and educational or work backgrounds are equally prepared to reconstitute themselves through mentoring. Although research has not directly compared the progress of male and female protégés,

studies have documented the transformation of both female and male protégés through mentoring (Kram, 1985; Phillips, 1977).

Conclusion

A definition of mentorships grounded in contextual-developmental theory can advance research and practice. The definition accommodates myriad observations about mentorships from past research. It enables mentorships to be studied from their outset and to be distinguished from other relations. As a consequence, researchers can examine the full spectrum of mentorships, learn from unsuccessful as well as successful relationships, and test how the benefits of mentorships differ from other staff development associations. Contextual-developmental corollaries, moreover, illuminate important research issues such as participant readiness, distinct stages in the relationship, and the reciprocal nature of context-mentorship interaction.

For those who would enter or support mentorships the definition provides both understanding and direction. It identifies potential benefits for both parties and illuminates factors that influence the roles of the participants. It points out that mutuality increases the likelihood of participant transformation, and it identifies participant maturation and context receptivity as factors that can increase the likelihood of successful mentoring.

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A Dose of Mentoring

Bob Garvey

The Research Model

As discussed in “Ancient Greece, MBAs, the Health Service and Georg”[1], mentoring is a complex relationship between two people. To help understand the uniqueness of the mentoring form it seems appropriate to create a model of the relationship’s dimensions. The elements can be described as points on a continuum, as shown in Figure 1.

The Dimensions Explained

- *Open*: If the relationship is open, the two parties feel able to discuss any topic in a free atmosphere. There are no “off-limits” subjects.
- *Closed*: In a closed relationship there are specific items for discussion and an understanding that certain issues are not for debate.
- *Public*: In a public mentoring dyad other people know that the relationship exists and some of the topics discussed in meetings may also be discussed with third parties.
- *Private*: A private relationship is one of which other people are not aware or, at least, only a limited or restricted number of people may know about its existence.
- *Formal*: A formal mentoring relationship is one that involves agreed appointments, venues and time-scales. It is one that may be part of an “officially” recognized scheme within an organization. This does not mean that the

Open	Closed
Public	Private
Formal.....	Informal
Active	Passive
Stable	Unstable

Figure 1: Research model

content and behaviour of the parties in the relationship are formal but rather that the relationship's existence and management are formalized. The members of the partnership in this formalized relationship are likely to establish ground rules of conduct.

- *Informal:* The informal dimension is one where the relationship is managed on a casual basis. There are unlikely to be ground rules. The parties are likely to work in close proximity to one another, as this tends to encourage a "pop in any time" foundation for the relationship. The informal relationship can operate both in a wider social context and within an official scheme. Informality does not describe the content or behaviours in the partnership but, rather, its structure and organization.

Mentor Relationship A

The Background^a

The Mentor

Name: Jane Smith
 Gender: Female
 Age: 32
 Position: Training and development manager
 Learning style: Developing activist tendencies from a theorist base
 Background: Total Health Service experience – seven years, three years' experience in training in a commercial organization

The Mentee

Name: John Jones
 Gender: Male
 Age: 32
 Position: Surgical services management
 Learning style: Theorist
 Background: Total Health Service experience – more than ten years

^aThe names of the people have been changed to protect their privacy and confidentiality

- *Active*: An active partnership is one where both parties take some sort of action as a result of the mentoring discussions. This may take many forms from, in the case of a mentor, an intervention on the mentee's behalf or, in the case of the mentee, a change in behaviour or activity. It may be possible that one party is more active than the other. Active can also mean that contact is regular.
- *Passive*: A passive mentoring relationship is one where little action is taken by either party as a result of mentoring discussions. Contacts between the parties may also have lapsed. It may be possible to have a mentoring partnership in which one party is passive and the other active.
- *Stable*: A stable partnership is one in which the behaviour of both parties has an element of security and predictability. There is an understood consistency and regularity that provides a feeling of stability. This may also be linked to a feeling of commitment and the element of trust is of great importance in this dimension.
- *Unstable*: An unstable relationship is unpredictable and insecure. This dimension is a manifestation of some of the negative aspects of mentoring which result from the human condition[2]. Trust may be lacking and the commitment may be questionable.

Further Explanation

As a consequence of the uniqueness of mentoring relationships, each specific pair may feature different combinations of the dimensions. Theoretically, it may be possible that certain combinations of the dimensions are present in a mentoring relationship that are absent from other types of relationship. It is also possible that some of these dimensions must be present for the relationship to be effective. These points are explored in this article and are also currently being investigated more fully in continuing research with a wider population.

Time plays a crucial dynamic role in the mentoring process for, as time progresses, the relationship may alter and different dimensions may emerge or come to the fore as a result. This is demonstrated in the following case examples.

Case Examples

Mentor Relationship A

Mentor relationship A has a number of interesting features about it, namely:

- (1) The mentor is female and the mentee is male. This makes it an example of cross-gender mentoring.
- (2) They are the same age.

- (3) They have a similar status in the Health Service (points 2 and 3 make this an example of peer mentoring).
- (4) Initially, they worked in the same trust but now they are in different trusts and are separated by about 30 miles.
- (5) The relationship has had its problems but these have been resolved.
- (6) Learning styles seem to have a significant influence on the relationship.

The Mentor's View

After ten months of the relationship, Jane admits to finding the mentor relationship with her mentee "difficult". She believes that John initially chose her for the following reasons:

Reasons for Choice

- (1) They have quite a good working relationship.
- (2) John wanted somebody inside the organization.
- (3) John did not have a good relationship with the general manager (the GM did not want him to do the MBA).
- (4) Jane was a "last resort" and he felt that she would not be so critical of him as others might be.

Reasons for Agreement

Jane agreed to adopt the role in order to:

- (1) Develop her own understanding of mentoring, so that she could implement a similar programme for other managers within the Trust.
- (2) Help John develop his understanding of work-related issues through the MBA.
- (3) Provide John with career support so that he might be in a better position to gain employment outside the Health Service if necessary (the mentor sees job security for the mentee as a major issue).
- (4) Help John to understand the difficulties he has with relationships at work so that he may develop into a "better" manager.

The Mentee's View

John agrees with most of Jane's observations regarding the rationale behind his choice. However, he adds that the accessibility and availability of Jane were important factors and the fact that he believes Jane has a different knowledge and skills base from his own. At the beginning, he felt that Jane had a "head start" in her understanding of the mentoring process.

The work relationships issue, observed and identified by Jane ("Reasons for Agreement", point 4), was not discussed in the research interview with John.

Analysis against the research model places this relationship as a closed, private, formal, active/passive, stable partnership (Figure 2). It is also important to note that there is some evidence to suggest that the cross-gender issue has had an influence on the relationship.

The Closed Dimension

In their early meetings, Jane and John agreed ground rules of conduct and John was keen to have a strong MBA focus, but he did agree that other work-related issues could be discussed. Jane was particularly keen on this as she did not see her role as "an extension of an MBA tutor" but, rather, as having an all-round development focus. At ten months into the relationship, John's agenda, in Jane's view, has had the upper hand and discussions around other developmental issues have not been forthcoming. She described the relationship as "*the opposite of openness*" and the agenda, John's agenda, of their discussions was very controlled. At this point in time Jane was feeling a strong sense of frustration with John. Jane said, "*He loves to show me his assignment plans and timetables*", but she believed that he needed to widen his thinking beyond the MBA course for his own good.

John's perspective was interestingly different. He believed that Jane's counsel on the MBA was exactly what he needed. Indeed, he believed that the relationship was progressing along the lines of the agreed ground rules.

Clearly, at ten months into the scheme the relationship had a problem. Jane was very frustrated in that she recognized aspects of John's behaviour as unhelpful to his career prospects and felt that she would be able to help him modify his approach through the mentor discussions. Indeed, at this point, she was in such a state of despair about the deadlock that she was ready to withdraw from the mentor role.

This closed or restricted agenda was a contributor to this deadlock in the relationship, for, while John unknowingly controlled the focus of the agenda

Open	X	Closed
Public	X	Private
Formal	X	Informal
Active	X	Passive
Stable	X	Unstable

Figure 2: Relationship A analysis

so tightly on MBA-specific issues, the relationship, from Jane's perspective, had difficulty in developing. This "closed" agenda was compounded by John's enforced move to another Trust. The potential for common ground and common understanding was reduced by the move, as they no longer shared the same workplace. This move, and obvious threat to John's security, may help to explain John's determination to keep the agenda "closed". This point will be explored more in the stable dimension, discussed later.

The Private Dimension

Jane may have put her own position at some risk by agreeing to adopt the role of mentor in this particular situation. This was because, despite the opportunity within the mentor scheme to include the role as part of her performance review, Jane did not discuss the role with her line manager, (general manager) or with the HRD director. She believed that their response would be that, with John, she was "wasting her time". This pressure to keep the relationship private was causing difficulties for Jane in that she was not gaining any recognition or support for her efforts. Indeed, she might, if discovered, have received a reprimand for starting and continuing the relationship. Therefore their meetings tended to be arranged out of office hours and in a neutral venue away from Jane's workplace. However, she was committed to the concept of mentoring and it was this commitment to both the process and John that kept her going. She appeared to have a "I've started so I'll finish" view of the situation! John was unaware of this private dimension.

The Formal Dimension

As previously mentioned, Jane and John established ground rules early in their mentor meetings. They agreed in advance meeting times, dates and venues. This dimension did not create any significant issues in the case.

The Active/Passive Dimension

At the time of the initial interviews, John was clearly gaining as an active partner. He was, through Jane's obvious skill as a mentor, widening his understanding of MBA-related topics. John said that Jane "helps me to step away from things and look at them in order to clarify a few things in my own mind". He also confirmed Jane's perception that the agenda was heavily controlled, when he said that the relationship "is pretty much logistical and about planning things".

It was this that put Jane into a passive role, where she felt unable to influence or contribute to what she saw as priority issues for John – namely, his response to change and his behaviour towards others. This passive position, for

Jane, was a key element in the deadlocked relationship and a contributor to Jane's feelings of frustration. This may be linked to the cross-gender issue.

According to Sheehy[3] women do not follow the same type of life cycle as men. In general and traditional terms, the first half of women's lives is linked to "serving others" and is manifest in "serving children and husbands"[2]. In Sheehy's[3] studies she observed that women with careers tended to opt for service-based work such as teaching and nursing. Sheehy[3] observed that the second phase of women's lives, when children are not so significant, tended to be one where dormant talents and greater creativity emerged.

Levinson[4] refers to this influence as *generativity* and he sees it as the strong factor in women's lives. This is reflected in the careers women choose, as well as in raising families.

Sheehy[3] views the key distinction between the behaviour of men and women as that of *initiating* and of being *responsive*. It must be said that this debate is generalist in nature and that neither one behaviour nor the other is exclusive to men or women but our culture, though changing, still develops the propensity to initiate in men and to be responsive in women. This responsiveness may go some way to explain Jane's role as passive and John's initiating behaviour may explain his role as active. Jane listened and responded to John and she did not initiate further debate despite appreciating the need to do so.

John believed that the relationship was balanced. However, it is significant that Jane felt that the passive role was unsatisfactory for her and did not fulfil her needs in the relationship. The relationship was unbalanced from her viewpoint.

The Stable Dimension

During the ten-month period of the mentoring partnership with Jane, John was first seconded to another district and, next, was seconded again to another Trust in yet another district. These changes were part of a restructuring programme within the "home" Trust. John would not get his original job back because it no longer existed. The secondments had a time-limit on them and so, in reality, John was facing redundancy if he did not find another position. John admitted that Jane was a strong, stable influence in his life through these disruptions. He also admits that he felt "very bitter and upset" by the changes and that "Jane's ability to be objective about that and not take sides, but to push me to think positively about it, was significant" and that she "reassured me of my own self-worth". This type of outcome from mentoring is well documented[2,5].

Stability is obviously crucial to John and clearly Jane enabled him to feel some security in uncertain times. As John put it, "I think that it has been useful at times, in particular doing the MBA programme, as being a sort of stability,

and in a way Jane's done the journey with me...It's been a bit of a constant which has been necessary."

It may be that this strong desire for some stability in a very uncertain situation influenced John to keep the agenda closed and focused. It could have been that the prospect of introducing his behavioural problems into the mentoring discussion may have threatened his security further. He may have controlled the agenda to preserve his security. Jane now recognizes this but, at the time, it did not change her feeling of frustration in the relationship. She was able to recognize the role she was playing, but she wanted to become more active in areas other than those John would allow.

The Element of Time

Time has had a great influence on this pair as through time it has become very apparent that the relationship has changed.

When interviewed separately there was a very clear mismatch in their perceptions of the workings of the relationship. This mismatch was discussed in some detail with the mentor. This placed me, the researcher, as almost a mentor to the mentor. Clearly, this changed the nature of the research with this particular pair and the style of research can now be described as "action research". This is where the researcher examines and modifies his or her own practice as a result of an intervention in the research situation. This tradition of research was largely born out of educational research practice (see Lewis and Munn[6] and Nixon[7]).

This intervention discussion was based on the learning styles[8] of the individuals.

The Learning Styles Intervention Background

Jane believed that John's learning style was a contributor to his "entrenched" view point and to the creation of the closed agenda in their relationship. She also believed that John's strong theorist style contributed to his behavioural problems with others. These manifested themselves particularly through John's reluctance to "shift" his ground or be flexible about certain issues. Jane said that John "is a strongly principled person who sticks to his principles, no matter how small the issue". It was this, she believed, that led others to believe that he is rigid and immovable.

It is interesting to note that Jane's learning style has its roots in the theorist style but, by her own admission, is changing through environmental necessities. She believes that she has been able to develop another style of learning and behaving which is more appropriate for a "fast-changing and reactive" Health Service. Jane is of the opinion that it is important in this environment to become more activist/pragmatist in style, particularly in her role in training and development.

Jane is clear that John is a “nice person, very hard working and a good employee for any organization” but he has become victim to a cultural change where outcome has become more important than process. This “outcome” philosophy is one which is driven by targets and measurable end results. John’s thinking was, as she understood it, locked into the ideology of the “old” Health Service, where *the way* things were done, regardless of the outcome, was important. She clearly understood John’s position at the time of this first interview, as it was one she could recognize in herself. This may go some way to explaining both her feelings of despair with him and her willingness to pursue the relationship. She felt he needed to be less resistant to change and more willing to adapt to the new climate for his own survival. As previously mentioned, John’s previous bosses had little faith in his ability to manage in the changing climate.

The Intervention

It was suggested that, at their next meeting, Jane might like to revisit the learning styles profile with John. During this discussion, Jane could use the focus of the profiles as a vehicle to introduce her thought that their relationship was deadlocked. The profiles would provide the “objective” information and “evidence” that John needs as a theorist learner to understand the deadlock. Jane’s view was that this was a make or break meeting and much would depend on John’s response.

The Outcome

Jane tried this approach at their next meeting with dramatic effect. She said that it “*opened up the discussion*” and helped John to appreciate and understand the differences in their separate perceptions of the relationship. The learning styles profiles provided a neutral and factual reference point for both, which had the effect of keeping the discussion focused.

The meeting lasted for over two hours and both agreed that it was “very productive”. Following this meeting they have had three further meetings at informal venues and Jane says that, while the meetings retain an academic element, they are now able to discuss other issues concerning John’s future. She also reports that, over a period of six months, John seems more “confident, outgoing, assertive and business-minded”. These observable changes in John are sure to have contributed to him gaining a promotion to a new job for which he applied in open competition.

It is also significant to note that, at the time of the “turning-point” meeting, Jane discussed her mentor role with her own boss and gained his agreement to it continuing. This had the effect of changing the relationship from a private to a public dimension, and must have relieved Jane of some pressure.

A final change in the dimensions of the relationship is that, as the discussions became more open, Jane moved from being a passive listener to a more active partner in the relationship.

Conclusion

It should be acknowledged that these changes in John can be attributed to a number of factors; the threat of redundancy and consequent feeling of insecurity; his desire to adapt to the Health Service changes to survive; a series of limited secondments and the influence of the MBA course. However, the one work-related constant through this period was his mentor. Jane's influence must have contributed much to his development. She provided him with support, guidance, coaching (specifically, in interview techniques for his new job), counselling and honest feedback. Jane was also a neutral figure off whom to "bounce" ideas. It may be significant that this neutral position was the one truly independent element in John's life. He said that he discusses work-related issues with his wife but sometimes there is "too much emotion involved with the possible insecurity that the conversation generates".

This case example demonstrates that a mentor relationship can transform itself, provided that there is the will on both sides. Jane needed to change her approach just as much as John. Gladstone[2] suggests that "successful mentors accept change willingly" and that "mentees are encouraged to devote their talents and energies to attainable goals and as a result they develop self-confidence". This seems to have been the case in this example. Jane's positive view on change, and her ability to assess her situation and change as a consequence, enabled her to convey this view to John with dramatic effect. It also demonstrates the depth of impact which mentoring can have on the individual participants.

The relationship has now evolved and changed from a closed, private, formal, active/passive, stable partnership to an open, public, formal, active and stable partnership (see Figure 3). It may be that these dimensions need to be in place for an effective mentoring relationship to develop. However, it is also clear that a combination of the elements of trust and commitment to the process were crucial to the (to date) success of the partnership.

Open	X ..	.....	Closed
Public	X .....	.....	Private
Formal	X .....	.....	Informal
Active	X .....	.....	Passive
Stable	X .....	.....	Unstable

Figure 3: The "Norm" model?

Mentor Relationship B

The Background

The Mentor

Name: Jim Jefferies
 Gender: Male
 Age: 48
 Position: Chief executive
 Learning style: Pragmatist
 Background: Health Service – whole career

The Mentee

Name: George Johnson
 Gender: Male
 Age: 38
 Position: Operations manager
 Learning style: Pragmatist
 Background: Health Service – whole career

Mentor Relationship B

Mentor relationship B has a number of interesting features about it:

- (1) They have a long-standing relationship, where Jim has always been senior to George.
- (2) Previously, George was a union shop-steward and Jim was the manager with whom he negotiated.
- (3) Jim is George's direct line manager (Jim is No. 1 and George is No. 2 in the management structure).

Clutterbuck[5] suggests potential conflict of role in such circumstances and in the scheme guidelines it is stated as an inappropriate choice.

This partnership is an example of an open, public, informal, active, stable combination (Figure 4).

Open	X	Closed
Public	X	Private
Formal	X	Informal
Active	X	Passive
Stable	X	Unstable

Figure 4: Relationship B analysis

The Open Dimension

The open dimension of this mentoring pair is one where, as a result of their long-term relationship, they had an established track record based on mutual respect, trust and familiarity. Therefore they felt that this new situation was simply another facet of working together and was one which could quite naturally lead to “chatting about anything”.

The Public Dimension

Colleagues around them at work knew that George was taking the MBA course and that Jim was going to act as mentor. This meant that there was nothing unusual about the contact George and Jim had in the view of their colleagues. It simply represented an extension of the type of relationship they had always had.

The Informal Dimension

This dimension was dictated by their close proximity to each other (their offices were next door to each other), and it was based on a “pop in sometime for a 15-minute chat”. Their past history was clearly one which enabled this approach to working and there can be little doubt as to the commitment demonstrated by both parties.

This way of working means that there is little need for an agenda, as the informality of practice means that it is possible to have several short mentoring sessions in a week. Time is allowed to prepare and formulate ideas naturally and a “pop in” occurs when there is something to discuss.

The problem here may be a confusion of roles[5]. Jim is George’s line manager and mentor – a dual role which may be difficult to maintain in, say, an appraisal discussion or a disciplinary situation. According to George, “there is no confusion in my mind. He is still the boss but the relationship is based on respect, trust, success and familiarity”. He goes on to say, “Jim is more experienced in personal skills than me. There is a lot to learn from him”. Jim recognizes the potential for difficulty with this split role but he does not see it as an issue in this particular case.

The Active Dimension

As a result of the open element, they are able to discuss “anything” and this means, in this case, that both parties benefit from the discussions. Both agree that it is a learning experience and, with similar learning styles, they both think and operate in the same way. With the pragmatist style both are looking for active application; George brings Jim ideas drawn from the MBA input and both seek practical applications of these ideas. This means that George and Jim feel that they are gaining from George’s MBA experience.

The Stable Dimension

Their respective positions within the trust means that there is a certain degree of security for them. However, it is George's shop-steward role and strongly union-based past, where he and Jim were "in conflict" with each other on a fairly regular basis, which has been significant in building this stable partnership. George attributes the success of their relationship to these "conflict" days, where each acquired a great deal of respect for the other's integrity despite their differences. Now that they are on the same side of the fence, this respect has clearly continued. It is their past history which makes the mentor relationship work as a stable partnership.

Conclusion

This mentoring partnership is one which appears to be progressing very effectively for both parties. It is clear that their past contact with each other has been varied, and that they have taken different roles at different stages in their working life together. It is this history which has given the mentor role a head start. Equally, it may be that Jim has been acting as a mentor to George for some time, and that this scheme simply gave the relationship a formal title and a new focus.

It is also clear that, while they have no social contact with each other (George has no social contact with anybody from work as a matter of course), they have a friendship as described in "Ancient Greece, MBAs, the Health Service and Georg"[1]. The potential confusion between the two roles of mentor and line manager has not materialized and observations suggest that the forthright nature of their relationship would not allow such confusions to emerge. Both are clear about what they are doing and why. This is an example of two pragmatist styles working effectively together to seek practical solutions.

However, could this relationship, while obviously productive, be missing other dimensions and developmental challenges by its clear practical focus? Surely, the learning process is, in part at least, about exploring ideas in other ways than just the practical? Rogers[9] suggests that learning involves feelings as well as intellect and, when the two combine, the learning is often profound and lasting. He also suggests that the most socially useful learning is to learn the *process* of learning. This is about gaining a continuing and expanding openness to new and varied experience. It also means that the learner "absorbs" the process of change into him/herself so that learning becomes an evolutionary process.

In the case of George and Jim, it may be that their similarities are both strengths and weaknesses – strong in that they work well together and make fast progress; weak in that they may tend to focus on issues with a similar understanding and viewpoint. Their similarity of style may have a narrowing effect on George that perpetuates his current view of the world. A mentor

with a different learning style may provide George with more opportunities for exploring ideas in a variety of ways. However, George believes that this “wider dimension” comes from the MBA course itself. It may also be the case that their informality of conduct may contribute to a lack of focus in their discussions and, perhaps, a lack of urgency and significance of content. It may also be the case that this informality of conduct may create role conflicts for Jim if circumstances change and a line manager’s role is required of him. Both dispute this view and, in this case, with their working history, they may be right. However, these are possible risks which may affect the workings of a mentoring relationship in other cases.

Summary and Conclusions

These case studies provide partial insight into some of the issues surrounding a mentor scheme. Within its terms of reference – “To highlight how learning opportunities can be grasped” and to “Help resolve issues arising from applying learning at the workplace”[10], this scheme is now working well for these people. It is also clear that individual mentoring pairs may have difficulties and that the relationship is not necessarily straightforward.

Mentor Support

Case study A clearly identifies a need for a support system for mentors within the scheme. As raised in the previous article, the amount of time available at present for mentor training within this scheme is inadequate; the training is called “an awareness session” in fact. However, some questions have been generated by these studies:

- (1) Should there be a longer training period?
- (2) Is the assumption that the mentors already have the skills of mentoring valid?
- (3) Should further support be available if the mentor requires it?
- (4) What form should this take?

The pragmatic answer to (1) is likely to be “No” and the realistic answer to (2) is also likely to be “No” with the proviso that “it all depends on the mentor’s experience”. As mentoring does seem to offer such potential for effective development, perhaps the skills of mentoring should be developed early in individuals as part of standard management development? This would help the process to flourish at the same time as instilling the concept of “mentoring for development” in the minds of future mentors. It is this long-term vision which will help this highly effective development process to flourish.

In the meantime, the answer to question (3) must be “Yes”, and the form it should take could be that existing and experienced mentors (and there are some in this scheme) may make themselves available to support other, less experienced mentors as required. An alternative could be to establish mentor support groups where mentors could meet periodically to discuss and resolve issues of concern.

The Greeks

Many of the key elements of the original Ancient Greek story clearly apply to this scheme. Above all, it would appear from the evidence so far gathered that the most important key elements are those of *trust* and *commitment*. Without these, no relationship can survive.

Mentor Choice

The choice of mentor is very important one. A mentor needs to possess skills of counselling, coaching and listening as well as to be able to analyse the relationship, the issues and situations arising and take appropriate action to keep the discussions on track. The mentor also needs to feel as if he or she is gaining from the relationship – it should not be a “one-way street”.

Introduction of a Scheme

The evidence of both the presented cases confirms that mentoring is indeed a complex subject, but history has taught us that, as a process of development, mentoring has great potential for success. However, formalized schemes need to be introduced with great care and the process cannot be forced [11]. Human relationships take time to develop.

Dimensions Tools

This research has provided a tool with which to help mentoring pairs establish and agree the dimensions, operation and conduct of their relationship. It has also expanded the potential use of an already existing tool – the Learning Styles Profile [8]. These tools may be particularly relevant to formalized mentor schemes which are linked to other development programmes.

The dimensions of the relationship, as presented here, do affect its operation and conduct. Each dimension brings with it plusses and minuses. However, it is beginning to emerge that certain combinations do seem to offer more potential than others for a successful outcome.

The open, public, formal, active, stable dimensions (Figure 3) appear to offer the best combination for success but, by the nature of human relationship, it is probable that other combinations may also work. This has been demonstrated by Jim and George's partnership, where their partnership has an informal dimension. It may be that mentor relationships can cope with one dimension being different from the stated "norm" model but, as in the case of Jane and John, perhaps more than one variation from the model changes the partnership into something other than a mentoring relationship?

The Future

Further work is continuing in the use of these tools and this is focused on the dynamic changes in the partnership which happen over time. It is anticipated that this will create further understanding of this important process of human development and contribute to a more effective use of the mentoring process.

The final article in this series will evaluate the effectiveness of these tools in the context of this MBA-linked Health Service scheme.

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Mentoring Revisited: A Phenomenological Reading of the Literature

Andy Roberts

Introduction

Wittgenstein (1958) offered that one should distinguish whether ‘puzzles’ one is faced with require *information* (more facts) or require *clarification* (sorting out). This would seem useful counsel for commencing a literature review. As Hart (1998) points out, once sufficient literature has been collected, one may begin to tackle the problem of *understanding*, but, in collecting and collating the literature, one must tackle the problem of *information* (more facts). Wittgenstein clarifies this seeming circularity of purpose. He expands that there are two kinds of problem: problems of ignorance – things that exist that we do not know enough about, and therefore require more information – and problems of confusion – we have the information but we do not know what it amounts to. Wittgenstein’s advice, it transpires, is that we should seek to clarify the information we have rather than seek and acquire more. Such an assertion would appear sound advice when faced with the somewhat daunting task of identifying, retrieving, collating and analysing literature in order to *understand*. This is especially so in light of the wealth of literature written on the phenomenon of mentoring. Caruso (1990, p. 14) noted a decade ago that although academic writings on mentoring are recent, they include 225 conference papers, 150 doctoral dissertations and 65 books:

this is in contrast to the claim made by Anderson and Shannon (1995, p. 23) that 'there are relatively few studies on mentoring'.

One consequence may be that if we emphasise description and evaluation and if we synthesise texts after submitting them to considered analyses, then it may be reasoned that we can clarify our understanding and be saved from endlessly searching for more information and thereby compounding our confusion. A further consequence is the need to consider the most appropriate format for a literature review prior to any enthusiastic literature retrieval. This will now be offered, in the form of a discussion of phenomenology, essence and attributes.

A Phenomenological Perspective and Review Rationale

The aim of this paper is to deploy a phenomenological reduction and revisit my own perception of the mentoring phenomenon: this will take the form of an exploration of the mentoring literature with a view to attempting to uncover mentoring's *essential* attributes. According to Bentz and Shapiro, (1998, p. 99) by employing a phenomenological approach to reading (see also Giorgi, 1975), understanding can be gained by:

... a study that includes empathic immersion, slowing down and dwelling, magnification and amplification of the situation ... analysis will involve a deconstructing and reconstructing process somewhat similar to grounded theory analysis. *The researcher asks if all constituents, distinctions, relations and themes could be different, or even absent, while still presenting the participants perception of the phenomenon. [my italics]*

Phenomenology aims to 'describe objects just as one experiences them' (Hammond & Howarth, 1991, p. 1). Taken quite literally, phenomenology means the study and description of phenomenon: a phenomenon is simply anything that appears or presents itself to someone (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). There are phenomena of perception – seeing, hearing, feeling and so on; but, there are also phenomena such as believing, remembering, wishing, deciding, imagining and evaluating.

In both ordinary and philosophical usage, 'appearance' is often defined through an implicit or explicit contrast with that of reality, such as what is apparent or appears to be the case, being taken to be other than what is real, or really the case. Especially in philosophy – more especially ontological debate – this kind of contrast is often associated with the view of reality as something that lies 'behind' or 'beyond' the realm of mere *appearance* (phenomenon). But, this is not the sense of phenomenon involved in phenomenology. Its description of phenomena is not of what is distinct from the real, but simply of how one experiences things. The phenomenological ontology rejects the dichotomy

between appearance and reality; it maintains that such a *separation* between the subjective and the objective realm of the external world is philosophically untenable. Phenomenologists claim that philosophy has often treated careful descriptions of ordinary experience in a misleading fashion, leading to philosophical accounts being more like 'what this should be' rather than 'what it is actually like' (Hammond & Howarth, 1991).

Phenomenology suggests that if we can lay aside, as best we can, the prevailing understandings of phenomenon and revisit our experience of them, possibilities for new understandings emerge for us, or we may witness at least an authentication and enhancement of former meaning. Phenomenology wishes that we reconsider what we believe we understand. It requires that we place our own understanding in abeyance and have a fresh look at things; it requires a change of attitude that may throw suspicion upon past understanding (Armstrong, 1976, p. 25). If this may be achieved, it may lead to a reinterpretation – as new meaning, or fuller meaning, or renewed meaning, and this is precisely what phenomenologists are after (Crotty, 1998). Kvale (1996, p. 38) is concise here:

A phenomenological perspective includes a focus on the life world, an openness to the experience of the subjects, a primacy of precise descriptions, attempts to bracket foreknowledge, and a search for essential meanings in the description.

What this review is interested in is just such a presuppositionless (a phenomenological reduction) revisit of the mentoring phenomenon with the emphasis upon uncovering its essential attributes.

The necessity of a revisit, with my own previous conceptualisations of mentoring 'bracketed,' was deemed necessary after an unsolicited request from a mentoring programme coordinator (new to the job) in Australia. Beth Kirkland wanted my interpretation of mentoring; in essence, she wished me to describe and explain what the mentoring phenomenon is to me. This was just after my reading of many articles on the topic and just after taking on a new mentor group at my own college. What eventually transpired was that I found myself unable to clarify for her, or myself, what I understood as representing mentoring. I was able to cite a plethora of articles, quotes, viewpoints and standpoints, but I was unable to present my own interpretation with any clarity. She asked the question: 'if mentoring works for me, need I agree with any other interpretation? And indeed, do we need such?' It was the surprise at the complexity of my own response and the vagueness of my own interpretation that led me to realise the need to attempt to suspend what I believed I already understood of mentoring, and revisit my own experience of the phenomenon and my conceptualisation of it. The start of my research involved an exploration of the literature: this showed that the very origins of the term

'mentor' as generally accepted, were erroneous (see Roberts, 1999). This led to my confidence in accepting what I believed I understood as mentoring being further called into question. Hence the beginning of my own attempts to 'bracket' that which I thought I knew prior to investigation. Bentz & Shapiro (1998, p. 99) describe the phenomenological approach:

Understanding can be gained by a study that includes empathic immersion, slowing-down and dwelling, magnification and amplification of the situation, suspension of belief, the employment of intense interest, turning from objects to their lived meaning, and questioning directed by the researcher to her own judgment. Data analysis involves a deconstructing and reconstructing process somewhat similar to grounded theory analysis.

Definitions of mentoring are elusive. Kemmerling, (1999, p. 2) explains a lexical definition:

A lexical definition simply reports the way in which a term is already used within a language community. The goal here is to inform someone else of the accepted meaning of the term, so the definition is more or less correct depending upon the accuracy with which it captures that usage.

A lexical definition may help in communicating and researching mentoring, as without such, may we ever know whether or not we are talking about the same thing? As an example of definitional divergence, consider the following.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a mentor as a 'wise and trusted counsellor'. Monaghan & Lunt (1992) point out that the action has its roots in the apprenticeship system. Mentoring is sometimes associated with a 'protege' from the French verb *protogere* – to protect. In the last two decades the term has been subjected to differing uses and adaptations. As Carruthers (1992, p. 11) notes:

With the passage of time and with the demands of the situations in which mentoring occurs, adaptations of the classical mentor – protege dyad have proliferated in order to satisfy particular needs.

When discussing mentoring Haggerty (1986) asserts that the literature 'confuses the person, the process and the activities'. Elmore (1989) warns of a 'manic optimism' that seems to prevail amongst mentoring proponents. Some writers (Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Carmin, 1988; Donovan, 1990; Fagan, 1988; Little, 1990) exasperatedly call for clarification of the phenomenon. Bush *et al.* (1992) contend that attempts at such clarity are ephemeral; that the concept is an 'elusive' one which resists simplistic labels. Stammers (1992) argues that there is no 'single animal' called a mentor, rather a group of tasks associated with the role. Dodgson (1992) concurs with Bush *et al.*: after reviewing the literature he concluded that definition is elusive and varies according to the view of the author.

Long (1997) tells that the role of the mentor does not supersede the role of the supervisor but rather it serves as a form of integration; this is immediately before she goes on to discuss the format of the teacher-mentor. Monaghan & Lunt (1992, p. 257) warns against a prescriptive approach, holding that a mentor relationship can be viewed in many ways: that there is no 'platonic' form of mentor. Adding to the lack of definitional clarity is Levinson *et al.* (1978, p. 97) – widely accredited with bringing mentoring into the academic debate – who give:

No word currently in use is adequate to convey the nature of the relationship we have in mind here. Words such as 'counsellor' or "guru" suggest the more subtle meanings, but they have other connotations that would be misleading. The term "mentor" is generally used to in a much narrower sense, to mean teacher, advisor, or sponsor. As we use the term it means all these things and more.

Caruso (1990) notes that many studies do not attempt to posit any specific definitions of the nature of the action of mentoring; rather they refer to the help functions contained within the relationship, i.e., guiding, caring, nurturing, counselling, advising. Parsloe (1995, p. 13) uses the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition of a 'wise and trusted counsellor' which is much closer to the classical analogy: he defines mentoring as relationships that encourage learning.

Zey (1984) defines mentoring as a relationship, whereby the mentor 'oversees' the career and development of another person, usually a junior. Again, a dyad is implicit here, in a formal organisational context. He posits a 'mutual benefits model' whereby the whole organisation gains from the mentoring relationship. Alleman (1986) stipulates that a mentor is a person of greater rank or expertise who teaches, guides and develops a novice in an organisation or profession: again, a dyad within a formal context. Donovan (1990) discusses mentoring within nursing; notes the lack of definitional clarity and concurs with May (1982) whose definition refers to a relationship, an 'intense relationship' between an experienced person and a novice. Armitage and Burnard (1991) refer to Haggerty's (1986) phrase 'definitional quagmire' and ask that if no definitional agreement exists, how do we know we are talking about the same thing?

Evans *et al.* (1996), through their research in education, found that despite the adoption of the term professional tutor rather than mentor, the mentoring related roles were generally defined as those which equated to roughly traditional supervisory roles. Field and Philpott (1998) define the mentoring role as a separate role to the tutor, although both should work closely together. To cloud the issue still further, Gay and Stephenson (1998, p. 23) refer to a 'teacher-mentor', saying that:

. . . the condition we now have before us is one where mentoring is not supplemental to a mainstream activity but is incorporated within the

mainstream activity in such a way that it has a direct input into the future of the individuals that are being mentored.

Anforth (1992) argues for the formulation of a mentoring definition that has the mentor restricted to assisting, befriending, guiding and advising the protege; a scheme which does away with the assessment function. Morle (1990) takes a less direct stance and says that the role of supervisor, assessor and mentor may be carried out within the relationship, as long as the protege knows which one is being carried out. The approach reasoned here is that a lexical definition may be reached, but only after locating a consensus on the essential attributes of the mentoring phenomenon as perceived by those who observe, practice, research and evaluate the phenomenon.

Ultimately, what becomes apparent on inspection of the literature, is that definitional clarity of mentoring is a problematic area. It is not that any of the above authors are incorrect; even attempting to claim such would be inconsistent with a phenomenological approach. It is rather that they do not share the same – or possibly even similar – perceptions of the mentoring phenomenon. It is a majority view – a consensual validation – that may assist in assuaging the concern of at least Armitage and Burnard (1991) when they ask that if no definitional agreement exists, how do we know we are talking about the same thing? It is in the action of exploring for any consensus on essential attributes of mentoring, which *may* exist, that my own understanding of mentoring will be revisited and enhanced.

As a result of such a desire to revisit the mentoring phenomenon, this review is interested in – and congruent with – a phenomenological approach. The aim is to strive to adopt a presuppositionless stance – a phenomenological reduction – and review the literature in order to explore what those who think, believe, perceive and evaluate the mentoring phenomenon (taken here as authors of the mentoring literature) perceive it to be, perceive its essences as. That is, to explore how mentoring is perceived and conceptualised by those who write about it, think about it, imagine it and conceive it, will involve the 'bracketing' of what I believe I already know about the phenomenon and my own conceptualisations in order to consider alternatives, thus enhancing any former meaning that mentoring may have held for me.

Concepts, Essences and Attributes

In this study, the term 'concept' will be employed when referring to the classifying and categorising that humans so often rely upon (Burr & Butt, 1996, p. 14). In order to 'have' the concept of mentoring, one must have experienced the image – the phenomenon – as it appears to us. In accordance then, concepts are not 'entities' but skills, such as being able to name and identify objects or

phenomena, recognise and discriminate among them and to say what counts as an object of a certain kind. This paper recognises that 'concept' is one of the oldest terms in the philosophical dictionary and one of the most equivocal; though a frequent source of confusion and controversy, it remains useful (Edwards, 1967) During this discourse, the following will demonstrate how the term 'concept' will be deployed.

To have a concept of mentoring is to know the meaning of the word mentoring; to be able to pick-out or recognise mentoring and to be able to think of (have images or ideas of) mentoring. Further, to have the concept of mentoring is to believe the nature of it and to have experienced the essences which characterise mentoring and make it what it is. Thus, the term 'concept' used in this study will refer to the classifying outcomes of experiencing the phenomenon. So, before the 'concept' of mentoring is discussed, the 'phenomenon' of mentoring needs to be experienced. With the phenomenon intentionally experienced, the conceptualisation of that experience may occur. For the purposes of this study, essence refers to those attributes – essential attributes – that the literature implies cannot be removed without removing the very nature of mentoring. Husserl (1946) uses the criterion 'that we cannot imagine it otherwise'. Therefore, here, the essential attributes will constitute the essence of the mentoring phenomenon. A sample of literature – encompassing the period 1978–1999 and across several disciplines – will be explored for evidence of essential and contingent attributes (those which mentoring may do without and still be seen as mentoring) that constitute the essence of mentoring. It is asserted here that a degree of consensus will be determined by how the varied authors' *perceive* and experience mentoring: this review will seek a *consensus*, as it would be unwise to expect total agreement in claims of the mentoring phenomena's essential attributes. Different schemas will prompt different descriptions, and such may change over time, although they may not always inconsistent ones. As T.S. Eliot (1940) notes:

. . . last year's words belong to last year's language, and next year's words await another voice.

Here, essences and attributes are not fixed and permanent; they are dependent upon those who perceive the phenomenon of mentoring and the choice of language they deploy to ascribe meaning to their experience. It thus follows that this interpretation of the literature is always both retrospectively and prospectively revisable in the light of further evidence. Further evidence may take the form of another individual applying a phenomenological reading approach or of exploration of the literature at another point in time, a point in time when those who think, imagine, believe, articulate and describe the phenomenon claim it now comprises different essences. Whether or not such will still be termed 'mentoring' is for conjecture.

Essential Attributes of the Mentoring Concept

From a phenomenological reading of the literature collated, the essential attributes of mentoring have been inductively found as:

1. a process form
2. an active relationship
3. a helping process
4. a teaching-learning process
5. reflective practice
6. a career and personal development process
7. a formalised process
8. a role constructed by or for a mentor

These will inform the basis of the analysis, with relevant sources contained in Appendix 1.

1. A Process Form

Firstly, can 'process' be the accurate terminology employed when describing the mentoring concept? A process is defined as:

... continued forward movement: a series of actions or measures. (Collins Universal Dictionary, 4th Edition)

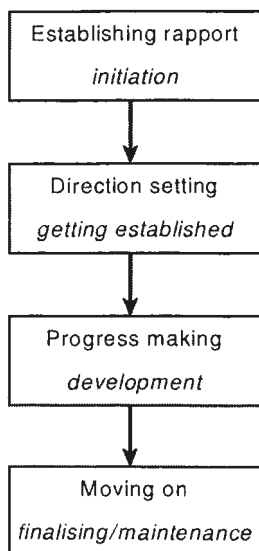


Figure 1: The mentoring process

Table 1: The phases of mentoring

Phase main theme	1 <i>prescriptive</i>	2 <i>persuasive</i>	3 <i>collaborative</i>	4 <i>confirmative</i>
Type of Activity	mentor directs the protege	mentor leads and guides the protege	mentor participates jointly with	mentor delegates to protege
Protege Characteristics	lacks experience and organisational knowledge	eager to learn more skill application in order to become independent and show initiative	possess ability to work jointly with mentor and to apply technical skills in problem solving	possess insight to apply skills and function independently, relying on mentor for confirmation

(adapted from Caruso, 1990, 72).

However, use of the term 'process' needs further consideration in the context of mentoring.

A process is defined by Emmet (1998, p. 720) as 'a course of change with a direction and internal order, where one stage leads on to the next'. An 'event' suggests a separate occurrence, whereas that of a process suggests something that is ongoing. It follows then, that to see what is happening as part of a process has an advantage over thinking of it as an event. Moreover, to explain something as a stage in a process can take account not only of what has happened in the past, but of what may happen in the future. Emmet (*ibid*) expands:

In some social processes there can be a practical, moral significance in seeing a situation as a stage in a process, since this can encourage us to look to a further stage where something constructive might be brought out of what could otherwise be seen as simply an untoward event or an unhappy situation.

Whilst Caruso (Table 1, 1990) outlines how such a process may become evident with a prescriptive-independent movement through phases:

But, Collin (1986, p. 45) offers caution:

I suggest that we be more questioning about the processual nature of the relationship, its existence over time and the possible changes within it: we must not assume that it has normative 'stages'.

East (1987) gives that mentoring is a 'two way' process of mutual affinity. Caruso (1990) reviews the literature and identifies mentoring as a process, and Anderson and Shannon (1992) state that mentoring is an intentional process, a structured process, a nurturing process and an insightful process. Klopff and Harrison (1981) assert that mentoring is a complex, growth-generating process which is characterised by stages and rhythms.

It will be taken here that one essential attribute of mentoring is the process form, a developing process as opposed to a series of events.

2. A Relationship

At the heart of this process is the mentoring relationship, given as (OED):

. . . the position that one person holds with respect to another on account of some social or other connection between them; the particular mode through which persons are mutually connected by circumstances.

Although the context of the mentoring process may differ, the relationship must be, in East's (1987) terms, one of 'mutual affinity'. A relationship – with clear identification.

Mentoring is not an event. An event is an occurrence taken as an unit: the 'event-form' gives a sequence of occurrences, whereas the 'process form' suggests something is going on. Thus, a meeting between the mentor and the mentee may be seen in event-form: it took place at a certain time, in a certain place and for a certain duration. However, viewing it as the process form, one sees that this meeting was one stage – one event – within in the larger mentoring experience. Such a 'process form' is implicit and explicitly presented within the mentoring literature.

Stewart and Kruegar (1996) reviewed the literature and found that many authors concur that mentoring is a process – a process primarily concerned with transmitting knowledge. Megginson and Clutterbuck (1995, p. 30) view the mentoring relationship as having the following phases:

of roles and aims must develop before the consequences of the process may be experienced. The mentoring relationship is contained within a process which is learner-centred and may progress at the rate determined by the mentor or the mentee (Bennetts, 1996). Such a relationship may be initiated by the mentee, the mentor or more usually by the organisation. The form and function of the relationship will be most varied, but it appears as an essential attribute of mentoring.

3. A Helping Process

This appears to inherently underpin the mentoring phenomenon. Attributes, characteristics or functions may be discussed, but all such will be based upon the help that the mentor allows the mentee. Caruso (1990) devotes a complete matrix to the helping function of mentoring, from helping the mentee to learn, through to obtaining protection, guidance and ultimately allowing the mentee help in finishing the mentoring process. In any of it's applications and contextual variances, mentoring appears to have the essential attribute of a helping process.

4. A Teaching-Learning Process

Arderly (1990) describes mentoring as a teaching and learning process between the mentor and the mentee and as the transmission of knowledge. Although there is a general consensus that an essential attribute of mentoring is this teaching-learning process, Little (1990, p. 318) cautions that:

... proponents of mentoring take for granted that mentors will be a source of expert knowledge to others. Access to mentors knowledge, however, is arguably problematic. Can mentors express what they know in a manner accessible to others; will they have sufficient opportunity to do so; and if they can, will they feel obligated to do so?

Smith & Alred (1993) warn that experience cannot be 'poured from one person into another.' In this vein, Arderly (1990, p. 62) notes that:

... we do not know, however, whether mentoring indeed constitutes an effective teaching and learning form and which mentoring activities best enhance learning.

As with the helping attribute of mentoring, the teaching-learning process may only be separated out of the core of the mentoring phenomenon by application of some dubious linguistic gymnastics. Based upon the literature sampled, teaching-learning appears as one of mentoring's essential attributes.

5. Reflective Practice

Reflective practice has been defined by Dewey (1983) in the following way:

Reflective thinking, in distinction to other operations which we apply the name of thought, involves (1) a state of doubt, hesitation, mental difficulty, in which thinking originates, and (2) an act of searching, hunting, inquiring to find material that will resolve the doubt, settle and dispose of the complexity.

Jaworski (1993) asserts that the process of 'stepping outside' seems crucial to the reflective process; yet it is very difficult to achieve, as Cassius (*Julius Caesar*) tells Brutus:

CASSIUS: ... Tell me, good Brutus, can you see your face?

BRUTUS: No, Cassius; for the eye sees not itself, But by reflection, by some other things.

CASSIUS: 'Tis just: And it is very much lamented, Brutus, That you have no such mirrors as will turn Your hidden worthiness into your eye, That you might see your shadow ...

BRUTUS: Into what dangers would you lead me, Cassius, That you would have me seek into myself For that which is not in me?

CASSIUS: Therefore, good Brutus, be prepared to hear: And since you know you cannot see yourself So well as by reflection, I, your glass, Will modestly discover to yourself That of yourself which you yet know not of.

Jarowski states that one of the mentoring roles is to aid the protege in this process. Jarvis (1995) argues that reflective practice occurs when practice is problematised for the learner. She states that it is this disjuncture 'why'? which is the start of the learning process. It is here that the mentor can play an important role: a role of encouraging and facilitating the protege to stop, reflect and evaluate, thus avoiding, what T.S. Eliot (1940) in the *Four Quartets*, notes: 'one may have the experience but miss the meaning'.

Jarowski asserts that the act of reflecting might be seen as the missing link between experiencing and learning from that experience. She quotes Kemmis (1995, p. 141) who states:

My argument here is that reflection is action-oriented, social and political. It's product is praxis (informed, committed action) the most eloquent and socially significant form of human action.

Schon's (1983) model of the reflective practitioner appears complex, but it basically considers that successful and effective teaching requires one to reflect critically and actively by bringing to bear on one's own practice available and appropriate sources of knowledge and understanding. Reflective practice appears a further essential attribute of mentoring and therefore the mentoring process. This form of Socratic dialogue appears as an essence of mentoring practice, and would seem to sit well within a caring, nurturing and protective relationship.

6. A Career and Personal Development Process

Writers refer to this attribute of mentoring as another essential attribute of mentoring. Informal mentoring – or mentoring not formalised as a process within an organisation – may not have this attribute as its prime aim. Bennetts (1996) is one of the few researchers who has successfully negotiated access to the workings of mentoring within the private domain. In the formalised process, discriminating between personal and career development may be difficult as the two will often be complementary. Fagenson (1989) found through her empirical study that having a mentor gave significantly better chances for career mobility, opportunity and recognition. Empirical study by Aryee and Chay (1994) further confirmed this. The literature gives many examples of the forms that personal development may take; these will often be personal and

Table 2: Planned v Natural mentoring

	<i>Planned</i>	<i>Natural</i>
Goal	organisational	individual
Mentor	one individual	one individual
Mentoring system	closed	closed
Nature of the relationship	formal	personal
Nature of interaction	ritualistic	spontaneous
Nature of Activity	task and process orientated	substance orientated

indeed private. However, it appears that an essential attribute of the mentoring phenomenon is a career and personal development process.

7. A Formalised Process

Formal mentoring has many inherent variables and thus potential pitfalls. Here, real freedom of choice is denied: the chemistry and 'goodness of fit' are left to serendipity. Little (1990, p. 299) notes the potential hazards of 'policy intervention' on the mentoring phenomenon, but Carruthers (1992, p. 14) notes that evidence shows how formally arranged mentoring programmes do very much better than any other'. The difficulty of researching informal mentoring relationships is locating them. Research into those who have had informal mentoring relationships may be marred by inaccurate recollection and an element of 'fondness' (or dislike) for that past mentor, which may further hinder accuracy. Formal mentoring does raise issues of whose interests come first – the organisation or the protege? Can a successful 'match' – and therefore a successful relationship – be initiated by an organisation, especially when considering the wealth of diverse and complex backgrounds each new recruit comes with? Formal mentoring is the focus of the vast majority of the literature and is favoured by organisations, possibly due to the need for organisations to perpetuate their culture (Carruthers, 1992, p. 14).

Caruso (1990, p. 125) notes how differences between formal and informal – or planned and natural – mentoring are concentrated in the mentors rather than the proteges and posits the following:

He asserts that natural mentoring can be initiated by either the mentor or the protege, but his research discovered it is usually 'protege driven', that is, the protege will seek out the mentor with a view to satisfy perceived needs. Organisational mentoring programmes usually require managers to volunteer and then assign proteges to them.

Human beings will strive to satisfy their needs. Socialisation refers to the need to adhere to the 'rules' of the group: mentors may help in this process. Indeed, induction to organisations has been identified as an area where mentoring is often utilised. Dodgson (1992) identifies three ways in which the mentoring relationship may be initiated: initiation by the mentor, by the protege or by serendipity. He omits to mention initiation by the organisation.

Serendipity will rarely be suitable in satisfying organisational needs, although this freedom of choice, not surprisingly, has led Zey (1984) to argue that the most productive mentoring relationships exist when both mentor and protege are allowed to choose each other freely.

Caruso (1990, p. 109) adds another dimension; that mentoring may be seen as an *open system*, and that:

... a narrow focus upon one-to-one relationships is a potentially misleading way to examine mentoring.

He argues that mentoring may be conceived as 'dispersed learner driven': that an organisation must allow and expect a learner to be mentored by several differing mentors. These will be chosen as the learner sees fit, in order to satisfy their current needs.

Parsloe (1992, p. 73) agrees that the mentoring role should be formalised by the organisations requiring it. But does this not put the needs of the organisation, rather than the protege, first? Structured, formalised mentoring does not sit easy with the classical mentoring relationship of *Mentor* and *Telemachus*, so often referred to in the literature. Little (1990, p. 299) informs that:

The broader cultural legacy of mentoring presents a model of human relationship that does not lend itself well to policy intervention.

Nonetheless, the formalisation of the mentoring process appears as an essential attribute of modern mentoring.

8. A Role Constructed for or by a Mentor

Society is a network of named positions occupied by people (Newman, 1997). Each of these positions has expectations, referred to as *roles*. Each person may define – or construct – these roles differently: e.g., a mentor may be construed by one as an experienced, powerful and benevolent figure protecting and promoting another; or, one may construct the role of mentor as that of an active listener who counsels and emotionally considers another. The ability, or act, of taking a role in response to others expectations is referred to as *role-taking*. As one moves from one institutional context to another, we adopt the perspective of the appropriate group and can become, for all intents and purposes, a different person. Role taking, Newman argues, is a means of conforming to the expectations of others. Rollinson *et al.* (1998) tell that role theory uses a 'dramaturgical analogy' to explain human behaviour and define a role as:

... a set of expectations and obligations to act in specific ways in certain contexts.



One's *role-set* is the number of roles that one may have to adopt when occupying a named position. Thus, the mentoring role set may appear to encompass teacher, counsellor, supporter, guide, sponsor etc.

Goffman (1959) is the name always associated with role theory. He notes that the belief in the role that is being played, mobilisation of the activity of that role, and presentation and maintenance of the activity for the required duration are key areas for successful role playing. Mentors – unless we assume a traitist approach across situations – may not be expected to display any associated behaviour outside of the situation, only in their role as mentor. As such, mentoring as a role, appears within the literature as a highly prominent essential attribute of mentoring.

What follows are summary tables of what the authors sampled perceive the *essential attributes* of mentoring to be.

Contingent Attributes

The following are attributes of mentoring which, it has been found, do not appear to be *essential* to mentoring: these appear as attributes *contingent* to the mentoring phenomenon.

Role Modelling, Sponsoring, and Coaching

The mentor as a *role model* for the protege is common within the literature sampled. Rothera *et al.* (1991) found that role modelling was more important to the protege than the mentor being in a position of authority, (Kemper 1968, p. 23) describes role modelling as:

. . . [a person who] possesses the skills and displays techniques which the actor lacks . . . and from whom, by observation and comparison with his own performance, the actor can learn.

Wynch (1986) found that his sample commented positively on the opportunities for role modelling that the mentoring relationship gave them: they valued these. Kinsey (1990) in an empirical study found that out of 71 mentors, the majority mentioned that the mentor should serve as a career role model. Carruthers (1992) puts role modelling at the top of his list when identifying the qualities a mentor should be able to display. Klopff and Harrison (1981) state that if role modelling is not present, then the process being described is not mentoring. Anderson and Shannon (1995) clearly state that the mentor must act as a role model for the protege; they argue that role modelling is closely related to the act of nurturing, which they argue is an important function of the mentoring relationship. They assert that (1987, p. 30):

Proteges can see a part of adult selves in other adults. By their example, mentors stimulate growth and development in their proteges.

Stammers (1992, p. 77) notes caution for mentors setting themselves up as role models: that identifying and working within the proteges 'problem frame' – how she perceives a problem and how she intends to solve it – is more important. Daloz (1983, p. 25) seems to imply role modelling when he asserts that:

We are well advised to acknowledge the extent to which we represent for many new learners a tangible manifestation . . . of whole people, of what they wish to become.

Smith and Alred (1993, p. 109) eloquently discuss – although somewhat tentatively – the aspects of a model for trainee teachers, saying:

. . . the mentor offers a model of what the trainee may one day become. We do not say 'a model of the professional teacher'; this kind of trite phrase, carrying its brisk, slightly detached superiority, is a good example of the influence of management – speak.

They assert that the mentor may serve a 'civilising function'. Although the mentor as a role model seems implicit, they dilute this into, firstly, the mentor being able to stress the techniques for 'getting it right' as opposed to always getting it right themselves, and secondly, being able to show the ability to live with uncertainty and doubts. Thus, they dismiss the mentor functioning as a role model for the protegee.

Monaghan and Lunt (1992) claims that the transmission of values and attitudes is role modelling. He also approximates 'sitting by Nellie' with role modelling, and notes that this raises concerns as to whether a role model can convey enough experiences or whether a role model conveys good experiences at all. In a similar vein to Smith and Alred (1993) argue that the trainee teacher will need to model themselves upon someone. Although they do not use the term role model, they seem more concerned with the mentor providing guidance and presenting 'recipes' that will work. Role modelling presents a problem for formalised mentoring programmes: it is unwise to expect that once a mentee has a mentor *assigned to them*, that this mentor will then be – or ever become – a role model.

Parsloe (1995, p. 72) asserts that *coaching* – the act of being directly concerned with the immediate improvement of performance and development of a skill by a form of tutoring or instruction – is similar to mentoring, and that the mentor may be called upon to fulfil both roles. He differentiates mentoring from coaching with the application of the advising and counselling functions to the mentoring role: this role, he notes, is of a longer term nature. But, may a coach not advise? Stewart and Kruegar (1996) tell that coaching is a managerial



technique used to develop a specific and explicit set of outcomes. The mentoring phenomenon appears not as explicit and not as exact, with less emphasis upon specific outcomes, other than mentee growth and development.

Sponsoring is a mechanism employed by individuals and/or groups in order to find the appropriate network and position for a person or persons. Sponsoring is a concept characterised by the action of older people in an organisation taking younger colleagues 'under their wing', and was a popular aim in the 1960s (Speizer, 1991) but then seems to have been dropped in favour of the term mentor. This may appear as an example of the trend to use certain terms in place of others (e.g., downsizing, empowerment). Now, 'sponsoring' is used by some who construe that it is a contingent attribute of the mentoring phenomenon – although it may carry with it connotations of preferable and favourable treatment (Bennetts, 1995; Burke & McKeen, 1995; Donovan, 1990; Hale, 1995; Kram, 1985; Megginson & Clutterbuck, 1995; Shea, 1992; Speizer, 1991; Wynch, 1986).

These contingent attributes have been identified as a result of a phenomenological reduction being directed intentionally upon a review of the mentoring literature. Mentoring appears a complex and diverse activity and, as noted, features of *role modelling*, *sponsoring*, and *coaching* may appear contingent within some forms of mentoring activity. However, no evidence has been found that sponsoring, role modelling and coaching appear as essential attributes of the mentoring phenomenon to any degree nearing consensus. Thus, as the opening rationale to was seek a consensus on the essential attributes within the literature sampled, these three essences will appear termed as 'contingent'. However, it will be noted that *role modelling* appears to be becoming increasingly synonymous with mentoring and, as the mentoring phenomenon evolves further over time, sponsoring may well become an essential mentoring attribute.

Consequences of Mentoring

Although these may be varied and intangible, the following appear in the literature as positive consequences of mentoring:

1. latent abilities discovered
2. performance improvement
3. retention of staff
4. growth in mentee confidence
5. personal growth of mentor and mentee
6. increased awareness of role in the organisation
7. increased effectiveness in the organisation
8. self-actualisation
9. a resonating phenomenon; proteges become mentors themselves

(See: Alleman, 1986; Alleman *et al.*, 1984; Anderson and Shannon, 1995; Anforth, 1992; Bennetts, 1995; Burke, 1984; Burke & McKeen, 1995; Burke *et al.*, 1990; Carruthers, 1992; Collins, 1983; Colwill & Pollock, 1988; Daloz, 1983; Hale, 1995; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Klopff & Harrison, 1981; Kram, 1985; Roche, 1979; Rothera *et al.*, 1991; Shea, 1992; Tickle, 1993; Wynch, 1986; Zey, 1984).

There is much less consensus regarding the negative outcomes of mentoring. The literature does refer occasionally to dealing with problems within the relationship and with concerns of the process not moving forward (Alleman *et al.*, 1984; Anforth, 1992; Bernard, 1992; Donovan, 1990; Haensley & Edlind, 1986; Hale, 1995; Long, 1997; Noe 1988; Willette, 1984), but the main areas of concern would appear to be when the mentor is an assessor and cross-gender mentoring. Cross-gender mentoring will be discussed in the next chapter, whilst assessing and mentoring will be outlined here.

Parsloe (1995) stops short of using the term assessment when discussing mentoring functions: he prefers that the mentor should monitor protege performance and provide feedback at regular intervals. How separate is the action of providing feedback to the action of assessing? In an educational context, Watson (1995) claims that the mentor should be a 'fair assessor'. Crosson and Shieu (1995, p. 17) claim that:

'Evaluation is an integral part of the mentoring process and has an important role to play in achieving the aims and objectives of the practice.

Stephens (1996) points out how useful, indeed essential, the assessment function within mentoring is to new entrants into the teaching profession. Rothera *et al.* (1991) found that their sample of trainee students found the assessment function of great value. However, Smith and Alred (1993, p. 113) note a caution, saying that:

... there is a world of difference between being a mentor and being an assessor. It is extremely difficult to fulfil the role of mentor, encouraging a trainee to talk honestly about their feelings and failings, if you are responsible in the end for passing or failing them.

Wynch (1986) found that his sample of proteges were divided between those who welcomed the assessment function within the relationship and those who had reservations. Some claimed it would destroy the relationship: that it would confuse the roles that they perceived the mentor playing. He quotes the Council for National Academic Awards panel who state that confidentiality is a key component of the mentoring role and that directly involving the mentor in that role could breach that confidentiality (1987, p. 47). His conclusion was that assessment should be a subordinate element within the mentoring role and guidance and support the dominant function. He does add that if the relationship is sufficiently strong, it might be capable of bearing it.

Stammers (1992) notes that it is impossible to remain totally 'judgment free' in the mentoring relationship. Is not assessment judgment within an organised context? Morris *et al.* (1988) disagrees with Wynch's stance: their studies brought the assessment function out as a key role within the mentoring function. Anforth (1992, p. 299) entitles her paper 'Mentors, not Assessors'; she argues that those involved:

. . . experience the moral dilemma of assessing and judging a students progress at the same time as being their counsellor, friend and guide.

She argues for the formulation of a mentoring scheme that has the mentor restricted to assisting, befriending, guiding and advising the protege; a scheme which does away with the assessment function. Morle (1990) takes a less direct stance and says that the role of supervisor, assessor and mentor may be carried out within the relationship, as long as the protege knows which one is being carried out. Thus, it will be conceded here that role modelling may be a contingent attribute of the mentoring phenomenon.

In summary, the common consensus within the literature is that consequences of mentoring appear to allow for positive growth, development and self-actualisation. Mentoring may also benefit the mentor in terms of self-satisfaction and altruistic value.

Summary and Lexical Definition of Mentoring

The actual origins of the term 'mentor' have been erroneously identified as existing within Homer's *The Odyssey*, when in fact the origin of the modern day mentor is to be found in the little known *Les Adventures de Telemaque*, by Fenelon (1699). The word itself did not enter into common usage until the year 1750, some three millennia after Homer's epic poem. This discovery, and the discovery that after several years experience as a mentor and after reading many articles and publications on mentoring, I still found it difficult to portray to others what mentoring is, led to a revisit of the literature with a presuppositionless stance.

Mentoring is a complex, social and psychological activity. The plethora of quite recent research and discussion has often been hindered by the lack of consensus as to what constitutes mentoring. This may be a result of writers attempting to focus upon the definitions of mentoring – and not surprisingly finding little consensus. Since essential attributes determine the definition, and since attributes of mentoring may vary dependent upon the experience of the phenomenon, searching for definitions of mentoring has led many writers to relinquish their attempts and either call for clarification or accept that there 'is no single animal called mentoring'. However, it is claimed here that the mentoring definition may be located via a presuppositionless revisit of the phenomenon, via exploration of essential and contingent attributes.

After application of such an inductive, phenomenological approach, mentoring may be located and best expressed as:

A formalised process whereby a more knowledgeable and experienced person actuates a supportive role of overseeing and encouraging reflection and learning within a less experienced and knowledgeable person, so as to facilitate that persons' career and personal development.

Aspects of such a definition will not be unfamiliar to those involved in and cognizant with mentoring, perhaps a consensus has been found. Mentoring appears to have the *essential* attributes of: a process; an supportive relationship; a helping process; a teaching-learning process; a reflective process; a career development process; a formalised process and a role constructed by or for a mentor. The *contingent* attributes of the mentoring phenomenon appear as: coaching, sponsoring, role modelling, assessing and an informal process.

By using the literature as the basis for exploration on what is essential and contingent to the essence of mentoring, this thesis has not claimed that the given attributes are definite, unchanging or certain. Bertrand Russell sought certainty well into his seventies before acknowledging that such was not achievable. This thesis offers the observation that in the sampled literature from 1978–1999 it *appears* that mentoring has the essential and contingent attributes noted above. This – as in all the assertions and observations offered by this thesis – is properly open to falsification. Falsification in this context refers back to the assertion that such essential and contingent attributes will be determined by how the varied authors *perceive* and experience mentoring: within a phenomenological design, it would be unwise to expect total agreement in claims of mentoring's essential attributes. Different schemas will prompt different descriptions, and such may change over time, although they may not always be inconsistent ones. The perceptions of those that perceive mentoring may change (just as the perceptions of other concepts such as 'marriage', 'education' and 'royalty' may change). The essential and contingent attributes offered above may be falsified – or modified – by a study adopting the same approach at a different point in time.

This paper has no theory or assertions to prove or to falsify. The rationale behind the approach was a simple desire to revisit the mentoring phenomenon and describe how it is perceived and conceptualised by others who – by dint of their individuality – perceive, describe and conceptualise. It is accepted that mentoring may be many things to many people: however, if we are ever to address the question 'if we do not agree on what mentoring is, how do we know if we are talking about the same thing?' then attention to and exploration and discussion of our perceptions must surely be a suitable starting point.

The value of the revisit for myself has been great, with the hoped for enhancement and appreciation of the mentoring phenomenon achieved. As articles and discussion on mentoring proliferate, revisiting mentoring, it is hoped, may prove useful to others and facilitate further research and debate.

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- Zey, M.G. (1984) *The Mentor Connection* (Illinois, Dow Jones-Irwin).

Appendix 1: Authors indicating mentoring's essential attributes

<i>A process</i>	<i>A supportive relationship</i>	<i>A helping process</i>	<i>A teaching-learning process</i>
Alleman, 1986; Alleman <i>et al.</i> , 1984; Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Aryee & Chay, 1994; Ballantyne <i>et al.</i> , 1995; Bennetts, 1995; Bines, 1994; Bleach, 1997; Blunt, 1995; Bowen, 1985; Burke, 1984; Bushardt <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Calderhead, 1989; Cross, 1999; Colwill & Pollock, 1988; Darling, 1986; Donovan, 1990; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Engstrom & Mykletun, 1997; Fagan, 1988; Field & Field, 1994; Gardiner, 1996; Hale, 1995; Harvey <i>et al.</i> , 1999; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Jarvis, 1995; Klopff & Harrison, 1981; Kram, 1985; Little, 1990; Maynard & Furlong, 1993; Parsloe, 1995; Philips-Jones, 1982; Ragins, 1989; Rothera <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Schoolcraft, 1986; Shea, 1992; Smith & Alred, 1993; Stephens, 1996; Willette, 1984; Zey, 1984.	Alleman, 1986; Alleman <i>et al.</i> , 1984; Anforth, 1992; Appel & Trall, 1986; Aryee & Chay, 1994; Bennetts, 1995; Bernard, 1992; Bleach, 1997; Bowen, 1985; Burke, 1984; Burke & McKeen, 1995; Burke <i>et al.</i> , 1990; Bushardt <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Caruso, 1990; Carruthers, 1992; Clarke, 1984; Colwill & Pollock, 1988; Daloz, 1983; Darling, 1986; Donovan, 1990; Dreher & Ash, 1990; East, 1987; Farlyo & Paludi, 1985; Fertwell <i>et al.</i> , 1992; Hardesty & Jacobs, 1986; Haggerty, 1986; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Jarvis, 1995; Kinsey, 1990; Kram, 1985; Levinson <i>et al.</i> , 1978; Little, 1990; Lorine, 1990; Maynard & Furlong, 1993; Megginson & Clutterbuck, 1995; Monaghan & Lunt, 1992; Philips-Jones, 1982; Ragins, 1989; Rothera <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Shea, 1992; Willette, 1984; Zey, 1984.	Alleman, 1986; Alleman <i>et al.</i> , 1984; Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Anforth, 1992; Appel & Trall, 1986; Aryee & Chay, 1994; Bennetts, 1995; Bernard, 1992; Bowen, 1985; Burke, 1984; Caruso, 1990; Carruthers, 1992; Collins, 1983; Darling, 1986; Donovan, 1990; Gray & Gray, 1985; Hale, 1995; Klopff & Harrison, 1981; Little, 1990; Megginson & Clutterbuck, 1995; Murray, 1991; Parsloe, 1995; Roche, 1979; Schoolcraft, 1986; Shea, 1992; Smith & Alred, 1993; Stammers, 1992; Stephens, 1996; Wynch, 1986; Zey, 1984.	Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Blunt, 1995; Cole & Slocumb, 1990; Davidhizar, 1988; Engstrom & Mykletun, 1997; Gray & Gray, 1985; Haggerty, 1986; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Gardiner, 1996; Klopff & Harrison, 1981; Kram, 1985; Little, 1990; Long, 1989; Long, 1997; Lorinc, 1990; Mobley <i>et al.</i> , 1994; Monaghan & Lunt, 1992; Morle, 1990; Murray, 1991; Noe, 1988; Megginson & Clutterbuck, 1995; Parsloe, 1992; Philips-Jones, 1982; Shea, 1992; Wynch, 1986 and Zey, 1984.

<i>Reflective practice</i>	<i>Personal and career development</i>	<i>A formalised process</i>	<i>A role constructed by or for a mentor</i>
Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Anforth, 1992; Bennetts, 1996; Bleach, 1997; Calderhead, 1989; Carruthers, 1992; Daloz, 1983; Dowrick, 1997; Engstrom & Mykletun, 1997; Evans, Abbott, Goodyear & Pritchard 1996; Fagenson, 1989; Fenelon, 1999; Harvey, M., Buckley, M.M., Milorad, M., & Wiese, L. 1999; Kram, 1985; Little, 1990; Maynard, & Furlong, 1993; Mobley <i>et al.</i> , 1994; Monaghan & Lunt, 1992; Smith & Alred, 1993; Stammers, 1992; Stephens, 1996; Tickle, 1993; Wynch, 1986.	Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Aryee & Chay, 1994; Bleach, 1997; Blunt, 1995; Bowen, 1985; Burke, 1984; Burke, & McKeen, 1995; Caruso, 1990; Carruthers, 1992; Collins, 1983; Fagenson, 1989; Field & Field, 1994; Gray & Gray, 1985; Haggerty, 1986; Hale, 1995; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Klopf & Harrison, 1981; Phillips-Jones, 1982; Ragins & Cotton, 1991; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990; Ragins, 1989; Reich, 1985; Roche, 1979; Shea, 1992; Smith & Alred, 1993; Speizer, 1991; Stammers, 1992; Stephens, 1996; Tickle, 1993; Willette, 1984; Zey, 1984.	Alleman, 1986; Alleman, <i>et al.</i> , 1984; Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Aryee & Chay, 1994; Bines, 1994; Bleach, 1997; Burke, 1984; Burke & McKeen 1995; Burke <i>et al.</i> , 1990; Bushardt <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Carruthers, 1992; Collins, 1983; Cross, 1999; Donovan, 1990; Dowrick, 1997; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Engstrom & Mykletun, 1997; Evans <i>et al.</i> , 1996; Farlyo, & Paludi, 1985; Field & Field, 1994; Fitt & Newton, 1981; Gray & Gray 1985; Hale, 1995; Harvey <i>et al.</i> , 1999; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kanter, 1977; Klopf & Harrison, 1981; Kram, 1985; Little, 1990; Long, 1997; Lorinc, 1990; Morle, 1990; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990; Stephens, 1996; Tilley, 1994; Willette, 1984; Zey, 1984.	Alleman <i>et al.</i> , 1984; Anderson & Shannon, 1995; Anforth, 1992; Ardery, 1990; Aryee & Chay, 1994; Bennetts, 1995; Bernard, 1992; Bines, 1994; Bleach, 1997; Bowen, 1985; Burke, & McKeen, 1995; Burke <i>et al.</i> , 1990; Bushardt <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Carruthers, 1992; Colwill & Pollock, 1988; Cross, 1999; Davidzhar, 1988; Donovan, 1990; Dowrick, 1997; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Engstrom & Mykletun, 1997; Evans <i>et al.</i> , 1996; Farlyo & Paludi, 1985; Fertwell <i>et al.</i> , 1992; Field & Field, 1994; Gardiner, 1996; Gill <i>et al.</i> , 1987; Jarvis, 1995; Jeruchim & Shapiro, 1992; Megginson & Clutterbuck, 1995; Millwater & Yarrow, 1997; Mobley <i>et al.</i> , 1994; Monaghan & Lunt, 1992; Morle, 1990; Murray, 1991; Noe, 1988; Parsloe, 1995; Phillips-Jones, 1982; Ragins, 1989; Reich, 1985; Rothera <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Shea, 1992; Smith & Alred, 1993; Taylor, 1996; Tickle, 1993; Tilley, 1994; Willette, 1984; Wynch, 1986; Zey, 1984.



A 'Rough Guide' to the History of Mentoring from a Marxist Feminist Perspective

Helen Colley

Mentoring Is Highly Popular . . .

Mentoring is the 'in' thing. It has become highly popular in a number of (mainly Anglophone) advanced capitalist countries over the last two decades, and is increasingly *de rigueur* as an element of policy solutions in a wide range of contexts. It is now a key feature of initial training in public service professions, for example in the fields of teaching, nursing, and career guidance, as well as in the development of business managers. Mentoring has also moved to centre stage in many of the US and UK governments' initiatives, in both compulsory and post-compulsory education, to address social exclusion among young people.

In the US, the two largest national programmes of this latter kind, *Big Brothers Big Sisters* and *GEAR-UP*, were using over a million volunteer mentors in 2000, and both are targeted to double in size in the next few years (Miller, 2002). Similar projects abound at state level, and this growth is reflected in Canada, Israel, Sweden and Australia. In England, youth mentoring emerged in the mid-1990s in localised schemes, funded through short-term, noncore sources which swam against the tide of Conservative government policies in education and guidance (Ford, 1999). Now, embraced enthusiastically by the

New Labour government elected in 1997, it has appeared as a major ingredient of every new youth transition programme, such as the New Deal and the Learning Gateway. The new *Connexions* interagency support service for 16–19 year olds represents the culmination of this trend, creating a new profession of Learning Mentors (for young people in school) and Personal Advisers (for those in post-16 transition). Almost 3,000 such mentors are now in post, and a total of 20,000 are to be trained for *Connexions*. In all of these initiatives, thousands of additional volunteer mentors are also being used. Since mentoring first appeared in academic literature in the late 1970s, noticed then as a sporadic and usually informal phenomenon, these developments show that it has now been elevated to an unprecedented degree of systematic and official organisation.

This paper draws on a recently completed research project into the power dynamics of mentor-mentee relationships in the context of mentoring for ‘disaffected’ youth (Colley, 2001 [1]). Since so many teachers now have to liaise with such mentors, and work with them in inter-agency partnerships, this context may be of intrinsic interest in itself for initial and continuing teacher education. Teachers need to understand the way in which mentoring is being used with their pupils, and the perspective that mentors bring into schools and colleges. However, broader issues for teacher education are also posed by a closer examination of the ways in which mentoring is currently conceived and implemented, and by commonalities that arise in a range of contexts.

Firstly, although there has been little research as yet of the relations between teachers and the new mentors entering their classrooms, my own experience of conducting in-service training on mentoring confirms the findings of one English study that misunderstandings and frictions may well arise (McNamara & Rogers, 2000). Secondly, a recent article in this journal (Maguire, 2001) reported findings from another English study of student teachers’ experiences in their school placements, which revealed that a substantial number of students felt bullied by their school-based mentors. This raises a further, as yet uninvestigated, question about the way in which some school mentors themselves are obliged to undertake this responsibility without any negotiation, training, teaching remission, or pay enhancement. It is a situation in which resentment might understandably arise and rebound on the student teachers in their care. Finally, teacher education is one of the fields in which some, albeit as yet limited, progress has been made in undertaking more critical analyses of mentoring, including in previous issues of this journal (see Stones, 1997). As another *JET* contributor has recently pointed out, more understanding is needed of the ways in which school-based mentors themselves construct their roles in working with student teachers (Harrison, 2001). This paper aims to contribute a critical perspective to these much-needed investigations and debates.

... but Weakly Conceptualised

Given the positive policy stance towards the use of mentoring, and the overwhelmingly favourable, even celebratory, regard in which the practice is held, we might expect that the last 20 years would have produced clear theoretical and practical frameworks for its implementation. However, the meteoric rise of mentoring has not been matched by similar progress in its conceptualisation. An early literature review noted the uncritical nature of the available work on mentoring, which even then was described as reaching 'mania' proportions:

The literature on mentoring is biased in favor of the phenomenon . . . it warrants neither the enthusiasm about its value, nor the exhortations to go out and find one . . . [M]entoring is not clearly conceptualised. . . The majority of published articles consists of testimonials or opinions. . . [T]here are no studies . . . of the negative effects of mentoring, or [its] absence. . . (Merriam, 1983, pp.169–170).

Almost 20 years later, and after an exponential increase in the volume of literature, the same complaint was still being raised:

The concept of mentoring remains elusive and in relevant literature its discussion and evaluation has tended to be programmatic and anecdotal . . . with relatively slight coverage in formal publications and journals (Piper & Piper, 2000, p.84).

A review of the first few years of the journal *Mentoring and Tutoring* reported that, with the exception of two articles:

there was nowhere any real critique of ideology, the political economy or prevailing social constructs surrounding mentoring and education (Gulam & Zulfiqar, 1998, p.41).

It is perhaps the way in which mentoring is routinely disembedded from its social, economic and political context that makes it difficult to understand or to critique clearly. Consequently, attempts at its definition have become a 'quagmire' (Haggerty, 1986).

Given the plethora of ways in which mentoring is defined as a practice, it may be seen as an 'essentially contested concept', about which a clear consensus may never be reached (Gallie, 1956). The available definitions of mentoring are too numerous to recount here (see Roberts, 2000 for a comprehensive review), but their very multiplicity reflects the way in which political and social contexts determine meaning differentially as those contexts themselves change (Gilroy, 1997). Trying to grapple with this multiplicity began to raise a number of questions for me as I reviewed the literature. Is there something essential about mentoring *per se*, which defines it apart from other activities such as

coaching, guidance, tutoring, pastoral work and so on? Does mentoring have a distinctive essence which unites its diverse appearances in various contexts? In the first part of this paper, I wish to explore a thread of meaning which is common to all contexts of mentoring, in pursuit of some kind of answer to these questions. In the second part, the conclusions drawn will be applied to the practice of mentoring, to provide a genealogical account of its history.

The Mentor Role Is Defined by Myths . . .

In academic literature, practitioner journals and promotional literature aiming to attract volunteers to mentoring schemes, Homer's *Odyssey* (Butcher and Lang, 1890 [2]), an epic poem from Ancient Greece thought to date back at least 3,000 years, is frequently cited as the original source for the concept of mentoring. The *Odyssey* tells the story of the king Odysseus' lengthy return from the Trojan war. During his absence, he had entrusted the care of his kingdom, Ithaca, and of his then infant son, Telemachus, to an old friend, Mentor. The better-known heart of the poem is Odysseus' account of the arduous wanderings visited upon him after he incurred the wrath of the sea-god Poseidon. But this account is framed at the start and end by a sub-plot, in which the goddess Athene assures his return home, prepares his son for their reunion, and assists them to regain the throne of Ithaca from usurpers who have created chaos there. Contemporary references to this myth in the literature on mentoring usually appear at the start of a work, or as the introduction to a chapter or section on the mentor's role. They are used to convey a particular definition of the practice, often in a highly rhetorical manner, drawing on the myth in one of two ways.

Some accounts focus on the figure of Mentor himself (e.g. Anderson & Lucasse Shannon, 1995). He is referred to as a wise and kindly elder, a surrogate parent, a trusted adviser, an educator and guide. His role is described variously as nurturing, supporting, protecting, role modelling, and possessing a visionary perception of his ward's true potential. This is seen as demanding integrity, personal investment, and the development of a relationship with the young Telemachus based on deep mutual affection and respect. However, most descriptions of the character of Mentor reflect the way in which early literature on mentoring, as it emerged in the late 1970s and through the 1980s, tended to define mentoring in terms of the functions performed by the mentor (see for example the 'nine functions of a mentor' outlined by Alleman, 1986).

Other authors identify that it is not Mentor himself, but the goddess Athene, albeit at times disguised as Mentor, who represents the active mentoring role in the *Odyssey* (e.g. Stammers, 1992). As befitting a deity, most of these accounts focus on Athene's 'specialness' and her inspirational character. They also tend to evoke notions of 'selfless caring' (Ford, 1999, p.8) and self-sacrificing commitment 'beyond the call of duty' (Ford, 1999, p.13) or 'above and beyond'



the existing work role (Shea, 1992, p.21). Such evocations, usually highly rhetorical, go beyond a definition based merely on functions. They prescribe the attitudes and emotional dispositions that mentors are supposed to display.

Some feminist critiques of mentoring have also used reference to the *Odyssey* within their arguments. Arising in the fields of teacher and nurse education, they seek to challenge a dominant concept of mentoring as hierarchical and directive, based on assumptions of paternalism and models of male development, even in all-female dyads. DeMarco (1993) appeals to the vision of Athene as a 'feminine archetype' of an alternative paradigm of mentoring based on 'reciprocity, empowerment and solidarity' (p.1243), 'authentically sharing her voice with ours, while we mutually listen for answers' (p.1249). Cochran-Smith and Paris (1995) argue likewise that mentoring should be based on 'women's ways of collaborating' (p.182). Standing (1999) objects that Athene's appearance in male disguise presents mentoring as a controlling rather than nurturing process (pp.4–5), although paradoxically she appeals to the (male) character of Mentor as the original archetype embodying both aspects. In a similar argument for combining (male) power with (female) nurture, Roberts (1998) uses the image of (female) Athene disguised as (male) Mentor to advocate the ideal of mentorship as 'psychological androgyny' which can provide both instrumental and emotional support for mentees. Interestingly, of these critiques it is only Standing who alludes, albeit briefly, to the often unrecognised burden that falls upon the mentor in addition to her normal duties (1999, p.15).

... but These Are Modern Re-writings

However, the *Odyssey* tells a very different story from any of these versions. As the action of Homer's epic opens, the royal household of Ithaca is in utter disarray, the prince Telemachus is in personal crisis, and Mentor, responsible for this debacle, is a public laughing stock – a far cry from the wise and nurturing adviser portrayed in some modern renditions. Athene has to step into the breach – an omniscient and omnipotent goddess, but *not* a typically female figure. She had no mother, but sprang forth, fully formed, from her father Zeus's head, and as such, in her role as the god of wisdom, represents the embodiment of male rationality (Thomson, 1950, cited in Reed, 1975). She is also the god of war.

Athene does indeed carry out a number of the functions that have been variously ascribed to mentoring – advising, role modelling, advocating, raising the young man's self-esteem. Yet there is no sense of any emotional bond between them, and the outcome of her mentorship is that Odysseus and Telemachus reunite in a bloody battle to regain the throne of Ithaca and annihilate their enemies. They brutally re-establish their military, economic, and political rule. Thus the myth of kindly nurture and self-sacrificing devotion,

whether by Mentor or Athene, is a modern creation, contrasting starkly with the brutal processes of the ancient myth. It is a simulacrum, 'an identical copy for which no original has ever existed' (Jameson, 1984, p.68) – the present according to a past we never had. The present is presented as filtering down from the past – yet this 'past' is itself a social construction filtered through the prism of the specific socio-historical context of the present, the past(iche) of a 'prequel'. How can we analyse this historical transformation of the myth of Mentor to help us understand better the contemporary meanings given to mentoring?

Taking a Dialectical Materialist View . . .

In a previous paper analysing in greater detail the contrast between modern and Homeric accounts of mentoring (Colley, 2001), I drew on arguments from Marxist, feminist, anti-racist and other critical theorists to discuss the ways in which myths are commonly used to legitimise and secure consensus for dominant discourses. In doing so, they obscure and simultaneously reinforce unequal social relations in our patriarchal, Eurocentric, capitalist society. Myths deny the influence of context upon meaning, and conflate form and substance, as they represent historical phenomena as natural, and their contingent appearance as an eternal and immutable essence.

Feminist educational research is not a universal approach, but can be seen as composed of at least three different strands (Gaskell, 1992). Liberal feminism accepts the *status quo* in general, but seeks a more equal fit within it. Radical feminism avoids issues of class, seeing the world in terms of male dominance over oppressed women, privileging the articulation of women's voices and lived experiences, and arguing for ways to give power to women to transform social institutions. It has to be noted that this strand of feminism arose in part in reaction to corruptions of Marxism which subordinated gender issues to those of class. Feminist models of mentoring to date have tended to draw on these two strands. Marxist feminism, by contrast, rejects any unitary notion of 'women's' ways of knowing and doing, and argues that class, race and gender all shape the social world in complex, interdependent ways. Unfashionable though marxist theory has been in educational research in recent years, it is experiencing a significant resurgence (Rikowski, 2002), and in particular its dialectical materialist approach may be helpful in understanding the historical development of social phenomena.

Marxist philosophy suggests that any social phenomenon has both an essence and an appearance, and is interested in the dialectical relationship and interplay between social relations, the material world and the evolution of thought (reflected in cultural elements, human consciousness and agency for transformation). The notion unique to dialectical philosophy is that essences are neither eternal nor immutable, expressed in Hegel's dictum that that 'In

essence, all things are relative'. Marx took up this philosophical revolution, while standing Hegel's idealism on its head, and created a radically different form of materialism, in which essences are neither absolute nor foundational, and in which anything can be transformed, under given conditions, into its opposite. Essence maintains a complex relationship with appearances, which are themselves immediate and absolute when considered in abstraction from essences:

The essence of a thing never comes into existence by itself and as itself alone. It always manifests itself along with and by means of its own opposite. This opposite is what we designate by the logical term *appearance*. It is through a series of relatively accidental appearances that essence unfolds its inner content and acquires more and more reality until it exhibits itself as fully and perfectly as it can under the given material conditions (Novack, 1986, p.113, original emphasis).

This is, however, a purely logical construction of opposition. As Novack goes on to argue, the complexity of the relationship between essence and appearance raises two necessities. The first is to avoid superficial assumptions that the essence of a thing is one and the same as its particular appearance at any time. We therefore need to distinguish essence from appearance.

The second is more difficult, in that at the same time appearances will change and even contradict each other as the relative essence of a thing shifts and develops. In doing so they may coincide, interplay or overlap with essence. There is therefore also an 'equally urgent need to see their unity, their interconnections, and their conversion – under certain conditions – into one another' (Novack, 1986, p.114). This identification and opposition between essence and appearance throughout the development of a phenomenon is described as an iterative process moving from an initial point of unity, at which the appearance subordinates the essence, through a phase of divergence, to the apogee of development at which essence and appearance are re-united, but in which the essential nature of the phenomenon becomes transparent and dominates all of its particular appearances.

In considering the practice of mentoring, where mythical representations lay claim to the transformatory power of intimate human bonds, questions are already raised by Marx's original analysis of human relationships under capitalism. In a society where exchange-value has replaced use-value, there is 'no other nexus between man and man than . . . callous "cash payment"' (Marx & Engels, 1977, p.44). Social bonds have become reified. They appear as independent things. Direct personal relationships implied by the concept of 'community' are ruptured, becoming impersonal and economic. In mentoring, this can be seen in relation to its increasing institutionalisation. Supposedly dyadic relationships have become dominated by externally determined goals and agendas, for example, by policy prescriptions about the criteria for teaching practices deemed acceptable or necessary for entry into the profession (Gay &

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Stephenson, 1998). Mentors are cast not only as the devoted supporter of the student teacher, but also as gatekeepers to the profession – a dual role that clearly poses potential conflicts of interest and disruption to the mentor-mentee bond. A relationship that is traditionally understood as dyadic is thus covertly transformed into a triad, with the invisible but powerful insertion of agendas determined outside the dyad by dominant groupings.

In my own study of mentoring for 'disaffected' youth, similar conflicts were posed by the way in which such mentoring has become geared to employment-related outcomes desirable to policy-makers, and to the production in young people of personal dispositions that are desirable to employers. The philosophical approach outlined above leads me to ask: how can we consider the historical development of mentoring in terms of the shifting relationship between its various appearances and its developing essence?

. . . Reveals Significant Re-definitions in the Concept of Mentoring

Four stages can be distinguished in the history of mentoring, all marked by temporal, spatial, and contextual transformations in its meaning, which might be termed 'significant redefinitions' (Gilroy, 1997). Significant redefinitions are those which are not only influenced by changes in the socio-economic and cultural context, but which in turn act reflexively upon that context to alter it in new directions. These stages of mentoring are presented here not in strictly chronological order, but one which reflects the way in which the concept of mentoring itself has oscillated back and forth across boundaries.

It Begins with the Homeric Stage . . .

Reed, through a marxist feminist approach to anthropology, argues that Greek mythology reflects the turbulence of the struggle of patriarchal forms of society to defeat the earlier matriarchy: 'In patriarchal terms a man without a son is not fully a man, and to die sonless is to suffer the annihilation of the line' (1975, p.451). Greek myths are:

a reflection of the enormous difficulties involved in consolidating the father-family and the line of descent from fathers to sons. . . Ignorance of a man's kinship and family ties at this critical juncture, when the father-family must win supremacy over the matriarchal divided family, can result only in disaster (Reed, 1975, p.457).

This allows a more emic interpretation of the original story. Unless Odysseus has a worthy son and heir, he cannot be a worthy king, and his kingdom will be destroyed. Thus the stakes involved in the successful mentoring of Telemachus

relate to the survival of the state on a vital cusp of the social order, at which gender relations and political power have become intertwined. The role of the gods in Greek myth is to intervene to prevent disorder. In this instance, Athene intervenes not only to end the chaos that has reigned in Odysseus' absence, but also to ensure that his wife does not re-marry any of the usurpers who are demanding her hand. Such a marriage would re-instate the matrilineage – anathema to a goddess whose own birth represents the absolute rupture of matrilineal society.

A distinction can therefore be made between the appearance and the essence of mentoring in Homer's *Odyssey*. Its appearance is relatively weak. Mentor himself has made a poor job of taking care of household and ward. Athene intervenes in Telemachus' fate in diverse and contradictory ways, only in order to further her central purpose (the restoration of his father to the throne). This reveals the essence of her actions: the (all-)powerful mentoring the powerful to ensure the continuation of the nascent patriarchy and the suppression of matrilineal social forms.

... then the 'Classical' Stage ...

Despite the tendency to portray mentoring as some kind of innate human function which has endured thousands of years since Homer's time, as in Stammers' article *The Greeks had a Word for it. . . (Five Millennia of Mentoring)* (1992), it can be seen as almost disappearing for a very long period. Many types of relationship which might be compared to mentoring were based in important practices in certain cultures and historical eras, such as that of religious master-disciple, or trade craftsman-apprentice (Gay & Stephenson, 1998). Representations of mentoring itself, however, became chiefly characterised as a quasi-parental relationship between exceptional individuals, such as Socrates and Plato, or Haydn and Beethoven, and contain an element of emotional bonding that is entirely absent from the highly impersonal relationship portrayed in the *Odyssey*:

From the legacy of famous mentoring relationships comes the sense of mentoring as a powerful emotional interaction between an older and younger person, a relationship in which the older member is trusted, loving, and experienced in the guidance of the younger. The mentor helps shape the growth and development of the protégé (Merriam, 1983, p.162).

As Levinson *et al.* (1978) have argued, this may be seen as the classical archetype of mentoring, a form of platonic love. Its appearance is an ideal image that holds a strong romantic attraction. Yet Levinson's own study reveals contradictions within this ideal appearance. He cites Erikson's (1950) theory of generativity to show the self-interest in self-reproduction that may motivate older people to mentor the younger. This in turn is shown to create conflict and

bitterness in the ending of relationships as the mentor may find themselves in competition with their mentee, and the mentee may come to find the relationship no longer developmental but restrictive. Levinson's (1978) own evidence indicates that only the wealthier members of his sample described successful mentoring relationships as crucial to their career and life development – the one in-depth case study of a working-class man reveals his failure, despite considerable efforts on his own part, to secure the support of an effective mentor.

In this respect, there is some continuity with Homer's tale, in essence if not in appearance. Mentoring appears to continue to operate as an activity carried out by the powerful on behalf of the powerful, in order to preserve their dominant social status. Of course, this works not just in favour of certain class interests, but also of white males, against the interests of oppressed groups such as women and ethnic minorities. Its essence is thus an intra-class and gendered reproductive function, the transmission of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), including through the competition that it stimulates as members vie for dominance and status. The latter effect, in turn, belies its romantically benign appearance.

Levinson's (1978) work stimulated an interest in the United States in the phenomenon of mentoring, and it is from this point that we begin to see the emergence of a body of literature focused on mentoring within US business management. Influential articles, notably Roche's report *Much ado about mentors* (1979), claimed to have 'discovered' the phenomenon of mentoring as an important but usually informal element of successful business managers' careers, and Megginson and Clutterbuck (1995) note that in Britain in recent years, the increasing use of mentoring has been seen as an 'American import' which has required adaptation to British cultural contexts. However, as Strathern (1997) argues, such imports often consist in the unrecognised return of earlier exports. She points to 'borrowings and crossings of domains' (p.306), 'extension and return, or loop through another area of activity . . . [as v]alues cross from one domain of cultural life to another and then, in altered form, back again' (p.308), oscillations through which 'practices both return with new meanings form this other domain, to reinvigorate the old, while in another sense they never come back to their original source' (p.309). Such a description seems to key into the shifting relationship between essence and appearance that a dialectical materialist approach provides, and affirms the importance of context to conceptualisation.

. . . and the Victorian Stage

If we consider the historical, geographical and social travels of the concept of mentoring, we can trace just such a process. Freedman (1995, 1999) comments on the explosion of fervour for mentoring disadvantaged young people in the US in the 1990s with the growth of the *Big Brothers Big Sisters* movement there.

He identifies its roots in the 'Friendly Visiting' movement a century earlier. Friendly Visiting was itself a direct export from England, and was based on the ideology and activity of the Charity Organisation Society (COS) during the Industrial Revolution. Novak (1988) describes how wide-scale poverty and destitution affected the English working class in this period, causing ruling-class concerns about levels of public spending on Poor Law relief, and about the control of social unrest in recurrent crises of mass unemployment and starvation. Initially, the bourgeoisie attempted to respond to these problems by dispensing money through charity. However, it became increasingly evident that this was unsatisfactory in the longer term, for both economic and ideological reasons. The philosophy of the COS, whose influence was 'pervasive and significant' (Novak, 1988, p.97), was that poverty was caused not by material conditions, but by the moral turpitude of the poor themselves:

... the poverty of the working classes is due, not to their circumstances ... but to their own improvident habits and thriftlessness. If they are ever to be more prosperous, it must be through self-denial, temperance and forethought. (*Charity Organisation Review* in Jones, 1978, p.50, cited in Novak, 1988, p.97)

Indiscriminate charitable donations were therefore seen as simply exacerbating the problem, obscuring the need for a moral response by the middle and upper classes.

Accordingly, the activity of the COS was to organise a massive, nationwide programme of voluntary work. The overt purpose of this work – its appearance – was for middle class mentors to befriend working class families in order to improve them by presenting a moral example of the worth of diligence, self-discipline and thrift. Its more covert purpose was to control the dispensing of alms. The role of volunteers therefore included reporting weekly on the progress of their 'mentees'. These reports were then used by the COS to determine who were the deserving poor (to whom charity would be given with the goal of reeducating them back to independence), and who the undeserving poor (who would be dealt with through the Poor Law system and dispatched to the workhouse). Interestingly, both Freedman and Novak ascribe the fairly rapid demise of these initially powerful movements primarily to vigorous resistance on the part of working people (see Colley, 2000 for evidence about individual processes of resistance from my research into the mentoring of 'disaffected' young people).

From this perspective, the model I have termed 'Victorian' transformed the essence of mentoring from an intra-class mechanism to a direct instrument of domination of one class over another – yet with the same essential goal as the classical mentoring model, namely the preservation of the status and power of the ruling class. The appearance of mentoring remains the bonding of relationship and individual development thereby. Yet its essential functions

become surveillance and control. What is generally assumed to be essential to mentoring in both the classical and the Homeric models – the dyadic nature of the relationship, and the identity of purpose shared by mentor and mentee – is reduced to appearance only. The dyad is in fact disrupted by the intrusion of third-party, institutional goals which determine its essence. Thus we see how the process of divergence between essence and appearance has further taken place.

The Modern Stage . . .

The most recent English voyage made by mentoring has found it sailing into the high seas of the New Labour government's social exclusion agenda. Although I will return to the significant developments which have also taken place in other fields, as I highlighted in the introduction to this paper, mentoring is currently developing most rapidly as an intervention among socially excluded youth.

Freedman (1999) refers to the similarities between the economic and social context which prevail for the present growth in mentoring and that of Victorian times: unemployment and poverty caused by technological change, large-scale migration of working people, and capitalist economic competition on a global scale, all contributing to governmental concerns to reduce public expenditure, particularly on welfare, and to combat the attendant threat of social unrest. A critical stance towards mentoring of socially excluded youth today identifies further parallels. The targeting of mentoring for those variously identified as 'disaffected', 'disengaged', 'non-participating', or 'hardest to help' could be compared with the investigation, sifting and categorisation of the poor by the volunteers of the COS.

Moreover, mentoring of this kind has become openly associated with the moral aim of altering the attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviour of the targeted group in line with employment-related goals determined by welfare-to-work policies (e.g. Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) [3], 1999). As in the Victorian COS, mentors are often expected to compile a log of their meetings with mentees, which are then reviewed by project staff to determine the mentee's progress towards employability. While voluntary participation in mentoring is recognised as being crucial (e.g. Benioff, 1997), indirect compulsion is often a feature. If unemployed young people miss meetings or refuse to engage with personal advisers in the Connexions service, those advisers are legally obliged to inform benefit agencies, and benefits are withdrawn. Similarly, mentoring through the youth justice system often makes probation orders (in lieu of imprisonment) dependent on engaging with a mentor. As such, mentoring has been criticised both as stigmatising, and as a form of social or ideological control (Piper & Piper, 2000). The essence of Victorian mentoring is more nakedly apparent in this model of mentoring, perhaps suggesting the

re-unification of essence and appearance, with essence dominating particular appearances at the height of a phenomenon's development.

However, the story, unsurprisingly, is more complicated. As noted previously, the proliferation of different definitions of mentoring point to a fragmentation of its appearances in multiple and at times contradictory directions. Government guidelines advocate that personal advisers need to adopt a more directive and controlling approach to mentoring socially excluded young people (DfEE, 1999). They explicitly argue against the counselling-type intervention exemplified by Rogerian, person-centred approaches which have underpinned guidance practice since the 1970s. On the other hand, it has been argued that directive methods are counterproductive, and that notions of empowerment through less directive styles of mentoring should be emphasised (Freedman, 1999). Some recognise the tensions involved in balancing the befriending role of the mentor with the contracted goals of institutional mentoring projects (e.g. Skinner & Fleming, 1999); while others point to the very limited and individualistic concept of empowerment in such a context, as mentoring aims to 'fit' young people into society as it exists, rather than equipping them with a critical understanding of society or of any means by which they themselves might seek to change it (Merton & Parrott, 1999). In instances too numerous to reference here, there are endless disputes about the appropriate functions of a mentor: professional or voluntary, to act as role-model or not, to challenge barriers presented by the young people or by the institutions that confront them, to target mentoring to specific groups (if so, which?) or not to target at all. . .

A distinctive element in modern mentoring, however, is a shift in one aspect of its essence. Homeric and classical mentoring were instances of the powerful mentoring the powerful, while Victorian mentoring represented the powerful mentoring the weak and oppressed. Modern mentoring, in contrast, might demonstrate a trend towards the weak mentoring the weak. As the mentoring of socially excluded youth expands rapidly to unprecedented proportions, with concerns being raised about the allocation of resources to match this expansion (Institute of Careers Guidance, n.d.), non-professional staff, with less qualifications and training and lower pay, are increasingly being used for this work (GHK Economics & Management, 2000). So too are volunteers, with some reports indicating that almost half of these receive no initial training at all, while minimal in-puts are provided for the majority in comparison with the lengthy education and training undergone by, for example, professionally qualified careers advisers or counsellors (Skinner & Fleming, 1999). Even for those professional staff engaged in mentoring, the resource-intensive nature of the work, and the emotional demands it places upon mentors, risk creating high levels of stress (Hulbert, 2000). As Philip (Philip & Hendry, 2000) has perceptively noted, the seeds of this shift were already apparent in the Victorian model, in its use of middle women as mentors. Their contact with poor families must have served as a cautionary reminder to middle class women

of the fate that awaited them if they did not uphold the ideal model of wife and mother they were supposed to embody. Mentoring has thus become a double-edged sword, with disciplinary implications for both mentor and mentee alike (Colley, 2002).

. . . Promotes a Stereotype of Feminised Caring

It is this shift in the essence of mentoring which returns us to the modern simulacra of the myth of Mentor. If the appearance of mentoring is weak in terms of its functions, fragmented by myriad definitions which lack consensus, it is strong in terms of the emotional disposition it demands of mentors through rhetorical and mythic representations. Great emphasis is placed in evaluation reports upon the quality of the mentoring relationship, and upon the achievement of empathy with young people:

Mentors befriend the young people by getting to know them and trying to understand their world view. . . (Employment Support Unit, 2000, p.3)

A mentor may offer advice, but has first to earn. . . the client's trust and respect. This normally means standing alongside the client, and being prepared to share the client's burdens (at the least in terms of empathy, which is genuinely experienced by the mentor, and transparent in its genuineness to the client). (Ford, 1999, p.8)

As we have seen, defining mentoring according to a high level of emotional commitment staked by the mentor is characteristic of those more recent accounts which refer to Athene's role in the *Odyssey*. These figure not only in the literature on mentoring socially excluded young people, but also in the field of professional training. Moreover, one element that specifically distinguishes these modern myths from Homer's original is their completely erroneous portrayal of the goddess. Sainly devotion and intimate bonding replaces Homer's impersonal and ruthless efficacy, and a stereotypically feminine construct of care, epitomised by self-sacrifice, replaces Athene's aggressively androcentric allegiances. As I have argued in more detail elsewhere (Colley, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c), from this point of view, the essence of mentoring may be seen as directed not so much towards the surveillance and control of the mentees (as in the Victorian model), but towards (self-)surveillance and control of the mentors themselves. The covert outcome sought in this case might be the intensified productivity, worsened working conditions and post-Fordist super-exploitation of public service workers, internalised and self-imposed through dedication to an idealised image of client care. As emotional disposition has come to dominate over multiple and fragmented of definitions, mentoring no longer has meaning as a function, but only as a slogan instead. That slogan might be read as 'Love will win the day', a slogan that Walkerdine (1992) has



analysed as an 'impossible fiction' that is both pervasive and deeply oppressive for those within the teaching profession, especially for women. I argue here that her critique may apply equally well to mentors too.

There is one further contradiction at the heart of modern representations of the Mentor myth. The denial of self in such *feminine*, rather than *feminist*, paradigms of care may actually serve to undermine the possibility of interpersonal connection and bonding (Gilligan, 1995), negating the very essence of mentoring that such evocative appearances seek to convey. This indicates inadequacies in the liberal and radical feminist critiques of mentoring considered earlier in this paper, because they continue to buy into that very myth of feminine care. They counterpose control to nurture without any recognition that nurture itself may represent a form of control over those who do the nurturing. They only re-frame the modern myth in utopian ways, and fail, fundamentally, to challenge its enslaving essence.

A Research Agenda for Mentoring in Teacher Education Is Needed

I have undertaken here an historical analysis of the concept of mentoring through its official representations in academic literature, policy statements and documents aimed at practitioners. This analysis has portrayed mentoring as travelling through different stages in a series of oscillations which have transformed both its formal appearances and its essential meanings.

I have not attempted to address specific instances of mentoring in practice. Through my research into individual case studies of mentoring 'disaffected' young people, there is already evidence of yet more 'oscillations', which pose other questions about the essence and appearance of mentoring, in particular the power dynamics of mentoring, and the ways in which mentees may themselves exercise agency rather than act as passive recipients of the process (see Colley, 2000, 2001a). Nonetheless, my argument here is that the appearance of mentoring – in the form of its official discursive representations – is shaping and strengthening its essence, in ways that work against both mentors and mentees in current implementations of policies for education, training and youth transition.

The possibility that mentoring also exhibits a similar essence within initial teacher education is, I believe, worthy of further investigation. Critical analysis could challenge further the easy currency which the term has gained in such contexts of professional development, and explore more deeply the mechanisms by which it is legitimated and made powerful. Qualitative empirical research might remove the discussion of mentoring from the abstract level to which it is so often confined, to an experiential level that is typically hidden from view beneath the rose-tinted aura of celebration that usually surrounds it. We need to know more about the specific contexts of mentoring for student teachers,

and about the ways in which mentors and mentees construct their roles. Finally, such material needs to be brought together with rigorous attempts to theorise it in the context of broader critical analyses of early 21st century society. My own research has undertaken these challenges in relation to youth mentoring. It is only through further similar work that we will be able to go beyond the sketch of this 'Rough Guide' to understand the historical impact of the mentoring phenomenon in education for teaching.

Notes

1. The research was funded by a PhD studentship provided by the Manchester Metropolitan University from 1998–2001.
2. All references to Homer's *Odyssey* are to this text. This translation is used, despite its rather archaic literary style, because of its attempt to convey the original with the greatest possible degree of historical accuracy, rather than more poetic translations which often lead to radical misinterpretations of the content (Butcher & Lang, 1890, p. vii–viii).
3. The Department for Education and Employment was the English government ministry responsible for policy and legislation relating to education, training and employment, and to guidance and support for young people in their school-to-work transitions. It has recently been renamed the Department for Education and Skills.

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Who Wants to Be a Mentor? An Examination of Attitudinal, Instrumental, and Social Motivational Components

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Studies in mentoring have been focused on possible positive effects of mentoring for career, e.g. for positive career outcomes but also for health and the reduction of stress. However, mentoring may also be a valuable tool to be used when employees are confronted with adverse working conditions. Extending the applicability of mentoring to such conditions not only adds a dimension to the comprehensive phenomenon of mentoring, but also shows that mentoring can be a viable option for those employees who do not have excellent career opportunities or who suffer from stress and burnout (Van Emmerik, 2004).

There has been a great deal of research in recent years on mentoring relationships. The traditional model of a mentoring relationship (Kram, 1985; Levinson *et al.*, 1978) is a dyadic relationship in which a more experienced member of an organization or profession takes an interest in a less experienced individual and provides both career and psychosocial support to that individual (Allen *et al.*, 2004; Fagenson, 1992; Hunt and Michael, 1983; Mullen, 1994; Ragins and Cotton, 1999). Protégés enjoy more positive career experiences than non-protégés with respect to both objective and subjective indicators of career success. Compared to those who have not been involved in a mentoring relationship, protégés report greater career satisfaction, career commitment,

career expectations, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment, and lower turnover intentions (Allen *et al.*, 2004; Baugh *et al.*, 1996; Fagenson, 1988; Koberg *et al.*, 1998; Noe, 1988a; Ragins and Cotton, 1999; Whitely and Coetsier, 1993). In addition, protégés also experience greater objective career benefits than non-protégés, including higher salaries, more promotions, and better job performance (Burke, 1984; Dreher and Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1988; Scandura, 1992; Turban and Dougherty, 1994; Whitely *et al.*, 1991). The underlying and often not addressed assumption in these studies is that mentoring has mainly possible effects for protégés, and that costs are basically investments in terms of resources (time of both protégé and mentor and organizational costs). This approach may well be far too simple, as it neglects possible self-serving motives of mentors and related mentoring strategies and content. Dependent on the motives, attitude and approach of a mentor, the relation might be beneficial for protégée and organization, or have detrimental effects in terms of increased dissatisfaction over careers and related work stress. This is not unlikely to happen as mentoring typically is a voluntary activity and there are no standards or training mentors have to match. Therefore, a potential risk, as in any helping relation, is that mentors primarily are self-oriented and "help" their clients based on their own idiosyncratic approaches. Given this lack of attention, this study primarily focuses on the motives of the mentor.

The focus on the protégé has dominated empirical research on mentoring, despite suggestions to focus on both members of the dyad (Allen *et al.*, 1997; Hunt and Michael, 1983; Ragins and Scandura, 1994). Although researchers acknowledge that not all experienced organizational members become mentors (Aryee *et al.*, 1996; Ragins and Cotton, 1993), relatively little empirical attention has been directed to identifying the factors that influence the propensity to mentor. This omission is quite puzzling, given that willingness to mentor is a necessary condition for the initiation and development of mentoring relationships, and there is evidence that individuals differ in this regard (Ragins and Scandura, 1999).

The focus of the current investigation is on those factors which influence propensity to mentor among a sample of Dutch bank employees. We will look at factors which are associated with both serving as a mentor and desiring to become a mentor. We suggest that there are attitudinal, instrumental, and social components to the propensity to mentor and investigate the influence of one aspect of each component. Further, we will explore possible gender effects, as it is important to determine if men and women are motivated to engage in mentoring by different factors (Ragins and Cotton, 1993; Ragins and Scandura, 1994).

Propensity to Engage in Mentoring

Most mentoring relationships are not mandated within organizations. Even in formal mentoring programs, there is normally some element of choice with respect to participation in the program (Ragins and Cotton, 1999; Ragins *et al.*,

2000). Serving as a mentor is an extra-role activity that goes above and beyond the mentor's formal job requirements (Allen, 2003; Aryee *et al.*, 1996). Since these developmental relationships are rarely mandated, it is important to determine why individuals make choices to engage in them.

It is reasonable to expect that the decision to serve as a mentor is influenced by the outcomes the mentor anticipates from this activity. The literature suggests that there are benefits to be gained from serving as a mentor, including career enhancement, information, esteem, and personal satisfaction (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985; Levinson *et al.*, 1978; Mullen, 1994; Zey, 1984). Propensity to engage in mentoring is associated with costs, as well as with benefits, and some individuals find that the costs outweigh the benefits (Ragins and Scandura, 1999).

Some dispositional antecedents to the propensity to mentor might also be expected. Aryee *et al.* (1996) found a positive relationship between altruism and motivation to mentor. A more recent investigation found that personality factors exerted very little influence over provision of mentoring functions, however (Bozionelos, 2004). Based on this more comprehensive investigation, it seems likely that the propensity to mentor is more strongly associated with more malleable factors than it is by stable predispositions, such as personality. We propose three types of factors influencing the propensity for individuals to engage in mentoring:

- (1) attitudinal;
- (2) instrumental; and
- (3) social components of the propensity to mentor.

Attitudinal Component of the Propensity to Mentor

The attitudinal component of propensity to mentor refers to the influence of reactions to the work environment on willingness to mentor. One attitudinal response which has been found to enhance willingness to engage in extra-role behaviors is organizational commitment (Mowday *et al.*, 1979, 1982). Mentoring is a type of extra-role behavior, and thus greater organizational commitment should be associated with propensity to mentor.

Affective organizational commitment refers to employees' emotional attachment to the organization (Allen and Meyer, 1990), and is an important determinant of dedication and loyalty. Affectively committed employees have a sense of belonging and identification that increases their involvement in the organization's activities and their willingness to exert effort to achieve the organization's goals (Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001; Rhoades and Eisenberger, 2001). Based on this conceptualization of affective commitment, it can be expected that individuals scoring high on affective commitment will be more likely to be motivated to mentor.

- H1. Affective commitment will be positively related to the propensity to mentor.*

Instrumental Component of the Propensity to Mentor

Instrumentality is the second component of the propensity to mentor. Instrumentality suggests a utilitarian function of mentoring, seeking to enhance one's own career-related benefits. Theoretical and empirical work suggests that providing mentoring entails benefits for the careers of mentors (Blackburn *et al.*, 1981; Bozionelos, 2004; Frey and Nollens, 1986; Mullen, 1994; Mullen and Noe, 1999). Mentors who have high aspirations regarding their own career advancement may exhibit greater propensity to become a mentor (Allen *et al.*, 1997). Successful mentoring can enhance the reputation and advance the career of the mentor (Dreher and Ash, 1990; Kram, 1985), along with potentially providing opportunities to exercise power and influence (Hunt and Michael, 1983).

- H2. Career advancement aspirations will be positively related to the propensity to mentor.*

Social Component of the Propensity to Mentor

The social component of the propensity to mentor refers to the potential for mentoring to expand and enhance one's social relationships. In the present study, we will examine the engagement in social networking as a typical example of a social component of the propensity to mentor.

Social networking refers to the building and nurturing of personal and professional relationships to create a system of information, contact, and support thought to be crucial for career and personal success (Whiting and De Janasz, 2004). Networking increases exposure to other people within the organization, which may in turn enhance understanding of organizational practices, lead to greater skill development, and provide greater role clarity (Lankau and Scandura, 2002). It seems plausible, that people who actively seek out opportunities for interaction on the job, that is people who substantially engage in social networking activities, may also more likely to be motivated by the opportunity to extend one's network that mentoring offers. Also, more opportunities for interaction on the job may result in more opportunities to mentor, which in turn may affect the propensity to mentor (Aryee *et al.*, 1996).

- H3. Networking behavior will be positively related to the propensity to mentor.*

Gender Differences

The literature on mentoring has generally been quite attentive to gender issues (Baugh *et al.*, 2003; Noe, 1988b; Ragins, 1997). Women and men express equivalent intentions to mentor, but women anticipate greater costs to engaging in a mentoring relationship (Ragins and Cotton, 1993). Mentoring involves an investment of time, which cannot then be used for other, more direct career-enhancing activities (Ragins and Scandura, 1999). Given the greater obstacles women face in advancing their careers (Bell and McLaughlin, 2002; Fagenson, 1993; Lewis, 2001; Ragins, 1995), it is likely that their investment in mentoring activities will have lower career benefits than those of men. Women with high career aspirations may reduce their propensity to mentor relative to men in order to focus on other career strategies.

- H4.* The positive association between career advancement aspirations and the propensity to mentor will be stronger for men than for women.

Gender differences in networking activities are thought to arise from the opportunity structure within organizations (Ibarra, 1995). On average, studies in organizations show that women have more extensive networks than men, but that men's networks include more high-status, influential individuals (Ibarra, 1992; Ibarra and Smith-Lovin, 1997; Mehra *et al.*, 1998; Thomas and Higgins, 1996). As a result, men are more likely to receive career benefits from networking activities than are women (Cannings and Montmarquette, 1991; Ibarra, 1992, 1993, 1997). Hence, it is expected that the relationship between networking behaviors and the propensity to mentor will be stronger for men than for women.

- H5.* The positive association between networking activity and the propensity to mentor will be stronger for men than for women.

Prior research has suggested that experience as a protégé has a positive effect on intention to mentor (Ragins and Cotton, 1993). Although research has suggested that men and women tend to be equally likely to have a mentor (Dreher and Cox, 1996; Kirchmeyer, 1996; O'Neill *et al.*, 1998), we included experience as a protégé as a control variable in this study.

Method

Population and Sample

Data were collected from managerial employees within a Dutch bank. A letter was first sent to the employees explaining the purpose of the study and soliciting their participation in the study. To be able to report to the bank about gender differences within this organizations and specifically about how their

female employees evaluate mentoring opportunities within the bank, responses were particularly desired from women in this setting, thus the decision was made to over-sample women. Questionnaires were then sent electronically to 691 employees (200 to men and 491 to women) in middle and upper level managerial ranks within the bank. A total of 276 questionnaires were returned, resulting in a response rate of 40 percent. Fourteen respondents were deleted due to missing data, resulting in a final sample of 262 respondents, of whom 182 (69 percent) were female and 80 (31 percent) were male. Twelve (15 percent) of the men and 17 (9 percent) of the women indicate actually being a mentor. Thirty-nine (49 percent) of the men and 89 (49 percent) of the women indicate wanting to become a mentor.

Measures

In order to ensure that the respondents were using similar definitions of the terms used in the questionnaire, the following definitions were provided.

. . . This questionnaire uses the concepts "mentor" and "coach" and "protégé" several times. Not everybody uses the same definitions for these concepts, therefore, we ask you to read the following definitions with care before responding to the questions. A protégé is the person who is guided and supported by a mentor or coach. A mentor is an influential individual with a higher ranking in your work environment who has advanced experience and knowledge so he/she can give you support, guidance and advice for your development. Your mentor can be from inside or outside your organization, but is not your immediate supervisor. He/she is recognized as an expert in his/her field. Most of the mentor relations are long term and focus on general objectives of development . . .

Propensity to mentor. The propensity to mentor was assessed with two items. The first item asked whether the respondent was actually a mentor, with a code of "1" indicating that the individual was a mentor and a code of "0" indicating that the individual was not a mentor. A second item assessed whether the respondent would like to become a mentor, with a code of "1" indicating that the individual would like to become a mentor and a code of "0" indicating that the individual would not be interesting in becoming a mentor. The absence of any formal mentoring program within the bank suggests that these relationships or desired relationships were all of an informal nature.

Affective commitment. Three items were used from the scale constructed by Allen and Meyer (1990) assessed affective commitment:

- (1) feeling at home in this organization;
- (2) feeling as if this organization's problems are my own; and
- (3) this organization has a great deal of personal meaning for me.

The internal consistency reliability (coefficient α) for this scale was 0.65.

Career advancement aspirations. Career advancement aspirations were measured with six items with a response scale of “1” (completely disagree) to “5” (completely agree). The items were:

- (1) I do things because they are good for my career;
- (2) I am prepared to change job functions within this company;
- (3) With my knowledge and experience, I can easily change over to a job outside of this company;
- (4) I am prepared to combine work with other tasks/functions;
- (5) I want to continue working in my current job function (reverse coded);
and
- (6) I want to move higher in the company hierarchy in the near future.

The internal consistency reliability for this scale was 0.70.

Networking activity. Networking activity was inventoried with five items:

- (1) I try to keep contacts warm that might come in handy in the near future;
- (2) if somebody has done something for me, I always call or send a thank you note to that person;
- (3) I accept almost all invitations for receptions and drinks – you never know who you might meet;
- (4) if I came across information in which somebody else who I know is interested, I would pass it through to that person; and
- (5) I am a member of several clubs, associations and networks that can benefit my career.

The internal consistency reliability for this scale was 0.66.

Experience as a protégé. Respondents were asked if they either currently had a mentor or had ever had a mentor. Responses which indicated experience with a mentoring relationship were coded “1” and responses which indicated no such experience were coded “0.”

Demographic variables. Demographic information was also collected in the questionnaire. Respondents indicated their age in years and their gender. Gender was coded “1” for female and “0” for male.

Factor Analysis Results

The three scales used to measure affective commitment, career advancement, and networking behaviors were all self-reported and collected at a single point in time, raising concerns about the influence of common method variance on the results of this study. Harman’s one-factor test was conducted to investigate this possibility. We entered all the items of the three scales into a

single factor analysis. If a substantial amount of common method variance exists in the data, either a single factor will emerge or one general factor will account for the majority of the variance among the variables (Podsakoff and Organ, 1986).

The factor analysis yielded three factors accounting for 47 percent of the variance, with all items loading on the appropriate scales. The first factor accounted for only 22 percent of the variance, suggesting that a general factor did not account for the majority of the variance. These results indicate that common method variance is unlikely to be a serious threat to validity.

Results

Table I presents means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for the study variables. As indicated in the table, serving as a mentoring and desire to serve as a mentor are positively and significantly correlated. Serving as a mentor is also positively and significantly correlated to experience as a protégé and career advancement aspirations. Desire to become a mentor is positively and significantly correlated to experience as a protégé, career advancement aspirations, and networking behaviors.

Table II shows the means and standard deviations for the study variables for men and women separately. As can be seen from Table II, women are significantly younger than men (mean for women is 37.6 years, $SD = 5.9$; mean for men is 42.6 years, $SD = 7.9$). As a result, we included age as a control variable in the regression analyses conducted to test our hypotheses.

Both outcome variables were dichotomous and logistic regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses (Table III). In both regression analyses, gender, age, experience as a protégé, affective commitment, career advancement aspirations, and networking behaviors were entered in step 1. The two

Table I: Descriptive data and intercorrelations for study variables^a

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Is now a mentor	0.11	0.31							
Wants to be a mentor	0.49	0.50	0.36**						
Gender	0.69	0.46	-0.08	0.00					
Age	39.11	6.99	0.04	0.06	-0.33**				
Experience as a protégé	0.24	0.43	0.26**	0.31**	0.02	-0.17**			
Affective commitment	3.85	0.72	0.03	0.11	-0.04	0.08	-0.02		
Career advancement aspirations	3.02	0.72	0.23**	0.35**	0.09	-0.40**	0.34**	-0.04	
Networking activity	3.43	0.63	-0.01	0.19**	0.05	-0.13*	0.23**	0.20**	0.34**

Notes: ^a $n = 260$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Table II: Means and standard deviations by gender

	Women (N = 182)	Men (N = 80)
Is now a mentor	0.09 (0.29)	0.15 (0.36)
Wants to be a mentor	0.49 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)
Age*	37.58 (5.94)	42.59 (7.91)
Experience as a Protégé	0.25 (0.43)	0.22 (0.42)
Affective commitment	3.83 (0.75)	3.90 (0.68)
Career advancement aspirations	3.07 (0.02)	2.92 (0.74)
Networking activity	3.45 (0.62)	3.38 (0.65)

Note: *t-test indicates a significant difference between women and men ($p < 0.01$).

Table III: Results of hierarchical logistic regression for being a mentor and wanting to become a mentor (unstandardized coefficients)

	Is mentor		Wants to be a mentor	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Gender (G)	0.48	-5.39*	-0.31	-2.12
Age	0.07	0.09*	0.10**	0.10**
Experience as a Protégé	-1.60**	-1.67**	-1.31**	-1.32**
Affective commitment	0.26	0.41	0.37	0.38
Career advancement aspirations	1.38**	2.44**	1.36**	1.82**
Networking activity	-0.93**	-2.06**	0.10	0.18
Gender \times career aspirations	-	-1.51*	-	-0.54
Gender \times networking activity	-	1.89*	-	-0.10
Hosmer and Lemeshow chi-square	4.66	6.38	19.08*	13.75
Δ Nagelkerke R^2	0.25**	0.31**	0.30**	0.31**

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

interaction variables, the interaction of gender and career advancement and the interaction of gender and networking behaviors, were entered in step 2. Hosmer and Lemeshow's (H and L) chi-square statistic was estimated at each step as an indication of goodness of fit. If the chi-square statistic is non-significant (a probability value greater than 0.05), then the model's estimates provide an acceptable fit to the data. The use of R^2 , the multiple correlation coefficient, is well established in classical regression analysis. For logistic regression, pseudo R^2 measures have to be used to evaluate the proportion of explained variance.

Step 1 (Table III) for the logistic regression for serving as a mentor shows that this variable can be predicted by experience as a protégé, career advancement aspirations, and networking behaviors (chi-square = 4.66, non-significant, pseudo $R^2 = 0.25$). The addition of the interaction variables in step 2 adds significant prediction (Δ pseudo $R^2 = 0.06$), with both interaction variables contributing significantly to the improved prediction.

Step 1 (Table III) for the logistic regression for desire to serve as a mentor shows that this variable can be predicted by affective commitment, career advancement aspirations, and networking behavior (pseudo $R^2 = 0.30$), but

the significant chi-square statistic suggests that the model is not a good fit. The chi-square statistic is reduced to non-significance by the addition of the interaction variables, but the pseudo R^2 is improved very little (Δ pseudo $R^2 \approx 0.01$) and neither interaction variable is individually significant. Thus, desire to become a mentor may prove to be more difficult to predict than the actual behavior of serving as a mentor.

With respect to the tests of hypotheses, *H1*, which predicted a positive relationship between affective commitment and propensity to mentor, was not supported. *H2*, which predicted a positive relationship between career aspirations and propensity to mentor, was supported for both mentoring behavior and desire to mentor. *H3* predicted a positive relationship between networking behavior and propensity to mentor. The relationship between networking activity and serving as a mentor was significant and negative, rather than positive. The relationship between networking activity and desire to be a mentor was not significant. Thus, *H3* was not supported. *H4* and *H5*, which predicted interactions between gender and career aspirations and gender and networking behavior, respectively, on propensity to mentor were supported for mentoring behavior, but not for desire to mentor. As expected, men with high career aspirations were the more likely to report serving as mentor than were women with high career aspirations.

An inspection of the relationships between experience as a protégé and serving as a mentor and desire to become a mentor in Tables I and III reveals an anomaly. The bivariate relationship between experience as a protégé and both serving as a mentor and desire to become a mentor is positive. The sign on the regression weight for experience as a protégé in both logistic regressions is negative, however. In addition, the bivariate relationship between age and desire to become a mentor is negative, but the regression weight is positive in the logistic regressions for both serving as a mentor and desire to become a mentor. While it is not clear why this reversal occurred, it is possible that age serves as a suppressor variable.

Discussion

Many organizations encourage the formation of mentoring relationships in order to attempt to reap the benefits of mentoring activities. Many have gone further, and have implemented formal mentoring programs. Effective mentoring can be highly costly to the mentor, however, in terms of both time and effort. It is, therefore, important to examine more systematically what motivates individuals to invest time and effort in providing mentoring to less experienced colleagues (Mullen, 1994).

From the results of this study, it appears that individuals who are highly committed to their organization are no more likely to offer mentoring to other organizational members than are the less committed. It seems that individuals

who are highly committed to the organization should want to engage in extra-role behavior such as mentoring. Perhaps the norm of reciprocity applies more to behaviors that more directly advantage the organization as a whole, however, than those that benefit a specific individual.

Individuals are more likely to engage in mentoring activities and to desire to become a mentor if they have high career aspirations. This relationship may be the result of an instrumental perspective on the part of the mentor, who sees developing a cadre of loyal and supportive organizational members as having a positive effect on his or her own career advancement. It is also possible the mentoring relationship develops as a result of the similarity of the mentor and the protégé with respect to career aspirations.

The results with respect to the relationship between networking activity and propensity to mentor are contrary to expectations. Individuals who are more involved in networking activities are less likely to serve as a mentor or to desire to become a mentor. Given that mentoring and networking are similar types of activities, this result is surprising. Networking, however, implies developing relationships that are potentially instrumental, but not as intense or enduring as mentoring relationships (Granovetter, 1973). It is possible that some individuals prefer to develop a larger number of relationships that are less committed, rather than investing a lot of time and effort in one very absorbing relationship.

Some gender differences are found in the results of this study, although they are not as extensive as predicted. While career aspirations positively affected propensity to mentor, high career aspirations were more strongly associated with serving as a mentor for men than for women. Possibly women do not expect as great a career "payoff" for their investment in mentoring than men do. This suggestion is in line with the literature on networking, which suggests that women do not receive as great a "payoff" for networking activity as men do (Ibarra, 1992).

The anomalous findings with respect to the relationships between propensity to mentor and both experience as a protégé and age deserve some attention. The univariate correlation of experience as a protégé was positive for both being a mentor and wanting to be a mentor, but the relationship between experience as a protégé and propensity to mentor was negative in the multivariate analysis. We included the "experience as a protégé" variable from the findings of Ragins and Cotton (1993), who showed that employees with prior experience in mentoring relationships reported greater willingness to mentor than individuals lacking mentorship experience. Perhaps in this specific organization, mentoring is a recent phenomenon and younger people are more likely to have had experience as a protégé than older individuals. The data show that experience as a protégé is negatively related to age, but age is, in general, positively related to propensity to mentor, because older individuals tend to be in the career stages which engender mentoring (Finkelstein *et al.*, 2003). Thus, people with less experience of being a protégé

are in career stages that make them more likely to be a mentor. It is also possible that within the specific context of The Netherlands (which favors being young and dynamic), and given the recent popularity of mentoring, that relatively more young people desire to be a mentor. For them mentoring adds status, and is sometimes even seen as a sexy role, fulfilling narcissistic needs.

Managerial Implications

Using mentoring as a human resource development tool is popular among HR managers. The effects and effectiveness of this tool depends to a large extent on the qualities and efforts of the mentors. Therefore, it is critical to define a profile and criteria for desirable mentors. Particular attention should be paid to the motives of potential mentors. Results of this study, focusing on "who wants to be a mentor", suggest that employees volunteering are clearly ambitious in terms of their own career, but are not necessarily highly committed to their organization nor do they perform exemplary behaviors in terms of extra role behavior or networking. So, what are these mentors offering to their protégées?

Our results suggest that the main motive for mentors is their own career advancement; clearly a self-serving drive (Allen, 2003). Do either the protégé or the organization benefit from pursuing that end? Furthermore, given the tendency that relatively young employees want to be a mentor, what policies for selection of mentors should an organization define? It may not be effective to have relatively inexperienced people, especially those with high career aspirations, perform the mentor role, or it may be effective to have such individuals perform only some aspects of the mentor role. Organizations wishing to develop formal mentoring programs, or even to facilitate and support informal mentoring situations, should carefully consider what potential mentors have to offer and how the mentor can contribute to the protégé, and by extension to the organization itself. These concerns should be part of the selection procedure for mentors in organizations. It might be wise for management to define profiles of effective mentors and play an active role in recruiting mentors.

Our results also suggest that individuals who are less upwardly mobile, but are nonetheless strongly committed to the organization, might not readily step forward to become mentors. If mentoring is seen as a role for less experienced but ambitious employees, individuals who have strong mentoring skills but see themselves on a career plateau in terms of hierarchical advancement may not realize how valuable their contributions could be. In this case, not only would the organization lose valuable contributions to internal mentoring systems, whether formal or informal, but experienced individuals may become less involved with the organization and with their job due to a perception that their skills are not valued. Our results suggest that organizations should be mindful of such possibilities.

Another managerial implication of this study is the possible downside of mentoring relations. Particularly when mentors have clear self-serving motives, being a protégé might actually create stress. Also ambitions might be stimulated in unrealistic directions, when a mentor projects his or her own ambitions on a protégé. This might actually reduce mental health, creating unrealistic approaches of job and career expectations, and related work stress. During the economic “booming” years young professionals have entered the labor market often with high expectations and did not learn to cope with rejection and disappointments. Part of mentoring might be reality checking, and this study raises questions about the goals and content of mentoring. Studies on the effects of mentoring so far have presupposed these relations are beneficial and have overlooked possible negative effects in terms of both raising expectations, healthy mentoring relations and job stress related to that.

Limitations

The study is limited by its reliance on self-report data. However, the result of Harman’s one factor test indicates that common method variance is unlikely to be a serious threat in this study. In addition, the significant interaction effects found in this study are unlikely to be the result of common method variance. The Dutch culture may have influenced the results of the study to an unknown degree. Comparative research on the factors influencing the propensity to mentor across national cultures appears to be needed.

Directions for Future Research

Clearly, the motives which underlie willingness to mentor within organizations deserve future investigation. More and more empirical attention within the mentoring literature has been directed toward the dyad itself and toward the mentor, in contrast to earlier studies which focused almost exclusively on the protégé. Despite much interest and concern on the part of organizations, however, very little empirical research has been directed toward the individual qualities or the dyadic properties of the mentoring relationship that lead to effectiveness within the relationship. Mentoring relationships which are properly developed and managed are important developmental experiences for protégés, and oftentimes for mentors, as well. Mentoring relationships which are not carefully managed and maintained may instead thwart individual development and result in significant negative outcomes to the protégé, the mentor, and the organization (Scandura, 1998). More emphasis on the mentor and on the dyad itself, in addition to research focused on protégés, will offer more insight into the nature of effective mentoring relationships.

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An International Perspective on Mentoring

David Clutterbuck

This chapter takes two perspectives that are different from the others in the handbook. First, it explores the development of mentoring outside North America, where' in Europe at least' it has taken a very different route much closer to what Fletcher and Ragins (see Chapter 15, this volume) describe as "relational mentoring." Second, whereas almost all the evidence-based literature about mentoring emanating from the United States begins with an academic exploration of relationship phenomena and leads to drawing conclusions about practice, in Europe, the emphasis has been on identifying good practice (what works and doesn't work) and initiating subsequent quantitative or qualitative empirical investigation to elucidate underlying theory.

I begin by describing my personal practice and how it has led to specific research and the development of practical models to help mentors and mentees understand their roles. I next provide an overview of the development of mentoring in Europe and the implications of these developments' in particular, the establishment of a nondirective model of mentoring' for both my own practice and practice in general. I provide a short review of the development of mentoring in the rest of the non-U.S. world, leading to a discussion of perceived good practice in terms of managing cultural difference in mentoring programs and relationships. Finally, I describe an ongoing research program stimulated by practitioner needs and extrapolate an agenda for future practitioner-generated research.

Source: Belle Rose Ragins and Kathy E. Kram (eds), *The Handbook of Mentoring at Work: Theory, Research, and Practice* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2007), pp. 633–657.

The Development of a Mentoring Practice

My practice in mentoring has taken three directions. The first is as a mentor, working at one extreme with chief executives and, at the other, with a mixture of pro bono clients, ranging from young people at early stages of their careers to people in their midcareers. The second has been as the leader of an increasingly international practice, helping organizations design and implement mentoring programs. And the third is as a researcher and writer, seeking understanding of this powerful developmental phenomenon and sharing learning more widely. When asked what I do, I typically reply that I "ask difficult questions." Sometimes these are intended to stimulate the thinking of others, sometimes to open up new areas of research that will support one-to-one relationships or program practice, and sometimes to develop my own awareness and insight. Each element of my practice both supports and is supported by the others.

In all of my mentoring relationships, I have selected to work with people from whom I am able to identify significant opportunities for my own learning² for example, because they come from an age group, culture, and/or discipline that is different from my own. This is the same, whether I am mentor, mentee,¹ mutual or peer mentor, or peer supervisor of mentoring (in the counseling sense of supervision of professional practice). Only by engaging fully with all of these roles can I develop my own practice and, from that, clues to fruitful areas of research, which will have immediate practical application.

My practice in mentoring programs has covered Europe, North America, Africa, Asia-Pacific, and various other areas of the globe. My consultancy has franchises in Southern Africa, Australia, Turkey, and various European countries, and associates in many others. From an initial concentration on young graduate recruits, the range of applications has spread to programs for executives, for supporting diversity objectives, culture change, and managing retention. Some examples are as follows:

The objective of our practice is to build the capacity of client companies to use mentoring effectively and sustainably. This has led us to develop an array of supporting services, from diagnostics that explore the organization's readiness to embark upon mentoring, to software tools to match and monitor relationship quality, to a portfolio of modularized training for mentors, mentees, and program coordinators. For many multinational clients, we also train and support internal trainers' an important element in adapting capacity to geocultural factors.

From Practice to Research

Both personal mentoring and programs provide a rich and constant stream of ideas for research and opportunities to design and carry out empirical studies, driven in most part by concerns expressed by client companies. Research in

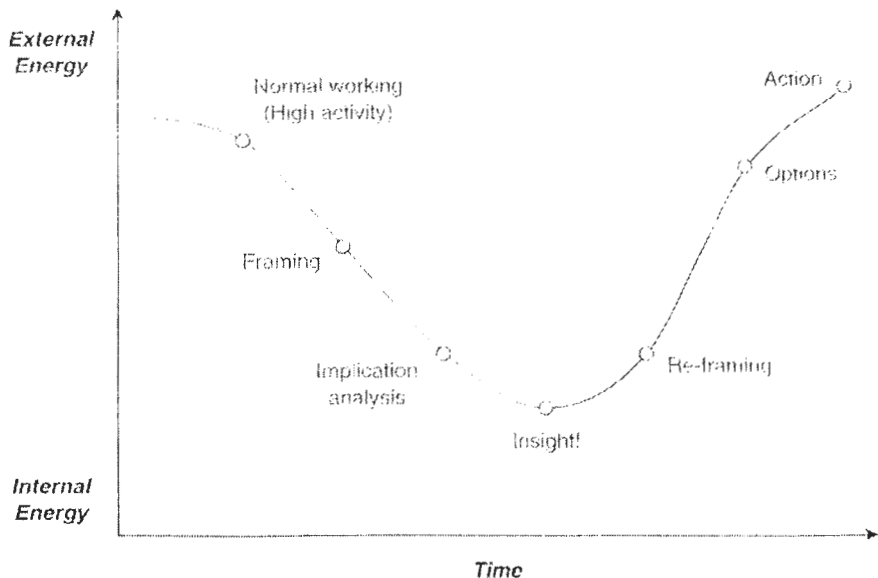
recent years' often with colleagues at the Mentoring and Coaching Research Group, Sheffield Hallam University' includes the following:

Areas of particular research interest, derived from both my personal and organizational program practice, have included the role of personal reflective space, the structure of the mentoring conversation, and mentoring behaviors. The following section takes these in turn.

Reflective Space

One of the reasons mentors and mentees say they value their meetings seems to be because they can take time out from doing to concentrate on thinking and being. It became clear several years ago that we needed to help participants on our programs create, manage, and make good use of this valuable resource of personal reflective space. Less than 2% of the thousands of people who attend our workshops every year say that they do any significant amount of deep, reflective thinking during the working day. Instead, they think in the car, the shower, walking the dog, in the gym, or anywhere where they can focus without interruption on one issue. One of my intended future research projects will be to carry out a structured analysis to examine frequency, process, and intensity of these journeys into reflective space.

I began to collect people's accounts of what happened to them when they did get into personal reflective space, both in general and in mentoring sessions, in the early 1990s. Gradually, a model emerged, described in Figure 1.



Source: Clutterbuck Associates © 2006.

Figure 1: Phases of reflective space

This model has become a standard part of our explanation of how mentoring works, and in our workshop, feedback from participants is consistently rated one of the most valuable insights. The mentor's role is to help the mentee work through the various stages, over several sessions, if required. When both mentor and mentee both understand this model, it appears from feedback from program participants that they can collaborate more effectively in the process of inquiry.

The Nature of Personal Reflective Space

To be effective, people need time and an appropriate environment in which to think about what they are doing (or intend to do) and why. The typical cycle appears to begin with our normal state of affairs' having a number of issues that need thinking through but, for one reason or another, we have not yet addressed. It seems from our workshops that most professional workers have somewhere between 25 and 35 such significant issues at any one time. These may range, for example, from developing a strategy to deal with a difficult customer, to choosing between two alternative career moves, to how to manage competing work pressures.

When we allow ourselves reflective space, typically in an environment that allows conscious hand-eye movement to go on autopilot, one issue rises to the mental surface and dominates our thinking for a period. We ask ourselves questions about the issue, try to see it from different perspectives, examine the logic of our thinking and generally worry at it. Gradually, we see it sufficiently differently for an insight to occur. Once we have an insight, we are able to reframe the issue and develop alternative responses. When we come out of personal reflective space, which has many characteristics in common with hypnotic trance in terms of the level of mental focus (James, 2000), we have a need to release the energy that has been repressed. (People who do their deep thinking while taking exercise such as jogging, often report that they run faster when they come out of personal reflective space.)

What we do on our own can be far more thorough and effective when done with a skilled colleague who can offer different perspectives, will be more rigorous in following through logic, and will help us face up to uncomfortable concepts. This is the essence of the learning dialogue within mentoring.

The Mentoring Conversation

Another fundamental piece of research was to observe and chart mentoring conversations. Engineering and accounting clients in particular wanted a template of the mentoring dialogue, against which mentors could benchmark themselves. Over a period of 2 years, colleagues and I observed randomly selected mentoring pairs, both in real mentoring sessions and workshop

practices. The effectiveness of the mentor was determined by a relatively crude measure of mentee satisfaction ("How useful was this discussion?") and an observer's rating of factors such as how much of the talking the mentor did and whether the mentee's issues were adequately identified and addressed. The effective mentors all acted as follows:

Ineffective mentors, by contrast, typically jumped into the presented issue, entirely missing the opportunity to develop a deeper, shared understanding and to contextualize. They summarized both times, taking responsibility and therefore some of the ownership away from the mentee. As a result, both mentors and mentees in these conversations reported less learning.

Behaviors of Mentors and Mentees

From the earliest days of our consulting work, it was clear that mentors performed a wide variety of roles and that in successful relationships, these were complemented by the roles and behaviors of mentees. Kathy Kram's (1985) concept of functions was useful from a theoretical perspective, but it didn't give participants a great deal of clarity about the range of behaviors they should and shouldn't use, or when.

Our interviews with effective and ineffective mentors led to a different, more flexible theoretical model, which participants and program managers could more readily apply. Two critical dimensions appeared. One of these relates to the degree of directiveness in the relationship: To what extent does the relationship depend upon the use of the mentor's authority or influence? Who decides the agenda for discussion and the goals? Who takes responsibility for managing the relationship? To what degree is relative power a factor in the dynamics of the relationship? The second dimension relates to mentee need. Is the purpose of the relationship and/or the specific conversation to stretch the horizons of the mentees' thinking and/or ambitions? To help them acquire and use new knowledge? Or is it to provide encouragement, support, and fellowship? The goddess Athena, the archetypal mentor, represents both ends of this spectrum of challenging and nurturing. Mentors' needs are also a factor. Are they, for example, seeking status confirmation, intellectual challenge, or mutual learning?

Surprisingly, although the concept of mentee need is recognized in the academic literature (e.g., Anderson & Enz, 1990; Bennetts, 1998; Cunningham & Eberle, 1990; Holloway & Whyte, 1994; Mullen, 1998), it has received little serious attention. Most studies of mentoring outcomes have focused on what mentees received, but not how this related to their specific and individual requirements from the relationship.

The implications of superimposing these two dimensions on each other include a range of behaviors, some or all of which may be shared with other helping styles, such as coaching or counseling. A directive, stretching style

has much in common with traditional forms of coaching (set challenging task, observe, and give extrinsic feedback) but may also include demonstrating how to do something, tough questioning, and even Socratic argument. A directive, nurturing style may encompass the guardian or sponsor role, giving advice, steering through the organizational politics, and so on. It may also include being a role model, something effective mentors tend to undertake in a more proactive manner than ineffective mentors or managers in general.

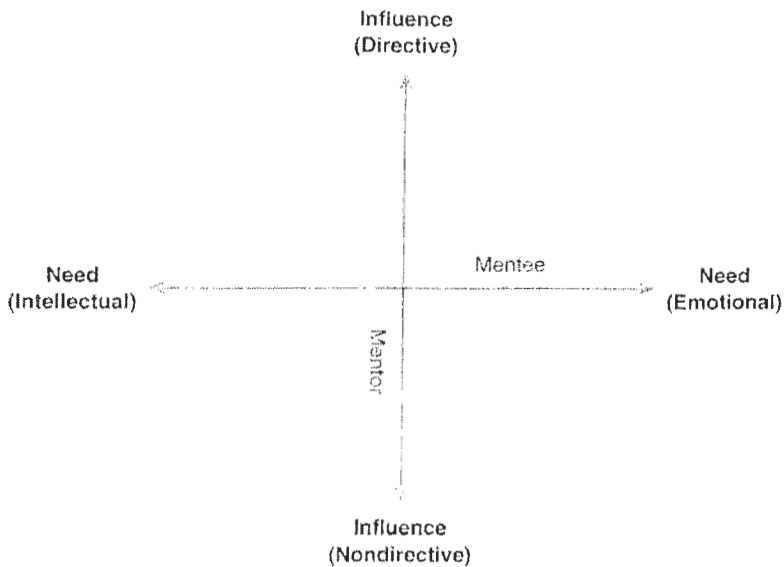
A nondirective, nurturing style has much in common with counseling and may often involve career counseling, listening, and generally helping people to cope with the issues they face. A nondirective, stretching style involves activities such as helping mentees develop their own self-resourcefulness, for example, by building more extensive networks.

For participants in specific programs, this model of mentoring illustrates the breadth and complexity of the role and the importance of mentors being able to adapt their styles to the needs of mentees at particular times in their own development and the evolution of the relationship. It also provides the basis for a discussion on the behavioral boundaries of the relationship (for example, mentors would not normally set learning goals for mentees or provide therapy).

Thus, an effective mentor is able to adapt behaviors to react at different points on each spectrum, according to the needs of the mentee, the behavior of the mentee, and his or her assessment of the situational context. Equally, the mentor's experience may be influenced by his or her needs to be challenged (e.g., to enjoy the intellectual dialogue) and to feel valued. In one mentoring program aimed at young ex-offenders, many of the mentors had been unemployed, long term. They gained so much self-esteem helping the young offenders get their lives in order and find work that by the end of the program, most of the mentors were also in regular employment. (See Figure 2.)

Now commonly known as the *behavioral matrix* of mentoring, this model (as shown in Figure 2) has helped thousands of program participants position what is expected of them, both in general and in one-to-one discussions with their dyadic partners. Its validation was that it worked. However, in the late 1990s, I decided that a deeper validation, based on evidence from a formal academic study, was needed. The research project, described later in this chapter, compared expectations of behavior by both mentors and mentees with actual behaviors and linked these with outcomes for both parties. The initial results broadly support the model as an accurate depiction of the wide range of behavioral dynamics of different styles of mentoring.

One of the important lessons from practitioner experience, which informed the design of this research, was that success and failure of mentoring relationships were the responsibility (or at least influenced by) both mentor and mentee. With very few exceptions (e.g., Aryee, Wyatt, & Stone, 1996; Higgins, Chandler, & Kram, Chapter 14, this volume; Kalbfleisch, Chapter 20, this volume), the mentoring literature focuses almost entirely on the behaviors of



Source: Clutterbuck Associates © 2006.

Figure 2: Dimensions of mentoring

the mentor (e.g., Allen, Chapter 5, this volume). Yet the mentee's behavior must have an influence on that of the mentor. For example, the phrasing of an issue for discussion (e.g., "I've got a problem with." versus "I've been working through this issue and need a sounding board") is likely to affect the mentor's instinctive response. Even less attention has been paid to understanding the interaction dynamics between them. The following are among the many largely unanswered questions about this process of collaborative learning:

Questions such as these need to be answered, at least broadly, before we can claim a practical level of understanding of the mentoring phenomenon, whatever the style or culture.

The European Experience of Mentoring

In this section, I review both my personal journey of development and that of the field more generally. The two are closely intertwined.

My colleague David Megginson, at Sheffield Hallam University, and I cofounded the European Mentoring Centre (now the European Mentoring and Coaching Council, or EMCC) in the early 1990s as a forum for academics, providers, program coordinators, mentors, and mentees. Its primary activities were an annual conference and a small library. As interest in both coaching and mentoring blossomed, the trustees determined to enlarge the scope of interest to include coaching, and the EMCC was established in 2001. This body

represents the interests of all parties in coaching and mentoring, at both a European and national level. Organizations representing executive coaches, such as the International Coach Federation, or representing companies buying coaching and mentoring services, such as the European Foundation for Management Development, are affiliated with the EMCC. The EMCC has conducted extensive research into coach and mentor competences, established standards for coach and mentor education, and is currently developing an extensive online bibliography of the field.

The Mentoring and Coaching Research Unit (MCRU) at Sheffield Hallam University has published a stream of books and papers on aspects of mentoring, from the use of storytelling to an investigation of the nature of relationship endings (relationships that plan the ending of the formal phases and undertake some form of review of what has been achieved tend to be regarded as positive by both parties; those that drift away tend to be seen negatively) (Clutterbuck & Megginson, 2001, 2004). The MCRU also publishes on behalf of the EMCC the *International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching*. There have also been active research agendas from EDHEC Business School in France, and other universities in Scandinavia and the United Kingdom.

With few exceptions, these research agendas have been driven by specific needs to improve the quality and/or effectiveness of structured mentoring programs. Evaluation, particularly of publicly funded initiatives, is strongly culturally ingrained in Europe. Program funders are concerned both to know what results their initiatives are achieving and to ensure that measures are robust and meaningful. In our own practice, for example, it has become the norm to apply a portfolio of measures at both program and relationship levels, using both hard and soft criteria and assessing both outcome and process factors. In 2003, a Europeanled initiative drew together program coordinators, academics, and consultants specializing in mentoring to agree on an international set of common standards for good practice in developmental mentoring.² The standards have six parts, covering clarity of purpose (program and relationship), selection and matching of participants, training, ethical issues, and administration. They have been used in the design and benchmarking of programs in a number of countries, but only a handful of organizations have taken the opportunity to be formally assessed against them and have their programs benchmarked. Gaining an international consensus in this way is potentially an important step forward for research purposes because it provides a basis for direct comparability between programs. However, although the standards are applicable across all styles of mentoring, they do not in themselves obviate the need to additionally ensure that relationships to be compared are based in the same style.

My personal journey of discovery in mentoring began in the early 1980s, when I interviewed Kathy Kram about her research and brought the concepts to Europe. Although Kathy's research focused on individual, informal relationships, a number of U.S. organizations had attempted to formalize what was

happening informally, initially to support young graduate recruits starting out on their careers. My first book, published almost simultaneously with Kathy's, also reflected that perspective.

Mentoring in these early programs involved "overseeing the career" (Gray & Gray, 1990) of someone younger. The mentor was an influential figure, a sponsor who provided challenging assignments and opportunities.

Then, I was invited to help United Kingdom and European organizations design and implement structured mentoring programs. We quickly ran into cultural problems at both the national and organizational levels. At the national level, most of the countries in Northern Europe, including the United Kingdom, had very low power distance and a high intolerance of elitism. Northern European employers were trying to encourage people to take greater responsibility and accountability for their own career development and personal development. Sponsorship simply didn't fit well with this objective. (The exceptions are France and Germany, where deference to authority is relatively high, often based on expert status. Both countries have struggled to make mentoring work.)

This difference of emphasis is reflected in both the type of program initiated in Northern Europe and the expectations within it. Mentoring is widely used in the corporate environment. The following are typical workplace programs:

In each case, participants are led to expect a significant amount of mutual learning in multiple contexts. Career outcomes are seen as outcomes of personal growth, rather than as the primary purpose of the relationship. Relationships are typically relatively short in duration (1 to 3 years), at least insofar as they are supported by the organization. Mentors have a responsibility to ensure that mentees achieve independence as rapidly as possible; hence, problems of dependency and counterdependency are rare.

This divergence of perception, as to the nature and purpose of mentoring, can be seen in the wide variety of definitions of mentoring (see Dougherty & Dreher, Chapter 3, this volume). There is a broad, but not exclusively U.S. versus European division, which has come to be referred to as "sponsorship mentoring versus developmental mentoring" (Clutterbuck, 1985; Clutterbuck & Lane, 2004; Gardner, 1996, 1997; Garvey, 1988; Gibb & Megginson, 1992; Hay, 1995). The assumptions behind *sponsorship mentoring* include seniority of experience and position by the mentor, the use of the mentor's influence on the part of the protégé (e.g., Kram's, 1985, functions of a mentor include protecting and fostering visibility), a heavy emphasis on career progression for the protégé, and a largely one-way learning process (e.g., Fagenson, 1988; Phillips-Jones, 1982; Stone, 1999). The mentor may or may not be the protégé's line manager. The assumptions behind *developmental mentoring* include a significant difference in experience, but not necessarily in hierarchical level; the "parking" of the mentor's power and influence as largely irrelevant to the relationship; a heavy emphasis on personal growth and insight as the means

to achieving career or other objectives; and a high level of mutual learning. Line managers cannot normally be mentors because they are unable to bring sufficient independence to the learning dialogue; however, they can use mentoring type behaviors in support of their role as coach (e.g., Cranwell, Ward, Bossons, & Gover, 2004; Hay 1995, Megginson, 1988; Mumford, 1993; Spero, 2000).

To a significant extent, these two models represent a difference of emphasis identified by Kram's (1985) original categorization of career and psychosocial functions. They also represent a difference of *purpose* and *assumptions*. Sponsorship mentoring places greater emphasis on career outcomes and may see personal development and learning as a secondary outcome of being exposed to opportunities inherent in more-senior or more-challenging assignments. Developmental mentoring assumes that the key outcome of the relationship is personal development and learning and that career development may be one of the second-order outcomes. Although there may be examples of developmental relationships evolving into sponsorship, or vice versa, this does not seem to be commonplace, and no studies have, to my knowledge, investigated this. The research we have carried out into mentee expectations (Clutterbuck, 2005) suggests that participants in European and international programs differentiate strongly between the two roles.

Depicting these two models as simply the result of cultural factors would be misleading, however. While culture undoubtedly played a strong part in the initial laying down of approaches to mentoring, there has also been a gradual evolution of what effective mentoring looks like in both Europe and North America, as well as on other continents. The following are among the components of this evolution:

What is driving this evolution is not clear. One possible explanation is that the factors that caused European organizations to take such a different perspective and emphasis on mentoring have become more widespread. Among these were the expectation that employees should take greater responsibility for their own development and career management. Anything suggesting "overseeing the career of another" (Gray & Gray, 1990) was not acceptable. Another partial explanation may be that alternative forms of mentoring, such as peer mentoring (Beattie & MacDougal, 1995) have encouraged a move away from directive, hierarchical modes and behaviors.

Coaching versus Mentoring

A similar evolution appears to have taken place in the European context with regard to the role of coach, which is essentially concerned with helping an individual or group improve performance. Traditional coaching 'still the majority of the coaching taking place in work and sporting environments' is seen as a process of feedback, observation, and review. The goal, or at least

the standard (how achievement of the goal is assessed), is often set by an external agency (e.g., the company, the sports association). The coachee's decision about whether to buy into the goal and the standard has implications for how much progress he or she can make. The coach provides opportunities to tackle the task, observes, and engages the learner in a discussion of how to improve performance next time.

Really effective traditional coaches also help learners move beyond extrinsic feedback to intrinsic feedback. Here, learners experiment, observe their own actions, and bring their observations back to the coach for review and guidance on improving performance.

In more recent years, a definition of coaching has emerged from North America that is closer to counseling: working on goals set by the learner and using questioning to explore the drives and barriers to performance (Ellinger & Bostrum, 1999; Whitmore, 1996). This is sometimes confused with mentoring, especially when the focus of the relationship is primarily on personal growth and career self-management (for example, "life coaching").

A pragmatic method my international colleagues and I use to describe the differences between coaching and mentoring is illustrated in Figure 3. Both traditional and developmental coaching are concerned with performance and may be either directive or nondirective in the sense that the goals, agenda, conversation, and process may be driven either by the coach or the coachee. Directive relationships are sometimes described as "hands-on" and tend to be one-way learning relationships. The personal development that occurs tends



Source: Clutterbuck Associates © 2006.

Figure 3: Styles of coaching and mentoring

to be relatively narrowly focused, often on specific tasks or competences (e.g., presentation skills or personal effectiveness).

Both sponsorship mentoring and developmental mentoring are concerned with helping people achieve longer-term career or other personal goals. As indicated earlier, the focus of sponsorship mentoring is much more heavily weighted on career outcomes as a route to personal development and is relatively directive; developmental mentoring focuses on personal development as a route to career achievement and is broadly nondirective.

In general, the more directive roles of both are more compatible with the direct reporting line than are the nondirective roles, where greater openness is required and the boss may be a significant part of the coachee's or mentee's problem. Both coaching and mentoring may involve an element of personal development. In coaching, this is typically more narrowly focused than in mentoring.

Explaining mentoring and coaching in this way gives participants a framework in which to position the roles they play and the roles the organization and their dyad partners expect of them. Many of the problems we observe in mentoring relationships and programs arise because of discrepancies between the role expectations of participants. However, in practice, there may be considerable overlap in roles. A mentor may be called upon to exercise some coaching behaviors, and vice versa. Among behaviors common to both coaching and mentoring are using challenging questions, collaboration (the mentor invites the mentee to observe or assist in a task, to understand how the mentor approaches it), and being a critical friend. Having a language for articulating expectations and indicating a shift in role allows participants to discuss mutual expectations of behavior and style.

Another way of looking at this issue is to consider what the question is. "How do you want to improve?" is generally regarded as a coaching question. "What do you want to achieve?" could be coaching or mentoring, depending on the nature of the goal. "What do you want to become?" is a mentoring question. In keeping with the greater duration of many mentoring relationships, it is a question that evolves with the individuals and with their relationships.

The Wider International Perspective

Structured mentoring programs around the rest of the world are less common, but examples can be found in many nations, including mainland China, Australia (e.g., McGregor, 1999), Hong Kong, Argentina, Malaysia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, India, and South Africa (e.g., Geber, 2003). It is probably not accidental that most of these countries have had a strong influence from Anglo-Saxon cultures, through the British Commonwealth or general U.S. hegemony in South America. Very little comparative study has been carried out regarding cultural differences (Barham & Conway, 1998, is one exception), but the principal issues

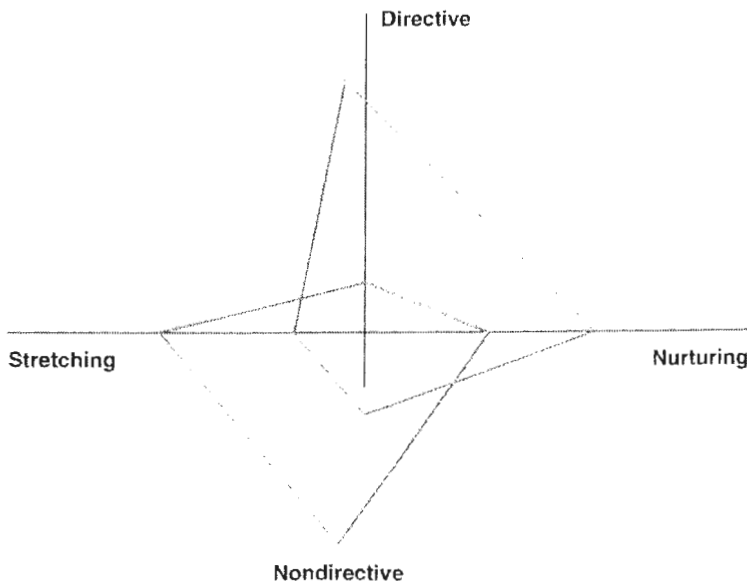
reported by multinational companies in our program design activities seem to be captured in the theories of Hofstede (1991) and Trompenaars (1993) concerning the primary components of cultural difference.

Two cultural dimensions seem particularly relevant. *Power distance* affects the willingness of mentees to challenge what they are told and makes it difficult for either mentor or mentee to admit weaknesses (lose face). Mentors, especially those from Western cultures, need to develop the skills of enabling mentees to voice concerns and criticisms in psychological safety. Similarly, mentors from cultures that emphasize individuality, rather than collectivity, may find it hard going if he or she focuses too much on the mentee's personal career progression as the core goal of the relationship. A broader dialogue about goals and outcomes for the team, for example, may achieve more.

Fatalism may be as a factor in some cultures, especially where failure may be seen as "God's will" rather than a personal responsibility. Key skills for mentors here are to help open up wider ranges of possibilities from which mentees can choose and to help mentees relate these options to both personal and societal (or religious) values.

High power distance cultures may tend to favor the sponsorship model, but this may clash with the cultural expectations of multinationals dominated by low power distance countries, such as Northern Europe. (See Figure 4.)

When Shell attempted to introduce a mentoring program in Brunei some years ago, one of the issues that had to be overcome was near-complete opposite expectations by the local young engineers (most of whom had been



Source: Clutterbuck Associates © 2006.

Figure 4: Contrasting expectations

educated for at least a year in European or U.S. universities) about the learning relationship compared with those of the Dutch and British expatriate mentors. Broadly speaking, the mentees expected a sponsoring relationship, with a great deal of direct advice giving; they found it difficult to challenge what was said to them, even if they did not agree. The mentors, on the other hand, expected to help the mentees set and follow their own paths and to stimulate learning through mutual challenge and insightful questions. Only when this conflict of expectations was made overt could the two sides begin to develop a style of relationship that was comfortable to both of them.

The metaphors or stories from each culture, which illustrate and shape participants' instinctive reactions to mentoring, appear to be deeply rooted in the cultural psyche. When we asked people from a number of Black African ethnic groups to describe the story that most closely represented the role of mentor, they provided similar, but always subtly different legends. Sharing these stories helps mentor and mentee understand to a greater extent each other's expectations of what the relation is about. An important area for future study, I suggest, is to map these cultural metaphors against the styles of mentoring preferred by mentor and mentee in different regions. It would also be revealing to explore what happens when the metaphors of racial culture clash with those of the corporate culture.

Multinational companies introducing mentoring programs around the world have attempted a variety of strategies (Mezias & Scandura, 2005). Imposing a mentoring style and structure relevant to the parent country on countries with a different sets of expectations can lead to apathy or resistance. (Expecting a high degree of challenge in mentoring dialogue is unrealistic if the hierarchy gap is large and the program takes place in a Chinese culture, for example!). The *laissez-faire* approach also has a poor history of success because local units often lack the skills and confidence to initiate programs. Two strategies that have worked are the culturally adaptable approach and the "thousand fires" approach.

The *culturally adaptable approach* starts with a generic and broad understanding of what mentoring is and its purpose. A range of support materials, built around a core of program management and mentor/mentee education resources, is made available to each national or regional operation. The headquarters function measures the extent of mentoring taking place but accepts that the styles of mentoring will vary considerably. Examples of multinationals operating in this manner include British American Tobacco and Standard Chartered Bank. The strength of this approach is that it encourages local buy-in. However, it is vulnerable to local changes in personnel' if the local champion and/or trainer moves on, there may be a rapid loss of momentum.

The *thousand fires approach*, used, for example, by the World Bank, encourages employees to link up and create their own mentoring networks, based on social groupings (i.e., division, discipline, regional culture). A support team

from the headquarters in Washington ensures that the program organizers have the knowledge and resources to design a program that will suit their specific needs and cultural environment. The advantage of this approach is that mentoring occurs with a high degree of spontaneity. However, the penalty may be considerable variation in quality of support.

It all gets more complicated when the mentoring program matches people across cultures, especially if they are living in different countries. Mentoring relationships carried out by telephone and e-mail are becoming increasingly common (see Ensher & Murphy Chapter 12, this volume). The potential is high for different expectations between people from different cultures or who have previously been exposed to different styles of mentoring; and these expectations may affect the quality of the relationship. The solution adopted by companies such as airline SAS (Jelbring-Klang & Tamm-Buckle, 1996) or mobile telephone company Nokia is to educate participants about these issues at an early stage of the relationship. In addition, they help participants recognize the opportunity for additional learning from someone who has perspectives different from themselves.

There are many unanswered or partially answered questions relating to cross-cultural mentoring, the following among them:

The following are some of the lessons from practical experience with these issues:

It is important to recognize that most of these observations from practice have not been subject to empirical research. There is an opportunity to investigate the following:

These questions don't apply just to mentoring across cultures, of course. In one sense, all mentoring is diverse, and the differences between participants in the dyad are the foundation for learning.

Integrating Research and Practice

The feedback loop between research and practice in Europe and Australasia in particular has been relatively strong compared with that in the United States, for several reasons. The first is that the faculties of university research units specializing in mentoring and coaching studies often include a high proportion of practitioners, both as full-time and visiting staff. As a result, research is typically built around incompany mentoring programs, which faculty are guiding. Feedback from participants is therefore both part of continuing program adaptation and specific empirical enquiry. The downside of this approach is that large-volume quantitative studies are more difficult to initiate and hence are less common, as are multiorganization studies.

The second reason is that in seeking guidance as to good practice in program design and relationship management, practitioners have found that the extensive literature on sponsorship mentoring has only partial relevance,

and it is not easy to determine where this literature is and isn't relevant to a developmental mentoring context, as no substantive empirical comparisons have been made.

Another issue reflecting the sometimes uneasy interaction between practitioner requirements and research quality concerns the depth to which empirical investigations can go. The researcher in me wants to construct detailed questionnaires to explore an aspect of mentoring effectiveness; the client has an interest only in immediate program and relationship troubleshooting and in demonstrating that the program is delivering value. So, promising avenues often remain unexplored. For example, in a global pharmaceutical company, we were able to compare retention rates of 100 participant pairs in a mentoring program with those of several hundred nonparticipants. Losses among the participants were a remarkable 2% compared with 27.5% for nonparticipants. A very limited amount of qualitative follow-up interview indicated that the explanation for some of this difference (that people who had signed up for the program were already more likely to stay) was inaccurate. In fact, some of those interviewed had joined because they saw the mentoring program as a route out of the organization! Unable to carry out more detailed investigation, a great many questions remain about the motivational factors that lead people to join mentoring programs, how these change as a result of the relationship, and how these relate to subsequent attitudes toward the organization and levels of organizational commitment.

Our Current Research

A Longitudinal and Cross-Sectional Study of Developmental Mentoring

Several years ago, it became clear in our attempts to help companies design robust mentoring systems that a great deal of the advice we were giving was based on general observation, inspired extrapolation, and limited benchmarking. While many companies were happy to accept that approaches that seemed to work for their peer organizations would be good enough for them and our surveys of relationship survival and utility for both parties showed positive relationships between the program designs and participant education, we understood little about how and why these results arose or what we could do to improve them further.

The following are some of the critical questions that remained unanswered:

My current research involves both longitudinal and cross-sectional sampling of matched pairs in developmental mentoring at three points in the first year of the relationship.

This has required the development of a range of instruments and scales to measure organizational supportiveness (toward mentoring), goal clarity, mentor and mentee behaviors, and mentor and mentee outcomes. All of these instruments were validated in a pilot study and are now available online.

The value of these scales in practice is severalfold. First, they enable the program coordinator to identify potential or actual problems relating to misaligned expectations. Second, they allow mentor and mentee to begin the relationship with a clear and detailed exposition of what each expects from the other. The administration of the scales again, after 4 to 6 months, stimulates mentor and mentee to review their relationship and identify behavior and skills issues, which can be addressed in follow-up training sessions and mentor supervision. It has also been helpful in evaluating program return on investment to identify more specific ways of describing and measuring outcomes for mentor and mentee. Four distinct types of outcome have emerged:

Again, these scales play a practical role in relationship management, by providing a language and framework participants can use to review what has been achieved. Having this dialogue appears to be closely correlated with positive retrospective perceptions of the relationship by both parties.

From the initial data cut, it seems that many of our assumptions about mentoring need to be reexamined against the paradigm of developmental mentoring. What will probably emerge is a much wider spectrum of applications and approaches to mentoring, which take into account differences of culture and different emphases of relationship purpose, and a clearer understanding of what contributes to effectiveness both generically and in particular circumstances. Our view of mentoring will thus have evolved from a single, narrow type of helping relationship into a much broader panoply that more closely represents the reality of an international phenomenon.

The Next Decade in Mentoring

Given that mentoring involves learning dialogue, it is remarkable' and perhaps even reprehensible' that it has taken until now for real dialogue to take place across the globe between those practicing and researching different approaches to mentoring. The establishment of organizations parallel to the EMCC in Southern Africa and Australia will help, although even more could be achieved with similar organizations in Latin America and China. Genuinely international research conferences are now taking place, and we are seeing increasing international collaboration in the writing of books on mentoring (e.g., Clutterbuck & Lane, 2004; Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002).

Underpinning this learning dialogue is a growing recognition that mentoring is a widely diversified phenomenon, influenced in its structure and dynamics by purpose, culture, and context. New models and explanations are needed to encompass this diversity and to enrich both practice and research.

Areas for Future Research

I have already identified a number of potential areas of research for cross-cultural mentoring, but there are also extensive areas of mentoring in general in which additional research would build upon and inform good practice at both the program and relationship levels. Some of these issues are as follows:

Common to these issues is that they answer the pragmatic needs of program coordinators and their organizational paymasters for guidance in helping both programs and relationships deliver greater value for participants and the organization. If there is one core lesson from our experience working with organizations around the world, it is that there is a very limited appetite for additional fundamental generic research and a high demand for research that focuses on specific aspects of mentoring in closely defined applications or contexts. It is my personal belief, however, that research derived from practitioner experience can provide the stimulus for new questions that address generic issues of learning dialogue. If such a virtuous cycle can be created, then that would be to the benefit of both the practitioner and the academic world.

Notes

1. The term *mentee* is commonly preferred over the term *protégé* in most of the world for several reasons. First, *protégé* is associated with a style of mentoring that is very directive and sponsoring' "someone who is protected." Second, the linguistic and syntactic origins of the word *mentor* derive from "mind," not in the context of "minding" (as in "child minding"), but as "one who makes another think." A *mentee* is "someone who is caused to think." (Of course, the actual wise counselor to Telemachus, in the *Odyssey*, was not the character Mentor, but the goddess Athena.) The term *mentoree*, sometimes found as an alternative, is grammatically incorrect and linguistically meaningless; the "or" and "ee" suffixes can be applied only to a verb, not a noun, and cannot be combined. (For comparison, consider *counselor* and *counselee*.)
2. See *International Standards for Mentoring Programs in Employment*: <http://www.ismpe.com>

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Authority and Influence in Eighteenth-Century British Literary Mentoring

Anthony W. Lee

No word comes easier or oftener to the critic's pen than the word *influence*, and no vaguer notion can be found among all the vague notions that compose the phantom armory aesthetics. Yet there is nothing in the critical field that should be of greater philosophical interest or prove more rewarding to analysis than the progressive modification of one mind by the work of another.

– Paul Valéry, “Letter About Mallarmé”

I

Mentoring is one of those globally prevalent terms instantly recognized and understood by practically every member of the Anglo-American community. Everyone knows (or thinks they know) what a “mentor” is, and many, especially after it became a decisively operative concept in the professions of psychology, business, and education in the early 1980s, consider it to be a concept of signal importance.¹ Given the ubiquitous social circulation of the term and its proliferation within a wide array of professional discourses, how strange it is to find that so little attention has been devoted to the application of mentoring concepts within the field of literary studies. As this text is being written, only a handful of book-length studies on mentoring have appeared.² While the accumulation of articles and shorter pieces on

Source: Anthony W. Lee (ed.), *Mentoring in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 1–15.

literary mentoring has been more substantial, the topic has hardly witnessed the outpouring of attention one might expect.

The reasons behind this neglect tempt speculation. Perhaps the idea of mentoring is so commonplace and taken for granted that, like Poe's purloined letter, it eludes critical attention. Or perhaps the traditionally biographical emphasis accorded mentoring has been considered naïve in the post-death-of-the-author critical climate that has strongly influenced literary studies since the 1970s. Or perhaps the vox populi valence that has animated much of the public discourse on mentoring in recent decades – abbreviated inserts in glossy magazines, simplistically patronizing self-help books, and corporate co-optation – has alienated a rigorous academic consideration. Whatever the reasons for neglect, the lack of critical investment invites a closer scrutiny of the topic. If the concept of mentoring is as significant as its massive presence in the culture at large suggests, then perhaps the time has come to give it more serious and sustained critical attention, to bring to bear upon it some of the theoretical and practical resources available from recent developments in literary studies. This focus indeed is the premise behind the present collection of essays, which endeavors to perform this maneuver within the parameters of a chronologically unified, if qualitatively varied, cultural formation: British literature and society within the Long Eighteenth Century. It is worth noting that this critical scrutiny represents something no single book of literary criticism or scholarship has hitherto attempted to do for *any* single literary period, let alone that of the eighteenth century.

Apart from sheer novelty, another important motivation underlying our efforts lies in the conviction that literary mentoring offers a vital contribution to our understanding of eighteenth-century British literature and culture. Before interrogating this urgency, it is prudent to take a moment to consider more fully what mentoring actually is.

Most people would probably agree that mentoring refers to a relationship between an older and younger person, in which the elder imparts to the younger one his or her greater experience, knowledge, and expertise. However, the situation is much more complicated than this. Mentoring can involve young mentors and older protégés; it can involve relationships in which the parties don't meet, as in symbolic mentoring; it can involve wholly nonpersonal relationships, as in intertextual relationships among books; it can involve exchanges between an entire culture and an individual, and vice versa.³ However, despite the manifold variations found in local instances, mentoring relationships – and the intertextual relationships in which they are often inscribed – can be reduced to two definitive polarities: the presence of authority and the presence of influence. At its most fundamental level, the classic mentoring relationship is inherently marked by the energies of authority and influence.⁴

The first term, authority, is complexly ambivalent: the mentor simultaneously possesses and adheres to authority. The mentor possesses authority



by virtue of his enlarged range of experience and capacity, which forms the basis of what is imparted to the protégé. Yet the mentor is also possessed by authority, the larger totality of culture and tradition to which she belongs and which it is the mentor's responsibility to reinvigorate and perpetuate through transmission to the protégé.⁵ The relationship between tradition and the individual talent is nuanced and rich, a dialectical interplay between the social and economic base, formal and generic debts, and the human personality, as Frederic Jameson has remarked:

[T]o show how Flaubert is not the English or Russian novelist of the same period, or how he rewrites and thus negates in his own manner *Don Quixote* or *Candide*, is to enrich our knowledge of Flaubert by seeing him as a term in wholly different types of diachronic sequences. Yet the comparative or differential modes of such literary perception remains a constant: the monographic study of an individual writer – no matter how adroitly pursued – imposes on inevitable falsification through its very structure, an optical illusion of totality projected by what is in reality only an artificial isolation.⁶

Analyzing a writer's authority, as expressed in his or her life and literary production, from the perspective of mentoring demands that one situate these elements within a larger envelope: the relationship of the author to the larger culture and the forces underlying and animating this culture, as well as to the recipients of this authority: the protégé both as reader of mentoring texts and as aspiring author. While the mentor possesses and wields authority, this authority is necessarily circumscribed and enabled by larger ideological forces, and the fullest conceptualization of mentoring as a critical strategy demands this acknowledgement. Consequently, the mentoring perspective is eminently congruent with many of the critical methodologies available in today's academic environment: psychoanalytic approaches, feminism, cultural studies, and intertextuality.

The mechanism by which authority is absorbed by the mentor, and is in turn transmitted to the protégé, is influence. Influence, as the etymology of the term suggests,⁷ is a force, a virus-like energy, which dynamically transfers from mentor to protégé the articles of authority and tradition, thus charismatically reshaping and refashioning the protégé's outlook and identity. This mechanism operates both at the interpersonal level – an exchange between mentor and protégé – and also at the impersonal level of textual relationship. Intertextuality describes a process of influence at the level of pure language that analogically corresponds to the cumulative psychic influences of interpersonal mentoring upon the protégé.⁸ Like the psychological relationship ensconced within the web of culture and tradition, intertextuality is governed by a larger authority, the impersonal structure of linguistic possibility and signification, the endless process of deferral from one sign to the next, from intertext to next. Furthermore, just as each protégé usually has a small number

of key mentors – perhaps a single primary one – so too is each text sponsored by one or more crucially significant Ur-texts. And just as the production of a literary text may be read as a radical, revisionary rewriting of its precursive Ur-text/s, so too does the protégé eventually reach a point at which the mentor's influence reaches the saturation level. After this point has been reached, the novice writer seeks to move beyond the apprentice stage by redeploying the mentor's influence in defiance against the mentor's now too oppressive and constrictive authority and influence, while yet paradoxically retaining the mentor's ineradicable trace.

The epigraph from Valéry's "Letter About Mallarmé" aptly summarizes the appeal of the mentoring approach: "[T]here is nothing in the critical field that should be of greater philosophical interest or prove more rewarding to analysis than the progressive modification of one mind by the work of another."⁹ Much of the power of adapting mentoring as a critical perspective derives from fascination found in tracing the psychic and textual transformations that issue from various permutations between author to author, author to culture, culture to author, author to text, text to author, and text to text – all of which mentoring studies encompasses. Indeed, the critical mentoring perspective embraces both cultural and formal mechanisms of the transmission of authority through influence, and generates a point of contact that potentially promises to unite such disparate fields as cultural studies and literary formalism.¹⁰

Mentoring and poetic influence occur in every literary relationship and in every cultural period. However, the eighteenth century foregrounds its indebtedness more so than most. While there are rumblings on the horizon – Young's book on originality, for example, or Johnson's repeated critically urged point about the limitations of imitation – few literary periods have so flagrantly, no period so readily and fully exemplified its anxious thefts as this one, and hence so richly invites exploration from the mentoring perspective, as does the Long Eighteenth Century.

II

The word "mentor" itself first becomes current in the English language during this period. The *OED* genealogizes the word's etymology and earliest meanings and uses:

Mentor (me-ntos). [a. F. *mentor*, appellative use of the proper name *Mentor*, Gr. Μέντωρ. The name admits of the etymological rendering "advisor," having the form of an agent. n. from the root *men- (: mon-) to remember, think, counsel, etc. (cf. L. *monitor*); possibly it may have been invented or chosen by the poet as appropriately significant.]

1.a. With initial capital: The name of the Ithacan noble whose disguise the goddess Athene assumed in order to act as the guide and advisor of the young Telemachus; *allusively*, one who fulfills the office which the

supposed Mentor fulfilled towards Telemachus. **b.** Hence, as a common noun: An experienced and trusted counselor.

The currency of the word in Fr. and Eng. is derived less from the *Odyssey* than from Fénelon's romance of *Télémaque*, in which the part played by Mentor as counselor is made more prominent.

1750 LD. CHESTERF. *Lett. To Son.* 8 Mar., The friendly care and assistance of your Mentor. **1784** COWPER *Task* II. 595 The friend Sticks close, a Mentor worthy of his charge.

Two points here merit comment. First, it would be a grievous omission for a survey of mentoring in the eighteenth century to neglect the name of Fénelon. It was Francois de Fénelon (1651–1715), a notable French author – not Homer – who was, as the *OED* indicates, responsible for the introduction of the word “mentor” into general English usage. In fact, when the word “mentor” is used in eighteenth-century texts, it frequently is capitalized, in reference to Fénelon, a political and educational theorist whose works *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687) and, especially, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699) were of signal importance during this period, decisively influencing, among others, the political theories of Montesquieu and Rousseau. This is the “French Telemachus” Squire B finds Parson Williams reading in his effort to “perfect himself” in Richardson's *Pamela*; and in *Pamela*'s arch rival, *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding also uses it to help frame his generic definition of the new species of fiction writing in the celebrated “Preface.”¹¹ Fénelon's *Télémaque*, loosely based upon Homer's *Odyssey*, tracks the adventures of Telemachus in search of his father, guided by Mentor. While intended primarily as a mirror for magistrates for young princes, the book became an instant classic, and according to one report was the “most reprinted book in the eighteenth century.”¹² Thus, curiously, instead of Homer, it is Fénelon who is responsible for the introduction of the word and its attendant concept of a proverbially wise and trusted advisor, into the English vocabulary – although popularity of *Télémaque* was no doubt boosted by the ancillary prestige of Homer's authority.

Second, the first citation of the word the *OED* offers comes from the letters of Phillip Dormer Stanhope's, Fourth Lord Chesterfield, to his son. While this is not the first appearance of the word in English, it provides a point of inquiry worth investigation.¹³ Chesterfield's epistolary collection falls into the eighteenth-century “self-help” genre of the conduct book, many of which were published throughout this period.¹⁴ The conduct book typically aimed at a youthful audience with the intention of offering moral and spiritual improvement, as well as prudential advancement in the world. As such, this genre coincides with the topic of mentoring; indeed, this period's fascination with this discursive formation suggests its vital conceptual interest in mentoring.

That it is Chesterfield, however, who ushers the word “mentor” into the pages of the *OED* provides additional piquancy, for in addition to his contribution to the conduct book tradition, he was also hailed as the great patron

of his day, the Maecenas of the mid-eighteenth century. This too is a role that significantly overlaps with that of mentoring, for both patron and mentor preside over the literary cultivation of the young writer, and the patron shares many functions claimed by the mentor.¹⁵ As Dustin Griffin has pointed out, patronage did not magically disappear with the penning of Johnson's famous letter to Chesterfield;¹⁶ it persisted throughout the century as an important political and social phenomenon. Just as in its educational theory, the prevalent discourse of patronage in the eighteenth century reflects an important facet of the mentoring exchange, and deserves to be explored more fully in this conjunction.

The letter cited by the *OED* itself merits closer inspection. Chesterfield's epistle is a mentoring document, full of advice and concern for youthful development; it commences, for example, with preemptory parental decisiveness: "Young as you are, I hope you are in haste to live."¹⁷ Before introducing the word "mentor," Chesterfield identifies the actual person who is mentoring his son, Walter Harte, denominating him a "monitor," a word with mentoring associations.¹⁸ The paragraph in which the word is finally introduced is of signal interest:

These are resolutions [to avoid profligacy] which you must form, and steadily execute for yourself, whenever you lose the friendly care and assistance of your Mentor. In the mean time, make a greedy use of him; exhaust him, if you can, of all his knowledge; and get the prophet's mantle from him, before he is taken away himself.¹⁹

Chesterfield establishes two fields of reference with seemingly conflicting valence. On one hand, using a Biblical allusion (the passing of the mantle from Elijah to Elisha),²⁰ he acknowledges the sanctity and serious spiritual aspirations of the mentoring experience. At one level, mentoring is a meeting of mind and spirit, a sacred encounter between the two parties. (That the original Mentor was a goddess, Athena, in disguise, urges this perspective.) Yet Chesterfield counters this referential field with adjectives and verbs connoting a baser plane of experience, the level of physical appetite and lust: "make a greedy use of him; exhaust him . . . of all his knowledge." In simultaneously advising his son to use his mentor as one would a passionate lover, extracting from him every ounce of pleasure possible, while also recommending reverence for his status as a sage holy prophet, Chesterfield intuitively acknowledges the integral but sometimes potentially conflicting roles possessed by the mentor – a relationship flaring with the profane intensity of a love affair as well as lofty idealism.

Apart from these linguistic considerations, numerous examples of mentoring representations can be noted in the literature of the eighteenth century. Sometimes these are obvious, as in the many *Bildungsroman* or *Erziehungsroman* novels that figure mentoring guides: for example, Mother Midnight in Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and Imlac in Johnson's *Rasselas*.²¹ Frances Burney, an

author obsessed with mentoring,²² features at least three in her first book, *Evelina*: Mrs. Mirvan in book one, Madame Duval in book two, and Mrs. Selwyn in book three – all fatally flawed in some important way. The mentorship of vulnerable young females by menacing male figures occupies a generic subcategory in eighteenth-century fiction; the anonymous Duke, and Charlot, in Delavie Manley's *The New Atalantis* provides a representative example, to whom Charlotte Lennox's George Glanville and Arabella in her *The Female Quixote* counter with caricature. At times, readers are offered other parodic ripostes of mentoring relationships, as in Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe*, which describes the passing of the mantle to Shadwell from his mentor of dullness, Richard Flecknoe. At other times, mentoring themes emerge in less obvious places, as in part three, chapter ten of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, where Gulliver is entertaining plans of what he would do if granted the long-lived existence of the Struldbrugges:

I would entertain myself in forming and directing the Minds of hopeful young Men, by convincing them from my own Remembrance, Experience and Observation, fortified by numerous Examples, of the Usefulness of Virtue in publick and private Life.²³

It is a noble thought, but one violently undercut by the dismal reality of the Struldbruggian existence. Yet the urge to mentor others in the promotion of a better society is a quintessential element of eighteenth-century thought, the dream of many “projectors” remembered and forgotten, and the subject of numerous literary representations.

A brief examination of one of these representations may prove useful in demonstrating the nature and importance that the critical perspective of mentoring can offer. In Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, the friendship of Abraham Adams and Joseph Andrews is a paradoxically comic yet serious mentoring encounter (akin to the Partridge-Jones relationship in *Tom Jones*, yet reversed, in that in Fielding's earlier novel, the mentor Adams is the character of central focus). Joseph, a raw, unlettered youth, places himself under the guidance and protection of the elder, educated, paternalistic Adams. Adams's mentoring function is further buttressed by his professional career as a parson – a role that invites the pastoral care of an entire group of people, as well as demanding spiritual and ethical role modeling. In book three, chapter two we glimpse a scene which foregrounds these mentoring energies.

It is night, and Adams is leading Joseph and his beloved Fanny away from London back toward the Booby estate. Stopping to rest for a moment to spell Fanny's fatigue, Adams notices some lights and voices in the distance. Upon hearing mutterings of an intended murder, Adams at first resolves to stand and fight, and then after some reflection, decides to flee with his young charges. The tense menace marking the beginning of the episode later dissolves into comic relief as the trio learn that the murderers whom they feared turn out to be sheep thieves; criminals, perhaps, but harmless to the three travelers.

In addition to the motives that obviously announce this scene as a species of mentoring – the motif of a journey in search of moral and experiential wisdom, and older guide and younger follower – Fielding offers an allusion that confirms and deepens the point. When Adams has resolved to confront the mysterious strangers, he says that he “despised Death as much as any Man” and confirms his resolution with a Latin tag:

Est hic, est animus lucis contemptor, et illum,
Qui vita bene credit emi quo tendis, Honorem.²⁴

These verses (which translate, “Mine is a heart that scorns the light, and believes that the glory that you strive for is cheaply bought with life”)²⁵ derive from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, specifically from the Nisus and Euryalus episode (9: 205–06,) – a key example of mentoring from the literature of the classical world. At the most basic level, this allusion confirms that the Adams-Andrews friendship is essentially a mentoring one, parallel in some ways that of Nisus and Euryalus. The allusion furthermore situates Fielding’s scene onto a larger canvas, one embracing the epic heroic tradition announced in the “Preface” to the novel. It also underscores the densely intertextual nature of Fielding’s narrative enterprise – he is flagging one of his key mentors – Virgil – a major precursor in his struggle to create a new generic category out of the materials of past literature. This point is further emphasized by the scene’s parallel indebtedness to the author who was perhaps Fielding’s greatest symbolic mentor, Cervantes: chapter two is even more strongly redolent of Don Quixote’s adventure with the Man in the Green Overcoat (*Don Quixote*, book 2, chapters 16–18) than of Virgil’s Italian battlefield.

The coalescence of two of Fielding’s literary primary traditions, the serious, heroic tradition of Homer and Virgil, and the comic, novelistic tradition of Cervantes, underscore the intertextual focus that saturates this mentoring episode. Fielding simultaneously refers to two of the great examples of mentoring available to him from the Western tradition: Nisus’s mentoring of Euryalus, and Don Quixote’s attempted mentoring of Sancho Panza. This collision of influences confirms Fielding’s preoccupation with mentoring themes, even as it enhances our understanding of what Fielding seeks to achieve through it. From one point of view, he seems to be suggesting the perils of mentoring – specifically the dangers of accepting a flawed mentor. Quixote’s mentorship is severely subverted by his delusiveness, and the outcome of the Nisus and Euryalus encounter (both are assassinated) is clearly not promising. At the level of character, Fielding raises red flags about Adams’ capacity as guide: he repeatedly makes egregious errors, and seeks to squeeze the world into his own textually saturated vision of reality instead of learning from experience. In contrast to the omni-competent mentorship of Johnson’s Rasselas and Nekayah by Imlac, Adams is hardly a man of the world and is ill-adapted at preparing his charges for successful entrance into the world of lived experience.

At a more fundamental level, the mentoring clues embedded within the scene offer a parable of sorts for Fielding's own narrative art, as well as that of other authors. For these mentoring themes don't merely *inform* the chapter – they *form* it. Fielding's representation of Adams' flawed mentoring effort serves as a representation of Fielding himself, both as mentoring narrator and narrative craftsman. Fielding's subtle questioning of the possibility of successful mentoring in this scene constitutes a questioning of his own mentors, of their validity and efficacy in enabling Fielding's quest to create a new art form appropriate to his modern, increasingly secularized and prosaic world – the novel. Most intriguingly, the scene enacts a parable of Fielding's own art, and an anxiety-ridden interrogation of himself: if Adams creates his reality out of the texts he constantly studies and repeatedly espouses, Fielding creates the textual universe of *Joseph Andrews* out of his own bookish quarrying: Homer, Virgil, Cervantes – to say nothing of his debt to his great rival and source of parodic narrative, Samuel Richardson. Fielding seeks to defuse this tense relationship with his literary mentors through his clownish portraiture of Adams. Yet beneath the foolery, a fundamental tension resides, one that taps into the very nature of literary production from the mentoring perspective: can the author rise above the materials and guidance bestowed by his or her mentors, or is the author doomed to fall obscurely into their shadow?²⁶

In addition to representations of mentoring within literary works, the eighteenth century abounds in actual mentoring relationships among authors. Examples of biographical mentoring encounters are too numerous to exhaustively canvas; a short list might include: Sir William Temple and Swift; Swift and Stella; Walsh, Wycherley, Congreve, and Pope; Addison and Tickell; Cornelius Ford, Gilbert Walmsley, Richard Savage, and Johnson; Anne Finch and Elizabeth Carter; Hannah More and Ann Yearsley; Thomas Warton and Henry Headley; Thomas Gray and William Mason, and so on. In this respect, the eighteenth century is perhaps no different from any other age – mentoring relationships proliferate among authors in every period. The real point to be taken here is that such relationships as these, deserve closer scrutiny from the mentoring perspective that this collection of essays urges.

The general culture of the eighteenth century and its literary culture in particular, solicited the arousal of mentoring energies in a more pointed way than is evident in many other eras. Indeed, the eighteenth-century world is saturated with mentoring densities. As just noted, it was an age arrayed with exemplary interpersonal mentoring encounters – ones that frequently crystallized into congeries of mentoring formations of social and literary clubs typically headed by one or two dominant personalities, most famously in The Literary Club founded by Johnson and Reynolds in 1764, and perhaps more significantly with the Bluestockings, presided over by Elizabeth Carter and Elizabeth Montagu.²⁷ It was an age in which one of the dominant literary discourses, neoclassicism, urged the cultivation of mentoring models and materials from antiquity – especially that of Greece and Rome, but also the

Bible, as in Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. It was an age in which intertextuality – the textual articulation of the mentoring encounter – was a dominant poetic mode. Perhaps no other age offers a collection of authors who not only self-consciously practiced and pastiched intertextual exchanges, but also self-consciously foregrounded them, placing this practice as the center of attention – as the most cursory glance at the footnotes Pope appended to his own poetry amply demonstrates. It was an age that sought, found, and lionized cultural mentoring heroes – Dryden, Addison and Steele's *Spectator*, Pope, Johnson – and which was preoccupied with a previously unseen self-conscious vigor in using literature of whatever form – poetry, the novel, conduct books, sermons, essays, and the political tract – as vehicles for didactic and ideological cultural transmission and assumption of authority. Many of these values can be identified in any age or culture, but what period so self-consciously deploys and exhibits these modes of mentoring as did the Long Eighteenth Century? It thus recommends itself as a golden age of mentoring, and one that beckons scrutiny from a critically alert mentoring perspective.

III

Given the importance of mentoring to the eighteenth century, a critical reappraisal is long overdue, and it is the intention and goal of the present collection to remedy this absence. It does so in a diverse and eclectic fashion, utilizing a variety of different critical methodologies and perspectives. However, two primary modalities operate to unify this diversity. The first is the concept of mentoring itself. While it has been our intention to utilize the concept with a high degree of flexibility, such that it merges productively with many valid and pertinent topics, concerns, and methodologies, we have sought not to stretch it beyond recognition. The very elasticity of the concept invites synthesis and eclecticism. All the chapters in this book restrict their conceptual framework to manifestations of literary influence and authority, be they interpersonally, culturally, or textually situated.

The second unifying modality is that of chronology. The chapters are arranged in an order commencing with the Restoration period, continuing through the early eighteenth century, and concluding with a set of papers examining the late period. Within this trajectory, we have taken pains to be as inclusive as possible, representing many literary and cultural voices – from the historically canonical, such as Dryden, Pope, Swift, and Johnson, to ones that have only been recognized and given their due in recent decades, such as Elizabeth Carter and Mary Pix, as well as more obscure figures perhaps familiar only to specialists in the field, such as Sampson Woodfall and Urania Hill. Because of both this inclusiveness and periodic range, the present collection might be considered a new literary history of sorts, refracted from the perspective of literary mentoring.

Two chapters examine the Restoration period. J.W. Johnson's chapter "‘Reverend Shapes’: Lord Rochester's Many Mentors" commences this survey by tracing the role of mentoring in the life of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Johnson observes that Rochester avidly sought out men who would act as replacements for his absent father, figures offering him a range of role-modeling options: one imbuing him with religious terrors, another supervising his classical education, a third leading him into debauchery, and a fourth guiding him on a sophisticated Grand Tour. Furthermore, in his adulthood he had a set of rakes as models, as well as his teacher Thomas Hobbes and surrogate-father King Charles II. In his last two years, he was catechized by an eloquent preacher, Bishop Gilbert Burnet. Perhaps no person ever had more mentors of such varying persuasions who helped to make him, as he said, "the oddest, most fantastical man alive." In "‘Manly Strength with Modern Softness’: Dryden and the Mentoring of Women Writers" Anne Cotterill, noting that Dryden has long been known as a mentor to young male poets and playwrights in Restoration and late seventeenth-century England, observes that little notice has been taken of the quantity of writing he composed about or to individual women, in the voices of fictional women, and to be spoken by women on stage. Cotterill argues that Dryden was gripped by a lifelong preoccupation with the masculine and feminine as competitive categories for literary criticism and judgment, such that his own lifelong mentorship vacillated between "the masculine" Virgil and the "feminine" Ovid. These categories further reflect the gender ambiguities of a libertine court that measured manhood by class and sexual prowess and whose declining aristocracy, in response to the challenge of Dryden's literary output and demonstrated authority, would viciously lampoon him as low-class, a drudging pen for hire, effeminate and impotent.

Following are two chapters on the often linked pair of Swift and Pope. In "Alexander Pope: Perceived Patron, Misunderstood Mentor" Shef Rogers notes that Pope taught himself to write poetry through imitation of his predecessors and sought the advice of older writers. As the English "Homer," he was fully familiar with the character of Mentor and adopted this role in serving as literary executor for a number of friends. He offered literary advice to numerous writers, but because he refused patronage himself and refused to offer access to those perceived as his patrons, Rogers concludes that Pope was frequently a misunderstood mentor. Brean Hammond and Nicholas Seager's "‘I will have you spell right, let the world go how it will’: Swift the (Tor)mentor" uses the concept of mentoring to explore Swift's dealings with social superiors, equals, and protégés. They argue that in addition to those, there are three categories of relationship that the concept of mentoring can illuminate in the life and writing career of Swift: his dealings with women, servants, and the larger totality of culture and tradition to which he belonged – Ireland itself. The chapter concludes that though he retained an ideal of mentoring as a disinterested, enabling, and educative interaction, Swift's actual practice mostly attests to a failure to live up to such standards.

Two chapters scrutinizing mentoring in the mid-eighteenth century novel follow. E.M. Langille's "*Candide* and *Tom Jones*: Voltaire, Perched on Fielding's Shoulders" contends that the genesis of Voltaire's masterpiece has been hitherto largely unexplained, as are the literary models it clearly parodies. He argues that *Candide* was influenced in significant ways by Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), via the loose and creative translation of that work into French published by Pierre Antoine de La Place in 1750. Langille explores the remarkable similarities in plot and the respective *mise en scènes* of the two works, and, most significantly, striking commonalities of expression that betray an intertextual influence between the two major mid-century satirists. This argument of a discovery of a hitherto unidentified source of *Candide* raises new questions about that work's meaning, as well as helping us reconsider Voltaire's lifelong debt to English literature. The next chapter examines Fielding's great rival, Samuel Richardson. Nicholas Nace's "Filling Blanks in the Richardson Circle: The Unsuccessful Mentorship of Urania Johnson" examines the nature of Samuel Richardson's mentoring practices by presenting the case of Aaron Hill's daughters, particularly Urania Johnson, whose novel *Almira* met with Richardson's disapproval and as a result was thought never to have been published. Recent work has shown, however, that novel was indeed published after Richardson's death. Comparing the evidence of the published novel with Richardson's extant manuscript criticism of it for the very first time, Nace discovers in the mentoring dynamic how the established novelist established and preserved critical distance from literary work he did not wish to actively support. But perhaps more interestingly, Richardson's correspondence with Urania Johnson offers an unusually vivid portrait of a struggling female novelist choosing to resist rather than capitulate to the influence of a powerful mentor.

In "Raising a Risible Nation: Merry Mentoring and the Art (and Sometimes Science) of Joking Greatness," Kevin L. Cope questions the relation of mentoring to the discourse of joking and joke-collecting that festooned eighteenth-century literary and print culture. Noting that recent centuries have tended to associate teaching and advising with "serious" or respectable persons, genres, and tones, Cope examines a variety of either popular or self-styled eighteenth-century mentors who make extensive use of jesting or who pique the risible humors from compromised situations (for example, from the penitentiary). The eighteenth century, Cope affirms, linked the competence required to make a joke (which requires the taking of command over both language and concepts) with the right and authority to exemplify values and offer moral or practical suggestions. Samuel Johnson, an author often represented as a sober moralist, is offered as a study case, with special attention to the jesting recorded by his biographer and friend, James Boswell. Lance Bertelsen's chapter, "The Education of Henry Sampson Woodfall, Newspaperman," examines the mentoring influences upon Henry Sampson Woodfall – the printer and publisher who rose to become the preeminent newspaperman

in eighteenth-century London. Using archival materials, Bertelsen's chapter explores some of the ways in which Woodfall was mentored by his peers, by his readers, by his contributors and, more generally, by the print culture of London – and how, with his penchant for tolerance, truth, and progressive politics, he mentored them in turn.

Three papers on mentoring and Samuel Johnson follow. Thomas Simmons' intriguingly synchronic chapter "The Text of the Missed Encounter: Mentorship as Absence in Smart, Johnson, Bate, and Trilling" draws upon Lacanian and Levinasian concepts to probe the renowned twentieth-century Johnson scholar W. J. Bate's own obliquely scripted anxieties about the absence of sincerity – indeed, the absence of stable cultural values – in his 1969 Alexander Lectures at the University of Toronto that became *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet*. Simmons, looking closely at the problem of the present in the lives of Johnson and Christopher Smart, argues that Bate and Trilling textually replicate the relationship between Johnson and Smart: Bate's ingenious and intellectually beautiful evasions have a quality of madness implicit in them, while Trilling's grim determination to confront the inexpressibility of pain made him, ironically, a Johnsonian figure in 1970. Anthony W. Lee's paper, "Who's Mentoring Whom? Alliance and Rivalry in the Johnson-Carter Relationship," seeks to enlarge and revise our view of Johnson's crucial early relationship with an important eighteenth-century writer by suggesting that poet, translator, and letter writer Elizabeth Carter had as much influence upon Johnson – if not more – as he did upon her during the early stages of their relationship in the late-1730s and early-1740s. He argues that the two came together briefly in an intense, short-lived mentoring encounter that significantly shaped their later literary output – especially Samuel Johnson's. Continuing the exploration of Johnson's cross-gender mentoring experiences, Elizabeth Hedrick's "The Duties of a Scholar: Samuel Johnson in Piozzi's *Anecdotes*" extends the work of previous scholars' focus upon the degree to which Johnson served as Hester Thrale's mentor, even as he drew heavily upon her for emotional sympathy, psychological support, and domestic comfort. Hedrick argues that the Johnson presented by Piozzi in the *Anecdotes* was deeply aware of his function as a public man of letters – a man obliged to share his learning, to offer advice, and to be as forbearing as possible with the uninformed. If Piozzi shows Johnson recurrently failing in his role through harshness, she also shows that she shared Johnson's belief that those helped by men of letters must bring diligence, respect, and a certain amount of intelligence into the relationship.

Finally, Margaret Kathryn Sloan's chapter, "Mothers, Marys, and Reforming 'The Rising Generation': Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hays," argues that Wollstonecraft and Hays imagine in their writings a kind of mentorship that will enable the reform of future generations by revising the kinds of reading young women do and reimagining how daughters can learn from flawed mothers and thus effect progress. It first discusses the role of mentor relations in Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman and Maria*, or

the *Wrongs of Woman* and then situates Hays's *Victim of Prejudice* in response to Wollstonecraft's texts.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that this book on literary mentoring in the eighteenth century is offered as an initial exploration, intended to stimulate what we hope to be a renewal of a conversation upon a neglected topic. If we have emphasized the unified and inclusive aspects of this enterprise, it has been only to urge the usefulness of mentoring as globally operative critical concept – not only in the eighteenth century, but in other literary periods as well. At the very least, this collection of essays, we hope, will shed new and important light upon the culture and literature of the eighteenth century.

Notes

1. Audrey J. Murrell, Faye J. Crosby, and Robin J. Ely, *Mentoring Dilemmas: Developmental Relationships Within Multicultural Organizations* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1999), 5–10, usefully summarizes the development of professional and psychological mentoring studies from the mid-1970s through the late 1990s.
2. Anthony W. Lee, *Mentoring Relationships in the Life and Writings of Samuel Johnson: A Study in the Dynamics of Eighteenth-Century Literary Mentoring* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005); Thomas Simmons, *Erotic Reckonings: Mastery and Apprenticeship in the Work of Poets and Lovers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); *Passing the Word: Writers on Their Mentors*, ed. Jeffrey Skinner and Lee Martin (Louisville, KY: Sarabande, 2001); Irene C. Goldman-Price and Melissa McFarland Pennell, *American Literary Mentors* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999); Patricia Menon, *Austen, Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, and the Mentor-Lover* (Gordonsville, VA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
3. For a fuller exploration of some of the issues involved in defining mentoring, see Lee, *Mentoring Relationships*, chapter one.
4. Interestingly, Samuel Johnson's definition of "authority" includes the term "influence" in its definition: *Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (London, 1755), (s. v.): "1. Command; authority; dominion; influence." For a recent discussion of Johnsonian authority see Greg Clingham, *Johnson, Writing and Memory* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Introduction: "Johnson and Authority," 1–13.
5. See Simmons, *Erotic Reckonings*, 5–18.
6. *Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 315.
7. One of the earliest uses of the word was astrological, designating an occult emanation from the stars believed to shape personality and behavior; cognate with the word is "influenza," a contagious viral infection. Cf. Harold Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2nd edn (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, 1997), 26–7.
8. For a more detailed discussion of this interrelation of mentoring and intertextuality, see Anthony W. Lee, "Johnson's Symbolic Mentors: Addison, Dryden, and Rambler 86," *Age of Johnson*, 16 (2005), 59–79, esp. 65–71; Lee, "Mentoring and Mimicry in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*," *Eighteenth Century Theory and Interpretation*, 51/3 (Fall 2010) (forthcoming); and Lee, "Johnson as Intertextual Critic," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 52/2 (Summer 2010).
9. Quoted in Edward W. Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975, 1985), 14.
10. See Lee, "Mentoring and Mimicry in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*."

11. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Alice Wakely (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 281; Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, *The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), 3. Samuel Johnson, in assessing French literature, remarked "Why, Sir, *Telemachus* is pretty well" (*Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill; rev. L. F. Powell, 2nd ed. 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–64, 5: 311).
12. Priscilla Clark, "The Metamorphosis of Mentor: Fénelon to Balzac," *Romantic Review*, 75/2 (March, 1984), 202–4. For a contemporary translation of this important book, see Tobias Smollett, *The Works of Tobias Smollett: The Adventures of Telemachus*, ed. Leslie A. Chilton and O.M. Brack, Jr. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1997); for a modern translation see *Telemachus, son of Ulysses*, ed. and trans. Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
13. The earliest instance I have seen is Edmund Rack, *Mentor's Letters, addressed to Youth* (Bath, 3rd edn 1728). Other examples of the titular use of the word in the eighteenth-century conduct book tradition include Sir John Fielding, *The Universal Mentor* (London, 1763); *The New Mentor . . . adapted to the Youth of Both Sexes* (London, 1789); *Lessons to a Young Chancellor; or, a Letter from Mentor to Lord Jeffreys, Baron Petulant* (Dublin, 1792); *The Female Mentor* (London, 1793); *The Youth's Mentor; by Precept & Example in Prose & Verse* (London, 1795); Parson, *The Immortal Mentor* (Philadelphia, 1796). My thanks to David Nunney for the information found in this note.
14. Just a few of the more well known include: George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, *The Lady's New Year's Gift: or, Advice to a Daughter* (1688); John Garretson, *The School of Manners. Or Rules for Childrens Behaviour: At Church, at Home, at Table, in Company, in Discourse, at School, abroad, and among Boys. With some other short and mixt Precepts* (1701); Daniel Defoe, *The Complete Family Instructor* (1715); Sarah Pennington, *An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to Her Absent Daughters* (London: S. Chandler, 1761); John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774).
15. For more on this point, see Lee, *Mentoring Relationships*, 63n51.
16. Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996; reprinted 2006), esp. 5–12.
17. Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to his Son and Others*, ed. R.K. Root (New York: Everyman Library, Dutton, 1969), 161. For more on the intersection of parenting and mentoring see Howell S. Baum, "Mentoring: Narcissistic Fantasies and Oedipal Realities," *Human Relations*, 4/3 (1992), 223–45.
18. *Ibid.*, 162. There are a number synonymic words that can often be considered as code words for "mentor" in this period; some include "monitor" (which is etymologically connected with "mentor"), and "preceptor"; cf. Samuel Johnson's "Preface to *The Preceptor*, containing A General Plan of Education," in *Dr. Johnson's Works*, 11 vols (Oxford: Talboys and Wheeler, and W. Pickering, 1825; facsimile reprint, New York: AMS, 1970), 5: 231–46. Johnson's interest in the cultivation of young minds – not purely theoretic, given his early experience as an usher at Sir Wolstan Dixie's grammar school at Market Bosworth and running his own school at Edial – can be found in his "Life of Milton," paragraphs 35–44, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (London: Clarendon Press, 2006), 1: 248–50, and indeed implicitly in the fabric of much of his poetry and prose.
19. Chesterfield, *Letters*, 163.
20. 1 Kings 19: 16–21, 2 Kings 2. Chesterfield's summoning of this Biblical allusion alerts us to the presence of rich tradition of mentoring from antiquity – that of the ancient Hebrews. While many examples abound, perhaps the key ones are Moses and Joshua from the Hebrew Bible and Jesus and Peter from the New Testament. Dante alludes to Elijah's rapture from earth and the passing of his mantle to Elisha in canto 26 of the *Inferno* – the section of hell devoted to evil councilors (flawed mentors) and imprisoning Ulysses, father of Mentor's protégé Telemachus.

21. For the distinction between *Bildungsroman* and *Erziehungsroman*, see Clark, "Metamorphoses of Mentor," 200.
22. Cf. Anthony W. Lee, "Allegories of Mentoring: Johnson and Frances Burney's *Cecilia*," *Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 5 (2006), 249–76, and Lee, *Mentoring Relationships*, 243–7, 252–5.
23. *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis, 14 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939–68), 11: 209.
24. *Joseph Andrews*, 193.
25. *Virgil* (Loeb Classical Library), trans. H.R. Fairclough; rev. G.P. Goold, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1918, 2002), 2:129.
26. For theoretic ruminations on this topic see W. Jackson Bate, *The Burden of the Past* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
27. Also noteworthy in this respect is the formation of a loose aggregate of literary aspirants formed in the early half of the eighteenth century inspired by the pioneering writings of Mary Astell – a group that included Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Elizabeth Thomas, and Mary Chudleigh, among others.

Part 2: Coaching

Instructor, Coach, Mentor: Three Ways of Helping for Managers

David Megginson

I always tell my staff exactly what to do.

We work out together what's getting in the way of our performing better, and then my staff go off, and do something about it, coming back to me if they're in difficulty.

Being helpful can mean challenging and confusing those you help. The people I work with find it difficult at first to consider what they're working for; what task they are attempting to carry out in their lives. I still find these questions difficult too!

These three quotations suggest three ways that managers can help their staff. I have labelled them 'instructing', 'coaching' and 'mentoring'. In what follows I differentiate a number of features of the three approaches. I then describe questionnaires designed to measure the use of each approach, and report results from one organisation. I conclude by considering some practical issues in using the three approaches.

Before you read on, you may like to explore your own preferred mode of being helped. You can do this exercise best if you've had a number of bosses. If you have not had any bosses, then think about the teachers you've had instead.

Think of all the bosses (teachers) you've had. Use Table 1 to make a note of their names in chronological order. Write down one or two words which describe each of them. Now, surveying the list, who would you describe as the

Table 1: My bosses – chronological list:

<i>My best boss</i>		<i>My age while she/he was my boss</i>		
<i>What my best boss did</i>		<i>How I responded</i>		<i>What I was doing as a person at the time – my developmental task</i>

best boss? It may be immediately apparent. If not, sort out the star among the potential candidates in terms of ‘*who was the best boss for you?*’ Who developed you, and enabled you to take the next step in your life, whatever that may have been at the time?

When you have settled upon who was your best boss (or teacher), then describe that person and your relationship to them in a bit more detail. You may want to focus on what they did; how they did it; how that was different from other bosses; what effect this had on you; why this was right for you; what developmental task you were carrying out at that time. Keep these notes and I will refer you back to them later on. You may like to use Table 1 to note these points.

Table 2 outlines the three different ways of helping that I have identified. I flesh out this summary with examples and illustrations below:

The Instructor

Good instructors plan out in detail what they want of their learners; they convey these instructions carefully, repeating key points, and encouraging note taking if appropriate; they check that the instruction has been accurately received, asking the learner to repeat back what they have been asked to do; they also check to ensure that the lesson has been put to work, and let the learner know the results.

These activities are the ones beautifully presented in the TWI Job Instruction package. Their focus is an immediate performance of a work role. One advantage for a subordinate in having a good instructor as a boss is that one is never left in any doubt about what they want, or where one stands. Good instructors are committed to *building the competence* of those they instruct. They want and expect accurate performance from their staff. If they get this, they have the satisfaction of a job well done, and the knowledge that they are in control of standards. The organisation gets performance that is predictable and meets specification.

Examples of Bosses Who Are Instructors

- FREDA is a manager of a unit of a contract catering company which serves the staff of a medium-sized factory and office block. Her staff are taught the detail of their jobs, and are given refresher training on health, safety,

Table 2: Three ways of helping for managers

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Instructor</i>	<i>Coach</i>	<i>Mentor</i>
Focus of helping	Task	Results of job	Individual person developing through life
Timespan	A day or two	A month to a year	A career or a lifetime
Approach to helping	Show and tell Give supervised practice	Explore problem together Set up an opportunity for learner to try out new skills	Act as a friend willing to play the part of an adversary Listen Question to enlarge consciousness and listen some more
Associated activities	Analysing task, clear instruction, supervising practice, immediate feedback on errors, consolidation	Jointly identifying the problem, creating opportunities for development, developmental reviewing	Linking work with other parts of one's life, clarifying broad and long-term pictures, identifying one's life-purpose
Attitude to ambiguity	Eliminate it	Use it as a challenge Encourage learners to puzzle things out	Accept it as being an exciting part of the nature of the world
Intended outcomes for the learner	Accurate performance of specified task at appropriate times Learner knows just where s/he stands	Improved results Increased capacity for independent work and performance Learner knows what s/he can achieve	Questioning of previously held assumptions about work and life Enlarged consciousness Learner knows where s/he is going
Potential outcomes for the helper	Satisfaction Control of standards	Satisfaction Learners who are self-motivated and developing	Questions for self Fulfillment
Benefits for the organisation	Performance that is standardised, accurate and predictable	Performance that is both goal-directed and oriented towards improvements; creative solving of new problems	Conscious, questioning approach to the mission of the organisation

hygiene and quality at regular intervals. She keeps a watchful eye on how jobs are done and points out deviation from performance in a friendly manner. She checks how customers of her canteen find the service, and feeds back praise to her staff while taking action to remedy complaints.

Most of her staff like her, enjoy the work and the company and have been with her for a long time. One or two younger staff resent 'her interfering ways', and find they 'have little opportunity to get on'.

- DON is City Secretary and Solicitor of a town in the North of England. He has a lawyer's eye for detail, and he checks and double checks all his staff's work. This keeps him very busy. He works long hours, and expects the same dedication from his staff. He sometimes gets angry when standards are not met, or staff don't seem to care. At times like this he redoubles his efforts to get things done right.

Some of his staff respect him and see him as 'firm, but fair'. He is known to 'run a tight ship', and that is seen as better than 'not giving a damn' which characterises the style of some of his Chief Officer colleagues. Other staff feel that he is obsessed with the minutiae of work, and doesn't give enough attention to what the department is trying to achieve. They point out that, while some of the staff feel pressured and overworked, others don't have enough to do, and spend long periods gossiping or reading the paper, when they can get away with it.

These two examples illustrate how an instructing approach to helping, while having many advantages, also has drawbacks. Instructors can be blind to learners' needs to take responsibility for themselves; to risk, make mistakes and learn from them; they can be bound up in detail and not give enough attention to results or to the career needs of their staff.

The Coach

In our book on coaching (1979) Tom Boydell and I describe coaching as:

a process in which a manager, through direct discussion and guided activity, helps a colleague to solve a problem, or to do a task better than would otherwise have been the case (p. 5).

As this definition indicates, the coach's way of 'helping' involves exploring an opportunity or a problem together with the learner, and then enabling the learner to develop new knowledge, skills and competencies in working on it. The stages in the coaching process are:

- identifying the problem;
- creating a forum for development;
- carrying out the developmental activity;
- developmental reviewing, i.e. reviewing to enhance learning, rather than to be critical.

The good coach will encourage the learner to play the maximum part in all these activities and will offer support and assistance when necessary. Often the support will come in the form of a question, or a tentative suggestion ('One thing you could try . . .'), rather than a specific proposal. However, skilful coaches recognise that learners vary in their capacity to cope with ambiguity. They therefore attempt to give learners the right mix of direction and choice, so they are not oppressed by overdirection nor immobilised by open-endedness.

Managers have two foci when they are coaching. One is improved task performance, the other is learning and development. They are concerned about

how some immediate aspect of work is performed, and aim to improve this. At the same time, they are also keen that learners are better able to solve the next problem more independently themselves. Many learners thrive on this dual sense of achievement of task and personal development. If instruction is about building competence, coaching is about *building performance*.

These benefits apply also to the coach. Coaches themselves often learn a great deal in the process of coaching. The organisation gains from goal-directed performance, oriented towards improvement, and also from a creative approach to problem solving.

Examples of Bosses Who Are Coaches

- DEBJANI is an Area Sales Manager for a microcomputer firm. She has six salespeople working in her area and a number of technical and administrative support staff.

When she first got the job she accompanied each of her sales staff on a number of visits, on the understanding that she did nothing during the visit beyond the formalities, but after each visit the salesperson spend half an hour talking through what they were trying to do and why they thought this the right strategy. She took notes, but gave no feedback at this stage.

When she had spent some time with all six she announced the first of what became a series of quarterly 'play away days' in a local hotel. She spent an hour presenting her view of the goals for the Area, and then, through discussion, came up with an agreed Area strategy. The rest of the day was focused on each sales person saying what they could contribute to this strategy, and what needs they had. At this stage Debjani offered her feedback and also invited comment from colleagues.

Each salesperson does at least one accompanied visit per month. All of them have a development project underway, which is reviewed monthly.

This worked fine for five of the salespeople, one of whom broke all company records and was promoted to manage another Area. The sixth was a successful, easy-going salesman with a lot of contacts who had a golf handicap of 4. He left shortly after she joined . . . to run a pub.

- KENNETH is a Head of Department in an Institute of Higher Education. He is ambitious and driving in his own life and is dissatisfied with the rut into which many of the lecturers in his Department seem to be stuck.

He has attempted to introduce an appraisal scheme, with twice yearly interviews for all his staff. This has been welcomed by a minority but many were indifferent, and a few resisted fiercely. This hostile group brought in the Union, which led to the scheme being withdrawn. Kenneth then attempted

to clarify the duties and responsibilities of each staff member and, in particular, to encourage senior and higher-paid staff to take on responsibilities commensurate with their status. The Union and those previously hostile to him strongly supported this. Some staff challenged by this move were evasive and resistant. This included not only the more notorious deadlegs in the Department, but also one or two more creative individuals.

Once again, the examples are intended to show that coaching, like instructing, has problems as well as advantages. Kenneth tended to start from structures (appraisal and job design). He was also operating in what Henry Mintzberg (1983) describes as a professional bureaucracy: this personcentred type of organisation is one where a task-oriented (or, even worse, a power-oriented) coach will have a hard time. Even Debjani didn't win them all, and indeed talented individuals are often hard to help through coaching.

The Mentor

Mentors are much in vogue in the management and the training literature. Rather often, I find, there is a certain vagueness about their role and contribution. In particular, what they are supposed to do often sounds very like what I have here called coaching (see for example Sangster, 1985).

I think that there is a valid distinction between coaching and mentoring. While coaching builds performance, mentoring is concerned with *building a life's work*. The focus is on the learner's development. While instruction is broken down into *small steps*, and coaching focuses on a *discrete task or project*, mentoring is more diffuse and concerns helping the learner through life crises or into new *stages of development*. One lovely book which describes clearly the mentoring role of adult educators is Daloz's *Effective Teaching and Mentoring* (1986), which persuasively combines examples from literature, e.g. Virgil's guidance of Dante through the Inferno, with verbatim reports of contemporary mentoring dialogues.

The process by which this is done seems to differ widely between mentors. Not all them are patient Rogerian saints. Often they can place exacting demands on their learners and throw them into challenging situations.

Mentors however are not martinets. They are shrewd enough to listen closely and to relate what their learner says to some wider awareness of how the learner might be. Mentors often seem to have a well developed philosophy of life, and to operate on a spiritual dimension, as well as intellectually and emotionally. They ask a lot of questions and I suspect, though I have only tested in one or two cases, that, whereas coaches focus on 'How?', mentors also ask 'Why?' They are good at linking different bits of their learners' lives – home and work, success and failure, concrete and abstract, thought and feeling, hard and soft. They are happy to consider the long term.

The outcome of this process for the learner can be perturbing; it can also lead to breakthroughs, peak experiences, which are remembered with feeling decades later.

As with coaches, the process is not all one way and mentors learn, acquire insight and challenge alongside their learners. Often the questions the mentors face will be very different from those of the learner, but the developmental process is contagious and the mentor is not immune.

For the organisation, the effects of mentoring are a little unpredictable. Sudden major improvements in performance can happen, but learners can also leave the organisation if they decide that it no longer serves their purposes. If they stay, they may also have a more questioning approach to the mission of the organisation.

Examples of Bosses Who Are Mentors

- **STEPHEN** is Director of a Quango providing advice and training to Commonwealth countries on health matters. He is in his late 50s, and over the last ten years has recruited into the organisation a series of talented young staff, often against the advice of colleagues. Sometimes he is accused of favouritism. However, he seemed to get extraordinary results from these favourites, putting them into challenging overseas assignments, where they often find themselves managing people older and more experienced than themselves. One woman he appointed said, 'He made me realise I could do anything if I put my mind to it. He'd give me difficult work and, because I never wanted to let him down, I did it. In return he used to talk about his work and its problems. Apart from my family, he is the most important person in my life'.
- **LYNNETTE** manages a voluntary organisation working with the homeless. Many of the people working in the organisation start as volunteers and she tests their mettle before giving them paid employment. She does this by an apparently relentless process of probing and questioning. Her office is sometimes called 'the wringer'.

She is clear about what the organisation is for, and is intolerant of people who use it as a political platform or to indulge themselves in good works.

People in the organisation seem either to love her or hate her. Those who hate her don't last long. Sometimes those who leave say later that she was too big for them.

These examples illustrate the disadvantages as well as the advantages of mentoring. Such a demanding social process is bound to be divisive, and, while providing powerful opportunities, also presents difficulties too great for some.

Table 3: Percentage of managers scoring highest in each way of helping: Self-report and subordinates' view

Way of helping	Manager's self-report (n = 17)	Subordinates' view (n = 35)
Instructing	40%	60%
Coaching	30%	25%
Mentoring	30%	15%
Total	100%	100%

Diagnosing Ways of Helping

As one strand in my exploration of on-job helping by managers I have designed a questionnaire which explores the extent to which a manager uses each of the three approaches. There are two versions, one for managers to complete concerning themselves, one for subordinates to complete concerning their managers. The questions used in the subordinates' version are given in the Appendix.

In one organisation a group of middle managers invited to attend a workshop about on-job development completed the questionnaire about themselves and gave it to some subordinates who returned it to me so I was able to aggregate scores before feeding them back to the bosses.

It was interesting to note that while approximately 30% of the bosses saw themselves as more mentors than coaches or instructors, only 15% of their staff saw them in this light. Approximate figures are given in Table 3.

The questionnaire is not intended to indicate a right or wrong answer, of course. It is as yet a far from perfect instrument and even when it is developed further it will still be limited by the drawbacks of all such opinionnaires. It does, however, provide a check for managers on their own helping style, posing such questions as:

- Do I agree with the pattern of helping the self-report questionnaire suggests I use?
- If not, what pattern do I think I use?
- Does my perception of my pattern of helping fit with my staff's perception?
- If not, what can the discrepancy tell me about how my staff see me?
- What do I want to do about this?

The data feedback also opens up questions about *whether all staff need the same approach to development*, and about *whether managers can change their way of helping*. The data also raises for me the question of *whether different organisations encourage a particular way of helping*. These three issues are dealt with below:

Table 4: Model of stages of development

<i>*A. Stage</i>	<i>*B. Nature of next developmental step</i>	<i>C. Style of help needed to move on</i>	<i>D. Styles that people at this stage can use</i>
1. Adhering to rules and procedures	Start querying, modifying standard procedures, seeking explanations	Instructing	Instructing
2. Responding by adapting, modifying and controlling rules, procedures, people	Seek explanations. Build understanding that goes beyond skilful manipulation or authoritarian use of power. Be open to feedback	Coaching	Instructing
3. Relating to norms and conventions	Question & challenge accepted ways and reasons. Are reasons given valid. Can you find a better way. Seek wider experiences to explore own ideas	Mentoring	Instructing Coaching
4. Experiencing things and learning from experience	Deepen interests. Seek views of others, to explore how these relate to yours	Coaching Instructing	Instructing Coaching
5. Experimenting and deliberately trying to find out more	Broaden out again. See the whole picture. Build cross-connections with views of others	Mentoring	Instructing Coaching
6. Connecting, linking separate parts, ideas, people together	Seek your special purpose. Ask 'why on earth am I here? What am I doing with life?'	Mentoring	Instructing Coaching Mentoring
7. Integrating yourself with the world and dedicating yourself to life task	I guess this may be enough for most of us	?	Instructing Coaching Mentoring

*Columns A and B adapted from Leary, M. *et al.* (1986), *The Qualities of Managing*, Manpower Services Commission.

Do All Staff Need the Same Kind of Help?

Table 4 presents a model of stages of development, which I have borrowed from Malcolm Leary, Tom Boydell and others' work for MSC on qualities of managing, (Leary *et al.*, 1986). Like all such models it is schematic and indicates what might happen, rather than precisely what does happen for any one individuals, or even indeed an average pattern of development that actually takes place. Rather it presents a framework for how development can occur, based on a notion of our purpose in life, which embraces development of our intellect, feelings, self-concept and spirit.

This model helps me to make sense of the data coming from my research into the ways of helping used by 'best bosses'. A lot depends on the stage of development of the learner at the time they were helped. I am tentatively surmising that each transition from one stage to the next has a need for a particular style of helping. These styles are indicated in the third column of Table 4. At this point, you may like to return to the thoughts you had about your best boss. If you can determine which way of helping your best boss used,

and which stage of development you were at when you were helped, then you can check for yourself the validity of this aspect of my conclusions.

One point that seems to cut across these conclusions, and is emerging from work on self-development (Pedler and Boydell, 1985) is that the kind of help I have called mentoring may be particularly appropriate for helping people over *any* transition *between* stages, whereas coaching and instruction contribute more to development *within* stages. It seems to me that the transition between Stages 3 and 4 – introducing the ego – and the transition between Stages 5 and 6 – widening the focus of concern beyond the ego – are particularly difficult without a mentor.

Can Managers Change Their Style of Helping?

This question was highlighted for me by the following incident. One of our full-time students, a man in his early twenties, commented to me how helpful one of my colleagues had been in helping him work out a direction for his life. When I mentioned this cheerful bit of news to my colleague, he complained, 'Yes, it's a complete pain to me being a mentor to these young Turks. Here I am at the age of 42, at what should be the most productive period of my life, sitting around helping others. I've got too much that I want to achieve in my own work to be ready to give a lot of energy to this sort of time-consuming dialogue'.

This comment started me thinking about the ages and stages of helping and Column D in Table 4 represents an initial attempt at specifying the ways of helping that managers are able to use at the various stages of their own development.

Clearly, as we develop we are able to embrace a wider range of helping approaches, but it must be remembered that not everyone of increasing chronological age develops through to later stages in the model. In fact, it is precisely the difficulties in the way of doing so that generate the need for a helping hand from managers and other people.

Ways of Helping and Organisations

In pursuing the link between helping and organisations, I will use Roger Harrison's oft-quoted typology of organisation cultures (See for example, Handy, 1985):

Power
Role
Task
Person.

How do my three ways of helping fit into Harrison's cultures? At this stage I have no empirical data to test my proposed response to this question. It seems to me there may be a connection between each culture and the kind of help typically offered. This is not to say that this help is *appropriate*. Simply that it is the most likely type to be available. One implication of this is that if you recognise an organisation in which you are working as having one type of culture, you may also recognise the types of help which will not be readily available, and those which may have to be fostered.

I suggest that:

- *power* cultures discourage helping in general;
- *role* cultures value the precision and predictability of *instructing*;
- *task* cultures emphasise results and therefore key into *coaching*;
- *person* cultures naturally connect with the whole life approach which characterises *mentoring*.

If there is any substance in this linkage, then what are their implications for managers and management development?

I think that for managers, if they want to use the way of helping reinforced and encouraged in their organisation's culture, then they will, by definition, be rewarded at least in terms of being seen to fit in. But what if their helping is counter-cultural? Clearly they will tend to experience hostility, but will this always be so? I think not.

One of the things about development in organisations is that there are all kinds of backwaters and havens where the dominant culture does not prevail. So if you as a manager see a need for a particular kind of development which runs counter to the organisation's culture, my message is, 'Don't despair'. I have found cases, for example, of managers in role organisations, creating a strongly task-centred culture, and coaching their people out of role-oriented behaviour. It just seems like a lot harder work when you're going against the organisational grain.

Conclusion

I am suggesting that the different methods of helping staff by off-job training have long been established (case studies, experiential exercises, lectures, etc.) A similar focusing of different methods of on-job development seems to be needed, given the importance of on-job learning and the lack of clarity in much of what has been written about it. To this end I have distinguished three ways of on-job helping and called them *instructing*, *coaching* and *mentoring*.

I have presented some initial findings from one organisation as to how managers see themselves in their helping and contrasted this with how the

people they are helping see them. I have illustrated some questions that highlighting these perceptions can raise.

I have finally considered what kinds of help are beneficial to learners at various stages of development, how managers' repertoires of ways of helping expand with their own development, and the kinds of organizational culture that encourage each approach to helping.

I have left to another article a detailed consideration of the skills required for each way of helping and an outline of how these skills might be developed.

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Appendix

Helping Questionnaire: Subordinates Version

Every boss has their own way of helping the people who work for them. This form is designed to give an idea of the kinds of help you get from your boss and the kinds you don't.

For each question please circle the number that best represents how your boss deals with you. Others may see your boss differently. The main aim of this form is to highlight which activities bosses use more or less than others. We're not trying to prove whether your boss is good or bad.

Thank you

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My name:

My job:

Boss's name:

Boss's job:

- Before telling me about a job s/he wants me to do, my boss works out stage by stage what's involved in it:
 Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never

2. My boss actively seeks out opportunities for me to develop, through doing new things at work:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
3. My boss listens to my ideas, and helps me fit them into my broad plans for work and life:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
4. When my boss has something s/he wants me to do s/he give me very clear instructions:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
5. My boss helps me to plan how I can meet challenges at work:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
6. My boss asks me questions which help me to think through why I want to do things:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
7. My boss checks that I have got any instructions accurately, before s/he lets me get on with the job:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
8. My boss encourages me to try out new skills even if there's a risk I may not do the job well:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
9. My boss is interested in what I do outside work, and how this fits or conflicts with work activities:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
10. My boss checks up on things s/he's asked me to do, and lets me know how I did:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
11. My boss encourages me to review how I perform, and to plan how to improve:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never
12. My boss sits down with me and helps me to think about where I am going in my career:
Often 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 never

What's in a Name? A Literature-based Approach to Understanding Mentoring, Coaching, and Other Constructs that Describe Developmental Interactions

Caroline P. D'Abate, Erik R. Eddy and Scott I. Tannenbaum

Employee development can occur in a number of ways. One popular approach, which we term “developmental interactions,” involves interactions between two or more people with the goal of personal or professional development. Developmental interactions can take a variety of forms ranging from coaching, mentoring, and apprenticeship to action learning and tutoring. These contacts may occur in a brief interaction (e.g., when a coach provides information and advice in a one-time exchange) or in a long-term relationship (e.g., an in-depth mentorship).

Developmental interactions have generated a tremendous amount of attention among researchers, consultants, and practitioners. These interactions are increasingly used to enhance skills and socialize individuals as well as for career and professional development purposes (Douglas & McCauley, 1999). Organizations that promote the use of developmental interactions may see strong productivity (Carr, 1999), improved retention rates (Higgins & Thomas, 2001; Zeeb, 2000), and enhanced organizational success (Tannenbaum, 1997). Despite the potential uses and benefits of developmental interactions, there remains a great deal of conceptual confusion and controversy among those working in the organization sciences and related fields.

Statement of the Problem

The published research literature, as well as opinions expressed at conferences, on-line, and in the popular press, fails to agree on what mentoring, coaching, apprenticeship, and other developmental interaction constructs represent. Gray (1988) stated, "Since the mid-1970s, there has been much confusion about what mentoring is – even to the point of confusing it with on-the-job coaching" (p. 9). This comment is the tip of the iceberg. By reviewing numerous descriptions of common developmental interaction constructs, it is clear that the problem occurs at two levels.

First, conceptual confusion occurs when descriptions of the same construct vary from author to author. For instance, there is a lack of agreement within the action learning community (Marsick & O'Neil, 1999) and the mentoring community (Bova, 1987; Burke, McKeen, & McKenna, 1993; Leibowitz, Faren, & Kaye, 1986; Pollock, 1995; Ragins & Cotton, 1993; Riley & Wrench, 1985) about the meaning of the constructs.

Second, conceptual confusion is evident when exploring the similarities and differences between constructs. For instance, some have argued that mentoring and coaching are the same (e.g., Sperry, 1996). On the other hand, others suggest that mentoring differs from sponsorship, guidance, peer relationships, coaching, or a traditional boss-subordinate relationship (Chao, 1998) and that developmental terms are often mixed up (Gray, 1988; Keele, Buckner, & Bushnell, 1987; Yoder, 1995).

These statements suggest that a great deal of conceptual confusion exists in the literature. There is a need to better understand the meaning of developmental interaction constructs for the field to advance with more certainty, clarity, and agreement. Honing these definitions has been called for in the literature in very explicit ways (e.g., Mayer, 2002; Russell & Adams, 1997; Thibodeaux & Lowe, 1996). As Russell and Adams (1997) stated,

Researchers should continue to refine the definition of mentoring and explain how it differs in terms of antecedents and outcomes from other related interpersonal behaviors (e.g., coaching, networking, and advising) and from other organizational constructs. . . . Also, it is critical to be able to distinguish group or peer mentoring from individual mentoring. (pp. 9–10)

Goals of the Current Research

Clarifying the meaning of developmental interaction constructs and generating an overarching framework for understanding the similarities and differences among the constructs can address some of the conceptual confusion in the literature. Rather than impose new definitions of these constructs on the field, the goal of the current research was to use existing descriptions of these

constructs to create a snapshot of how common developmental interactions are currently understood. We focused on the following 13 types of developmental interactions: action learning, apprenticeship, coaching, distance mentoring, executive coaching, formal/structured mentoring, group mentoring, informal/unstructured mentoring, multiple mentors/developers, peer coaching, peer mentoring, traditional/classic mentoring, and tutoring. Each of these constructs describes exchanges between two or more people with the intention of development (either career-, task-, or personally relevant development). Constructs that were not developmental in nature or were not “interactions” between developers and learners were not included in this research. In addition, we chose not to include formal training or other work-based education experiences. Although the literature could benefit from increased conceptual clarity on these two constructs, we were concerned that in trying to sufficiently address the extensive literature and numerous approaches to work-based education and training (e.g., on-the-job training, classroom training, computer-based training), we would complicate our resulting developmental interaction taxonomy to the point of contributing to construct confusion rather than providing greater clarity.

Using a theoretical nomological network approach, we provide a structure for those who work with developmental interaction constructs to develop clearer definitions of their construct of interest. The nomological network explores the developmental interaction constructs across a comprehensive list of characteristics that can be used to describe them. The goal is to provide a common language and schema to facilitate comprehension of individual constructs and for making distinctions among multiple constructs.

Relevant Past Efforts

Some progress has been made toward the goal of conceptual clarification. Recent research has begun to define some of the constructs in relation to one another, and others have made initial attempts to develop a nomological network. These efforts are described in more detail below.

Theoretical Advancement

McManus and Russell (1997) made great strides in relating mentoring to a variety of other constructs. Their “theoretical nomological network” (p. 145) approach examined the overlaps among mentoring, leader-member exchange, organizational citizenship behavior, support, and socialization across seven characteristics (i.e., developer’s required effort, developmental orientation, events leading to the activity, learner’s outcomes, and what is labeled in the current study as location, duration of developmental relationship, and beneficiaries).

However, their nomological network efforts can be advanced in several ways. First, there are other developmental constructs (e.g., tutoring, apprenticeship, action learning) that could be included to generate a more complete nomological network. Second, the field can benefit from comparing these constructs across a more comprehensive domain of characteristics. Third, it is possible that their approach confused developmental interaction constructs with some of the behaviors that are subsumed within them. For example, mentoring (a construct in the current study) can offer support and socialization (characteristics in the current study). However, McManus and Russell (1997) grouped informal mentoring, social support, and socialization together as constructs. There is a need to make clear distinctions among the developmental interaction constructs and the characteristics used to describe them.

Noe, Wilk, Mullen, and Wanek (1997) have also contributed work that relates to the current effort. They compared employee development with training, looked at various forms of development (e.g., relationships, mentoring, job experiences, classroom-type learning, assessment), and evaluated five characteristics of development (i.e., "incremental versus framebreaking" learning, "introspective versus interactive" development, and what is labeled in the current study as formality, choice to participate, and time frame) (pp. 156–157). Their work has helped to identify some of the characteristics of developmental interactions and has clarified future research needs. Again, though, there remains a need to examine a larger group of developmentally oriented constructs across a more comprehensive set of characteristics.

Putting the Constructs under One Umbrella

Several researchers have pushed for finding a common thread in the developmental interaction domain. First, Higgins and colleagues argued that mentoring does not only occur in the traditional, dyadic, downward, hierarchical fashion (Higgins, 2000; Higgins & Kram, 2001; Higgins & Thomas, 2001). They aligned mentoring with developmental relationships in general and suggested that developmental interactions can occur with multiple development providers, from varying sources, and with varying degrees of relationship strength. These researchers proposed that those working in the field use the term "developers" (Higgins, 2000, p. 278; Higgins & Kram, 2001, p. 269) when referencing mentors, coaches, sponsors, peers, and other developmental relationships. This places a variety of developmental relationship roles under one common umbrella of "developers."

Second, Douglas and McCauley (1999) studied 300 American firms' industry practices related to formal developmental relationships. Included in their study were mentoring, apprenticeships, several types of coaching activities (e.g., peer, executive), action learning, and structured networks – all as types of formal developmental relationships. By taking this inclusive

approach, Douglas and McCauley placed each of these constructs under the developmental relationship umbrella. Bierema (1999) praised Douglas and McCauley for having advanced the field, and we use the progress they have made as part of the context for our research.

The efforts of these scholars suggest that the 13 constructs under examination in this research fall under a common umbrella of development. Therefore, applying the same set of characteristics to clarify their meaning and to compare them is a suitable approach. It also creates a common frame of reference that may facilitate advancement in the developmental interaction field.

A Taxonomy of Characteristics

Developmental interactions involve exchanges between two or more people with the goal of personal or professional development. Although various literatures refer to these participants by different terms (e.g., mentor and protégé, master and apprentice), we use the generic terms “developer” and “learner.” A developer is the person(s) who provides the development (Higgins, 2000; Higgins & Kram, 2001). Developer is the generic term adopted to describe the role commonly referred to as master, mentor, or tutor. A learner is the person receiving the development. Learner is the generic term adopted to describe the role commonly referred to as apprentice, protégé, mentee, or tutee. Note that the “learner” may not be focused solely on learning as an outcome of the development or the developer’s teachings. For example, the participant may be looking for aid, confidence, counsel, encouragement, or socialization.

Interactions between a developer and learner can take many forms. For example, the participants can meet only once or many times, the relationship can be informal or formal, or the developer can encourage the learner to perform at a higher level or support the learner emotionally. In fact, our review of 182 sources suggests that there are a total of 23 characteristics that can be used to describe developmental interactions.

Using an iterative approach, we simultaneously reviewed the developmental interaction literature and generated a list of the common descriptive characteristics that experts use in reference to developmental interaction constructs. Going back and forth between the sources and the pattern of characteristics we observed resulted in the preliminary list of characteristics. We revised, regrouped, and clarified this list to ensure readability and parsimony (i.e., the smallest, clearest set of descriptors that could be applied across the different developmental constructs of interest). The resulting taxonomy appears in Table 1.

The 23 characteristics can be grouped into six categories. Some of the categories focus on the characteristics of the interaction or the characteristics of the participants. Other categories focus on the purpose of the interaction or the behavioral expectations (i.e., learning, emotional support, and career

Table 1: Taxonomy of characteristics that describe developmental interactions

<i>Categories and characteristics</i>	<i>Descriptions</i>
<i>Participant demographics</i>	
Age	The age of the developer in relation to the learner.
Experience/knowledge	The experience or knowledge level of the developer in relation to the learner. The developer may be more experienced or knowledgeable than the learner, or it may not matter.
Career experience	The career experience or background of the developer in relation to the learner. The developer and learner may have similar or different career backgrounds.
<i>Interaction characteristics</i>	
Duration of relationship	The length of time the developer and learner interact for the purposes of development – not how often they meet. The relationship can be short-term (up to 6 months of interactions) or long-term (more than 6 months).
Regularity of interactions	How often the developer and learner interact for the purposes of development. There can be a single developmental interaction, participants may interact on a regular schedule, or there may be no schedule in place.
Medium	The means by which the developer and learner communicate. The interaction can occur face-to-face, at a distance, or some combination of the two.
Span	The number of developers and/or learners participating in the interaction. Interactions can be between two individuals (dyadic), group-oriented (one developer for a group of learners), or multiple developers for a single learner.
<i>Organizational distance/direction</i>	
Direction	The hierarchical level of the learner in relation to the developer. The relationship can be lateral (e.g., peers, teammates), downward (e.g., learner is at a lower hierarchical level), or upward (e.g., learner is at a higher hierarchical level).
Reporting relationship	The line of reporting relationship of the learner in relation to the developer. The developer and learner can be in the same or different hierarchy.
Location	The organizational location of the developer in relation to the learner. The developer can be in the same organization as the learner (i.e., internal) or in a different organization than the learner (i.e., external).
<i>Purpose of the interaction</i>	
Object of development	The specificity of the goal of development. The object of development can be specific skills or knowledge or development of the individual in general.
Time frame	The primary purpose of the interaction may be to support the learner's short-term performance (i.e., their present job or task at hand) or their longer-term development (i.e., their career).
Beneficiaries	The person(s) who benefit from the development. The interaction can have unidirectional purposes (e.g., one-way, in which one party derives virtually all the benefits) or bidirectional purposes (e.g., the interaction is two-way, mutual, and reciprocal whereby all involved benefit).
<i>Degree of structure</i>	
Formality	The level of formality inherent in the developmental interaction. The interaction can vary from informal or unstructured to programmatic or formal.
Development coordinator	The presence of a coordinating party and the degree to which the party is actively involved in organizing and supporting key activities.
Choice to participate	The choice the parties have to participate in the development. Individuals might self-select or volunteer to participate, or participation may be mandatory.

<i>Categories and characteristics</i>	<i>Descriptions</i>
Participant matching	The formality of the participant matching process. Developmental pairs can form naturally or be formally matched by a coordinator.
Preparation/support	The provision of training, orientation, or other interaction support to build the readiness of developers and/or learners.
Evaluation	The presence of an interaction evaluation or assessment process.
Termination	The presence of exit strategies that provide structure to the termination of the interaction or relationship.
<i>Behaviors exhibited</i>	
Learning	<p>The behaviors exhibited by the developer that enable the learner to learn. These include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborating: The extent to which the developer and learner work together in a collaborative manner. • Directing: The degree of direction provided to the learner. • Goal setting: The establishment and tracking of goals and the provision of goal-related support. • Helping on assignments: The provision of task assistance or technical support to the learner. • Modeling: The demonstration or modeling of appropriate behaviors by the developer. • Observing: The observation of the learner in a work setting for developmental purposes. • Problem solving: The developer working with a learner to examine and resolve a particular problem. • Providing practical application: The provision of experience or practice with hands-on projects or challenging work for the learner. • Providing feedback: The provision of feedback or constructive criticism to the learner. • Sharing information: The provision of information to the learner. • Teaching: The instruction or teaching of the learner to build expertise, skills, or knowledge.
Emotional support	<p>The behaviors exhibited by the developer that provide emotional support to the learner. These include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affirming: The provision of communications indicating acceptance and confirmation of the learner. • Aiding: The provision of aid or help to the learner. • Befriending: The provision of friendship to the learner. • Calming: Actions or communications designed to reduce the learner's anxiety or stress. • Confidence building: Communications or actions taken to enhance the confidence or self-esteem of the learner. • Counseling: The provision of counseling, advice, or guidance to the learner. • Encouraging: The encouragement or motivation of the learner. • Supporting: The social, emotional, or personal (i.e., psychosocial) support of the learner.
Career progression	<p>The behaviors exhibited by the developer that assist the learner's career progression. These include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocating: The sponsorship of the learner to advance in the organization or field. • Introducing: The provision of opportunities for the learner to network, increase visibility, and gain exposure to others in the organization or field. • Sheltering: The protection of the learner. • Socializing: The socialization or orientation of the learner to the organization or field.

Note: Categories are italicized.

progression) that are either exhibited during the developmental interaction or are built into a formal developmental “program.” The goal of the taxonomy is to provide enough information to thoroughly describe any of the developmental interaction constructs. The behavioral expectations were based, in part, on the works of Kram (1985) and McCauley and Young (1993) and the remaining categories and characteristics emerged from our review of the sources for this research. The categories of characteristics in our taxonomy are as follows:

1. Participant demographics: The age, knowledge level, or career experience of the participants.
2. Interaction characteristics: The duration of interaction, regularity of interactions, medium used to facilitate interaction, or span of relationship.
3. Organizational distance/direction: The hierarchical direction, reporting relationship, or organizational location of participants.
4. Purpose of interaction: The object of the development, the time frame for the development’s purpose, or the beneficiaries of the development.
5. Degree of structure: The formality of the developmental interaction including the presence of a development coordinator, the choice to participate, the participant matching process, provision of preparation and support, evaluation of interaction, or formality of interaction termination.
6. Behaviors exhibited: The developer may exhibit learning-related, emotional support-related, or career progression-related behaviors in the course of the interaction.

Method

A qualitative, literature-based approach was used to develop a nomological network of 13 common developmental interaction terms. A nomological network helps to “make clear what something is” by stating a number of “laws” that can be used to “relate . . . different theoretical constructs to one another” (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955, p. 290). In the current research, the nomological network approach uses characteristics to help clarify the meaning of developmental interactions and how they relate to each other. The nomological network approach is often empirically based. However, qualitative conceptual comparisons have provided useful contributions in the areas of corporate consciousness (Campion & Palmer, 1996), work experience (Tesluk & Jacobs, 1998), and mentoring (McManus & Russell, 1997).

A comprehensive review of the literature was conducted for articles pertaining to the developmental interaction constructs and written during the period of 1981 to 2002 in the following respected journals that publish research and writing on our constructs of interest: *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Personnel Psychology*, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *Academy of Management Review*, *Academy of Management Journal*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*,

Journal of Management, and Human Resource Development Quarterly. This search generated 78 potential articles for inclusion in our research.

There were three criteria for inclusion in our study. First, the article needed to use the construct in a developmental, work-related context. For example, an author who used the term "coach" to describe a sports coach would not meet this criterion. Second, the article needed to provide a description of the construct either explicitly (e.g., in an operational definition) or with enough information provided throughout the introduction, method, results, and discussion sections of the article to clearly indicate the meaning of the construct. Third, the description needed to be provided for the author's purposes as part of their current (e.g., research) efforts. For example, just a literature review of the construct would not meet this criterion.

Ten articles failed to meet these criteria. The remaining 68 articles that met our criteria provided 78 descriptions. However, this sample provided a data set where several constructs had only 1 description (i.e., tutoring, apprenticeship), and some had between 2 and 5 descriptions (i.e., group mentoring, multiple mentoring, action learning, peer mentoring). As our goal was to explore a wide range of developmental interactions to generate a more comprehensive and inclusive nomological network, we determined that there were too few descriptions for several of the constructs. Thus, we needed to obtain construct descriptions from a wider group of sources. Following the lead of other researchers (e.g., Lohman, 2002), we searched for additional sources by looking at publications that had been referenced in articles that met our criteria. We also examined other journals, books, conference proceedings, Web sites, and popular press articles for construct descriptions meeting our criteria. This review added 149 descriptions to our sample, resulting in a total of 227 descriptions taken from 182 sources. A complete list of these sources is available from the authors.

The descriptions that were extracted from the sources show the characteristics associated with the meaning of the constructs. The sources were examined for authors' definitions of the constructs, ways the terms were described, and any indications that authors provided of what they were studying. This information was extracted and was content coded using the characteristics, categories, and coding schema summarized in the taxonomy presented in Table 1.

One of the researchers acted as the primary coder. This individual coded approximately 175 construct descriptions from an initial subset of articles. Once these descriptions were coded, the research team met to review and discuss the initial set of ratings. As a result, minor changes were made to the coding schema and process. We used this group process of establishing the coding schema and reviewing the primary coder's application of the schema as a way of ensuring a meaningful, content-valid set of results. After all articles were reviewed and several months had expired, the same author recoded a sample of construct descriptions (77% of the final sample) to ensure that the schema was being applied consistently. The test-retest reliability was .95.

The coding process involved the following criteria. When a construct was described by a source using one of the characteristics, a "1" was recorded for that characteristic. For example, when Chao, Walz, and Gardner (1992) defined mentoring as "an intense work relationship between senior (mentor) and junior (protégé) organizational members" (1992, p. 624), a "1" was marked in the downward direction (for senior/junior) and internal location (for between organizational members) characteristic columns. However, if the same authors repeated that characteristic within the same source, possibly using other words (e.g., boss to subordinate), that characteristic was not coded again. Furthermore, characteristics that were implied in the source but not explicitly stated were coded. For example, for a source that described a construct as "a manager to subordinate relationship," a number of relating characteristics were coded including internal location, dyadic span, downward direction, and in the same hierarchy (i.e., reporting relationship).

Interpreting the Matrices

The large number of characteristics and coding options that emerged from this research requires that the findings be depicted in three separate nomological network matrices. Tables 2, 3, and 4 contain nomological network matrices that summarize the findings for the 13 constructs across all characteristics, organized by the taxonomy presented in Table 1.

In each matrix, the 13 constructs appear across the top. The last row of each matrix states the number of descriptions that were located in the sources and reviewed for each construct. The categories, characteristics, and coding options appear down the left sides of the matrices. Categories represent the higher-order groupings of characteristics that we created for readability purposes. Characteristics represent the defining characteristics that can be used to describe the 13 developmental interaction constructs. Coding options represent the various possible dimensions of a characteristic. We coded the construct descriptions that were pulled from the literature according to these options. For example, the characteristic "direction" under the category "organizational distance/direction" might have one of three coding options: "downward," "upward," or "lateral."

Frequencies generated through the content analysis process described above were converted to percentages for standardization purposes. These percentages indicated the proportion of expert descriptions that suggest a characteristic is related to a construct's meaning. For ease of interpretation, these percentages were assigned one of four letter rankings. Letters A through D indicate the percentage of descriptions that used each characteristic to describe each construct. Matrices containing exact percentages are available from the authors.

- A = 76%–100%, so between 76% and 100% of descriptions include this characteristic in the construct description, indicating that this is most likely a defining characteristic of the construct.
- B = 51%–75%, so between 51% and 75% of descriptions include this characteristic in the construct description, indicating that this is a commonly mentioned characteristic of the construct.
- C = 26%–50%, so between 26% and 50% of descriptions include this characteristic in the construct description, indicating that this characteristic is occasionally associated with the construct.
- D = 1%–25%, so between 1% and 25% of descriptions include this characteristic in the construct description, indicating that this characteristic is infrequently associated with the construct.

A “blank” cell (i.e., no letter rating indicated) implies that sources did not use the characteristic to describe the construct.

When characteristics in the matrices have several coding options (e.g., duration of developmental interaction can be short-term or long-term), the higher of the two letter ratings helps to clarify the meaning of the term according to the descriptions we reviewed. Specifically, when ratings are equal (e.g., both D ratings), an asterisk indicates whether one of the options had a higher percentage (e.g., within the 1%–25% range) and suggests that it was referenced by a greater percentage of the descriptions reviewed. When ratings are unequal (e.g., one option is rated B and the other is rated C), the option with the higher letter rating (B) indicates the option that was referenced by a greater percentage of the descriptions reviewed.

Applications and Implications of the Nomological Network Matrices

The nomological network matrices shown in Tables 2, 3, and 4 contain a wealth of information that can be used, primarily, as a starting point for researchers but may also be of interest to practitioners. The tables represent a tool that can be used to better understand the current view of various developmental interaction constructs, to identify gaps in the literature, and to improve future research efforts on developmental interactions.

Understanding the Current State of the Literature

A primary purpose of this research was to provide a mechanism for more clearly defining and understanding the meaning of developmental interaction constructs. To that end, the nomological network matrices can be used to understand the current state of the literature by (a) clarifying the meaning

Table 2: Nomological network illustrating the meaning of constructs across participant characteristic, interaction characteristic, and organizational distance/direction characteristic categories

			Developmental interaction constructs												
Categories	Characteristics	Coding options	Action learning	Apprenticeship	Coaching	Distance mentoring	Executive coaching	Formal or structured mentoring	Group mentoring	Informal or unstructured mentoring	Multiple mentors or developers	Peer coaching	Peer mentoring	Traditional or classic mentoring	Tutoring
Participant demographics	Age	Same age											D	D	
		Developer is older						D		D				D*	D
	Experience/knowledge	Developer has more than learner		C		C	D	C	C	B	C		C	B	C
Interaction characteristics		Doesn't matter											D	D	
	Career experience	Different backgrounds					D								
		Same backgrounds			D										
	Duration of developmental relationship	Short-term	D		D		D*	D	D		D		D		C
		Long-term	D*	D		D	D	D	C	C		D	D	D	
	Regularity of interactions	Single interaction	D												
		Regular schedule	D*		D	D	C	C	D			D	D	D	
		Unscheduled			D					D					
	Medium	Face-to-face	C		D*		D								
		Distance			D	A	D	D					D		
		Combination	D			D	D								
	Span	Dyadic		C	C	C	C	B	D	C		D	C	B	B
		Group-oriented	B	D	D	D	D	D	A		D	D	D	D	D
		Multiple developers				D*	D				A			D*	

Organizational distance/direction	Direction	Lateral	D		D	D		D*	C	D*	D*	A	A	D	C
		Downward		D	C	D*		B	C*	C	C		D	B	
		Upward						D		D	D				
	Reporting relationship	Same hierarchy			C			D		D*	D*			D*	
		Different hierarchy			D			D*		D	D			D	
	Location	Internal			C	D*		B	D	C	B*	D	C	C	
		External			D	D	C	D	D	D	B		D	D	
	Total number of descriptions		14	11	21	9	11	21	7	16	9	9	14	79	6

Note: Letters indicate the percentage of descriptions that suggest characteristics are related to a construct's meaning. A = 76%–100%; B = 51%–75%; C = 26%–50%; D = 1%–25%. Asterisks (*) are used to indicate the higher percentage when a dimension has multiple options and the same letter ranking. For example, traditional mentoring has D ratings for both "same" and "older" ages, but 1% reported "same age," whereas 24% reported "older," thus "older" receives an asterisk. No asterisks indicate that the percentages were equal.

Table 3: Nomological network illustrating the meaning of constructs across purpose of interaction and degree of structure characteristic categories

Categories	Characteristics	Coding options	Developmental interaction constructs											
			Action learning	Apprenticeship	Coaching	Distance mentoring	Executive coaching	Formal or structured mentoring	Group mentoring	Informal or unstructured mentoring	Multiple mentors or developers	Peer coaching	Peer mentoring	Traditional or classic mentoring
Purpose of the interaction	Object of development	Specific	D	A	C*	C	C	C	B	D		B	C	D
		General	C		C	C	B	B	C	C	C	D	C	C
	Time frame	Short-term performance		D	C	C	C	D	C	D	C	C	D	D
		Long-term development	D	C	D	D	D	B	B	B	A		C	B
	Beneficiaries	Unidirectional purposes			D	D	D						D	D
		Bidirectional purposes	D			D*	D	D	D	D		C	C	D*
Degree of structure	Formality	Informal or unstructured			D	D				A	D	D	D	D
		Programmatic or formal	D	B	D*	D*	B	A	D		D	D*	D	D
	Development coordinator(s)	Highly involved	D					D				D		
		Available	C	D				D*				D	D	
	Choice to participate	Self-select or volunteer				D	D	C		D		D	D	D
		Mandatory						D						D

Participant matching	Naturally or unmatched				D		D		C				D	
	Formally matched		D	D	D	C	A	D				D	D	D*
Preparation or support	Preparation or support provided					D	C	D		D	C	D	D	C
Interaction evaluation	Assessment occurs	D	D	D	D	C	D	D				D	D	D
Interaction termination	Exit procedures				D	D	D	D						D
	None									D				
Total number of descriptions		14	11	21	9	11	21	7	16	9		9	14	79
														6

Note: Letters indicate the percentage of descriptions that suggest characteristics are related to a construct's meaning. A = 76%–100%; B = 51%–75%; C = 26%–50%; D = 1%–25%. Asterisks (*) are used to indicate the higher percentage when a dimension has multiple options and the same letter ranking. For example, coaching has C ratings for both “specific” and “general” objects of development, but 38% reported “specific” and 29% reported “general,” thus “specific” receives an asterisk. No asterisks indicate that the percentages were equal.

Table 4: Nomological network illustrating the meaning of constructs across the behaviors exhibited category of characteristics

			Developmental interaction constructs												
Categories	Characteristics	Coding options	Action learning	Apprenticeship	Coaching	Distance mentoring	Executive coaching	Formal or structured mentoring	Group mentoring	Informal or unstructured mentoring	Multiple mentors or developers	Peer coaching	Peer mentoring	Traditional or classic mentoring	Tutoring
Behaviors exhibited	Learning related	Collaborating	C	D	D	D	D					C	D	D	C
		Directing		D	D		D				D			D	D
		Goal setting	D	D	C	D	C	C		D		C	D	D	
		Helping on assignments		D				D		D		D	D	D	
		Modeling	D	D	D			D	B	C	D	D	D	C	C
		Observing		D	D		D	D				B	D	D	
		Problem solving	A	D	D	D	D	D	D			C		D	
		Providing practical application	A	B	C	D		D	C	C	D	C	D	D	D
		Providing feedback	C	D	C	C	C	D	C	D	D	A	D	D	C
		Sharing information	C	D		C	D	D	C	D	D	D	D	D	
		Teaching	A	B	B	C	C	D	B	D	D	C	C	D	A

Emotional support related	Affirming				D		D	D	D	D		D	D	
	Aiding	C	D	D	D	C	D	C	D	B	B	C	D	B
	Befriending				D	D	D	C	D	D	C	C	D	C
	Calming				D	D		D	C	D			D	D
	Confidence building	D	D	D	D		D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
	Counseling		C	D	C	D	D	B	C	B		C	B	D
	Encouraging	C		D	D		D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
	Supporting	D	D	D	D	D	C	A	C	B	C	B	B	C
Career progression related	Advocating				D			C	C	B	B		C	B
	Introducing				D			D	B	C	C		C	C
	Sheltering							D	D	D	C		D	C
	Socializing	D	D	D	D		C	C	D	D	D	D	D	D
Total number of descriptions		14	11	21	9	11	21	7	16	9	9	14	79	6

Note: Letters indicate the percentage of descriptions that suggest characteristics are related to a construct's meaning. A = 76%–100%; B = 51%–75%; C = 26%–50%; D = 1%–25%.

of individual constructs and (b) comparing and contrasting the meaning of multiple constructs.

Clarifying individual construct meanings. Interested authors can look at one construct and the letter ratings that are indicated by the literature; identify the characteristics that have A, B, C, and D ratings; and use those ratings to determine the meaning of the construct according to the current literature. This process is discussed in detail below, using action learning as an example.

Action learning has been described as a form of management education and development (MacNamara & Weekes, 1982) in which people learn from “practical experiences” by solving actual problems (Revans, 1986, p. 71) in a peer-group environment (Raelin, 1997). Using the matrices shown in Tables 2, 3, and 4, first scan down the column vertically for letters A or B. These indicate characteristics that are critical to the meaning of the construct and were mentioned in a majority (i.e., more than 50%) of the descriptions reviewed. These critical characteristics are problem solving, providing practical application, teaching, and group-oriented. Referring to the definitions of the characteristics in Table 1, a definition of action learning might include such phrases as examining and resolving a problem; providing experience or practice with hands-on projects or challenging work; instructing or teaching so that expertise, skills, or knowledge can be learned; and development in a group setting. Many of the descriptions that we examined used these characteristics when describing action learning.

Next, scan the Action Learning column for the letter C. This indicates characteristics that were mentioned by 26% to 50% of the descriptions reviewed. These are characteristics that are occasionally associated with the construct and include face-to-face medium, general object of development, an available development coordinator, collaborating, providing feedback, sharing information, aiding, and encouraging. Referring to the definitions in Table 1, a definition of action learning may imply that the developmental interaction occurs face-to-face, that the goal of the development is less specific and is aimed at the individual in more general terms, that a coordinating party is available to facilitate and organize the interactions, that the parties work together in a collaborative manner, that feedback and information are shared during the interactions, and that help and motivation are a part of the development.

Finally, scan the Action Learning column for the letter D. This indicates characteristics that were mentioned by less than 25% of the descriptions reviewed. Although less than a quarter of prior researchers used these characteristics to describe action learning, the characteristics may still be important. Recall that this nomological network is based on the existing literature. Prior researchers chose to exclude certain characteristics when defining or describing key constructs. Some of these infrequently cited characteristics may have been inadvertently overlooked or perhaps undervalued by prior researchers, suggesting opportunities for future research. Alternatively, researchers that

chose to include an uncommon characteristic may have been overextending the construct, creating construct confusion. Recognizing the decisions made by prior researchers can help future researchers better define and describe the constructs they are studying.

Comparing and contrasting multiple constructs. Without agreement on the core meaning of a term, comparison with other constructs is difficult (Marsick & O'Neil, 1999). However, given adequately defined individual constructs, the similarities and differences between constructs can be explored. Researchers have explicitly called for this type of work (e.g., Mayer, 2002; Russell & Adams, 1997; Thibodeaux & Lowe, 1996).

Once individual constructs have been examined using the process described above, multiple constructs can be compared and contrasted by identifying the characteristics that are common across the constructs. Coaching and traditional mentoring are compared below as just one example. This process can be used whenever there is disagreement about the uniqueness of a construct as compared to other constructs or whenever an author wishes to identify similarities and differences across relevant constructs.

Some have argued that mentoring and coaching are the same activity (e.g., Sperry, 1996). By comparing data from Tables 2, 3, and 4 on coaching and traditional mentoring, it is clear that the characteristics currently used in the literature to describe these constructs do not support this contention. Focusing on characteristics with A, B, and C ratings (i.e., referred to by at least one quarter of the sources), we find that descriptions in the literature suggest that there are some clear differences between the constructs.

Specifically, traditional mentoring has a general object of development, whereas coaching is more strongly associated with a specific one. The time frame for coaching is short-term performance, whereas traditional mentoring tends to relate to long-term development. Traditional mentoring is more concerned with modeling, counseling, supporting, advocating, introducing, and sheltering as exhibited behaviors, and coaching is more concerned with goal setting, providing practical application, providing feedback, and teaching. Although both constructs share dyadic span and downward direction characteristics to some extent, and they agree on an internal location of developer, there are enough unique characteristics to suggest that coaching and traditional mentoring are not the same.

This process enables us to determine the similarities and differences among developmental interaction constructs such as coaching and mentoring. An understanding of the meaning of each individual construct is required as a foundation for the process, but with individual construct clarity, we can make connections and distinctions across multiple developmental interaction constructs.

Implications for researchers. Knowing where the field stands now is an important step toward improving future efforts. Not only can the nomological

network matrices be used to better understand the current state of the literature, but researchers can also use this information to decide whether to accept the characteristics most commonly associated with the construct in question or consciously choose to challenge the prevalent definition of the construct to better clarify its meaning.

Identifying Gaps in the Literature

The nomological network matrices provide a mechanism for exploring any gaps or confusion in the literature about the meaning of developmental interaction constructs. As discussed below, the matrices illustrate that different, sometimes contradictory, characteristics are used to describe developmental interactions. By using the nomological network matrices to explore these inconsistencies, researchers can direct their research toward clarifying contradictions about the meaning of constructs.

Inconsistencies in the matrices. An examination of each construct across Tables 2, 3, and 4 shows a large number of characteristics with C and D ratings. This indicates that there is not enough consistency in construct descriptions to yield many high letter ratings (i.e., A and B) and suggests that researchers often refer to different characteristics when describing the same construct.

The construct of action learning serves as a good example of this issue. Thirteen characteristics were used to describe action learning. Of those 13, only 2 characteristics had A or B ratings (i.e., span and learning-related behaviors). This means that only 15% of the characteristics that applied to action learning were consistently used (i.e., referenced by more than 50% of the descriptions).

Another example might help to clarify this problem. The matrices show that not a single characteristic was used by more than three quarters of the researchers to describe traditional mentoring (i.e., there are no A ratings). Even more interesting is that of the 20 characteristics that are used in the sources to describe traditional mentoring, only 6 have B ratings (i.e., experience/knowledge, span, direction, time frame, emotional support-related behaviors, and career progression-related behaviors). This indicates that only 30% of the characteristics that were linked to traditional mentoring were consistently used (i.e., used by more than 50% of the descriptions).

The above analysis illustrates the inconsistency and wide variety of definitions that are used to describe constructs. Examining a description from the literature helps to explain the issue further. Yoder (1995) described mentoring in the following manner:

Mentoring . . . incorporates the instrumental and psychosocial functions Mentoring occurs when a senior person with experience and position provides information, advice, and emotional support for a junior person

(protégé) in a relationship lasting for an extended time and marked by a substantial emotional commitment by both parties. . . . The hallmarks of mentoring are the duration of the relationship and the power differential of the parties involved. (p. 292)

In some ways, this is a relatively thorough description. It implies that mentoring is a dyadic interaction and describes mentoring by the functions served (e.g., sharing information, counseling, supporting), the direction of the interaction (i.e., downward), the experience/knowledge of the developer (i.e., more experienced), and the duration of the relationship. However, Tables 2, 3, and 4 indicate that other experts have used modeling, encouraging, collaborating, sheltering, developer's location, and beneficiaries (e.g., uni- or bidirectional purposes) as characteristics that describe mentoring – characteristics that are not included in Yoder's (1995) description.

Contradictions in thematrices. Construct descriptions sometimes explicitly contradict one another. Specifically, there are situations in which different experts point to two conflicting characteristics when defining a common construct. For example, the object of development is unclear for action learning. Some descriptions suggest that there is a specific object of development (rated D), whereas many others suggest that the object of development is general (rated C). Coaching, too, has been argued to have both specific and general objects of development. As another example, Table 3 shows that some describe peer mentoring as a unidirectional learning experience, but more sources suggest that it is bidirectional.

Implications for researchers. Because authors focus on different characteristics in describing the same construct, ambiguity exists over the functions that developmental interactions serve, the role of the developer, and the characteristics of the interaction. This becomes especially troublesome when we attempt to summarize our knowledge about a construct across multiple studies (Riley & Wrench, 1985). In essence, researchers may be examining different constructs, despite using similar labels (Chao, 1998), thereby greatly decreasing our confidence in summary findings. We challenge future researchers to clarify the relevance of these characteristics to a construct's meaning when describing their developmental interaction construct.

Improving Future Research Efforts

Finally, analysis of the information contained in the nomological network matrices sheds light on ways to improve future research on developmental interactions. We observe in the matrices that individual construct descriptions often overlook potentially important factors and certain characteristics appear to be in the spotlight. The implications of these findings for future research are described below.

Overlooked factors in the matrices. As previously noted, characteristics with A and B ratings are in the minority in Tables 2, 3, and 4, whereas characteristics with C, D, or blank ratings are in the majority.

Returning to the action learning example, many characteristics were infrequently mentioned (i.e., rated C or D), indicating that the descriptions may have missed relevant information that may be important for describing the construct. For example, development in this form may involve sharing information, collaborating, goal setting, and supporting, even though these elements have received little attention from experts in the past.

Even more concerning is the finding that potentially important characteristics have been completely overlooked (i.e., blank cells in the matrices). Again, considering action learning, behaviors such as befriending, calming, and counseling may be relevant to the meaning of the construct but have been ignored by experts in the past. Furthermore, the literature suggests that individuals in action learning settings work together (i.e., collaborate) for solutions to actual problems. However, the literature fails to address the fact that help on assignments (i.e., the problem at hand in this case) may occur because of this collaboration. These characteristics and others with blank cells were overlooked in the set of descriptions analyzed in the current research.

Certain characteristics are in the spotlight. In the developmental interaction literature, experts and researchers tend to gravitate toward certain characteristics when describing constructs. The matrices illustrate that there are more A and B ratings for span, direction, object of development, time frame, formality, and learning-, emotional support-, and career progression-related behaviors across all constructs than other characteristics. For example, span appears in six different constructs (i.e., action learning, formal/structured mentoring, group mentoring, multiple mentors/developers, traditional/classic mentoring, tutoring), with ratings of more than 50%. Object of development appears with high letter ratings in six constructs as well (i.e., apprenticeship, executive coaching, formal/structured mentoring, group mentoring, peer coaching, tutoring). Time frame is also a popular characteristic, appearing with ratings more than 50% in five constructs.

Having identified a domain of 23 characteristics that could be used to describe the meaning of a construct, we are surprised that only 8 characteristics appear to be dominating construct descriptions. It is clear that current attention is paid to these characteristics, but there is a need to expand the focus to a broader group of defining characteristics. There are 15 characteristics that are receiving less attention in the developmental interaction field. Including them in construct descriptions may help clarify the meaning of constructs. For example, explaining the duration of the developmental interaction, the regularity of interactions, the location of the developer, and the beneficiaries of the interaction may improve construct descriptions.

Implications for researchers. Future work that attempts to consider the full domain of characteristics may improve the definition of action learning and other developmental interaction constructs. An "incomplete" nomological network can leave the meaning of the constructs "underdetermined" (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955, p. 294). It is beneficial for those working and publishing in the field to provide sufficient information on all relevant characteristics when defining and describing their construct of interest.

Implications for Practitioners

With such a small percentage of learning attributable to formal training programs (Tannenbaum, 1997), developmental interactions such as coaching, tutoring, and peer mentoring become an important source of development and thus organizational learning. Yet practitioners, such as human resource development professionals, line managers, and employees, are prone to the same conceptual confusion as researchers. Within an organization, phrases such as "mentoring," "coaching," and "action learning" may be used interchangeably or used by different people to mean different things. When an employee says, "I need some coaching," or a middle manager reports that "we don't get enough mentoring around here," will their request be interpreted as intended? A practical implication of this conceptual confusion is that developmental needs may be unclear and expectations may not be met. The findings described in our study can hopefully provide a starting point for an organization to adopt a common way of talking about developmental interactions, thereby enhancing communication and clarity.

It is increasingly important that human resource development professionals and other practitioners understand the developmental options available to them and consider the choices associated with those options. A review of the taxonomy contained in Table 1 may aid them when selecting or designing an intervention that involves developmental interactions. It could help practitioners explicitly consider their choices and clarify their intentions.

For example, when an organization is considering the implementation of a mentoring program, the program designers should ask the following types of questions: Who is expected to participate? Do we expect experienced people to help less experienced people? Will the program involve mentoring of direct reports? How often and how long do we expect participants to interact? What is the desired medium for the interactions? Will people have a choice to participate? What behaviors will we expect people to exhibit? Table 1 can be used to foster a dialogue about these and other similar questions, clarifying the intent of the intervention, driving more effective design decisions, and allowing for the communication of clearer expectations.

Conclusion

As mentoring, coaching, and other developmental interactions are critical to individual development and organizational success, it is important for researchers to conduct research that explores the cause-and-effect relationships of these interactions. A critical first step, however, is a clear understanding of the construct in question. One way to develop that understanding is by providing "precise explication[s]" of constructs and considering all characteristics of a construct – doing so helps avoid "construct underrepresentation" and improves construct validity (Cook & Campbell, 1979, pp. 64–65).

Given the variety of descriptions, the contradictory descriptions, and dominating characteristics in the literature, the taxonomy of characteristics shown in Table 1 can be a useful starting point for the movement toward conceptual clarity. When applied to the literature on developmental interactions, the resulting nomological network provides a schema that can be used to explore the commonalities of descriptions, both espoused and in practice, as well as the similarities and differences across constructs. The findings can also be used to assist researchers in their efforts to form more complete and sound definitions of developmental interaction constructs. We encourage researchers in each developmental interaction area to review the matrices, note prior agreements and discrepancies, and explicitly state their assumptions (i.e., the characteristics of the construct they are studying). In some cases, it is less about the construct's name and more about the characteristics that are used to describe the construct.

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The Mentoring/Counseling/Coaching Debate: Call a Rose by Any Other Name and Perhaps It's a Bramble?

Bob Garvey

Consider this:

“In practice, mentoring is merely an aggrandizement of the term coaching and counseling is best left to the professionals. The tragedy of mentoring is that it has been hijacked and mugged by the so-called coaching profession who are in it only for financial gain.”

There is lively debate among academics and practitioners in the field of helping people to learn and develop about what is meant by the terms mentoring, coaching and counseling. (Such debate often features in our MSc in Mentoring and Coaching at Sheffield Hallam University.) There is the same debate among practitioners in the different social and business sectors that employ one to one “helping” activities. Increasingly, the different sectors are exchanging experiences and knowledge and the parameters of the discussion are widening and deepening. The main purpose of the paper is to add to the debate and contribute some suggestions on how to move the issue of terminology in “helping” activities forward as well as to raise a number of issues to fuel other debates.

Source: *Development and Learning in Organizations*, 18(2) (2004): 6–8.

Background

Whatever it is called, “helping” is a growing phenomenon. The reasons for this are many but are not within the scope of this paper. However, “helping” activity is increasingly employed in many educational, social and occupational settings. In the educational sector, the term mentoring is used for both professional development and pupil support. In the UK, mentoring in the education sector is taking many different forms with volunteers from business and the community working with youngsters, paid professional learning mentors working in a school and pupils “peer mentoring”, “buddying”, “peer tutoring” or “peer educating” fellow pupils.

Some organizations refer to the activity in general terms as “coaching” although there are variations here – performance coaching, life coaching, business coaching, facilitative management to mention just a few terms. Others call it “mentoring” and some, counseling.

Terminology

I feel concern for anyone starting to explore one to one helping because of the sheer confusion over the terminology!

A seemingly simple thing as to what to call “helping” behavior becomes a real challenge simply because language and the meaning of words is closely linked to social contexts. Therefore words have different and sometimes, quite subtle meanings in different contexts.

There are three main terms used to describe “helping” behaviors – counseling, coaching and mentoring.

In some contexts, counseling has a specific meaning. Within the health service, for example, it is linked to therapeutic interventions by a trained, skilled and highly professional person. Whereas in some business settings the term “business counselor” is associated with helpful support and advice. In the legal profession, one might receive wise counsel from a lawyer.

In sport, a coach has a specific job to help improve and develop a range of skills to boost the sportsperson’s performance, although we now have many famous sports coaches suggesting that they are really mentors! A manager might be a coach of his or her team members, focusing on improving skills and performance. However, there is a rapidly growing field of “life coaches” who claim to focus on helping people understand and improve their lives holistically. There is a movement of “person centered coaches” in business who deal with the “whole person” in the workplace.

In a social setting, a mentor may be someone who offers career advice but in another context a mentor has been described as “the highest level educator”. The mentor can deal with holistic development, may be a role model, a critical friend, but equally in other contexts, so may a coach!

The language of helping is being put under considerable commercial pressure and being subject to extreme “spin” by those with vested interests. Language is part of a power struggle and there is a power struggle in the field of “helping”. There are those in the business world who find the concept of mentoring, for example, too vague, too soft and not focused on “the real world” of hard rationality. To these people, the term coaching is far more acceptable. It sounds harder edged and related to business performance, but then there are those who suggest that coaching is more holistic, dealing with whole people and that mentoring is more about supporting and changing dominant values and culture.

Psychologists have started to become involved and concerned and are beginning to flex their professional muscles in the field of non-therapeutic helping. Groups of interested people are forming and they are laying down standards, codes of ethics and rules for supervision. There is an increasing professionalization of “helping” and the more this trend continues the more the different power bases of those with the alleged high moral ground will assert themselves and perhaps “muddy the waters” as competing interests confuse the users and practitioners.

A Personal View

I think its quite straight forward.

Counseling is a highly skilled one to one helping activity which has an overt therapeutic purpose. It can take many forms and there are many approaches. In the main, the agenda for the discussion is the client's. Counseling also has a focus on the individual.

Coaching is also a skilled activity and its focus is on performance and skill enhancement. It can be both group and one to one. In the main, the agenda for discussion is with the coach. Coaching also has an organizational focus and it is often a power relationship with the coach being the holder of the delegated organizational power. Power has the potential to distort the relationship and real and deep conversation may not occur in this context.

The term mentoring may be associated with induction, career and personal development, personal and career support and change. Mentoring is often relevant when learners are making transitions at key points in their lives. The agenda is the mentee's and mentoring may have both an organizational and an individual focus.

Although within mentoring, contexts and practices vary considerably, a central feature of all mentoring activity is the relationship between the mentee and the mentor. This relationship can make a significant contribution to professional, academic and personal development and learning as the mentee integrates prior and current experience through supportive and challenging dialogue. The relationship can also do the opposite.

Mentoring is a complex human interaction. Its forms depend on the intended purpose of the relationship as well as the social context and the quality of the relationship between the individuals. It is a difficult concept but it is deeply human, normal and very ordinary. In simple terms, it is two people talking with a purpose for the main benefit of one of them (although the other may benefit as well).

Another way of thinking about mentoring is in terms of the skills employed. An experienced mentor will use the full range of counseling and coaching skills as appropriate to the situation and the mentee's needs. In my view, mentoring is a unifying "helping" behavior. It is the umbrella for universal non-therapeutic "helping", although some may say that coaching is this!

Conclusion

There is much evidence that one to one helping activity is both increasing across all sectors and that it has a key role in any learning and development strategy. If we cannot agree universally on the terminology it becomes difficult to know if we are engaging in the same activity, what is being done, how effective it is, if it is value for money or if it is being done to an appropriate standard. If you are an HRD specialist, an educationalist, a social worker or a line-manager this variation in meaning can become very significant.

I believe that we will never get universality, but I also believe that in whatever setting the terminology is used, there needs to be a common understanding of meaning within that setting. It is therefore necessary for the terms to be discussed by the users so that the overlaps in meaning are understood and the differences are appreciated within that context.

It is inevitable that different power groups will fight their particular corners and peddle their particular meanings. It would also be helpful if those who engage in "helping" in whatever context, in whatever way, enabled a clear understanding of what they mean by the terms they use. In this way, users could make informed judgements about the nature of the "helping" on offer.

Therefore, the name does matter but perhaps what matters more is the meaning we place on the name. If we are buying a rose we should at least know what type of rose or we could end up with a bramble!

The Meaning of Coaching and Mentoring

Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson

Introduction

There is lively debate among academics and practitioners alike as to the meaning of the terms ‘mentoring’ and ‘coaching.’ This debate is fuelled and further confused by:

- Variations in the application of mentoring and coaching
- The wide range of contexts in which coaching and mentoring activities take place
- The perceptions of various stakeholders as to the purpose of these conversations
- Commercial, ethical and practical considerations

In the mentoring and coaching literature there are many descriptions and definitions. These differences raise a key question for those interested in definition: *are mentoring and coaching distinctive and separate activities or are they essentially similar in nature?*

In the coaching and mentoring worlds, there are examples of distinct ‘camps’ and in some cases these ‘camps’ are almost tribal (see Gibb and Hill, 2006) in their disdain for one another. In the book *Making Coaching Work* (2005: 15–17). Clutterbuck and Megginson present a range of quotes listed as ‘coaches on coaching’, ‘mentors on mentoring’, ‘mentors on coaching’ and ‘coaches on mentoring’. It seems as though each writer positions their own particular

understanding of either coaching or mentoring as distinctive and different, often by making a disparaging and inaccurate remark about the other.

There is an explanation for the discrepancies and the crude positioning of different viewpoints and this chapter seeks to develop this explanation through an analysis of the 'folk wisdoms' (Bruner, 1990) of the past.

Methodology

We base this chapter on extensive and rigorous literature searches. In the various catalogues and online databases we used to search, we only paid attention to the direct use of the words 'coach', 'coaching', 'mentor' or 'mentoring'. Any description from the past, either in the original text or translations, that did not directly use these words were discounted and at times we suggest that the link to coaching or mentoring is associative and not direct.

We investigated the meanings of these words by examining the descriptions and comments made by the various authors. We also compared and related these historical meanings to modern uses of words 'coach', 'coaching', 'mentor' or 'mentoring'.

We do not seek a justified or 'proved' position here but present a descriptive account based on literature, research and practice.

Folk Wisdoms and Meaning

This research is unique and extensive. It is not exhaustive because we believe that there is yet more to be explored in the hundreds of years of literature on the subject but the significance of these historical links is demonstrated by Bruner's (1990) notion of 'folk wisdoms'. He argues that folk wisdoms or stories play a vital role in shaping understanding of any social phenomena. Bruner (1990: 32–33) suggests that this is central to the notion of human psychology: 'The central concept of human psychology is meaning and the process and transactions involved with the construction of meaning.'

Bruner states that it is the surrounding culture and external environment, not biological factors, that shape human lives and minds. People do this by imposing the patterns inherent in their culture's symbolic systems, 'its language and discourse modes, the forms of logical and narrative explication, and the patterns of mutually dependent communal life' (p. 33). Therefore, with social phenomena such as mentoring and coaching it is necessary to interpret language, symbols and myths in the environment in which they are displayed in order to explicate meaning: 'we shall be able to interpret meanings and meaning-making in a principled manner only in the degree to which we are able to specify the structure and coherence of the larger contexts in which specific meanings are created and transmitted' (p. 64).

Bruner believes that 'folk wisdom' is communicated through narrative and that 'we take meaning from our historical pasts which gave shape to our

culture and we distribute meaning through interpersonal dialogue' (p. 77). Bruner's views, we believe, relate very strongly to coaching and mentoring but Bruner does not use either word in his writings – we have therefore made an associative link.

Indirect Early Links to Mentoring

Plato and Socrates

There are resonating links but no direct references in translation to mentoring in Plato's (427–347 BC) writings (1997). In his earlier work Plato employs Socratic (469–399 BC) philosophy and some translators and introduction writers (Nehamas and Woodruff, 1989; Taffel, 2004) refer to Socrates as Plato's mentor. In brief, according to Plato, the main thrust of Socrates' teaching is that true knowledge emerges through dialogue, systematic questioning and participation in critical debate. Further, Socrates calls learners to 'know yourself'. Mentoring activity today is associated with dialogue, questioning and developing self-knowledge but we could find no evidence in translation of Plato (1997) using the word 'mentor' despite his references to Homer. We therefore conclude that links between Socratic dialogue and mentoring in the modern world are associative and not direct.

Aristotle

Some (e.g. Cottingham, 2007) state that Plato was Aristotle's mentor. Aristotle was among the first of the ancients to develop a philosophy of learning. This involved three aspects: the *practical* (as associated with political and ethical life); the *theoretical* (the seeking of truth through thought, observation, consideration and the achievement of knowledge for its own sake); and the *productive* (making something). A learner may separate or combine these different elements to achieve varied understandings of different types of knowledge through the application of different techniques (Carr and Kemmis, 1986). We believe that the modern concept of mentoring draws on this ancient tradition of the triangle of knowing. But, in the translations of Aristotle we explored there is no direct use of the word 'mentor'.

Direct Early Links to Mentoring

Homer

The first mention of mentoring in literature was about three thousand years ago. The original mentor was a friend and adviser of Telemachus, Odysseus' son, in Homer's epic poem *The Odyssey*. The Indo-European root 'men' means

‘to think’ and in ancient Greek the word ‘mentor’ means adviser. So, mentor is an adviser of thought.

Within Homer, there are many confusing and contradictory events. Some writers have drawn selectively on them in order to make a point; for example, the violence of the original story is often glossed over (see Garvey and Megginson, 2004), the social norms and context of the day are inadequately explored and some (Harquail and Blake, 1993) raise confusing gender issues found in the original story. Others (see, e.g., Whitmore, 2002) suggest that the *Odyssey* implies a directive approach to mentoring but our reading of the *Odyssey* leads us to believe that the mentoring is more based on experiential learning with support and challenge. There can be little doubt that some of the ideas presented in Homer’s version of mentoring remain relevant today and we discuss these later in this chapter.

Eighteenth-Century Writings on Mentoring

Fénélon (1651–1715). Archbishop of Cambrai and later tutor to Louis XIV’s heir, in his seminal work *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, developed the mentoring theme of *The Odyssey*. It is a case history of human development and demonstrates that life’s events are potential learning experiences. Fénélon shows us that the activity of observing others provides both positive and negative learning opportunities. He suggests that pre-arranged or chance happenings, if fully explored with the support and guidance of a mentor, provide opportunities for the learner to acquire a high level understanding of ‘the ways of the world’ very quickly.

Eighteenth-century France viewed Fénélon’s work as a political manifesto presenting an ideal political system based on the concept of the paradox of a monarchy-led republic. There was a clear focus on the development and education of leaders – something with which both mentoring and coaching are associated today. Fénélon implied that leadership could be developed through guided experience. Louis XIV saw this as a challenge to the divine right of kings and he banished Fénélon to Cambrai and cancelled his pension.

Les Aventures de Télémaque appears again in France in Rousseau’s educational treatise *Emile* (1762). Rousseau, probably the founder of the notion of ‘experiential learning’, was profoundly influenced by Fénélon’s ideas on development. He focussed on dialogue as an important element in learning and gave clear guidance on the ideal class size for effective education – one to one! In his book *Emile*, Telemachus becomes a model, perhaps a metaphor for learning, growth and social development. The central character, Emile, is given a copy of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* as a guide to his developmental journey.

Further early writings on mentoring can be found in the work of Louis Antonine de Caraccioli (1723–1803). As Engstrom (2006) noted, Caraccioli

wrote *Veritable le Mentor ou l'education de la noblesse* in 1759 and it was translated into English in 1760 to become *The True Mentor; or, an Essay on the Education of Young People in Fashion*. This work describes mentoring mainly from the perspective of the mentor. Caraccioli acknowledges the influence of Fénelon's work on his own. Caraccioli writes: 'we stand in need of academics to form the heart at the same time that they enrich the mind' (1760: vii). Caraccioli was also interested in the therapeutic effects of mentoring conversations when he says 'Melancholy so common a complaint with the most voluptuous has no effect on the man who possess reflection' (vs 35, 88).

In 1750, the term 'Mentor' (according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*) was used in the English language by Lord Chesterfield in a letter to his son (8 March 1750, letter number CVII) to describe a developmental process:

These are resolutions which you must form, and steadily execute for yourself, whenever you lose the friendly care and assistance of your Mentor. In the meantime, make a greedy use of him; exhaust him, if you can, of all his knowledge; and get the prophet's mantle from him, before he is taken away himself.

Later, Lord Byron (1788–1824) used the term 'Mentor' in his poems *The Curse of Minerva* and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* ('Stern Mentor urg'd from high to yonder tide'), and in *The Island* Byron refers to the sea as 'the only mentor of his youth'. Given the classical educational background of these writers (ancient Greek literature was a part of their curriculum), it is likely that they derived the concept from Homer. It is also interesting to note the dual description of 'mentor' as either 'friendly and caring' or 'stern'.

Two volumes of the publication *The Female Mentor* appears in the English language in 1793 with a third volume in 1796. These works are recordings of conversations about topics of interest among a group of women referred to as 'the society'. The author, Honoria, identifies and describes the characteristics of the female mentor, not as the substance of the book but rather as a commentary and series of asides made throughout the volumes. The introduction to Volume 1 gives the reader the purpose of the books and states: 'If the following conversations should afford you some amusement, and if you should think them calculated to lead the youthful and unbiased mind in the ways of virtue, I shall feel highly gratified' (vol. 1, p. i). The mentor, Amanda, was aware of Fénelon and his approach to education and life seemed to have been a model for 'the society'.

The philosophical underpinnings of the discussions in the books are broad and draw on, for example, the philosophy of ancient Egypt, Christianity, Greek civilization and ideas on nature. There are also a number of discussions about famous women as positive role models, for example 'Anne Bolen, Queen Consort of Henry Eighth' and 'On Learned Ladies'.

Detailed Historical Descriptions of Mentoring Practice and the Links to Modern Discourses

Homer

The original Mentor has two personas. One is Mentor, the Ithacan and friend to Odysseus. Odysseus asked Mentor to be the guardian of his son, Telemachus. The other is Athena, 'The goddess of civil administration, war and, most notably, wisdom' (Harquail and Blake, 1993: 3) Athena takes on the guise of Mentor to protect the stability and wealth of Ithaca during Odysseus' absence. Athena sees Telemachus as key to the achievement of this aim. She establishes Telemachus' potential, first in the guise of Mentees, with a series of tests and sets about taking him on a voyage of discovery and learning. This story is therefore about Athena as mentor rather than Mentor himself.

The following characteristics of mentoring displayed by Homer's Athena are drawn from Garvey's (1998) narrative research. We suggest that modern discourses in both coaching and mentoring draw on these early descriptions of mentoring. To support this claim, we have put two references from modern literature after each bullet point. The first reference comes from mentoring literature and the second from coaching. We use this approach in all the following historical descriptions:

- Athena assessed and helped develop potential (Cox, 2000; Wilson, 2004)
- The relationship had a clear sense of purpose and direction (Bush and Coleman, 1995; Cramm and May, 1998)
- Athena was aware of the balance and split of attention between the learner (Telemachus) and the organization (Ithaca). Athena was supportive and loyal to both (Garvey and Williamson, 2002; Downey, 2003)
- Telemachus had a range of developers and some of these developers had specific skills and motives in mind to help him progress (Bowerman and Collins, 1999; Higgins and Kram, 2001)
- Trust was present in all the learning relationships (Connor, 1994; Bluckert, 2005)
- There was both challenge and support in the relationships (Gladstone, 1988; McCauley et al., 1998)
- Athena enabled Telemachus to make his own decisions by fostering and encouraging independence (Clutterbuck, 1992; Krazmien and Berger, 1997)

The Fénélon Development

In Fénélon, we discover, through the narrative, descriptions of the benefits, characteristics and skills of mentoring. These include:

- Mentors use reflective questions (Hallett, 1997; Garvey and Alred, 2000)
- Mentors support and help to remove of 'fear of failure' by building confidence (Ellinger et al., 2005; Megginson et al., 2005)
- A mentor is assertiveness and calm in the face of adversity (http://www.prospects.ac.uk/downloads/occpfiles/profile_pdfs/A6_Learning_mentor.pdf; Atkinson, 2005)
- A mentor is confident and self aware (Nelson and Quick, 1985; Byrne, 2005)
- A mentor has charismatic leadership abilities (Hjermstad, 2002; Goldsmith, 2006)
- Role modelling goes on in mentoring (Robertson, 2005; Fracaro, 2006)
- Mentoring involves experiential learning (Kellar et al., 1995; Salimbene et al., 2005)
- A mentor is inspirational (Nankivell and Shoolbred, 1997; Vermaak and Weggeman, 1999)
- Trust is essential (Connor, 1994; Bluckert, 2005)

Caraccioli's Contribution

In Caraccioli a mentor:

- Expresses wisdom (Garvey et al., 1996; Bluckert, 2005)
- Has self-knowledge leading to the enhanced knowledge of others (Nelson and Quick, 1985; Byrne, 2005)
- Builds rapport and establishes trust (Tabbron et al., 1997; Giglio et al., 1998)
- Is empathetic and inspirational (Giglio et al., 1998; Hansford and Ehrich, 2006)
- Is sought out rather than seeks pupils (mentees/coachees) (Garvey and Galloway, 2002; Jones et al., 2006)
- Has a sense of goodness based on deep religious values (Lantos, 1999; no reference found to this in modern coaching literature)
- Understands the cultural climate of the pupil (coachee/mentee) (Johnson et al., 1999; Lloyd and Rosinski, 2005)
- Prefers the positive and distinguishing truth from falsehood (Garvey et al., 1996; Murray, 2004)
- Acts from the principle of conscience and not self-interest (Appelbaum et al., 1994; no direct reference could be found in modern coaching literature to this quality of the coach – the closest is 'person centredness' found in Bluckert, 2005)
- Does not deal with trifles (Garvey et al., 1996; Giglio et al., 1998)
- Draws on experiences (Kellar et al., 1995; Salimbene et al., 2005)

- Helps to direct attention and assists in making decisions (Brunner, 1998; Pegg, 1999)
- Encourages varied reading and discussing literature (not mentioned in either discourse)
- Develops and encourages reflection (Barnett, 1995; Ellinger and Bostrom, 1999)

Caraccioli provides a staged and progressive mentoring process model:

Observation leading to...
 Toleration leading to...
 Reprimands leading to...
 Correction leading to...
 Friendship leading to...
 Awareness

Caraccioli's model aims to develop 'awareness' as the main outcome of mentoring and it offers two versions of mentoring within the same model. One is the 'stern mentor' alluded to by Byron who 'reprimands' and 'corrects', while the other is the 'friendly mentor' in Lord Chesterfield's letter to his son who 'observes', 'tolerates' and offers 'friendship'.

Making allowances for historical changes in the meanings of words, this model also resonates with modern discourses on mentoring and coaching. For example, 'observation' can be an aspect of performance coaching and 'toleration' could be linked to listening and acceptance, 'reprimand' with challenge, 'correction' with skills coaching, 'friendship' is often discussed in mentoring literature and 'awareness' is discussed within both mentoring and coaching.

Caraccioli contributes two further concepts. The first is what we now call 'supervision'. Caraccioli's view is that a mentor needs an experienced and successful mentor as a guide. The second is a description of the phases of life:

1. The torrid, which is our youth
2. The temperate (the state of manhood)
3. The frigid or old age where our imagination falters and our passions and desires subside

Modern discourses on mentoring also refer to 'life cycles' and stages or phases of the relationship (see, for example, Kram, 1983 and Alred et al., 1997).

Honoraria

In *The Female Mentor or Select Conversations* by Honoraria (1793/6) we find further and similar descriptions of a female mentor, Amanda. Honoraria was Amanda's daughter and she writes: 'she [Amanda] endeavoured to instil

instruction into our tender minds by relating either moral or religious tales, and by entering into a course of reading, which while it inculcated a lesson, was calculated to engage our attention' (p. 6). *The Female Mentor* is an account of group mentoring. The group, started by Amanda, was originally for her own children but word soon spread and *the society* developed to include other people's children and later adults. Deep religious values underpin Amanda's work.

These works show that the female mentor has many of the qualities of described by Homer, Fénelon and Caraccioli, and that the main approach for acquiring these qualities is through role modelling.

The Beginnings of Coaching

In the modern coaching literature, Hughes (2003) suggests that the term coaching also has its origins in ancient Greece and links to Socratic dialogue. De Haan (2008: 1) also suggests that coaching originates from ancient Greece: 'It is important to realise here that inspiring coaching conversations have been passed down from classical times. . .'. His book has many classical images within it as if to reinforce the link. However, as this section demonstrates the link to classical times is speculative and associative. Brunner (1998: 516) takes this link further with a more direct association when he asks the question, 'Would coaching thus be the modern version of the Socratic dialogue?' This is an important question and, according to Krohn (1998), there are four indispensable components within Socratic dialogue.

The Concrete

By keeping with concrete experience it becomes possible to gain insight by linking any statement with personal experience. In this way the dialogue concerns the whole person.

Full Understanding between Participants

This involves more than simple verbal agreement. All parties to the dialogue need to be clear about the meaning of what has just been said by testing it against her or his own concrete experience. Limiting beliefs need to be made conscious in order for them to be transcended.

Adherence to a Subsidiary Question Until It Is Answered

For a dialogue to achieve adherence, each participant in the dialogue needs to be committed to their work and develop self-confidence in the power of reason. This means to be persistent in the face of challenge, calm and humble enough

to accept a different course in the dialogue in order to return to the subsidiary question. It is about honouring digressions while being persistent.

Striving for Consensus

This requires honesty, trust and faith in the examination of the thoughts of both self and others. These are the conditions of consensus and it is the striving that is important and not necessarily the consensus itself.

Clearly, there are many resonances in this explanation of Socratic dialogue with modern writings on both coaching and mentoring. There are no translations of Plato that we looked at that used the term 'coaching' and therefore modern writers like Brunner (1998) Hughes (2003) and de Haan (2008) have made associative and not direct links to classical times and, in particular, Socrates. Additionally, Socratic dialogue was about groups of people and not pairs as in coaching.

Brunner (1998: 516), however, does offer an insightful comment on the meaning of coaching when he states: 'coaching takes many forms, from technical counselling to the psychological domination that flirts with suggestion, for this is a domain devoid of any fixed deontology.' According to Brunner, then, coaching has multiple meanings and is subject to contextual variation. History supports this view.

The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, states that the earliest uses of the term 'coaching' in the English language can be traced to 1849 in Thackeray's novel *Pendennis*. This probable first use of the term is in fact a pun. Some university students are travelling back to university in a horse-drawn coach:

'I'm coaching there,' said the other, with a nod. 'What?' asked Pen, and in a tone of such wonder, that Foke burst out laughing, and said, 'He was blown if he didn't think Pen was such a flat as not to know what coaching meant.' 'I'm come down with a coach from Oxford. A tutor, don't you see, old boy? He's coaching me, and some other men, for the little go. . .'

Following this publication, the term 'coaching' seems to have been associated with supporting university students and academic attainment, for example, F. Smedley writes in 1850: 'Besides the regular college tutor, I secured the assistance of what, in the slang of the day, we irreverently termed "a coach".' It is not clear why the term was regarded as 'irreverent'.

During the nineteenth century the term coaching was used extensively in association with the development of boating and rowing skills as well as to enhance performance in these activities. For example, in 1867 the *Evening Standard*, on 14 February, reported: 'The crew being coached by Mr. F. Willan and Mr. G. Morrison, from the former gentleman's steamboat.' And in 1885 the *Manchester Guardian*, on 28 March, reported: 'A thoroughly clever coach was able to advise them from first to last. Under his careful tuition the crew

have improved steadily.' Also associated with boating in 1889 the *Daily News*, on 29 January, commented on the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race: 'The President superintended the coaching from horseback.'

Additionally, another nineteenth-century link to sport (cricket) can be found in Harrison's (1888) *The Choice of Books and Other Literary Pieces*: 'To call in professional "coaches" to teach the defence of the wicket.'

Presumably referring to life skills, in 1887 Sir R.H. Roberts, in *In the Shires* (viii, 128), wrote: 'These young ladies, although ably coached by their mother. . .'

There is comment in the 1866 edition of the *London Review*, on 18 August (180/1), which says: 'The coach and the coachee can soothe their consciences by the reflection.' This is a very interesting reference for two reasons. First, it is probably the first recorded use of the term 'coachee' to describe the focus of the coach's activity. Second, the emphasis on *reflection* contrasts with the rather more didactic stance of the previous citations associated with coaching.

As far as we can discover, there are no works predating the nineteenth century devoted to exploring or describing the meaning and practice of coaching. We therefore conclude that coaching, relative to mentoring, is a newer term.

The Dyadic Relationship

Both mentoring and coaching are dyadic partnerships and to further explore the discourses surrounding them, we draw on Simmel's (1950) seminal theoretical sociological work on the nature of the dyad.

Simmel's Dyads

Simmel observed that one element of the dyadic relationship is that *two* is the maximum number of people needed for the security of a 'secret'. In modern parlance 'secrecy' could be replaced by the word 'confidentiality'. Confidentiality is fundamental to the success of both coaching and mentoring relationships as described in many recent texts; see, for example, MacLennan (1995), Clutterbuck and Megginson (1999), Grodzki and Allen (2005) and Megginson et al. (2005).

According to Simmel, the element of 'secrecy' also places a mutual dependency on the relationship. This is because, if another person is added to the pair, the social structure fundamentally alters, for example, if one person 'drops out' of the relationship of three, the group can still exist in the remaining two. Clearly, in a dyad if one drops out, the group is at an end. Modern writings on both mentoring and coaching regard dependency as a problem and something to be avoided. However, the modern discourses on coaching and mentoring do stress the allied notions of 'trust', 'commitment' and 'active involvement' as important elements of the relationship.

The certainty that any dyadic relationship may end can be a powerful influence on the partnership. According to Simmel, the sense of the inevitable end has the potential to lead to either greater dependency or a lack of trust due to the inherent risk of closing down within the relationship. However, the risk of the end can also have the effect of bringing the pair closer together in a sense of uniqueness.

Within the discourse of coaching and mentoring, the issue of 'the ending' is important and both discourses raise the issue of proper closures and endings of the relationship (see Garvey, 1994b; Clutterbuck and Lane, 2004; Grodzki and Allen, 2005).

Simmel also mentions the concept of 'triviality' in relation to the dyad. Simmel suggests that this is created by the initial expectations in the relationship failing to materialize in practice. Additionally, the regularity and frequency of experiences within the relationship may create a sense 'triviality' and this can result in the dyad closing down. In short, the pair or one of the pair may run out of things to say and get bored! The 'content' of a relationship can be measured by its rarity and in partnerships that 'do not result in higher units, the tone of triviality frequently becomes desperate and fatal' (Simmel, 1950: 126). So, there is a need for continued renewal and stimulation within the dyad for it to survive. Neilson and Eisenbach (2003) found in mentoring that renewal through regular feedback about the relationship within the relationship was a significant contributor successful outcomes.

Simmel also states that within the dyad there is potential for great intimacy. He suggests that the dyadic form provides the ingredients for deep friendship and has an in-built tendency for intimacy and mutual dependence. Simmel makes it clear that this is not due to the 'content' (the things the individuals discuss) within the relationship but the unique shared quality of the relationship. Intimacy exists 'if the 'internal' side of the relation is felt to be essential; if its whole affective structure is based on what each of the two participants give or show only to the one other person and to nobody else' (Simmel, 1950: 126).

Many modern writers raise the issue of intimacy in mentoring, for example: Levinson et al. (1978); Torrance (1984); Bennetts (1995, 1996); Hurley and Fagenson-Eland (1996); Scandura et al. (1996); Hale (2000) Samier (2000); Friday et al. (2004). In these writings 'intimacy' is discussed as both an important and positive element of the relationship and a potential source of difficulties and abuse. Levinson et al. (1978: 100) states that 'mentoring is best understood as a form of love relationship' and as such 'it is a difficult one to terminate'.

Within coaching, the element of 'intimacy' in dyad is not widely discussed in the literature. To illustrate, using The Emerald Online Library, we completed a literature search by searching the word 'coaching' and 'mentoring'. We then randomly selected 25 articles from the search list and searched for the word 'intimacy' in these 25 articles. The 'mentoring + intimacy' search resulted in 25 hits and 'coaching + intimacy' resulted in no hits.

It seems then that there is some resonance between Simmel's writings of the early twentieth century and the modern discourses of coaching and mentoring. There are also differences. Simmel describes some of the qualitative elements such as friendship, intimacy and mutuality and it seems that the modern discourses of mentoring also tackle these elements whereas these elements are not so commonly approached within the coaching literature. We suspect that this difference may be explained with reference to the different social contexts in which mentoring and coaching sometimes take place. We will elaborate on this comment later in the chapter.

Pulling the Threads Together

The history of mentoring is very long. The core mentoring model, as described in the past, is one of the more mature and experienced engaging in a relationship with a younger and less experienced person. In these early accounts, the central purpose of mentoring is to assist the learner to integrate as a fully functioning person within the society they inhabit. This still remains as one of the purposes (but not the only) of modern coaching and mentoring. However, the mentor or coach, in current times may be a peer.

In the historical writings on both coaching and mentoring, specific knowledge and skills are transferred from one to the other but with the intention of fostering independence. There is some confusion here in some of the modern literature. A typical example is in Rosinski (2004: 5), where he states:

Although leaders can act as coaches, I have found that this role is often confused with mentoring. Coaches act as facilitators. Mentors give advice and expert recommendations. Coaches listen, ask questions, and enable coachees to discover for themselves what is right for them. Mentors talk about their own personal experience, assuming this is relevant for the mentees.

Later, he presents the issue of knowledge transfer in coaching and says: 'In my view coaches are also responsible for transferring knowledge. Coaches don't simply help resolve coachees' issues. They actually share their knowledge so that coachees can become better coaches. For example, the coach will briefly explain his frame of reference' (2004: 245).

In the first comment, 'mentor' is perhaps characterized as the 'stern mentor' giving advice or perhaps the 'reprimand' and 'corrective' model put forward by Caraccioli, with the coach represented as the 'friendly facilitator'. In the later comment, Rosinski presents the coach as a 'giver of advice' or, in his words, the 'knowledge transferer' but Rosinski reduces its significance by using the word 'briefly' almost as if 'briefly' makes the advice giving less important. Further, it is difficult in our minds to distinguish between 'personal experience' and 'frame of reference'.

This example shows how modern writers on mentoring and coaching draw selectively on certain, albeit subliminal, dominant narratives and present them as versions of the truth. Bruner's (1990) point made earlier in this chapter about the importance of the social context to illuminate meaning seems to hold true. A coaching writer has a particular story to tell as does a mentoring writer. Sadly, this is often at the expense of one over the other.

Homer, Fénelon, Caraccioli and Honoria offer similar, comprehensive and complementary descriptions of mentoring qualities, processes and skills and these attributes feature in modern writings on both mentoring and coaching. Many of the characteristics of 'mentor' outlined in these texts are desirable in modern coaching practice.

The term coaching, when compared with the term mentoring, seems to have a more recent history in the English language. The nineteenth-century writings on coaching focus on performance and attainment, originally in an educational setting but also in sport and life. There is some historical evidence that coaching was also about reflection and the development of 'life skills'. Similar to the mentor, the coach is the skilled, more experienced or more knowledgeable person.

Crucial to the success of mentoring, as outlined in the historical texts, is the development of the *relationship* between mentor and mentee. Historical writers describe this as forms of friendship. In modern writings (Clutterbuck and Megginson, 1999) 'friendship' is still strongly linked to mentoring but the link between 'friendship' and coaching is not so strong.

To illustrate, we completed the same search exercise explained above for 'intimacy' using the word 'friend'. In articles about coaching, 'friend' is mentioned in five of them, with the writers referring to the coach as 'friendly', positing this as a key characteristic of the coach. The 'mentoring + friend' search yielded 14 hits. In these articles 'friendship' is posited as an outcome of mentoring or as an element of relationship building.

All 50 articles discussed either mentoring or coaching in a range of settings but, in the main, they were work-related contexts.

Coaching is still a dominant practice in sport and the term is used extensively in business environments. This is either in the form of internal line manager coaches or with the use of external and paid coaches. These are often positioned as 'executive coaches'. Life coaching is almost exclusively linked to paid practice. Coaching is still associated with performance improvement of a specific kind related to a job role but it is also increasingly linked to leadership development, transition and change and generally developing a focus for the future (see Chapter 5). We believe that coaching is adopting the historical descriptions of mentoring.

Mentoring activity is found in all sectors of society and includes both paid and voluntary activities. It is also associated with 'off line' partnerships. The relationship elements are important and terms like 'friendship' in the modern literature generally views this as acceptable and natural. Mentoring is more

associated with 'voluntarism' than coaching, although we do accept that it would not be possible to compel anyone to be coached (see Chapter 5).

Coaching is not as strongly associated with mutuality as mentoring is (see Chapter 5), although we suspect, as Simmel (1950) suggests, that mutuality is inevitable. If both benefit, this raises a question around the issue of payment which we discuss in Chapter 15.

Modern concepts of coaching and mentoring also include explorations of the emotional self which resonate with Caraccioli's call, when writing about mentoring, to educate the 'mind' and the 'heart'.

Current Research

Recent research (Willis, 2005) into mentoring and coaching standards undertaken by the European Mentoring and Coaching Council (EMCC) suggests that in practice there is much common ground between mentoring and coaching (see Figure 1). The research identified eight main categories in which competencies might be identified as follows:

- Process
- Domain specific knowledge, expertise and focus
- Professionalism and building a practice
- Self
- Skills

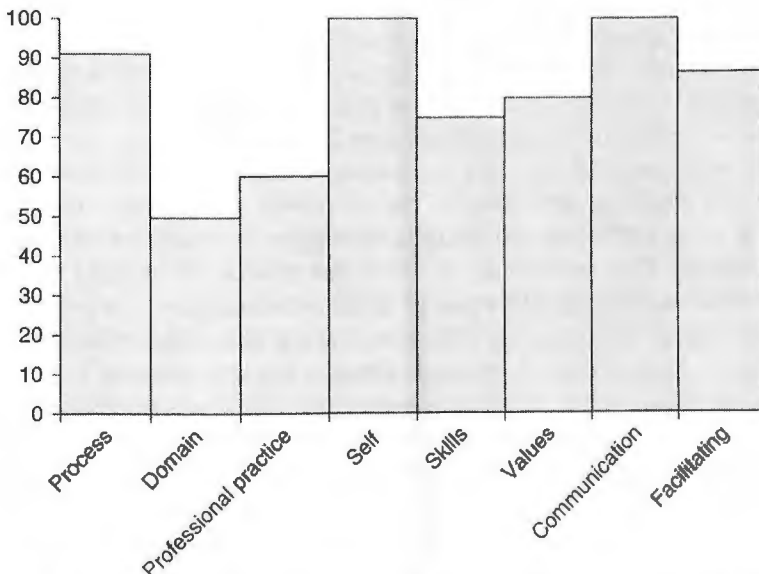


Figure 1: Percentage of agreement among practitioners about mentoring and coaching competencies

- Values and approach
- Communication
- Facilitating

Within the categories of 'Domain specific knowledge, expertise and focus' and 'Professionalism and building a practice' the respondents give a lack of agreement as to the competencies required of a mentor or coach. Both of these represent the different social contexts in which mentoring and coaching takes place and we suggest that it is this explains the lower level of agreement among practitioners.

The Same and Different

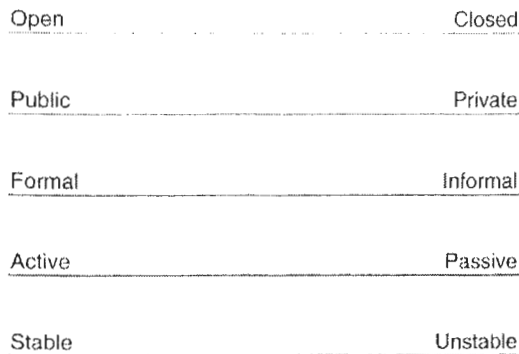
It would seem that in practice, there is much common ground despite claims to the contrary found in modern writings. This situation may be explained by considering the issue of 'mindset'.

The idea of 'organizational mindset' is an important one. Senge (1992) describes the concept as 'mental models' and Bettis and Prahalad (1995) call it 'the dominant logic'. They argue that mental models and dominant logic greatly influence both behaviour and thinking process and have the potential to inhibit or enhance learning capabilities.

'Mental modes are deeply ingrained assumptions, generalizations or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action' (Senge, 1992: 8).

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979) there are two opposing 'mind-sets' in social science – the 'objectivist' and the 'subjectivist'. The 'objectivist' tradition favours cause and effect and positivistic methodologies, whereas the 'subjectivist' tradition views social research from an antipositivist perspective and favours a descriptive framework (see Chapter 2).

Arguably, many decision makers, managers and funders who employ mentoring and coaching tend towards the objectivist perspective, consequently seeking cause and effect justifications to support expenditure on mentoring and coaching. This, we believe, has led to the general widespread 'commodification' of coaching in particular as those who engage in its practice seek to demonstrate its impact in 'objectivist' terms. Our experience shows that managers of some publicly funded schemes are also moving towards this belief (see Colley, 2003). The consequence of this shift is reflected in a change in the discourse as we have seen earlier in this chapter in a movement away from using the language of 'the heart' towards a cleaner language of rationality or the 'brain'. Coaching and mentoring may suffer from what Habermas (1974) refers to as 'misplaced concreteness'. Here, the social phenomenon is attributed with a hard, solid, rational reality as though it were a product of a factory and, in the case of mentoring and coaching, they are placed in the



First published in Garvey, B. (1994) 'A dose of mentoring', *Education and Training*, 36(4), pp. 18–26.

Figure 2: Dimensions framework

discourse as 'tools' of production. We also believe that, either consciously or subconsciously, modern writers on coaching make the links to classical times to add credibility and substance to the coaching phenomenon.

Mentoring and coaching draw on different traditions of research. Coaching research, currently at least, tends to focus on outcomes and return on investment calculations. Mentoring research tends to look at the functional issues (see Chapter 2).

Schon offers insight into this as follows: 'On the high ground, management problems lend themselves to solution through the application of research based theory and technique. In the swampy lowland, messy confusing problems defy technical solution' (1987: 3).

Mentoring and coaching, in our view, despite the 'commodification' are quite firmly in the 'swampy lowlands' and, if there is to be enhanced understanding, we must continue to 'thickly describe' (Geertz, 1971) coaching and mentoring in as many different contexts as possible.

Dimensions

The 'objectivist' tradition favours definition over description but by their very nature definitions seek to simplify and condense. In this age of increasing complexity, simplification may have appeal. The range of contexts or domains in which mentoring and coaching is found suggests that definition alone cannot adequately reflect the complexity of meaning and we argue that the meaning of coaching and mentoring is fundamentally determined by the social context.

A way forward is to view mentoring and coaching from a 'subjectivist' tradition and view mentoring and coaching descriptively. The notion of 'dimensions' in mentoring was first put forward by Garvey in 1994. By looking at the dimensions of dyadic relationships in context it is possible to consider their

characteristics not as fixed positions but in relation to a moving and changing dynamic over time.

The dimensions were first identified as follows:

The *open/closed* dimension is about the content. What kind of things will be talked about? This is up for discussion. If it is open, then anything is on the agenda. If it is closed, the discussion may be focussed on specific issues.

The *public/private* dimension is about who knows mentoring is going on. If the mentoring is in an organization, keeping it private may lead to speculation about its purpose and nature. Making it public is good for mentoring and good for the relationship in the organizational context.

The *formal/informal* dimension is about the administration and management of the relationship. In a formal arrangement, the mentoring pair may agree meetings in advance, take notes, time limit the discussion, agree to meet in a regular venue at regular intervals. If it is informal they will meet on an 'as required basis' and generally work on a 'go with the flow' basis.

The *active/passive* dimension is about activity. Who does what in the relationship? The mentee is the more active in the relationship as he or she is the one undergoing change and carrying out action plans. The mentor may also agree to take some actions, such as gathering information for the mentee, and may indeed, at times, ask the mentee for a meeting. If both feel the mentoring is passive, if not much is happening, it is probably time to review the mentoring relationship.

The *stable/unstable* dimension is about trust and consistency. It is about sticking to the groundrules while being prepared to jointly review them. It is about sticking to the meeting schedule and not changing it (particularly at the last minute). It is about developing momentum to the mentoring a process and maintaining it.

The 'dimensions' framework describes the type of coaching or mentoring within a particular setting without needing to resort to definitional positioning.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there can be no 'one best way' in mentoring and coaching and therefore no one definition. Practitioners draw on similar traditions of one-to-one developmental dialogue and position their particular brand according to the environment in which they operate. Both traditions draw on a similar range of skill sets and adapt them according to the nature and form of the dialogue in use within the environmental setting.

The question 'Whose agenda is it?' helps to highlights the similarities and the differences between the terms mentoring and coaching and we discuss this further in Chapter 7.

Another issue is the dynamic quality of the relationship between the two participants over time. The dimensions framework offers a way of agreeing

the nature and form of the relationship at the start, reviewing it over time or noticing the changes as they happen. In this way both the similarities and the differences can be understood descriptively rather than by a positioning or tribal definition.

The meaning of coaching and mentoring is a changing dynamic with certain elements remaining constant but with others changing and it is this that explains the confusing array of definitions found in modern discourses.

To return, then, to the original question: *are mentoring and coaching distinctive and separate activities or are they essentially similar in nature?*

The above evidence suggests that, although the original roots are different, both mentoring and coaching in the modern context selectively draw on a range of the same narratives or, in Bruner's (1990) term, 'folk wisdoms' to describe the activity. However, it seems that coaching and mentoring are essentially similar in nature.

The Future

We acknowledge and accept that it is very unlikely that there will ever be widespread consensus as to the meaning of coaching and mentoring in any particular context. As Garvey suggests: 'in whatever the setting the terminology is used, there needs to be a common understanding of meaning within that setting' (2004a: 8). This suggests that localized understanding is important and perhaps that is the best that can be done in a social practice that has such variation of purpose, scope and application. However, the term coachmentor seems to be in use fairly commonly in the UK at least and we wonder if this may be another way forward.

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Scoping the Field: Definitions and Divergence of Practice

Simon Western

Coaching and Mentoring: Differentiated or Merged?

Coaching and mentoring are contested and confused terms that embrace multiple and diverse practices. This chapter will initially discuss the similarities and differences between coaching and mentoring and then briefly ‘scope the field’ to discuss the typology of the coaching and mentoring landscape, identifying the diversity that occurs under the names ‘coaching and mentoring’.

The terms ‘coaching’ and ‘mentoring’ cause much confusion – some people use them interchangeably and others clearly differentiate them. There is no commonly agreed, shared view of the terms ‘coaching’ and ‘mentoring’. Julie Hay, ex-President of EMCC (European Mentoring and Coaching Council) writes that her hopes for coaching and mentoring to become clearly differentiated over time were dashed and ‘as time has passed the coaching and mentoring profession is probably even more confusing’. She describes how the EMCC made a policy decision while she was President to refer to coaching/mentoring as a single term in order to prompt people to ‘spell out their definitions rather than realizing too late that they had been discussing different things’ (Hay, 2007: 4). The European Mentoring and Coaching Council (EMCC) website puts it like this:

Source: *Coaching and Mentoring: A Critical Text* (London, UK: SAGE Publications, 2012), pp. 41–69.

The term 'coach/mentoring' is used to describe all types of coaching or mentoring that may be taking place, both in the work environment and outside. The EMCC recognize that there will be many types of coach/mentoring taking place and these will need to be defined when more detailed standards are produced.

In the last few years the clarity I had about the differences between coaching and mentoring has faded owing to popular usage, misunderstandings, misappropriation and simply because of the global diversity of approaches that blur all clear distinctions. Today, if you work in the field of coaching or mentoring it is important to clarify what precisely you are discussing or contracting, without assuming others are sharing your understanding of terms.

The ICF (International Coach Federation), the world's largest coaching organization, does differentiate between coaching and mentoring, whilst also acknowledging (and perhaps creating) some confusion. These quotes were from their website in 2008:

Mentoring, which can be thought of as guiding from one's own experience or sharing of experience in a specific area of industry or career development, is sometimes confused with coaching.

They continue and reveal the confusion:

Although some coaches provide mentoring as part of their coaching, such as in mentor coaching new coaches, coaches are not typically mentors to those they coach. (ICF, 2008)

This quote reveals the merging and overlapping between coaching and mentoring. However, there are tangible differences between them, which are discussed below.

Definition of Terms

Table 1 shows definitions of coaching and mentoring adapted from coaching programmes. I directed at Lancaster University Management School in 2007.

Table 1: Coaching and mentoring: Definition of terms, 2007

<i>Coaching</i>	<i>Mentoring</i>
Sports coaching	US mentoring
Life-coaching	Informal mentoring
Business coaching	Formal mentoring
Executive coaching	Internal and business mentoring
Leadership coaching	New hire mentoring
Careers coaching	Reverse mentoring
Tele-cyber coaching	Voluntary mentoring
Team/group coaching	Youth and educational mentoring
OD coaching	Peer mentoring

Note: These definitions refer to **work-based coaching and mentoring**.

Box 1

Mentor

A wise and trusted advisor or guide. (Collins Concise Dictionary, 5th edn)

A mentor is an experienced person who provides guidance and support in a variety of ways, by being a role model, guide or confidant(e). Caring for the mentee is an implicit part of the mentoring relationship. Mentoring is a contested term and there has been an expansive usage of the term so that it encompasses many diverse practices. However, to return to source is a helpful way to anchor the meaning of mentoring. The name came from the Greek myth where Mentor was a friend of Odysseus. He became tutor, faithful and wise advisor to his son Telemachus.

The mentor offers their experience and support to help the mentee develop. The stance of the mentor sits between listening, caring, non-judgmental support and imparting experience, knowledge and wisdom. Mentors can be more directive than some coaches as they have a clearer mandate to advise than coaches. However a mentor can't help with a problem unless they understand it first and have the confidence and trust of the mentee. This means mentors need good 'people' and relational skills (which are sometimes referred to these days as coaching skills hence some of the confusion). Many mentor relationships at work fail because the mentor has the experience and knowledge but lacks the 'people skills' to share it. Training and 'skilling' up mentors will be a vital part of an organization's success.

The primary task of the mentor is:

To offer experience to guide, advise and support the development of the mentee, resulting in improved performances.

Coach

An expert in facilitating another's personal journey, focusing on both personal and organizational success.

An organizational coach is a professional partner whose task is to improve 'role performance' thereby working towards organizational as well as individual aims. Using expert 'people skills' the coach will create a 'thinking space' and encourage reflection and dialogue, sharing insights, thoughts and posing challenges to the coachee before helping them focus on appropriate action. The organizational coach should focus on 'person in role', and an experienced coach takes systemic, organizational and strategic perspectives. However, many coaches become over-focused on the individual, bringing a Life-coaching/counselling approach to organizational coaching. Cognitive behavioural approaches for example are limited to personal change without paying a great deal of attention to power, culture or emotional dynamics in organizations which

(Continued)

Box 1: (*Continued*)

impact on individuals and their capacity to influence change. Coaching differs from counselling/psychotherapy because of the focus on person, role and an organizational perspective. Counselling/psychotherapy focuses on 'self-actualization', personal insight and individual well-being, whereas coaching focuses on 'role actualization'. Role actualization however can only occur if the individual reflects and works on themselves, and on their work.

The primary task of the organizational coach is, therefore:

'Role actualization': Coaching individuals to become fully empowered in their roles, in order to contribute to organization success.

Coaching and Mentoring: Ordering and Categorizing

Coaching and mentoring cover much ground and the typologies and divisions set out below are in some ways arbitrary; they can be arranged in many ways depending on the observer's position and interests. Ordering and categorizing is very much a modernist project, and dividing coaching and mentoring into categories such as formal and informal, traditional and non-traditional, Life-coaching and executive coaching, are useful in the sense of helping to define the terms of the relationship. However, these are not fixed boundaries and borders, and the real worlds of coaching and mentoring are actually very fluid and porous rather than static.

Coaching and Mentoring: Internal and External, Independence and Confidentiality

A coach brings their specific people and relational skills to the task of individual development, their focus being to link person, role and organization. Coaches are more often an external influence rather than an internal employee, and bring a fresh, outside perspective to the organization. The coach may have little knowledge or specific experience of the coachee's particular expertise. The external coach can offer a more independent perspective than an internal coach/manager or mentor who will inevitably be embedded in the organizational culture and politics. External coaching provides a space for confidentiality, as to have an independent sounding board has played an important part in the success of coaching. The possibility of discussing company concerns and an individual's own anxieties and challenges, without fearing judgment or causing negative 'office politics', is an important feature of coaching. This is not always sacrosanct; for example, tensions may arise when the coach is contracted/paid by the company they report to which may impact on impartiality. Also many coaches work with more than one employee in the company and can quickly

become embedded in the company culture. Internal coaches are becoming more popular as a cost saving exercise and for 'capacity building', i.e. to create a 'coaching culture' in an organization. The boundaries between an internal coach, a coach-manager and a mentor once again become blurred.

Mentors, on the other hand, are more commonly internal. Internal mentors bring inside knowledge and technical expertise to their mentee, but lack some of the external independence, autonomy and confidentiality an external coach might bring. The advantage of an internal coach or mentor is to transmit organizational culture, tradition and internal tacit knowledge, and also experience and 'technical' expertise, to the mentee/coachee. There is no right way, but when choosing a mentor or coach these issues need to be fully considered.

A Typology of Mentoring

Traditionally, a mentor was not a trained professional helper, but chosen for their specific experience that could be passed onto the mentee. However, mentoring has been increasingly formalized as it has gained recognition as a powerful change agent. Previously, the key requisite to be a mentor was to have the right work experience and knowledge. It is becoming increasingly recognized, however, that people skills are vital to the process, so the mentor can communicate their knowledge and actively listen to the mentee to ensure they understand their challenges and learning process.

Whilst some mentors are naturally talented, others need more support and training. Mentoring training programmes and skills training for mentors are growing, and it is here that the overlap with coaching is closest, as many of the same skill sets are used. Mentor training is commonly focused on active listening, giving positive and relevant feedback, clarifying, summarizing and appropriate challenging methods. These same overlapping skill sets are used in both coaching and counselling training. Mentors may also have specific training focused on the specialist area they are mentoring in. If working with a minority group for example, there is often specific training on the challenges, discrimination and issues facing this particular group, and what resources are available to them. Mentoring often has a focused practical application, for example to get young people into work, or successfully through college, and so the training will include information on how to realize the practicalities of these goals.

As the push for formalization of training and evaluation continues, standards are being set (for example by the Mentoring and Befriending Foundation, a government-backed project to support mentoring in voluntary and charity groups in the UK). The emphasis on training and regulation may be positive, but it also undermines core mentoring qualities, i.e. goodwill, mutuality and voluntarism, which are replaced by modernity's measuring tools – evaluation, outcomes, rationalization, formalization and standardization.

Mentors and mentoring programmes most often have an internal function in an organization or they work across specified groups. Wanberg et al. (2003) and Megginson et al. (2006) claim that whilst definitions are diverse there is a clear concept of the term 'mentor' – 'Mentors bring eldership and/or previous experience to a helping relationship.' Mentoring is more closely associated to 'goodwill' than coaching. It embodies the importance of giving to another, caring for another, returning favours, and making others successful out of your success. It has a volunteering ethos and a stronger sense of mutuality than coaching, as the mentor often feels that they personally gain as well as the mentee. Stead, drawing on mentoring literature, identifies two main strands to mentoring. The first is a focus on understanding how the organization operates at a cultural and political level. The second is psychosocial and includes role modelling, personal support, increasing confidence and self-awareness in the mentee's ability and professional identity (Stead, 2005). This divide between the inner self and the outer-organization is a constant theme in both mentoring and coaching. I will now outline a brief typology and themes in mentoring.

US Mentoring

Mentoring in the USA deserves a special mention as it has a stronger foot-hold than in Europe. It has become an essential part of US culture, widely used in schools, colleges, workplaces, not-for-profits and faith-based organizations. In addition, mentoring rhetoric and practice has become widely used in the workplace. Mentoring fits with the US's cultural bias for self-improvement as a force for individual and social change, and it provides an excellent vehicle for both self-improvement and organizational success whether in a school or business. Charitable giving in the USA is huge:

Without charities and non-profits, America would simply not be able to operate. Their operations are so big that during 2010, total giving was nearly \$291 billion. (www.charitynavigator.org/index.cfm?bay=content.view&cpid=42)

Mentoring can be seen as another manifestation of charity, through good works rather than money.

Mentoring has become so in vogue in the US that two recent Presidents have shown support for it. In 2003, George Bush announced \$450 million for mentoring initiatives in his State of the Union address, and in 2010, President Obama held a White House National Mentoring Month Ceremony (information gained from Big Brothers Big Sisters, a US mentoring organization for young people, with a 100-year history; see www.bbbsi.org). More than 4,500 not-for-profit organizations in the US provide mentoring for youth (Grossman and Rhodes, 2002).

Informal Mentoring

Buell discusses two types of mentoring, formal and informal (Buell, 2004). Informal mentoring can develop organically, where an 'elder' takes an interest in developing a junior colleague. This often happens for example in academia where a Professor identifies a student or junior researcher as an informal mentee and has a longstanding relationship supporting them. Alternatively, a person may informally approach a potential mentor who agrees to take up this role.

Formal Mentoring

Formal mentoring is when an organization sponsors the mentoring process. A mentee is assigned a mentor to promote employee development. Formal mentoring programmes are used 'in-company' to develop high-potential leaders. This mentoring links current leaders to less experienced leaders of the future. Other types of formal mentoring include in-school or universities training with older students supporting younger ones, and women's leadership mentoring programmes within a large organization, or across a domain such as teaching or business networks, where successful women mentor more junior women towards leadership roles. The key words associated with traditional mentoring are: caring, supporting, guiding and advising, providing wisdom, trust, experience, knowledge, development and growth.

Internal and Business Mentoring

Whilst mentoring is often an organizationally internal process, Rogers (2004) argues that a true mentor should not be a line manager: 'typically, a mentor is a colleague in the same or a parallel organization who is not in a line management relationship with a mentee' (Rogers, 2004: 24) – the importance being that if you are a line manager you cannot be a truly independent sounding board or confidant(e). However, this notion of independence has been blurred as today's manager is taught that coaching and mentoring skills are a vital aspect of their managerial skill set, and that their role is to both mentor/coach and line manage their reportees. HR professionals, senior managers, line managers and peers are all commonly used as internal mentors in companies. In-house mentors have advantages over external coaches as they are a cheaper resource, and they have the ability to pass on company tradition and narratives, keeping continuity and company culture alive, especially when mentoring new personnel into the company.

Business mentoring is mostly associated with developing and retaining high-potential leaders, and it overlaps with internal mentoring. Pamela Craig,

Chief Financial Officer at Accenture, writing in *Business Week*, cites some company research on business mentoring:

In recent research among 3,600 professionals from medium to large organisations in eighteen countries around the world, Accenture found that only 13% of respondents said they turn to a mentor at work for career advice. At the same time, they acknowledged the clear value of a workplace mentor: mentors helped them think differently about certain situations, helped them with their current roles, helped them see more opportunities and possibilities, and helped identify their skills and capabilities. (Craig, 2010)

These findings show a dissonance between the knowledge that mentoring is very useful, but that only 13 per cent utilize mentors. More research to explore this would be useful. One relevant reflection from experience is that many managers/leaders agree that mentoring would be really valuable but are reluctant to step into the role of mentee. Whilst this is changing, an anxiety amongst managers is to expose themselves and to accept feedback, challenge or self-critique.

When running a peer-to-peer mentoring leadership exchange in a global corporation with a colleague (see lead2lead reference), we were surprised at how very senior, bright and successful managers could achieve so highly yet be so weak at giving and receiving feedback to peers (subordinates they were used to dealing with). Giving feedback caused anxiety and they showed inexperience in their feedback skills. The most common feature was 'chronic niceness' whereby all feedback was dressed up as a positive issue and nothing contentious was discussed, meaning that often the most important learning points were left unsaid. By using mentoring and feedback training and by putting some clear structure, guidelines and expectations in their debriefing, we were able to transform this issue.

Mentoring has multiple benefits for both the mentee and mentor. For the mentor it improves people skills and 'feel-good' factors through supporting another, and also encourages in-company learning through the mentee. Benefits for the mentee include learning from the mentor in technical and specific skills, and through picking up tacit knowledge about company culture. The benefits for the organization are the building of networks across the company, knowledge exchange, building leadership capacity, and developing a company culture that values learning, knowledge sharing and creativity.

New-hire mentoring, where new employees are assigned a mentor who can pass on tacit company culture and knowledge as well as practical knowledge of their particular role, is becoming popular.

Reverse Mentoring or 'Mentoring Up'

Reverse mentoring is a process whereby younger employees support more experienced executives in areas they are more skilled in, particularly in IT or social networking. Not only is there a skill transfer; mindsets are also changed,

whereby new opportunities and strategies can emerge through the mutuality of these dynamic relationships. Miles describes how reverse mentoring began:

The concept of reverse mentoring began when Jack Welch, the CEO of General Electric, realized he and his management team had much to learn about the internet and technology applications. Welch required 600 top executives, including himself, to find younger mentors who were knowledgeable about the internet. Most of the mentors were in their 20s and 30s. . . . This led to a transformation of General Electric as a technology driven organization, using the power of the internet to integrate the many components of production, suppliers, sales, marketing and customers. (Miles, 2010)

Voluntary Mentoring

Voluntary mentoring programmes are widespread in educational institutions, sports programmes, faith organizations, prisoner rehabilitation support and drug support programmes. Alcoholics Anonymous is an excellent example of a successful mentoring approach. AA has utilized the power of peer 'mentor' group support and individual mentoring as change agents. Attending meetings and listening to peers, sharing personal experiences with others who have experienced similar troubles, is the first stage – the peer mentoring group. The second stage of AA is where an experienced member becomes what they call a 'sponsor' to a new member and supports them on their journey of giving up alcohol. It is a vital role as the sponsor brings their personal experience to support the mentee. Mentoring differs from coaching in this respect, as it is very much about drawing on one's own life experience – an AA sponsor/counsellor who hadn't been an alcoholic could not act in the same way, with the same authority and insider knowledge.

One of the challenges for volunteer mentoring is the attrition rate of volunteers leaving prematurely. This can damage the mentee, who can experience rejection in their lives (perhaps not the first) and then internalize further low self-esteem – 'I am not good enough to be mentored'. Attrition rates are also costly to the providers and trainers of a mentoring service (Grossman and Rhodes, 2002). With the growth of mentoring and the moves to instrumentalize and formalize the practice, a shift from 'free volunteering' to 'coerced volunteering', or volunteering which has a self-interested base, has been observed. For example, a student may undertake voluntary mentoring to impress on a CV or personal statement to get into university.

Youth and Education Mentoring

There are lots of examples of youth mentoring particularly in the USA. A highly successful volunteering mentoring organization based in the USA and operating internationally is Big Brothers Big Sisters, BBBS. It offers children,

6–18 years old, the chance to have an older mentor to help them navigate the challenges of growing up. BBBS is a classic mentoring programme, with the mentor bringing their life experience to a younger/junior partner. There are also anti-bullying mentoring programmes and in the UK 150 schools have recently signed up to an anti-bullying programme led by <http://www.mandbf.org.uk>, a government-sponsored mentoring foundation.

However, the success of youth mentoring is not clear. DuBois et al. (2002) note that the magnitude of the effects on the average youth participating in a mentoring programme was quite modest. Rhodes and Lowe (2008: 12) write in their meta-review of youth mentoring:

As . . . has been made clear, youth mentoring relationships are not consistent in their effects. Variation among mentoring relationships is influenced by program characteristics, relationship duration and structure, and mentor skills. To better serve youth, mentoring programs must be conceptualized, designed, and implemented effectively in order to produce consistent and positive outcomes . . .

They go on to conclude:

At this stage, we can safely say that mentoring is, by and large, a modestly effective intervention for youth who are already coping relatively well under somewhat difficult circumstances. In some cases it can do more harm than good; in others it can have extraordinarily influential effects. (Rhodes and Lowe, 2008: 14)

The Big Brothers Big Sisters programme is far more positive, reporting a national research study on their mentoring process.

Mentoring for youth and in education seems to be growing; the research is mixed but there is an underlying belief that it is of benefit for both the mentor and mentee. In this respect it is one of the most mutual of mentoring/coaching relationships.

Peer Mentoring

Peer mentoring often targets disadvantaged or marginalized groups, for example women, the disabled and ethnic minorities, where they are not achieving as well as other 'majority groups'. This deficit model aims to promote equality agendas.

Another form of peer mentoring is in education – TeacherNet, the UK government-sponsored Mentoring and Befriending site, is an example of peer mentoring working to get pupils in schools to support each other. Over recent years, peer mentoring has increased in popularity and has been introduced in a number of schools, where it is making a valuable contribution to the overall ethos of the school and pastoral support systems. The site supports

Box 2: BBBS Study

Public/Private Ventures, an independent Philadelphia-based national research organization, looked at over 950 boys and girls from eight Big Brothers Big Sisters agencies across the country selected for their large size and geographic diversity. This study, conducted in 1994 and 1995, is widely considered to be foundational to the mentoring field in general and to Big Brothers Big Sisters community-based programme in particular.

Approximately half of the children were randomly chosen to be matched with a Big Brother or Big Sister. The others were assigned to a waiting list. The matched children met with their Big Brothers or Big Sisters about three times a month for an average of one year.

Researchers surveyed both the matched and unmatched children and their parents on two occasions: when they first applied for a Big Brother or Big Sister, and again 18 months later.

Researchers found that after 18 months of spending time with their Bigs, the Little Brothers and Little Sisters, compared to those children not in the programme, were:

- 46 per cent less likely to begin using illegal drugs
- 27 per cent less likely to begin using alcohol
- 52 per cent less likely to skip school
- 37 per cent less likely to skip a class
- 33 per cent less likely to hit someone

They also found that the Littles were more confident of their performance in schoolwork and getting along better with their families (BBBS, 1995–2011).

many peer and voluntary mentoring projects focused to tackle 'social exclusion'. This relation between friendship and mentoring is interesting and will be explored in Chapter 3. Mentoring and Befriending claim to 'currently reach over 3,500 projects in the voluntary and community sector'. However, this figure continues to rise as mentoring and befriending becomes increasingly seen as an effective way of tackling social exclusion.

Summary of Mentoring

Mentoring and coaching clearly overlap, and yet there is a theme of goodwill, generosity and mutuality that runs through mentoring that is lacking in 'professional coaching' and that gives mentoring a different feel and a different capacity to engage. From a cost-benefit perspective, successful mentoring (when done voluntarily or using internal employees) can be hugely beneficial and a lot cheaper than coaching, with the additional benefit that it empowers, motivates and can improve both parties, the mentor and mentee. Whilst

coaching has become the real buzz word and has grown hugely, mentoring perhaps is an 'unsung hero' in the field of development. Its potential is huge, and with careful planning and a lot of support, can be impressively effective. Innovative mentoring programmes, properly resourced and supported, should be on every HR and Organizational Development teams' agendas.

A Typology of Coaching

Coaching is an expansive and contested field with fuzzy boundaries and multiple identities. One of the strengths of coaching seems to be its capacity to receive projections from many diverse people and social groups, and then make coaching into what they desire or need. Coaching attracts attention from the business community and, at the other end of the spectrum, New Age spiritualists. To categorize it is therefore problematic and this typology is by no means complete, nor an attempt to have the final word. It is a description of some of the main influences, themes and coach offerings that are visible in the coach market today.

Two important coaching types are sports coaching and Life-coaching, and both have had a big influence on the growing field of organizational coaching.

Sports Coaching: Influences on Organizational Coaching

Football, tennis or athletics coaches are a major feature of the sports world. The team coach has a prominent role in basketball and American football and other team sports, taking both a training and motivational role for the team. The sports team coach is often in effect a team leader, and the individual sport coach is a technical expert. Individual sports coaches are employed in specialist areas such as fitness, diet and specific sporting techniques. However, in the workplace the contemporary meaning of coaching has shifted towards a more 'non-directive' stance, and the expertise of the coach is more facilitative and relies less on specialist technical expertise. Other sporting coaches are trained in psychology, and import psychological techniques and adapt these to work on motivation and self-belief to assist performance.

Peltier (2001: 180) offers eight themes that arise from athletics coaching which can be transferred to the workplace:

1. Drive – single-mindedness
2. Teach the fundamentals
3. Use individual approaches and ingenuity
4. Play against yourself
5. Visualize

6. Video feedback
7. Learning from defeat
8. Communication, trust and integrity

Peltier (2001) summarizes by saying most coaching references to sports are 'littered with clichés' but are well meaning, simple ideas. From a metaphorical perspective, the sports coach influence offers motivation and inspiration. Through easy-to-grasp quotations and images of sporting heroes, alongside behavioural and psychological techniques, a coach claims to help the coachee focus, become motivated and improve their work performance. However, this transfer of language and skills from sports to business can be problematic. The many comparisons, analogies and metaphors between sports coaching and organizational coaching are concerning, as they conflate the idea of an organizational role holder with an individual athlete, who needs to get 'in the zone' or learn specific techniques.

The single-mindedness and drive to be a great athlete, for example, may be counterproductive when an organization needs to develop a culture of distributed leadership, knowledge exchange and collaborative working with stakeholders. These sporting metaphors are popular because they are comforting and simple, but are limited in helping an individual's work performance that in reality is part of a complex web of exchanges, transactions and emotions in a network of activity. Another aspect learned from sports coaching is focused, incremental, technical improvement and performance coaching. In organizations it might be used in voice coaching for public speaking. This is very different from the developmental type coaching that now dominates the coaching field in its different forms (West and Milan, 2001).

Whitmore (2002) writes that Tim Gallwey made the link between sports coaching and organizational coaching when he wrote *The Inner Game of Work* (Gallwey, 2000), re-working his earlier text *The Inner Game of Tennis* (1974). Gallwey's work seems to draw heavily on the ideas of the 'human potential movement' and other therapeutic theories, for example Maslow's 'self-actualization' and 'peak experience' (Rogers, 1961; Maslow, 1976). One of Gallwey's core coaching theses is to free what he calls Self 1 from the inhibitions of Self 2: although Gallwey doesn't refer to the therapeutic roots of this 'discovery' it is clearly the same territory as a therapist freeing the patient from 'super-ego' injunctions (the authority figure in the mind) that inhibit individuals from performing more freely. West and Milan discuss coaching as a continuum with skills coaching and training at one end, performance coaching in the middle, and developmental coaching at the other end of the spectrum (2001: 3), and on this spectrum one-to-one sports coaching focuses on skills coaching. Turner (2010) identifies that sports coaching influences individuals to focus on techniques and skills improvements and has a secondary benefit of improving communication and morale.

*'There Is No 'I' in Team': Sports Coaching
beyond Individual Technique*

Perhaps better analogies can come from sports that encompass individual focus, yet go beyond the individual to demonstrate how teams and organizations have to work together. Team sports may offer analogies that are more applicable to team performance; for example, motor racing relies on a whole organization to provide the support necessary for the Formula One driver to win. It is noteworthy that whenever a Formula One driver wins they go overboard to thank the whole team, knowing that their lives and their success are dependent on all. In the Tour de France cycling, there is a complex relationship between individuals and teams, where riders have to rely on their team members who sacrifice themselves for an individual, and they also have to collaborate with their opponents to succeed. These team sports analogies and lessons may be more helpful to coaches than spinning stories of heroic sports individuals that only serve to massage egos and encourage heroic leadership in businesses, which is long past its sell-by date.

Sports science and sports coaching is also now a big industry with a lot of financial investment, and there is an interesting feedback relationship between sports psychology and other psychological approaches. Increasingly, sports science leads the way in some neuro-science, psycho-biological, neuro-biological and motivation and teamwork approaches that will in turn have new applications for workplace coaching and leadership.

**Life-Coaching: 'Transform Your Life! Don't Postpone
Your Joy Any Longer!'**

Karen Peterson, in her article for *USA Today*, writes:

'Life-coaching is all the Rage'

Personal growth is hot. Diagnosis is not. That is one reason America has seen a boom in the number of people offering their services as 'life coaches.' These guides give clients the confidence to get unstuck – to change careers, repair relationships, or simply get their act together. They also raise some eyebrows because they work in a field that is virtually unregulated. (Peterson, 2002)

Life-coaching is a true hybrid: when web-searching Life-coaching, a multitude of approaches are found that inform the Life-coach – NLP, hypnotherapy, solutions-focused, yoga and bodywork approaches, spirituality, Buddhist mindfulness, positive psychology, happiness coaching – the list goes on. Life-coaches advertise to administer to a wide audience: to help deliver success at work, providing dating advice, giving relationship coaching, dream fulfilment,

becoming more calm and peaceful, and of course being happy! At a recent coaching event I saw a book titled *How to Make a Hell of a Profit and Still Get to Heaven*, and much of Life-coaching makes this claim to help you find balance between material success and spiritual/inner happiness.

Life-coaching breaks out of the confines of therapy, but works in the therapeutic domain:

'We are not talking about being incompetent or weak. They are everyday, normal people who have their lives together. They realize the value of having somebody to help them think outside the box' – life coach Laura Berman Fortgang. (Peterson, 2002)

Today's self-improvement industry is huge, and Life-coaching is a part of this. Oprah Winfrey, probably the best known advocate, has built her financial and influential empire on the back of the popularity for self-improvement, which in contemporary times expresses the 'American Dream', championing the individual striving for happiness and success. West and Milan cite Thomas Leonard as one of the pioneers of Life-coaching, starting the first coach training programme with Coach University in 1982, which led to the formation of the ICF in 1992, which is now the leading professional association for personal and executive coaches (West and Milan, 2001: 17).

A London Life-coach writes a typical example of Life-coaching rhetoric that promises radical change:

With me, you'll become someone you've always wanted to be: someone with inner spark, who feels confident, successful, and is more effective in all aspects of life. You will feel happier and more fulfilled, healthier, and in better mental and physical shape. You will communicate more effectively, creating better relationships at home, work, and with friends. In short, you will have more fun and less stress. (Zofia Life Coach)

Life-coaching is situated between the Soul Guide and Psy Discourses, as discussed in later chapters, between the coaching working on the inner self and the outward-self. The Life-coach aims to help the individual to discover their authentic self, and at the same time improve their 'performance' in life. This is achieved through managing anxiety, being more confident and becoming focused on achieving their goals. Garvey et al. (2009) links Life-coaching to person-centred counselling (which underpins many coaching approaches), and they also identify the lack of research in this area – 'there is no developed research base' – to support the huge interest.

Life-coaching is an interesting break with therapy, yet it works partly in the therapeutic domain. It extends therapy to the 'working-well', transforming the pathologist rhetoric of psychotherapy. No longer do you come with 'your issues' to work through; you come with your beautiful untapped potential, to be revealed and released through coaching.

Life-coaching comes directly from the human potential movement, and at the heart of the Life-coaching philosophy is the belief that each of us has the answers within, and the coach is there to help you contact your authentic self. Martha Beck, a famous Life-coach who appears with Oprah Winfrey, writes:

All we try to do with our system of coaching is to move away the obstacles that are blocking people's best selves. We add nothing, just subtract what isn't working. The essential self that remains is far more sophisticated and beautiful than anything we could dream up. (Beck, 2011)

A critique of Life-coaching is its tendency to instrumentalize happiness and spirituality. When well-being, happiness and spirituality become a goal-oriented lifestyle choice, then the soul itself becomes a commodity! At a recent Life-coaching event, there were pseudo-scientific machines to measure the body's spiritual energy, and many other pseudo-scientific claims of efficiency of the spiritual/natural energy of Life-coaching approaches. This is seemingly counter-intuitive as Life-coaching often claims 'alternative status', turning to Eastern wisdom and spirituality to counter Western-rationalistic influence. In a movement that claims to offer spiritual and holistic alternatives to modernity's cold drive to progress, scientific language is used very widely and unashamedly without reflection on the tensions, confusion or conflicts this causes. More than anything Life-coaching is unashamedly a post-modern hybrid, happy to hold together counter-intuitive norms, as will be discussed in Part II.

Life-coaching is the product of a post-modern way of addressing life's existential questions. And for some it obviously works:

Working with my Life Coach has been a profoundly transformative experience for me. . . . With my Life Coach, I feel I have made more progress in a few sessions than I ever made in years of trying therapy. . . . My perspective on life is forever changed, and I am truly grateful to my Life Coach for that. (Jodie, 2010)

Life-coaching is easy to critique from the viewpoint of experienced psychotherapists, but in contemporary society there is a clear desire and need for Life-coaches, with many who find it beneficial. In spite of the myriad of techniques, experience and skill levels of Life-coaches, ranging from highly experienced coaches using sophisticated skills to those at the quackery and unskilled end of the spectrum, there is something free about it. Whilst sceptical about some of the approaches, it is better to allow freedom of practice than to try and over-regulate. At the most basic level of intervention, to have another person paying attention to you, to listen to you, to be authentically interested in you and to be upbeat about your potential might be more therapeutic than many therapeutic approaches! On the other hand, people facing difficult existential and personal challenges may find Life-coaching glosses over their real difficulties, and they may require more depth work to help them; smiling-positive Life-coaching has its limits!

Business Coaching

Business coaching makes itself distinctive by privileging business results over individual change. Business coaching addresses the client's development for the purpose of achieving business outcomes rather than achieving personal or career goals. (World Association of Business Coaches, cited in Rostron, 2009: 15)

Rostron says he differs from this statement as he believes that business coaching should also align personal drivers with company goals, otherwise stress will result (Rostron, 2009: 15). Business coaching is more directive than other coaching approaches and has a more managerial feel to it.

Recently, in a discussion with a representative from Action Coach (who claim to be the world's biggest business coaching company), he said they mainly work with SMEs (small to medium size businesses). The description of the work he described was a very functional approach that borrowed from consultancy approaches. Whilst the approach is more along the lines of consultancy, interestingly they utilize a sports coaching metaphor to sell their product:

Business coaching helps owners of small and medium sized businesses with their sales, marketing, management, team building and so much more. Most importantly, just like a sporting coach, your Business Coach will make you focus on the game. (Action Coach, 2010)

Business coaching works across the Managerial and Psy Expert Discourses (see Chapters 7 and 8) and has a dual focus: personal performance and organizational productivity. Business coaching mimics a business consultancy stance, focusing much more clearly on organizational outputs. The business coaches separate themselves from the management consultant, however, by adding an important individual focus to how a manager takes up their role. Clegg et al. (2005), in their research study of business coaching in Australia, identified the challenges of 'defining standards of service and performance' and the need to develop 'a more coherent and well understood perception of the nature and benefits of business coaching amongst industry'.

The danger of business coaching is that it can reinforce a short-term operational approach at the expense of looking at the bigger picture. Short-term demands put pressure on managers and coaches alike to produce efficiency and outcomes (this is critiqued in the Managerial Discourse chapter). This operational approach helpfully focuses on immediate challenges and is valued by organizations, yet it can limit a more strategic approach towards change. In spite of the claims of business coaching to focus on results, there are many coaches who are skilled at creating reflective spaces and provide a thinking space and support for the overwhelmed manager. This aspect of business coaching then merges with other coaching approaches.

Business coaching is one of the fastest emerging disciplines in the field of coaching. Bringing management consultancy knowledge, and merging this with individual role support, feedback and advice, has produced a very powerful organizational developmental process and seems to be a winning approach in workplaces that become ever more challenging and complex for managers to deal with.

Executive Coaching

Executive coaching is a widely used term that implies coaching in an organizational setting – public, private or not-for-profit – working with middle to senior managers who fit into the general term of being an executive (a managerial class). Executive coaching differs from business coaching through a greater focus on the individual executive rather than the company's business outcomes *per se*. It is therefore more about career advancement, performance-in-role and life-work balance. The executive coach provides a sounding board, a thinking partner to work through the immediate challenges faced by the manager. Berglas (2002), in his *Harvard Business Review* article 'The very real dangers of executive coaching', predicts a huge growth in executive coaching whilst being concerned that coaches need more psychological training (2002: 3–8). Berglas says that coaches need to distinguish between a 'problem executive' and an 'executive with a problem'. The former can be coached and the latter will require psychological help.

Kilburg subtitles his book *Executive Coaching* (2000) with the phrase 'Developing managerial wisdom in a world of chaos'. This helps explain the growth of executive coaching – the desire for sense-making and for middle and senior managers to regain some sense of control and wisdom, in the fast changing, hyper-technical, hyper-informational workplace, where many managers feel isolated, unwise when facing the speed of change, and fear that their sphere of influence is very limited.

In the contemporary work setting the mantras are speed, action and competition, rather than reflection, collaboration and friendship. Executive coaching has the potential to offer a 'potential space' where this overload might be digested. The executive coach is potentially a container for emotional and psychological overload, a sense-maker, a sounding board. The role of executive coaching potentially provides a 'privatized retreat space' in a workplace dominated by activity.

Having said this, under the banner of executive coaching, a multitude of approaches are applied, some providing very little reflection, focusing on more driven, behavioural and goal-focused approaches; in practice there is much diversity in coaching to executives. Executive coaching has been a phenomenal success – to create a thinking space, to move from the emotional-internal life of a senior manager and then to make sense of this in their work roles and

relationships can be a profound help to them. In my coaching approach with executives – informed by psychoanalytic and network approaches – patterns in behaviours and big insights into their relationships to others (particularly around authority, leadership, followership and team dynamics) are uncovered, often relating to earlier experiences. This leads to insights that, to coin a coaching cliché, lead to ‘light bulb’ moments. When an executive understands why and when they freeze in a meeting, or when they react aggressively, they see the pattern and the insight reveals to them different possibilities of behaviour, and the emotions attached to the reaction are less overpowering when understood and found a place. This ‘depth analysis’ of the understanding of the patterns is then applied when undertaking relational analysis, leadership-role analysis or a coaching network analysis, i.e. how the coachee’s inner-world interacts and engages with the outer-world.

A very important executive coaching skill (and one that is often overlooked) is to identify what the coaching work is. Too often assumptions are made by the coach, coachee and/or sponsor, which may be aligned or different. In business coaching the contract is perhaps clearer: performance and productivity. In executive coaching there is greater potential to work on emergent strategy (Network Coach Discourse) and also on personal values, and how to bring one’s authentic self to work (Soul Guide Discourse).

Leadership Coaching

At the INSEAD Global Leadership Centre, we believe leadership coaching is more of an art of discovery than a technology of delivery. (Kets de Vries et al., 2010)

Leadership coaching has a more specific remit, but overlaps with executive and business coaching. Leadership coaching supports coachees in taking up their leadership roles to the very best of their ability. This means to work with leaders with more depth, and to provide the one place where they feel contained and safe enough to reflect openly on their insecurities, doubts and anxieties, as well as to celebrate their strengths and successes. The coaching session can be a place to let off steam, to blaspheme against the world and even to cry. Leadership can be a lonely place; being in the ‘public gaze’ of employees demands a certain confidence and presence. The coach can provide a space where leaders can ‘free-associate’ in order to make sense of their experience. Leadership coaching becomes more popular in a fast-changing world, where much younger leaders are appointed, where human talent and talent retention are vital for a high-performance organization and where information overload creates stress (Kets de Vries, 2006: 253). A leadership coach needs specific skills as they are required to work in two key domains that separate leadership coaching from other coaching approaches. Firstly, with regard to the psycho-social dynamics of leadership, leadership coaching

demands a particular understanding of the psycho-dynamics applied to authority and power and influencing. A leader stimulates and receives projections and introjections that work at conscious and unconscious levels. Leaders need to learn and manage these processes and a coach can be a vital help as an external sounding board and a collaborative partner, who is able to challenge assumptions and interpret these dynamics. A skilled psychodynamic coach will utilize the counter-transference experiences, i.e. how the coachee reacts to the coach and what feelings are picked up when working with the coachee. For example, I was recently working with a global HR leader, and during a strategic discussion we were having, she appeared to dominate the discussion and I felt silenced, as if I didn't have any voice or anything intelligent to offer. I stopped the session and explained this to her. She reflected and realized that as a leader, when she is anxious about something she went into what she described as 'take-over-the-meeting' mode. The impact of this on her team was to silence them – they got to a result but her team became compliant rather than collaborating. This impacted on their morale and also limited the creativity, knowledge and experience in the room that could provide different and improved solutions.

Making the links between the self, in relation to leadership and follower-ship, influence, envy and rivalry, motivation and coercion, communication and symbolic representation, is vital coaching work. Many leaders also get sucked into operational thinking at the expense of strategic and networked thinking. A leadership coach will also hold leadership in mind that infers thinking beyond operations and moving towards strategy.

Leadership coaches should have a broad knowledge of organizational and leadership theory and practice. Leadership comes in many forms and the leadership coach should be well versed in how leadership varies from heroic approaches, to distributed, adaptive, collaborative and collective approaches (Northouse, 2004). Leadership coaches can have a vital role to play to support business and organizational transition to face contemporary challenges. Unfortunately, many coaches, like a lot of managers, think in terms of individualistic, transformational and heroic approaches to leadership which offer grandiose ideas but limit organizational development. 'The Messiah Leadership' Discourse (Western, 2008a) is outdated, problematic and has been tried and found wanting. A more convincing narrative about leadership is required that understands the limits of individual charisma, and recognizes the complex nature of the global world and the need for collective leadership wisdom in response. Organizations are like eco-systems, fluid networks of activity, and in the contemporary post-industrial, digitized workplace, a new leadership approach is required. 'Eco-Leadership' (Western, 2008a, 2010) describes this new paradigm of leadership that is emerging in response to social, technological, political and environmental change. The challenge for leadership coaches is to act as catalysts, to educate themselves to understand the new organizational forms and dynamics, rather than repeat leadership messages

relevant to twentieth century management/leadership models and theories, so as to prevent perpetuation of the same problems and mistakes of the past. Organizations that encompass Eco-Leadership thinking, aligning success with ethical approaches to social justice and environmental sustainability, will be the most successful in the next decades.

Leadership coaching from an Eco-leadership perspective goes beyond the individual, and accounts for teams and a holistic, organizational and wider stakeholder approach.

Leadership coaching implies a specific type of intervention that can be carried out strategically with individuals, teams or an entire organization. (Kets de Vries et al., 2010: xxvii)

Coaches are very well placed to influence and drive forward these positive changes, as they are able to speak to leaders confidentially, bringing new thinking to the table. Coaching leaders to ‘unleash leadership’ throughout their organizations is leadership coaching’s task in today’s organizations.

Careers Coaching

Careers coaching is a spin-off from career counselling and it infers that the coach helps the employee/coachee make career decisions. Many recruitment firms employ careers coaches, as do university business schools to find employment for their MBA students (MBA rankings are linked to successful employment outcomes). Key areas for a careers coach are career change, career development and redundancy. Some utilize psychometrics to support the search, and some careers coaches are facilitative and work in a more general sense, building confidence and focusing the person’s search criteria. Others are much more pro-active and expert, based in a certain field or industry, and they can offer advice and contact information. The other aspect of careers coaching is an expertise in CV and résumé writing.

Tele-Coaching and Cyber-Coaching

Tele-coaching is to coach by telephone. One of my more intriguing and somewhat bizarre coaching experiences was debriefing five senior executives from a global company on their 360-degree feedback reports. They worked in five different countries – the USA, South Korea, Germany, Australia and India. I was employed by a colleague who trusted my ability, yet I had never met the coachees or worked in the company. Adapting quickly to culture and language, as well as relating to their time zones, was a challenge. Whilst sceptical about the potential success of this project what was surprising was how quickly we created a warm working relationship, and that in spite of my newness to them, they all seemed to get some help from the hour’s coaching session.

Undertaking a pilot research on the effectiveness of tele-coaching, Western and Findlater (2008) found, after interviewing coaches who worked face to face and by telephone, that there was a slight preference for face-to-face coaching, although one coach in particular felt individuals sometimes disclosed more easily on the phone.

Jackee Holder, a Life coach, writes:

'But do not be fooled into thinking that many of the benefits gained from face to face Life-coaching are lost in the Telephone coaching relationship. During some recent Telephone coaching research I carried out at Lancaster University (2006) most Telephone coaching clients reported that:

1. The anonymity of telephone coaching allowed them to give themselves permission to be emotional because they were not face to face with their coach.
2. Telephone coaching is focused and direct and that's what they loved about it'. (Western and Findlater, 2008)

Cyber-coaching/mentoring, which refers to coaching over the internet and includes video/Skype coaching, is becoming increasingly popular through reducing cost and travel time, and opening up accessibility. As technology becomes increasingly user friendly and more commonplace, it is becoming more accessible and accepted in work-based coaching. Whilst coaching a team of six in an executive workshop we debriefed a stakeholder mapping exercise, with one member in Hong Kong whilst I was in London with the five others. I debriefed his work, then he interacted with the group all very naturally by video link; we worked seamlessly, virtually and in real time.

There are research studies being undertaken on how young people (young men and boys in particular) may be able to use forums like cyber-mentoring more productively to discuss bullying or other difficult issues which they find difficult to disclose face to face. Another advantage with cyber-coaching is the potential for multimedia interactions: PowerPoint presentations and chat rooms can be used interactively with talking. There can also be ongoing email discussions, or the coach can set up chat rooms for a group of coachees to self-manage working with others, which promotes interaction and learning from each other, and saves on costs.

Cyber-coaching is a very interesting and growing phenomenon. Improving technologies and a new Facebook/Skype generation entering the workplace are going to mean it increasingly becomes used and accepted as legitimate. The question of what it means to have a disembodied coaching experience requires a lot more research. Questions arise about missing body language (or virtual body language if using video), whether the work can be as deep and meaningful, and what proximity means to a relationship – all are areas for research where practitioners need to share experiences and learn from each

other. Coaching is well positioned to take advantage of these new innovations of technology as it is more flexible and willing to adapt than other one-to-one approaches, namely therapy and counselling.

Team/Group Coaching

Team coaching overlaps with other activities such as team consultation and team facilitation. Like other aspects of coaching, team coaching devours some of the territory from others and at the same time can bring something new, and this will depend on who is delivering the coaching.

Kets de Vries and the INSEAD Global Leadership Centre specialize in coaching teams and groups. They take a clinical and psychodynamic approach and believe coaches need to understand the psychology of groups and have a systemic understanding to coach teams:

Deciphering the interaction and interpersonal relationships between members of a group and the ways in which groups form, function and dissolve, is of central concern. (Kets de Vries et al., 2010: xxiii)

Coaching teams and groups requires a specific skill-set from the coach; and in order to understand the unconscious and the power dynamics that occur in teams/groups, psychodynamic concepts are important. Group Relations training, such as the Leicester Conference pioneered by the Tavistock Institute in 1957, continues to run today and provides coaches with invaluable experience of these group processes. Hackman and Wageman (2005) researched team coaching and concluded that ‘team effectiveness only occurs when four conditions are present. Two of these conditions have to do with organizational circumstances and two with coaches’ actions’:

1. The group performance processes that are key to performance effectiveness (i.e. effort, strategy, and knowledge and skill) are relatively unconstrained by task or organizational requirements.
2. The team is well designed and the organizational context within which it operates supports rather than impedes team work.
3. Coaching behaviours focus on salient task performance processes rather than on members’ interpersonal relationships or on processes that are not under the team’s control.
4. Coaching interventions are made at times when the team is ready for them and able to deal with them – that is, at the beginning for effort-related (motivational) interventions, near the midpoint for strategy-related (consultative) interventions, and at the end of a task cycle for (educational) interventions that address knowledge and skill.

Their approach is the polar opposite to Kets de Vries and a psychodynamic approach, suggesting that the coaching focus should be on function rather than dynamics. Their requirements for coaching success seem to rule out teams who 'aren't ready', and many coaches would argue that a coach works with the team in the room, and a good coach will help them find their way, from whatever starting point. The diversity of coaching approaches is reflected in team coaching too.

Finally, coaching teams is best done (where possible and affordable) in pairs. When group dynamics are flying around the room, it really helps to work with a coaching partner, so that one coach can lead and the other reflect; and two insights can be invaluable when a lot is going on in a group. Allowing the team to observe the coaches in dialogue, discussing the dynamics of the group live, in front of them, also is a very important learning experience.

Organizational Developmental (OD) Coaching

I briefly wish to mention OD coaching as it has huge potential yet is very under-developed. Coaching with organizational development in mind often gets stuck between individual coaching and theoretical discussions about organizational culture, or how to coach individuals as a form of 'behavioural modification' to align their behaviours with company values for example. I would advocate that senior teams, OD and HR functions, should have a mantra: 'no personal development without organizational development'. Applied to coaching and mentoring, this would push organizations to think beyond individual behaviour change. In my delivery of coaching to organizations, we have had 100 managers receiving one-on-one coaching debriefs, and have designed 'discourse analysis' of the key themes emerging from these coaching sessions which are put together to form 'thick descriptions' and a 'cultural audit' of the company, without giving away confidentiality. My current interest and focus is to design coaching interventions within organizations that specifically deliver personal development and organizational development together. This involves designing coaching interventions for individuals, teams and organizations that enable movement between individuals and the organization. This work includes leadership exchanges and large-scale experiential leadership events, both of which utilize coaching and peer mentoring to deepen individual insight and broaden the coachees' organizational perspectives. This also creates new connections and new networks, and transfers knowledge, skills, experience and understandings across company boundaries.

Taking an OD coaching perspective also means that when working with individuals, the coach is alerted always to the organization in the coaching room (internalized by the coachee). The OD perspective is to use this data and also to coach the employee towards a connected, networked understanding of their work that brings OD into the coaching equation.

Conclusion

To summarize, having scoped the field of coaching and mentoring as outlined in Table 1, this is not a complete review. The world of coaching and mentoring has so many varieties that this outline just touches the surface. Reviewers wondered if these typologies should be categorized, into tables of similarities and differences, yet coaching and mentoring are hybrid activities and therefore I feel it is better to describe them through their genealogy and their underpinning discourses; these come later in the book.

Coaching as an Expansive Term

There has been an expansive use of the term 'coaching' such as 'coaching culture', 'leaders as coach', 'coaching skills' and 'team-coaching'. Under scrutiny these terms reflect how coaching has become a generic signifier for terms such as 'soft skills' and 'people skills'. A coaching culture means an organizational culture which values, and has embedded within it, people skills such as listening and giving feedback and support, and which promotes a learning organization. The same is true with coaching skills, which in general terms means good people and communication skills.

'Team coaching' is used and often replaces what was called team facilitation, team consultation and team building. This expansive use of the term 'coaching' demonstrates the power and influence the coaching discourse has in the workplace and beyond. Coaching in particular signifies good practice in dealing with employees; it reflects good people skills, communication skills and empathetic management styles. Coaching however remains an enigma, and whilst universally used, it has multiple meanings and practices.

Beyond Differentiation: Mentoring and Coaching in Common Usage

Valerie Stead (2005) writes of mentoring:

Mentoring can be seen as a holistic and fluid concept that attends to professional, corporate and personal development [Clutterbuck 2001; Kram 1983; Parsloe & Wray 2000]. (Stead, 2005: 178)

This description is apt and yet also describes coaching, and this is the challenge in separating the terms. Mentoring and coaching both offer different and diverse interventions and yet the approaches overlap and utilize very similar skills. The terms are now used so loosely that differentiation in common usage is not possible. Garvey et al. (2009) asked the question: 'Are mentoring and

coaching distinctive and separate activities or are they essentially similar in nature?’ Their answer:

In conclusion, there can be no ‘one best way’ in coaching and mentoring and therefore no one best definition. . . . The above evidence suggests that although their original roots are different, both mentoring and coaching in the modern context selectively draw on a range of the same narratives to describe the activity. However, it seems that coaching and mentoring are essentially similar in nature. (Garvey et al., 2009: 27)

Throughout this book, as stated previously, I will follow Garvey, Stokes and Megginson’s lead, and will use the name ‘coach’ to cover both activities, simply for the reason that it is better to merge them than constantly separate them.

What is important is to clarify what is the appropriate intervention for any specific context: in-house, external providers, peer mentoring/coaching, expert technical performance coaching, coaching for culture change, executive coaching, leadership coaching, reverse mentoring and so on. The possibilities are endless; what it is called matters less than understanding what actually is being provided and why. The field of coaching and mentoring is still young and continues to develop.

Coaching in particular has a fluidity about it that is both exciting and can also be a little confusing and disconcerting. Encouraging diversity of approaches rather than attempting to standardize a conformist unified practice will produce continued innovation, growth and success in the field. Improving quality in coaching and mentoring will come about through excellent training, continued professional development and through developing critical thinking and robust theory (see Chapter 13). Coaching and mentoring provide developmental and learning processes to influence and shape some of the central issues facing the contemporary workplace and society. Diversity is welcomed; overlapping terminology can be clarified in local and specific contexts. What is important is quality of coaching and mentoring practice rather than attempting to limit practice through a drive towards conformity or standardization.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF COACHING AND MENTORING

VOLUME II

Purpose and Context

Edited by

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Contents

Volume II: Purpose and Context

Part 1: Mentoring

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 22. An Examination of the Impact of Career-Oriented Mentoring on Work Commitment Attitudes and Career Satisfaction among Professional and Managerial Employees
<i>Samuel Aryee and Yue Wah Chay</i> | 3 |
| 23. Students, Schools and a Matter of Mentors
<i>J.G. McNally</i> | 17 |
| 24. Mentoring in the Information Age
<i>James G. Clawson</i> | 27 |
| 25. Perspectives on Mentoring
<i>Terri A. Scandura, Manuel J. Tejeda, William B. Werther and Melenie J. Lankau</i> | 45 |
| 26. Structure and Agency in an Institutionalized Setting: The Application and Social Transformation of Control in the Big Six
<i>Mark W. Dirsmith, James B. Heian and Mark A. Covalesski</i> | 57 |
| 27. Faculty/Student Mentor Program: Effects on Academic Performance and Retention
<i>Toni A. Campbell and David E. Campbell</i> | 93 |
| 28. Mentor Functions and Outcomes: A Comparison of Men and Women in Formal and Informal Mentoring Relationships
<i>Belle Rose Ragins and John L. Cotton</i> | 109 |
| 29. Power/Knowledge and Psychosocial Dynamics in Mentoring
<i>Nic Beech and Anne Brockbank</i> | 149 |
| 30. Critical Reflections on Mentoring in Work Settings
<i>Ann Darwin</i> | 171 |
| 31. Mentoring and the Tolerance of Complexity
<i>Bob Garvey and Geof Alred</i> | 187 |
| 32. Formal Entrepreneurial Mentoring: The Efficacy of Third Party Managed Programs
<i>Leonard Bisk</i> | 201 |
| 33. Engagement Mentoring for 'Disaffected' Youth: A New Model of Mentoring for Social Inclusion
<i>Helen Colley</i> | 217 |
| 34. The Effects of Mentoring on Academic Careers over Time: Testing Performance and Political Perspectives
<i>Catherine Kirchmeyer</i> | 245 |
| 35. Sexual Dynamics in Mentoring Relationships – A Critical Review
<i>Lynn M. Morgan and Marilyn J. Davidson</i> | 267 |

Part 2: Coaching

36. Coaching for Higher Performance <i>Richard Phillips</i>	285
37. Coaching a Leader: Leveraging Change at the Top <i>Leo Giglio, Thomas Diamante and Julie M. Urban</i>	291
38. The Very Real Dangers of Executive Coaching <i>Steven Berglas</i>	305
39. Health Coaching: A Developing Field within Health Education <i>Stephen Palmer</i>	315
40. Learning Developmental Coaching <i>James M. Hunt and Joseph R. Weintraub</i>	319
41. Coaching: The Successful Adventure of a Downwardly Mobile Executive <i>John Blattner</i>	339
42. A Theory of Team Coaching <i>J. Richard Hackman and Ruth Wageman</i>	353
43. Another Bad Day at the Training Ground: Coping with Ambiguity in the Coaching Context <i>Robyn L. Jones and Mike Wallace</i>	381
44. Creating a Coaching Culture <i>David Megginson and David Clutterbuck</i>	399
45. Advances in Coaching Practices: A Humanistic Approach to Coach and Client Roles <i>James E. Bartlett II</i>	407
46. Peer Coaching: A Relational Process for Accelerating Career Learning <i>Polly Parker, Douglas T. Hall and Kathy E. Kram</i>	413
47. A Discourse Analysis of the Disciplinary Power of Management Coaching <i>Anne Ellerup Nielsen and Hanne Nørreklit</i>	441

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

48. Colleagues Helping Colleagues: Mentoring and Coaching <i>Peggy A. Hopkins-Thompson</i>	457
49. Coaching Expatriate Managers for Success: Adding Value beyond Training and Mentoring <i>Geoffrey N. Abbott, Bruce W. Stening, Paul W.B. Atkins and Anthony M. Grant</i>	465
50. An Analysis of the Impact of SME Organisational Culture on Coaching and Mentoring <i>Dave Peel</i>	489
51. Innovations in Coaching and Mentoring: Implications for Nurse Leadership Development <i>Sandra L. Fielden, Marilyn J. Davidson and Valerie J. Sutherland</i>	501

Part 1: Mentoring

An Examination of the Impact of Career-Oriented Mentoring on Work Commitment Attitudes and Career Satisfaction among Professional and Managerial Employees

Samuel Aryee and Yue Wah Chay

Consistent with the recognition of employees as a competitive resource and therefore a source of competitive advantage, many organizations have introduced career development programmes, the objectives of which include: (a) to enhance employee competencies, (b) strengthen employee-organization linkages and (c) provide employees opportunities to satisfy their career concerns while contributing to organizational goals (Schein, 1978). Organizational career development refers to specific human resource activities that are designed to help match employee interests and capabilities with organizational opportunities (Gutteridge, 1986). Such formalized programmes essentially involve the readiness activities necessary for skill and knowledge to fully prepare an individual to pursue and obtain jobs of greater authority and responsibility (Gray *et al.*, 1990).

Career development programmes identified in the literature include mentoring, career counselling, career pathing, training and assessment centres (Gutteridge, 1986; Morgan *et al.*, 1979). Of these programmes, mentoring, described as a career training and development tool (Hunt and Michael, 1983), has received a great deal of research interest. The interest in mentoring stems

from its beneficial consequences to the individual in terms of career success, performance rating, salary and promotions (Scandura, 1992; Whitely *et al.*, 1992; Burke, 1984; Fagenson, 1989; Dreher and Ash, 1990; Kanter, 1977), while the organizational benefits of mentoring include job performance, integration of employees into the culture and norms of the company, management continuity and low turnover (Burke, 1984; Zey, 1988; Bernstein and Kaye, 1986). It is evident from the literature that the organizational benefits of mentoring especially as it impacts work commitment attitudes, have been under-researched relative to the individual benefits. Work commitment attitudes like organizational commitment, job involvement and career commitment have been demonstrated to have such behavioural consequences as skill development, job performance, organizational citizenship behaviours, low levels of tardiness, absenteeism and turnover (McEnrue, 1989; Aryee and Tan, 1992; Blau, 1986; Mathieu and Zajac, 1990; Williams and Anderson, 1991). As the recognition of employees as a competitive resource and therefore, a source of competitive advantage, may well stem from these behavioural consequences of work commitment, it is important to understand the effect of mentoring on these attitudes. This study constitutes an exploratory attempt to examine the effects of mentoring on three work commitment attitudes – job involvement, organizational commitment and career commitment as well as an individual level benefit, career satisfaction.

Although mentoring has been variously conceptualized in the literature (Levinson *et al.*, 1978; Kanter, 1977), Kram's (1985) conceptualization seems to have achieved mainstream status. She defines mentoring as relationships between junior and senior colleagues, or between peers, that provide a variety of developmental functions. Two developmental functions that have consistently been noted in the literature (Phillips-Jones, 1982; Kram, 1985; Schockett and Haring-Hidore, 1985) are career and psychosocial functions. The career-oriented functions are sponsorship, coaching, protection, exposure and challenging work assignments, while the psychosocial functions are role modelling, counselling, acceptance, confirmation and friendship. Kram (1985) observed that a mentoring relationship that provides both career-oriented and psychosocial functions best approximates the classical mentor relationship (Levinson *et al.*, 1978). Such a relationship is said to be characterized by greater intimacy, commitment and exclusivity. The mentor in such a relationship is described as a primary mentor (Phillips-Jones, 1982). On the other hand, a mentor relationship that provides only career-oriented functions is said to be characterized by less intimacy, shorter duration and a high degree of instrumentality. A mentor in such a relationship is described as a secondary mentor (Phillips-Jones, 1982).

Consistent with Whitely *et al.* (1992), the focus of this study is on career-oriented mentoring roles. This is because (a) the classical mentoring relationship tends to be infrequently observed given their conceptual properties, the recent pace of organizational changes and individual career transitions and

(b) labour market demand and supply trends may necessitate a wide range of developmental relationships tailored to individual career needs and goals than can be provided by primary mentors. Furthermore, Chao *et al.* (1992) noted that as there are many individuals in the organization such as coworkers or friends who could perform the psychosocial mentoring roles, they may not be as unique to mentoring relationships as are the career-oriented roles. Considering the paucity of studies (Scandura, 1992) that have examined the impact of specific mentoring roles on both individual and organizational outcomes, no formal hypotheses are proposed. It is generally expected that the career-oriented mentoring roles will be differentially related to career satisfaction and the three work commitment attitudes of organizational commitment, job involvement and career commitment.

Researchers are divided as to the merits of formalized (Klauss, 1981; Hunt and Michael, 1983) and informalized (Kram, 1986; Reich, 1985) mentoring programmes. However, it is our hope that studies with such a focus may provide empirical evidence for organizations that intend to implement mentoring as part of their career development programmes, match specific career-oriented mentoring roles to their objectives.

Method

Sample and Procedures

Data for the study were derived from a larger study on the career commitment of professional and managerial employees in public and private sector organizations in Singapore. Of the nine organizations initially contacted to participate in the survey, seven agreed to do so. Two of the seven organizations were in the public sector (statutory boards) and the remaining five were in the private sector. Two of the private sector organizations were in the electronics industry with the remaining three in the financial service industry (a Singapore-owned bank and two international accounting firms). None of the organizations that participated in the survey had a formalized mentoring programme at the time of the survey. Data were obtained through structured questionnaires which respondents completed during their non-working hours. A survey coordinator in each participating organization was requested to identify potential respondents defined as managerial and professional employees, and questionnaire packages were sent to a random sample of this category of employees through the organization's internal mail. Questionnaires were prefaced by a letter that explained the objectives of the study, assured respondents of anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. Completed questionnaires were returned sealed in envelopes to the survey coordinator through the organization's internal mail.

Of 800 questionnaires distributed, 396 completed and usable questionnaires were received (response rate 49.5 per cent). Consistent with previous studies on protege status (e.g. Fagenson, 1989), respondents were asked:

'Can you readily identify someone in a position of power in your organization who looks out for you or gives you advice or brings your accomplishments to the attention of other people who have power in the organization?'

This study is based on the 164 respondents who provided a positive reply to this question. Of the 164 respondents, 150 (91.5 per cent) were males and 139 (84.8 per cent) had received a university education. The modal age category was 25–34 years and over half (99 or 60.3 per cent) were married. Respondents reported an organizational tenure of an average of 6 years. Ninety-four per cent of the respondents reported that their mentors were males, while 24 per cent indicated that their mentors were their immediate supervisors. While respondents were generally unsure of the ages of their mentors, 74 per cent reported their mentors as having had an organizational tenure of at least 12 years. The majority of the mentors (69 per cent) were reported to be at middle management level, 21 per cent above middle management level, while the management levels of 10 per cent of the mentors were not reported.

Measures

Career-oriented mentoring roles. A 15-item scale by Ragins and McFarlin (1990) was used to measure the five career-oriented mentoring roles. Responses were on a five-point format ranging from (1) 'strongly disagree' to (5) 'strongly agree'. Ragins and McFarlin reported sound psychometric properties for each of the five scales. Sample items include

'My mentor helps me attain desirable positions'

and

'My mentor suggests specific strategies for achieving career aspirations'

Factor analysis of the 15-item scale resulted in a five-factor solution labelled as follows: sponsor ($\alpha = 0.82$), coach ($\alpha = 0.75$), protection ($\alpha = 0.80$), challenge ($\alpha = 0.87$) and exposure ($\alpha = 0.83$).

Organizational Commitment Porter and Smith's (1970) nine-item scale was used to measure organizational commitment. Responses were on a five-point scale that ranged from (1) 'strongly disagree' to (5) 'strongly agree'. Mowday *et al.* (1979) provided evidence for the scale's construct validity. Sample items include

'I find that my values and those of my organization are similar'

and

'I really care about the fate of this organization'

The scale's alpha reliability in the present study was 0.87.

Career commitment. A seven-item scale developed by Blau (1988) was used to measure career commitment. Responses were on a five-point scale ranging from (1) 'strongly disagree' to (5) 'strongly agree'. Blau (1985) reported an internal consistency of 0.87 and 0.85 on two occasions 7 months apart and a test-retest reliability of 0.67. Sample items include

'I definitely want a career for myself in my line of work or vocation'

and

'My present line of work or vocation is the ideal vocation or line of work for me'.

The scale's alpha reliability in the present study was 0.83.

Job involvement. A modified version of Kanungo's (1982a) ten-item scale was used to measure job involvement in the present study. A Likert-type five-point response format, to the measures described earlier, was used to assess responses. Sample items include

'I consider my job central to my existence'

and

'I am very personally involved in my job'.

The alpha reliability of the eight-item measure used in the present study was 0.86.

Career satisfaction. A five-item measure of career satisfaction (Greenhaus *et al.*, 1990) was used to assess career satisfaction. The five-point response format ranged from (1) 'very dissatisfied' to (5) 'very satisfied'. An alpha reliability of 0.88 has been reported by Greenhaus *et al.* (1990). Sample items include:

'I am satisfied with the progress I have made towards meeting my goals for income'

and

'I am satisfied with the progress I have made for advancement'.

The scale's alpha reliability in the present study was 0.85.

Analysis

Factor analysis and hierarchical regression were the primary statistical techniques used to analyse the data. The 15-item career-oriented mentoring roles were factor analysed using principal component extraction and the resulting factor structure was rotated using oblique rotation. An oblique rotation was used because the scales were assumed to be related. In the next step of the analysis, alpha reliabilities, means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations of the outcome variables and the five career-oriented mentoring roles were computed. Hierarchical regression analysis was used to examine the impact of the mentoring roles on the four selected outcomes. The mentoring roles were separately regressed on the outcomes. The demographic variables of career stage, gender, organizational tenure, education, age and marital status were used as controls in the hierarchical regression. Finally, the *t*-test was used to examine the significant mean differences in outcome variables between mentored and non-mentored respondents.

Results

Table 1 presents the results of the factor analysis of the career-oriented mentoring items. A scree test (Cattell, 1966) of the oblique rotated factor structure indicated a five-factor solution which explained 76.4 per cent of the variance in the mentoring role items to be most appropriate. There was no problem with double loading of items which clearly attest to the discriminant validity of these items.

Means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations of the major variables in the study are reported in Table 2. With the exception of challenge and protection, the career-oriented items showed modest to slightly higher inter-correlations but were all within the range of acceptability (Nunnally, 1967). Further, the mentoring roles were differentially correlated with the dependent variables. For example, career satisfaction was significantly correlated with exposure ($r = 0.35, p < 0.01$) and sponsor ($r = 0.24, p < 0.01$) while organizational commitment was significantly correlated with three of the five mentoring roles – sponsor ($r = 0.25, p < 0.01$), coach ($r = 0.23, p < 0.01$) and challenge ($r = 0.16, p < 0.05$). Protection was not significantly correlated with any of the outcome variables.

Table 1: Results of factor analysis (oblique rotation) of career-oriented mentoring items (N = 164)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
My mentor:					
- creates opportunities for me to impress people in the organization	0.90	-0.09	0.06	-0.14	-0.03
- brings my accomplishments to the attention of important people in the organization	0.82	0.02	-0.06	0.12	0.00
- helps me to be more visible in the organization	0.75	-0.02	0.01	-0.10	-0.15
- gives me tasks that require me to learn new skills	-0.01	0.90	0.06	-0.02	-0.04
- assigns me tasks that push one into developing new skills	0.10	0.81	-0.09	-0.09	0.08
- provides me with challenging assignments	0.01	0.73	0.08	0.18	0.07
- shields me from damaging contact with important people in the organization	-0.02	0.02	0.90	-0.03	-0.04
- protects me from those who are out to get me	-0.01	0.11	0.88	-0.07	0.06
- 'run interference' for me in the organization	0.01	0.10	0.64	0.18	-0.17
- suggests specific strategies for achieving my career aspirations	-0.14	-0.06	-0.08	0.87	-0.17
- gives me advice on how to attain recognition in the organization	0.20	0.11	0.10	0.70	-0.15
- helps me learn about other parts of the organization	0.19	-0.13	0.09	0.68	0.21
- uses his/her influence to support my advancement in the organization	0.13	0.03	0.05	0.00	0.81
- uses his/her influence for my benefit	0.12	0.06	0.14	-0.12	0.76
- helps me attain desirable positions	-0.03	-0.34	-0.03	0.16	0.65
Eigenvalue	5.65	2.32	1.63	1.43	1.20
Percentage of variance	37.7	14.9	9.6	8.0	6.3

Factor 1 = Exposure; factor 2 = challenging assignments; factor 3 = protection; factor 4 = coach; and factor 5 = sponsor.

Table 3 shows the results of the hierarchical regression analyses. A salient finding is that none of the five career-oriented mentoring roles was significantly related to career commitment. Organizational commitment was significantly predicted by sponsor ($\beta = 0.21$, $p < 0.007$) and coach ($\beta = 0.18$, $p < 0.04$). In all, the mentoring roles accounted for 12 per cent (Adjusted R^2) of the explained variance in organizational commitment. Career satisfaction was significantly predicted by sponsor ($\beta = 0.24$, $p < 0.002$), and exposure ($\beta = 0.33$, $p < 0.001$), and 9 per cent (adjusted R^2) of the variance was explained. The significant predictors of job involvement were protection ($\beta = -0.17$, $p < 0.04$) and challenging work assignment ($\beta = 0.19$, $p < 0.02$). Twelve per cent (adjusted R^2) of the variance in job involvement was explained.

Results of the t -tests that examined the significance of mean differences in the outcome variables between mentored and non-mentored respondents are presented in Table 4. Mentored respondents reported significantly higher levels of organizational commitment ($t = 5.70$, $p = 0.000$), job involvement

Table 2: Means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations of major variables

Variable ^a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Career Satisfaction	(0.85)								
2. Career Commitment	0.20**	(0.83)							
3. Organizational Commitment	0.21**	0.39**	(0.87)						
4. Job Involvement	-0.01	0.16*	0.31**	(0.86)					
5. Sponsor	0.24**	0.08	0.25**	0.10	(0.82)				
6. Coach	0.15	0.04	0.23**	0.05	0.51**	(0.75)			
7. Protect	0.13	-0.08	0.04	-0.10	0.43**	0.30**	(0.80)		
8. Challenging Assignments	0.11	0.07	0.16*	0.17	0.31**	0.38**	0.13	(0.87)	
9. Exposure	0.35**	0.07	0.15	0.02	0.56**	0.48**	0.31**	0.38**	(0.83)
Means	18.00	26.24	32.70	27.14	10.11	10.20	8.36	11.45	10.09
Standard Deviations	3.89	5.89	5.72	5.51	2.08	2.15	2.22	2.07	2.24

^aHigh mean score reflects a high perceived experience of that variable.

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, Reliability of psychometric scales (Cronbach's alpha) shown in brackets.

Table 3: Results of hierarchical regression analysis (N = 164)

Predictor variables	Career commitment			Organizational commitment			Job involvement			Career satisfaction		
	Beta	F	p	Beta	F	p	Beta	F	p	Beta	F	P
<i>Demographics</i>												
Sex	0.03			-0.09			-0.08			-0.01		
Age	0.12			0.21			0.38			-0.02		
Education	0.08			-0.12			0.05			0.10		
Marital status	0.13			0.11			-0.03			0.02		
Career stage	-0.08			-0.04			0.09			0.16		
Organizational tenure	0.08	1.05	n.s.	-0.06	2.60	0.01	0.01	3.32	0.004	0.00	0.73	n.s.
<i>Career-oriented mentoring roles</i>												
Sponsor	0.12	2.07	n.s.	0.21	7.28	0.007	0.07	0.80	n.s.	0.24	9.33	0.002
Coach	0.05	0.02	n.s.	0.18	3.98	0.04	0.02	0.05	n.s.	0.07	0.65	n.s.
Protection	-0.12	1.72	n.s.	-0.09	1.20	n.s.	-0.17	3.98	0.04	0.01	0.03	n.s.
Challenging assignment	0.03	0.13	n.s.	-0.13	2.52	n.s.	0.19	5.11	0.02	0.04	0.16	n.s.
Exposure	0.02	0.04	n.s.	-0.06	0.43	n.s.	-0.13	1.71	n.s.	0.33	11.31	0.001
	R ² = 0.06			R ² = 0.18			R ² = 0.18			R ² = 0.15		
	Adjusted R ² = -0.00			Adjusted R ² = 0.12			Adjusted R ² = 0.12			Adjusted R ² = 0.09		

Table 4: *T*-Test results indicating significant mean differences between mentored and non-mentored respondents in terms of the outcome variables

Outcome variables	Mentored (N = 164)		Non-mentored (N = 225)		t	p
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev		
Organizational commitment	32.70	5.72	29.21	6.11	5.70	0.000
Job involvement	27.15	5.52	24.41	5.88	4.65	0.000
Career commitment	26.24	5.89	23.40	5.39	4.93	0.000
Career satisfaction	17.99	3.89	15.36	3.77	6.71	0.000

($t = 4.65$, $p = 0.000$), career commitment ($t = 4.93$, $p = 0.000$) and career satisfaction ($t = 6.71$, $p = 0.000$) than non-mentored respondents. These results indicate that in spite of the small amount of variance in the outcome variables explained by the career-oriented mentoring roles, mentoring does have a positive influence on the outcome variables examined here.

Discussion

The results of the factor analysis of the career-oriented mentoring roles revealed support for Ragins and McFarlin's (1990) 15-item scale. The implication is that in spite of the cultural context of career-oriented mentoring, proteges tend to perceive their mentors as performing the five career-oriented roles identified in the literature (Kram, 1985). Consistent with our expectations, the five career-oriented mentoring roles were differentially related to the three work commitment attitudes (organizational, job and career) and career satisfaction. An unexpected finding is the zero explained variance (adjusted R^2) in career commitment and the non-significance of the relationship between career-oriented mentoring roles and career commitment. This finding clearly contradicts Colarelli and Bishop's (1990) finding of a significant positive relationship between protege status and commitment. Perhaps the relationship between career-oriented mentoring and career commitment may be indirect through self-direction, career success and therefore, identification with one's career role (Hall, 1971).

There is consensus in the literature that mentoring enhances objective career success (e.g. number of promotions) or career satisfaction, a subjective career success measure (Kanter, 1977; Fagenson, 1989; Dreher and Ash 1990; Scandura, 1992). Our findings however, suggest that the career-oriented mentoring roles are not equally useful as predictors of career satisfaction. Sponsorship and exposure were the only significant predictors of career satisfaction. Kanter (1977) observed in her study of 'Indusco' that a 'patronage system' rather than 'merit-based' contest mobility was the basis of corporate promotional decision making. Kram (1985) also observed that vocationally successful individuals tend to attribute their career advancement to having

sponsors. The findings also revealed sponsorship and coaching as significant predictors of organizational commitment. The effects of these two roles on organizational commitment may be related to the extent to which they facilitate one's career satisfaction which calls for reciprocation on the part of employees in the form of organizational commitment. Wilson and Elman (1998) suggested that a possible contribution of mentoring is its socialization function. This is because mentoring may provide a structured system for strengthening and assuring the continuity of organizational culture. It appears from our findings that this role is best served through the career-oriented mentoring role of coaching.

The findings revealed challenging assignments (positive) and protection (negative) to be significant predictors of job involvement. Challenging assignment has consistently been shown as a significant predictor of job involvement (Wollenbeck *et al.*, 1982). Consistent with Kanungo's (1982b) need saliency model of job involvement, challenging assignments may facilitate one's growth needs and therefore, identification with the job. Interestingly, protection revealed a negative relationship with job involvement. This may well be because the protection role involves shielding the protege from other powerful and experienced individuals who may harm the protege's career. When such information is passed on to the protege, it may detract from his or her identification with the job.

As an exploratory study, the present findings should be considered tentative. The first limitation of the present research is the inability to establish the representativeness of the sample and therefore, the generalizability of the findings cannot be ascertained. Second, in spite of the recognition that mentoring may be useful at all levels in the organizational hierarchy and across career stages (Wilson and Elman, 1990), the smallness of our sample precluded an investigation across career stages. This could be a task for further research. Third, the cross-sectional nature of the data precludes causality.

In spite of these limitations, should the findings reported here be replicated in the future, they may have both theoretical and practical implications for mentoring programmes in organizations. From a theoretical standpoint, this study has indicated that, in addition to examining the individual benefits (career success), research on the outcomes of mentoring relationships should focus on the organizational consequences of mentoring, for example, enhanced work commitment. In this task, emphasis should be on the specific mentoring roles rather than the current practice of a global measure of mentoring (psychosocial and career oriented). As the literature on mentoring is based predominantly on studies using American samples, the results of the factor analysis of the career-oriented mentoring roles in this study provide preliminary support for the cross-cultural generalizability of these roles. Future studies on mentoring roles in non-western societies may need to further examine the discriminant validity of the mentoring roles examined here to conclusively demonstrate the generalizability of these roles. Another task for future

research on the organizational benefits of career-oriented mentoring roles is to examine their impact on job performance ratings, an outcome variable more proximally related to organizational competitiveness than work commitment attitudes. Furthermore, the model accounted for only modest amounts of the explained variance in the dependent variables. The implication is that although career-oriented mentoring may influence the dependent variables examined here, organizations will need to use career-oriented mentoring in conjunction with other human management resource strategies if they are to influence employee work commitment attitudes and provide opportunities for employees to realize their career goals.

The practical relevance of this study for organizations stems from the finding that mentored respondents reported significantly higher levels of the outcome variables compared with those of the non-mentored respondents. This suggests that mentoring is a potential strategy that organizations could use to enhance the work commitment attitudes of employees. However, considering that the career-oriented mentoring roles were differentially related to the outcome variables, organizations that intend to use a mentoring programme to enhance employee's work commitment attitudes would need to teach mentors to differentially emphasize the career-oriented mentoring roles.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that mentored respondents in this study were not part of a formalized mentoring programme. The distinction between formalized and informalized mentoring programme is particularly important in view of the finding of Chao *et al.* (1992) that mentored individuals in an informalized mentoring relationship reported more positive outcomes than those in formalized relationships. Thus, in the implementation of formalized mentoring programmes, emphasis should be on careful planning and making it as less 'hierarchically-imposed' as possible. To this end, attention should be devoted to careful selection of mentors based principally on the criteria of willingness to invest time and energy in the relationship and having had broad and extensive experience in key positions at higher organizational levels in order to expose proteges to activities at these levels. Second, there should be adequate orientation in terms of defining and clarifying protege-mentor roles and expectations respectively. Finally, both mentors and proteges should be involved in the process of matching proteges to mentors (Klauss, 1981). The incorporation of these suggestions into the planning and implementation of a formalized mentoring relationship should enhance the flexibility of such a relationship and the beneficial outcomes to both individuals and organizations.

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Students, Schools and a Matter of Mentors

J.G. McNally

As schools begin to play a bigger part in the pre-service education of teachers, what changes will they make in adapting to their new leading role? Government guidelines for Scotland have quantified the increased numbers of weeks to be devoted to school experience – from 17 to at least 22 in postgraduate secondary training courses – and listed the competences expected of the new teacher[1]. That schools ought to be the major partner in the training of the student teachers is not universally opposed by those working in university teacher education[2], but it is far from clear how schools will discharge their increased responsibility, and how their university partners will support them. Given the emphasis on *experiential* learning, it is important that we have an understanding of that process. What and how do students learn in schools? Are there clear patterns of the student learning experience? What features of school life support learning? Are there significant individuals or relationships?

This article attempts to throw some light on these questions, from a number of angles, and so offer a direction to schools in finding their way forward. The concept of “mentoring”, which appears to be the current panacea for this new challenge, serves as the substantive focus for examination. In England, mentoring schemes already exist or are being piloted in some training partnerships[3], but there is little reported as yet by way of rigorous evaluation. Nor is there any shortage of advice on how to select mentors and how they should do the job[4]. What has been missing, however, is a critical scrutiny

of mentoring as a concept. In particular, the knowledge base has not been broad enough, drawing almost exclusively on mentoring in the field of initial teacher education itself. In doing so, writers tend to construe the student-in-school experience as they believe it ought to be, or imagine it to be, rather than how it is. An understanding of the nature of this experience within the *organizational realities* of school life is therefore a crucial component of this knowledge base. The other component derives from what can be learned from the extensive work in other fields. Mentoring schemes have already been tried and analysed in many organizations, the “mentor” has been identified as a key figure in early adult development, and a number of reviews have offered us some conceptual clarification.

Mentoring in Other Fields

Companies

Many American companies have been operating mentoring schemes since the 1970s with a great deal of success. There appears to be little doubt about the benefits of having a mentor. Protégés – in this case young, aspiring managers – gain a smooth transition into a bewildering work environment and are protected from feelings of isolation. There are also reciprocal benefits for the mentors, through enhanced job satisfaction and a fresh perspective of their institution. On the face of it, such benefits would be welcomed in schools by novice teachers and their experienced colleagues. In his analysis of mentoring in American companies, however, Clutterbuck[5] provides us with some further insights. While the success of formal mentoring schemes could be attributed to the thorough involvement of managers and training departments, he found that the schemes were focused on potential high-flyers, who therefore become advantaged anyway. Some companies e.g. General Motors, disclaimed such programmes, claiming that promotion became linked to corporate politics rather than performance. Mentoring schemes in the business world have been generally concerned with “promotability”, according to Merriam[6]. It is highly questionable whether an emphasis on promotion, and the favouring of high-flyers, is of any value in nurturing beginning teachers.

Another body of opinion identified by Clutterbuck, is that true mentor-protégé relationships must develop naturally, and that the *forced coupling* within most formal schemes would tend not to have the qualities conducive to a flourishing mentoring relationship. The Bank of America’s scheme, for example, appears to have failed because there was too little *friendship* in their mentor-protégé relationships. It is clear that simply adding “mentoring” to the remit of a senior employee, who may be busy with other priorities, is no way to develop newcomers. It is a quick fix destined to fail. Unless sympathetic support is part of the company culture, mentoring is likely to break down at

the interpersonal level. Indeed there is a third view in the business world, that the best approach is for newcomers to establish a “network of mentors”[5], what Merriam has described as “multiple helping relationships”.

An alternative to formal company schemes has been proposed by Kram[7]. She recommends an educational programme which first of all identifies obstacles to effective mentoring, and then builds interpersonal skills and management practices which will support rather than force mentoring partnerships. The role of mentor is thus regarded as integral to the task of managing, but it is not a role, as Collin[8] suggests, which should be imposed on an individual. Her concept of mentors is of key figures who personify the “psychostructure” of an organization, and act as “midwife” in the socialization of newcomers. Some have been more expansive in prescribing the functions of mentor (even to the extent of offering an acronymous mnemonic – manage, encourage, nurture, teach, offer respect, rapport[5]) but the issue of who decides on the persons who will mentor remains largely unresolved. While Bushardt’s[9] advice to aspiring young executives – to evaluate prospective mentors before deciding who to “cultivate” – conveys a rather too cynically ambitious approach to personal advancement, it does recognize the right of the protégé in determining who she might be mentored by.

The business experience thus presents us with four lessons:

- (1) effective mentoring is likely to involve a number of relationships;
- (2) the relationships need to provide *sympathetic* support to the protégé;
- (3) the protégé may have a personal judgement in selecting individuals;
- (4) mentoring resides in the attitudes rather than the formal roles within an organization.

Adult Development

Before the business world adopted the idea, the mentoring relationship had already been identified as crucially important in early adulthood. From his biographical study of 40 adults between 1969 and 1973, Levinson[10] published a seminal theory of adult development in which the young adult forms a natural mentoring relationship which is defined in terms of the character of the relationship and functions it serves e.g. teaching, guiding, counselling, rather than through formal roles. In its most constructive form, the experience of Levinson’s subjects was that of novice to a more knowledgeable and authoritative adult, analogous to a “good-enough” parent, who fosters development of an emerging self in a newly discovered world. The mentor in Levinson’s study is a transitional figure, typically half a generation older in a relationship lasting two to three years, after which its value is realized as the young adult internalizes the admired qualities of the mentor. The mentor was often found to be a senior colleague at work, and it may have been this one finding, in

itself a far from complete description of the mentor figure, which gave birth in "innovative" organizations to hastily conceived parodies of mentoring. An overlooked subtlety of Levinson's theory is that the mentoring function can be carried by more than one relationship, thus foreshadowing the view of those management writers who "concluded" that a network of relationships was the most appropriate model of company mentoring.

Reviews of Mentoring

Much of the writing on mentoring in a variety of different fields has been the subject of informative reviews[6, 11]. They make it clear that there is a diversity of definitions, mentoring meaning different things in different settings. Merriam[6], for example, argues that forced mentoring ignores the characteristic crucial to mentoring, mainly "that the two people are attracted to each other and wish to work together". Mentoring relationships have first to be "uncovered and investigated in the totality of a person's life". She cites Freud's belief in the "capacity to work and love and learn" and asks whether "educators might *cultivate* such relationships". Jacobi's analysis provides a "lowest common denominator" of mentoring components[11]:

- mentors have a greater level of experience, influence and achievement than their protégés;
- mentoring relationships are personal and reciprocal;
- the primary dynamic is to support the protégé.

Jacobi also found substantial support for the notion of level of *intimacy* in characterizing the mentoring relationships. It was seen to be at the highest end of a continuum of helping relationships. Thus the dynamic can involve any or all of emotional and psychological support, role modelling, direct assistance with career and professional development. She too is sceptical about evaluation of formal schemes where "success" may be due to the special experiences afforded to the protégé, rather than the quality of the mentoring relationship. Her claim that the effectiveness of mentoring may be "assumed rather than demonstrated" may well apply to its current adoption in initial teacher education (ITE).

Initial Teacher Education

Nevertheless, despite the absence of an agreed definition or model of mentoring, the early signs are that many mentoring schemes in ITE are, as they were with many companies, "successful". Local headteachers are keen to have their schools involved in the Oxford internship scheme, so that staff can experience professional development[3]; Wilkin[4] reports on the benefits to schools

of structured mentoring activity; Berril[12] reports that the school ethos is definitely enhanced and claims that staff involvement in mentoring embodies the very principles of total quality management in schools. But, within the field of ITE, approaches do vary. Smith and Alred[13], for example, reject a systems approach. They see teaching as “an unscientific and generally untidy business” and the mentor as someone who encourages, fosters self-knowledge and helps the novice teacher to live with the uncertainty of teaching. McIntyre and Hagger[14] see the mentor’s primary concern as the professional education of the beginning teacher, and propose a “developed mentoring” strategy involving collaborative teaching, access to craft knowledge, discussion of the novices’ ideas and the management of their learning opportunities. These views represent different conceptions of teaching: an essentially untidy and uncertain experience on the one hand, an activity with a rational basis on the other. They also represent very different conceptions of learning to teach: learning about the self with the support of others, as opposed to a more structured exposition of a body of craft knowledge. How relationships would be formed, and what kinds of knowledge and development would come about in such different models, offer us contrasting scenarios of mentoring itself. Until rigorous evaluations are available, a full appreciation of these and other schemes – the different conditions in which they operate, the kinds of success they have, their concept of mentoring – is not possible. They are visions, possibly worthy, but from only one eye. The view of the student teacher, indeed a client perspective, is missing. What are the actual relationships which student teachers engage in during their school experience? What do they derive from these? Without such knowledge, the visions we offer might be more akin to illusions.

The Student-in-School Experience

Teaching Practice in schools has been described as an “ecology of experience”[15] in which the student is dependent on a variety of sources for help, but the relative importance of the help which student teachers derive from their school social environment is not always recognized. In a recent re-examination of their experience in secondary schools[16] it was clear that the student experience of learning to teach was *affective* rather than cognitive. Students said little about subject teaching and pre- or post-lesson discussions. It happened, but they chose not to dwell on it. Of course it is established that experienced teachers, like other professionals, are not explicit about their expertise[17]. Access to their knowledge is also known to be difficult[18], so perhaps it is to be expected that students do not tend to talk in cognitive terms about learning to teach. What they do reveal, however, is the central importance of their subject department in meeting their needs. The help given went beyond assistance with the elements of lesson planning, observation

and feedback into a pervasive atmosphere of sympathetic support in which students came to feel that they “belonged”. What took place was, in effect, a *transition* from student to teacher status. While we identified important stages in this transition e.g. classroom baptism, a sense of belonging, it was turbulent rather than smooth. Yet students emerged with a definite sense of holistic competence, bestowed by their departmental colleagues and also by the children they taught. Where the experience of this communal support was absent from departments (as it was for a very small number of students), the experience was less happy, though it was partly compensated by finding satisfactory relationships with staff beyond the department.

Our data suggested that there were other dimensions of support: individual teachers within a department were often experienced as particularly supportive; occasionally there were significant others typically encountered in staffrooms, where students also appreciated social inclusion as a supportive experience; a friendly expression of interest from the rector or other senior management staff received mention; fellow students and probationers were also a source of support. In other words, what emerged from the accounts of student teachers was a picture of diffuse mentoring, of support of different kinds, from a variety of people – an informal “network” of support. Where there is an ethos in the subject department of teamwork and sympathetic support, it seems that the student is “mentored”. Where this exists across departments, staffrooms and bases, and is practised and fostered by school management, then there is a mentoring culture in the school. Student teachers draw from this, in a very natural way, the help that they need.

The main function of the mentoring taking place in our study was to give, what Jacobi has called, “psychosocial support” to the novice, and her argument that mentoring practice should draw on the fields of social integration and support theory is a persuasive one, if a relevant base of understanding what mentoring means in school-based ITE is worth establishing. For it does seem clear that we must meet the student teacher’s need to sustain self-esteem, recognized but underestimated, in some cognitive models of learning to teach. At that stage of development, teachers (as beginners) are not calmly applying “theories” of teaching; they are neither confident nor experienced enough to engage in a regular clinical analysis of their lessons. From what they tell us, they value practical advice about individual pupils with whom they have difficulty, and about generally coping better in the classroom. Such tips for successful teaching are dismissed intellectually in much academic writing about ITE all too readily but, until they are more thoroughly researched, it is possible that these “rules” which students value from teachers, are contextually apt, subject to elaboration when given, and provide the workable routines necessary for initial “technical” survival and consequent “professional” development. It is in this sense of the career development function of mentoring, rather than in the premature pursuit of promotion, acceptable in other settings, that mentoring operates for the beginning teacher.

Role modelling too is present in student teacher narratives of teaching experience, but the reality portrayed is not that of a master teacher to whom the student is attached, a model of excellence to be studied and reproduced. While students in school are impressed by an abundance of “excellent” teaching, they cannot wholly copy the good practice they see. They themselves know that whatever they adopt or adapt has to work for *them*. Style and method, rather than subject content, have to fit personality and beliefs. Students therefore need to, and in fact want to, observe a variety of teachers; this includes examples of poor teaching (in their eyes), from which they claim to both learn and draw reassurance.

“Classroom baptism” was referred to earlier as an essential stage in their experience of teaching. Students grow impatient with too much lesson observation during induction and prefer an early baptism. They are eager to teach classes and want to get on with it. There is an intuited knowledge – shared by teachers – of the primary importance of having the complete classroom teaching experience. Preliminary induction, structured observation – these can only take you so far. At this stage, close analysis of teaching does not feature in their accounts; indeed there is a suggestion that “clinical supervision”, if overdone, could be stifling and stultifying. Students want to have sole responsibility for classes; they desire a degree of freedom in order to find the teacher inside them. It is sometimes forgotten that student teaching practice is largely *experiential* learning – students teaching, but also learning from their *own experience* of teaching. They must find their own questions and answers without too much intrusion. Oddly enough, it is in the rather unlikely parallel development of appraisal in schools, that we find an especially apt paraphrase of the student voice by Dadds[19] when she contends that we learn in our own way as teachers, “sometimes by ourselves, sometimes in the company of fellow travellers alongside whom we sharpen our thinking and doing”, always reserving a healthy tentativeness toward these with the “right” answers.

Along with the supportive environment provided by colleagues, we found that it was the first hand experience of classroom teaching itself that defined for students the “experience of becoming a teacher”. There was a clear *need to teach* so that they could be personally and professionally fulfilled, and reach the stage where they could be given teacher status by pupils. The relationship between student teacher and pupils taught is so fundamental to the experience that it raises the question of whether the very pupils being taught are functioning as mentors to their new teacher. It has been argued elsewhere[20] that pupils are an “immediate source of socialization” for the new teacher, that by articulating their expectations of teacher certainty in behaviour and knowledge, pupils “coach” them to reinforce school norms. Our own finding was that, in their interaction with the classes they teach, students receive indirect but still powerful signs of their own competence as teachers. However we view this pupils-to-teacher message – coaching, socialization, giving of competence – there is clearly mentoring at work.

Conclusion

What is worth affirming is the pre-eminence of psychosocial support in the above mentoring model. Teachers who provide this are often described in terms suggesting a degree of personal rapport – “easy to get on with . . . completely relaxed in his company . . . could ask silly things...didn't feel threatened . . . a friend as well as an excellent teacher . . . someone I could talk to”. Naturally it is tempting to dismiss these descriptions as cosy settings which we all recognize in everyday life. The notion of learning, of serious preparation for a highly responsible job in society, does not seem to fit. Yet there is support from a number of angles. First of all there is within the helping relationships experienced by the student, a quality akin to “friendship” – and sometimes it is more intimate than that. Jacobi suggests that mentoring relationships are characterized in many studies by their greater degree of intimacy, but even in friendship, the assistance given to learning is important. Drawing on the writing of Aristotle and Bacon, White[21] argues that friendship allows us to marshal our thoughts and so become clearer about issues; it provides advice which is given in one's interest and from intimate acquaintance with one's situation; it gives greater job satisfaction; it benefits the working environment of the organization. It is understandable that all of this is especially important for the young adult learning to teach, an experience which is acknowledged to be very emotionally demanding and threatening to self-esteem.

Mentoring can only exist within a relationship. While there is no shortage of advice on what qualities a mentor needs, they can only function in a relationship with another. So it is the character of this personal partnership which is important. It has already been noted that forced coupling and lack of friendship was responsible for the failure of some formal schemes in companies. In the sense that a mentoring relationship is a human bond, this was inevitable. Friendship, Almond[22] has argued, is a tie of preference, a “social and voluntary” bond. Further along the continuum of intimacy, she describes the marriagebond as social and voluntary too, but clearly much more. It is “quasi-biological”, giving expression to a “desire to create bonds whose efficacy transcends the legal”. If mentoring lies somewhere between these points of intimacy, then it is clearly a bond of a social and voluntary kind. The notion of selecting and appointing a mentor for a protégé, prior to their meeting one another, derives from an altogether different concept of mentoring, and risks a mismatch of individuals.

Not only is it risky; in the environment of a “good” school it is unnecessary. It has already been argued that the potential for mentoring relationships exists within the secondary school culture. While they are characterized by their informality, it is important to recognize that they develop within an organization which already has a *well established structure*. The foremost supportive unit is the subject department. The day-to-day direct contact here with colleagues, led by the principal teacher, is of crucial importance for the

student and beginning teacher. Again in the context of appraisal, Dadds lends support to this finding when she identifies the subject department as the group in a secondary school most likely to have “healthy relationships” and to provide “psychological safety”, and makes the general point that most people learn well in a “predominantly relaxed and accepting context” free from the “excesses of anxiety and tension”.

The senior management team too, though they have less direct contact, have an important role. There is typically one member of the school management team (the student regent) with a particular responsibility for students and probationers. Though the principal subject teacher is generally the main “supervisor” of the beginner’s work, the regent organizes a programme of wider school experience and formally brings students together. The regent also “knows” departments and may judge that the atmosphere is not conducive to supporting a beginner.

The role of the head teacher (rector, principal) is less visible but no less important. Students do appreciate meeting the head teacher (HT) and hearing ad hoc expressions of interest in their welfare, however brief; but the logic of this article leads to an additional function for the HT, at a more abstract level. While many subject departments may autonomously create their own supportive ethos, it is the HT’s responsibility to cultivate this throughout the whole school. In our research, we have found that many schools are fortunate in having a climate of sympathetic professional support. Some HTs may well be able to take credit for this, others may be grateful for a happy accident of social chemistry, but the message of this article is that it should not be undervalued. A broad base of potential staff support is a necessary complement to the traditional subject loyalties (characteristic of the Scottish secondary school) which provide a natural “home” for the beginner. A “good” department will help the student to develop links beyond the immediate subject, but these links need to emerge too from the body of staff, and can be crucial in fulfilling the mentoring function, on the few occasions, where it is lacking in the department.

It is not the purpose of this article to pursue in further detail the multiple relationships which mentor the beginner. The point is that it is these *relationships*, rather than the appointment of mentors, which school managers should attend to. Nor is it being suggested that HTs need look only at their schools for the educational approach which might foster such a culture within their schools. Beyond awareness of its importance, there are important issues briefly alluded to here, to which we have no clear resolution: social support and integration theory; beginning teachers as adult learners; a serious theory of the “tricks of the trade”; what and how beginning teachers learn; what mentoring itself might mean. An understanding of these will draw from work in other fields, not always readily nor perhaps willingly associated with experiential learning in the context of initial teacher education. Sometimes it will illuminate and support, but it is as likely to challenge. The higher education institutions

can, should, and need to, do both. As the balance shifts towards schools as the dominant partner, it seems worth reminding those who run schools of this position. The initiative may have to come from them.

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Mentoring in the Information Age

James G. Clawson

Mentoring is an enduring phenomenon that has survived several major, historical paradigm shifts. The fact that it has endured, documented, for millennia (consider for example, Moses and Aaron and/or Joshua) suggests that mentoring fulfils some deep, important yearnings for connection between the generations. The last generation seeks, perhaps in the realization of its mortality, to pass on to the next generation which in turn seeks to build on the experience-won wisdom of its forebears and so both are invigorated. I find this phenomenon reassuring with regard to the future of our race. At the same time, the content of what is sought and what is passed on can be constructive and generative and/or destructive and degrading. In the midst of the present paradigm shift, we may wonder what the nature of that shift is, how it might affect the mentoring phenomenon and what implications it might have for practitioners and teachers of management.

The mentoring concept was captured in many places in literature but perhaps most clearly in the Golden Era of Greece 500 years before Christ by Homer's description of Telemachus' relationship with his teacher, Mentor (Homer, 1995). Ulysses, Telemachus' father, went off to fight the Trojan War and entrusted Mentor with the multifaceted training his son needed to grow into adulthood and to assume his royal responsibilities. The term "mentoring" became synonymous with a broad and deep influence from a senior, more experienced and wise individual to another, younger, protégé. This concept persisted well into the Middle Ages when the trade guilds of Europe developed a formalized structure in which the masters were responsible not only for

their followers' professionalism in the trades, but also for their out-of-hours activities and behaviours. (See for example, Brentano, 1870). Mentoring at that time, 2,000 years after Homer, continued to mean a wide and pervasive influence on the learner.

The advent of mass transportation and large corporate organizations accompanying the Industrial Revolution began to change the shape of mentoring. As acolytes came in contact with a wider range of "experts", they became less willing to put all of their learning eggs in one basket and began, naturally, to learn from a variety of senior people. Mentoring began to be more partial, that is, narrower in scope, in which a protégé would learn one thing from one "mentor" and something else from another. For the most part, the phenomenon of younger learning from older persisted.

Research in the mid-twentieth century began to clarify the underlying mechanisms of mentoring, and its various shapes and forms. Although one observes more partial mentoring relationships nowadays, the concept continues to mean something more than "teaching". A protégé may have several partial mentors, yet each of them is giving, I assert, if they are mentors, something more than simple technical skills or knowledge. Mentoring by definition means more than teaching; the term implies a broader and longer interest in the lives of protégés. Mentors and protégés experience a mutually satisfying psycho-social relationship which extends beyond the mere demands of the job or profession (Kram, 1985). In the industrial paradigm dominant in the developed world from the Industrial Revolution (beginning in the late eighteenth century) through the mid-twentieth century, mentoring provided a way for senior people to connect with the next generation as more than a boss/supervisor, and a way for the new generations, increasingly diverse in demographics, to get more personalized guidance upward through the now labyrinthine corporate pyramid.

Presently most observers (for example, Bennis, 1966; Pinchot and Pinchot, 1994), though not all (see for example, chapter 11 of Nohria and Eccles, 1992), agree we are experiencing a transition from the Industrial Era to a new managerial paradigm sometimes called the Information Age. This era has dramatically different constraints and opportunities from that of its predecessors. What does this new era look like? How will mentoring relationships be affected by it? What questions would seem worthy of further pursuit in trying to understand mentoring in the new era?

The Paradigm Shift Topology

Since I have posited a major paradigm shift, may I try to outline it before we try to understand its implications for mentoring relationships? One way to overview the differences between the recent major paradigms is presented in Figure 1. During the Aristocratic or Agricultural Era, especially during the

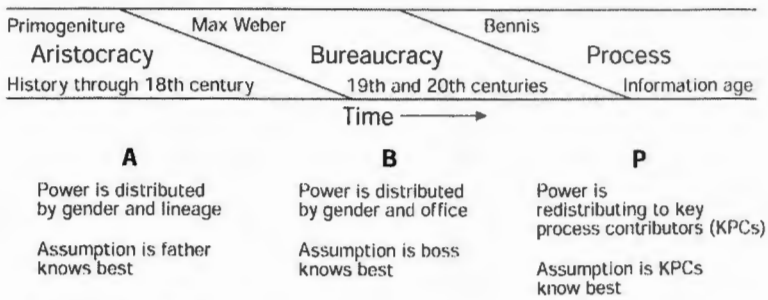
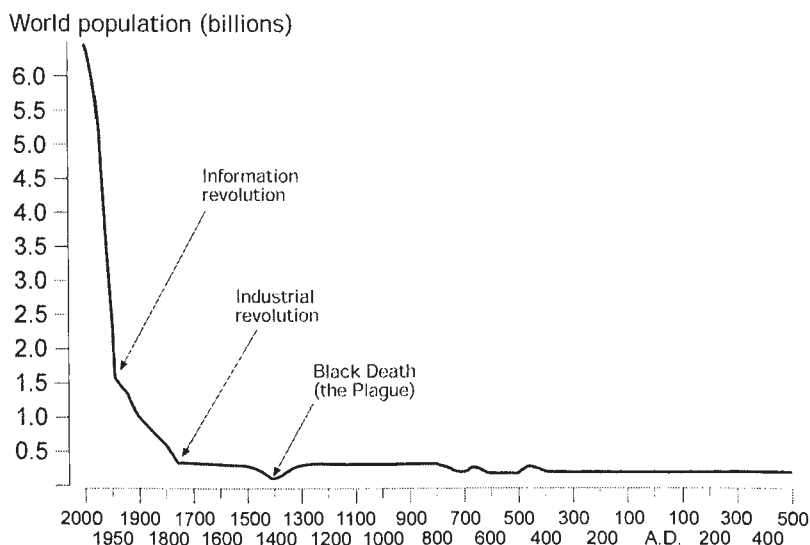


Figure 1: Paradigm shifts in management

Middle Ages when the system of primogeniture prevailed, institutional power was distributed primarily by lineage and gender. The eldest sons inherited the father's wealth and position; princes became the kings. The underlying assumption of this paradigm seems to have been "father knows best". This Aristocratic Era was characterized by a relatively orderly society, limited information availability, limited means of transportation, relatively homogeneous groups of followers, limited professional opportunities, limited education, relatively modest technological innovation, male domination, limited resources and modest but stable population growth.

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution (beginning in the late eighteenth century and including the discovery of oil, the invention of the steam engine and mass production techniques), the situation changed dramatically if not immediately. The diagonal lines in Figure 1 are meant to indicate that there was a transition period between each major paradigm, time for the old principles to erode and the new ones to take cultural root. We can see, for instance, vestiges of the Aristocratic paradigm lingering even today almost 200 years after the beginning of its demise.

Power in the Industrial Era was still distributed among males, but no longer so much by lineage. As codified by Weber in 1910, the new bureaucratic paradigm was a system in which law superseded the judgement of the feudal father (see Weber, 1947). The underlying assumption of this new paradigm seemed to be "the boss knows best". This represented a major upheaval in the industrializing societies of the time. Eventually, most people generally came to accept the principle that offices, not people, have authority (hence the phrase "bureaucracy") and that obedience and loyalties were given to the offices not the individuals. Work was divided rationally, and job incumbents were expected to adjust to their work assignments, not the other way around. Workers began to be seen almost as if they were parts of machines. Managers were theoretically not to be owners, and the authority structure was written down. The dominant leadership principles in this world were planning, organizing, motivating and controlling.



Sources: US Bureau of the Census, and Population Reference Bureau. Adapted from Davidson (1991)

Figure 2: Population growth

During the Industrial Age, extending through to the 1950s, technological innovation and the worldwide population soared. As you can see from the chart in Figure 2, the rate of growth (see the 45-degree slope change) in the population changed dramatically during this era. With more and more people being born and moving to the cities to take jobs in the new, large corporations, mentoring became a valuable process for company and individual alike. Mentoring helped older people ensure the passing of the baton to people much like themselves, and it helped younger people find their way through the vertical, bureaucratic mazes. In the bureaucratic world, mentoring became a powerful way for some people to understand and navigate the political realities of the industrial corporation.

By the mid twentieth century, however, observers began to see flaws – and then cracks – in the industrial paradigm. Bennis, for example, wrote about the “Coming death of bureaucracy” (Bennis, 1966) and Eileen Shapiro wrote about how corporate “truths” became corporate traps (Shapiro, 1991). Corporate leaders like Bob Galvin at Motorola and Jack Welch at General Electric began to realize that they did not have and *could not* have the answers needed to guide their enormous corporations and began to put in place new mechanisms based on a new assertion, that the key contributors to the key processes of their organizations knew better than they did what needed to be done. Many features of the worldwide economic structure in the second half of the twentieth century contributed to their insights: rapid technological changes, social upheavals in the broad societal authority structure caused in the main by voluminous instantaneous information from around the globe, rapid and cheap mass transportation and mass education, all of which created increasingly

diverse societies and intense competition from unexpected fronts. This new information-based era began to imply and force the formation of new, flatter, networked, team-based organizational forms; it demanded shorter time cycles for product development and time-to-market deployments, dramatic changes in management/labour relations, and a wider distribution of power in organizations; it created a huge shift from a manufacturing to a service-based economy in the industrialized world and more “empowered” workforces. Most observers, recognizing the important role information technology has played in causing its birth, call this the Information Age, but given the corporate reactions to it, we could also name it the Process Age in that many corporations are using the new volumes of information to re-examine their basic processes and to make fundamental changes in the way they decide what is to be done and how to do it. I have represented this by the large P in Figure 1.

The new paradigm demands a different kind of leadership which in turn will affect the shape of mentoring. The old, Industrial Age style can be contrasted with the new, Process Age style as shown below:

1. Bureaucratic way:
 - planning;
 - focus on the structure;
 - focus on title;
 - controlling;
 - enacting;
 - excluding;
 - focus on organization;
 - meeting set goals;
 - hierarchy oriented;
 - results oriented.
2. Process way:
 - scanning;
 - focus on the work;
 - focus on skills;
 - empowering;
 - harmonizing;
 - including;
 - focus on customer;
 - continuous improvement;
 - team oriented;
 - relationship and results oriented.

In the present transition period, as we move from one set of operating principles to the new set, proactive planning is giving way to a responsiveness-based scanning of a rapidly changing environment, focus on the structure of work

is giving way to a focus on results regardless of structure, preoccupation with title is giving way to attention to value-added skills, attempts at controlling are fading in favour of sharing responsibilities, efforts to change the environment are evolving towards harmonizing with it, exclusionary structures are being replaced by increasingly diverse structures, and focus on department or function is shifting to a focus on serving the customer. Additionally, step-wise goal attainment (the product of annual planning in a relatively stable world) is moving towards daily, continuous improvement and hierarchies are breaking down in favour of more team-based egalitarian structures. And, while results are still valued, long-term relationships in the form of alliances and supplier-customer relationships which give long-term results are gaining more attention and effort. All of this is shifting our focus in leadership and training from a more superficial just-do-the-job approach, tolerated and even encouraged under the bureaucratic paradigm, to a deeper, more relationship-oriented, values-congruency kind of leadership/management system.

Another way of thinking about this shift is to note that human activity can be viewed as occurring at three levels: level 1 denotes observable behaviour, level 2 is conscious thought and level 3 refers to pre-conscious values and beliefs. Much of the bureaucratic paradigm was focused on level 1: we do not care what you are thinking or feeling, just do what the job description demands of you and do it well. The pervasiveness and uncaring aspects of this attitude led, in many respects, to the rise of trade unionism. Employees began to resent being treated as pieces of unthinking, unfeeling machinery, a perspective encouraged by early twentieth-century management theorists like Frederick Taylor. The Process Age is shifting focus to levels 2 and 3. We are understanding more clearly that to do anything collectively really well, especially in a service-based economy, we need to engage employees as whole people and to invite their minds and their hearts as well as their bodies to come to work. This realization raises enormous questions about authority, leadership, trust, loyalty, relevant skill development, empowerment, structures, processes, indeed, the very way we think about running businesses of all kinds. How do we deal with employees at level 3 as well as level 1? Mentoring, as it turns out, provides an excellent avenue for exploring answers to these kinds of questions.

All the while, several societal trends which are building steam around business corporations will surely affect the climate for mentoring in the next era. A significant one is that the percentage of children born to single parent families (in the USA) is rising dramatically, to as much as 68 per cent among some ethnic groups (Senator Dole has reported the national average at 30 per cent). Single parents need to work, so more and more children are being "raised" by peers, relatives and paid day care instructors. The personal values relating to personal and communal cleanliness, responsible citizenship, adjusting to the demands of the group, dealing with conflict, success and setbacks, and career motivations are being taught to and learned by these children in new ways – many

of them distributed through the information media. In this climate, mentoring provides an opportunity to connect in a meaningful way with older people, to learn about managing business and life and about balancing the two. Let us focus for a moment on what mentoring is, and then list some implications of the collision of the new era and the mentoring phenomenon.

What Is Mentoring?

Many people tried to define mentoring while it was popular during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The term became so widely used that its meaning in many conversations and papers became diffuse and difficult to recognize. For some it was teaching; for others coaching; for others counselling. For the sake of our thinking here, may I suggest that mentoring is more than teaching or coaching, which both focus on the conveyance of technical skills. While coaching has in book, article and speech been touted (and marketed at enormous prices, see for example, *Sports Illustrated* (1995) on speaker's fees for coaches) as the relevant model, my experiences with the coaching model in university settings has led me to conclude that coaching is not the best model for organizational life. Much of "coaching" is couched in verbal and emotional abuse and exploitation seemingly designed to treat individuals as cogs and stepping stones to personal glory – in many respects a continuation of the bureaucratic, top-down, impersonal approach.

Further, building on the more comprehensive (that is, in the number of aspects of life which mentoring addresses) model developed by Homer and the medieval trade guild masters, I prefer to think of mentoring as one of a range of developmental relationships which we could array on a map. "Developmental relationships" are those in which part of the intent and result of the relationship is to help one or both parties grow. In the ancient Greek model, the growth target included every aspect of life while in the more modern view, mentors play a more limited role. Thus, we could array developmental relationships along a continuum from-limited-to-comprehensive as shown on the x axis in Figure 3.

Second, we can observe that relationships are often not mutual, that is, one person may be more committed to the relationship than the other. Relationships can have mutual levels of commitment or be unbalanced with unilateral levels of commitment. We could array relationships on this dimension as we have in Figure 3 along the vertical axis.

With these two dimensions, comprehensiveness and mutuality, we can map a whole range of developmental relationships as shown in Figure 3. We can then speak of mentoring relationships (bilateral, comprehensive developmental relationships), quasi-mentoring relationships, coaching, vicarious (learning from others who may be dead, for instance, or from their books) and so on without overlapping our meanings and confusing the issue.

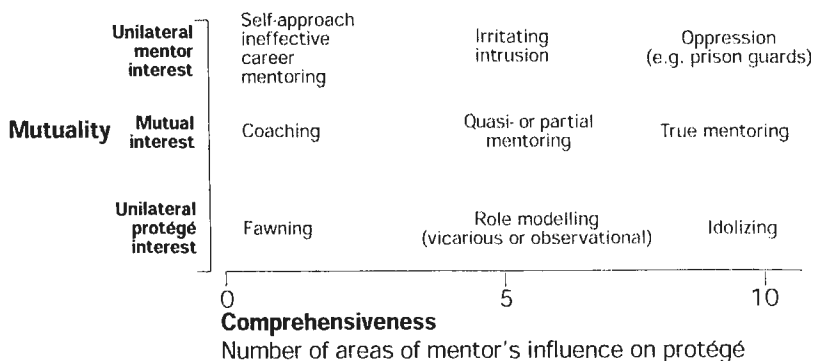


Figure 3: The range of developmental relationships

Mentoring in a broader sense of meaning, is when both parties in a relationship recognize the importance of what one can teach the other in not just one but several aspects of life, over time, and when both are willing to engage in the relationship. Both benefit. In this way, mentoring is bigger than most coaching. (I realize that some athletes develop mentoring relationships with their coaches.) Mentoring includes teaching but goes beyond the mere transfer of knowledge and skill, to include technical, organizational, and career/personal life issues. Protégés learn from their mentors, as I am presenting it here, not only how to do their jobs better, but also how to manage their organizational careers better, and how to balance and manage their lives better.

One final note. We also know that people prefer to learn in different ways. Neurolinguistic programming theory, for instance, identifies three basic learning patterns: visual, aural and kinesthetic or emotional (Bandler and Grinder, 1979). Akin at the University of Virginia posits five different kinds of adult learning in organizations, only one of which is social in nature (Akin, 1987). For the subset of society who prefer to learn socially, that is, in connection with other humans, mentoring has provided and will continue to provide a deeply satisfying means of learning what is necessary to continue to develop their personal careers. For others who prefer to learn from experience or from instruction manuals, for instance, mentoring may never be, regardless of the surrounding paradigm, a source of major developmental activity.

Mentoring in the Future

With views of the changing managerial paradigm and of the definition of mentoring in place, we may now turn to how the new paradigm might affect and shape mentoring activities in the future. You may have developed your own thoughts about how these two sets of concepts will merge and emerge. My mental overlay of these two sets of concepts produces a set of trends which

I might expect to observe in mentoring activities in the years ahead. These include trends away from:

- career;
- vertical relationships;
- work focus;
- seeking mentors;
- top down relationships;
- homogeneous relationships;
- face-to-face relationships;
- instrumental relationships;
- individual focus.

They also include trends towards:

- service;
- peer relationships;
- life focus;
- seeking protégés;
- bottom-up or reciprocal relationships;
- heterogeneous relationships;
- e-mail connections;
- relationship rewards;
- team focus.

From Career Focus towards Service Focus

Much of the mentoring activity in the industrial era had to do with helping younger generations move upward in a basically pyramidal society. Corporations were asked to chart career paths and to keep young talent on the move upward. Mentors were recognized as providing a greasing of the upward slope, allowing one to move more quickly and therefore more successfully. If one hit a ceiling, in the West at least, one would move to another company and continue the climb, helped, it was hoped, by one's old mentor or a new one who could shorten the process of learning not only the technical aspects of one's new job, but also the political and organizational realities of being recognized and advanced in the new organization.

In the new paradigm, however, as corporations become flatter and more team based, the importance of rising up the ladder is and will be diminished. As companies truly learn and inculcate in their operating cultures the importance of customer satisfaction, titles will become less important than customer satisfaction and feedback. In this kind of environment, I expect that the substance of mentoring will shift from personal career management

towards guidance and coaching about how to understand and meet customer needs and expectations. In a world as described above, where family training is decreasing, this work-based mentoring on how to gain and maintain a customer-oriented, service-based attitude will assume a greater role in meeting corporate objectives. It may also be the substance of a central hope for a stable and productive citizenry.

Here is a specific example related to me by an executive at Martin Marietta and a private consultant in Orlando, Florida. Martin Marietta wrestled with the issue of how to incorporate a more heterogeneous workforce into the company's culture. The company's human resources experts recognized the difficulty of teaching senior managers new, level 3 perspectives on this issue. As a result, they took a longer, more strategic approach. In a formalized mentoring programme, new, high potential employees were paired in two directions. First, traditionally, they were paired with senior managers who might play the usual role of a formalized mentor: meeting with them occasionally, being available for phone calls and visits, and offering counsel and advice on a number of issues.

At the same time, these new high potentials were required to become a mentor to an underprivileged youth in the community. With this addition, the formalized mentoring programme has three levels, senior mentor to high-potential protégé and high-potential protégé-cum-mentor to underprivileged protégé. Their belief – and the early experience from this programme – was that the younger people working with underprivileged youth would gain a deep, level 3 kind of sensitivity to the needs and potentials of a variety of people, and be better prepared to work with and promote them in the future when they themselves had achieved higher rank in the firm. Anecdotal evidence from this programme includes testimonials of young people who insist that their parents drive them by the news-stand on the way home from school to buy a *Wall Street Journal* or who have begun to look up to their mentors as role models for shaping their career decisions. I thought this programme inspired. It recognized the need for dealing with its high-potential participants at more than level 1 or level 2 but at level 3, their basic values and beliefs about people and the nature of their work. I expect that if they continue the programme, it will show subtle but powerful results for decades to come.

We will also see more and more international pairs in mentoring relationships. As companies strive to develop a global perspective and a global human resource utilization process, more and more people from different national cultures will begin to develop mentoring connections. In these, we will see people learning more about other cultures and, it is hoped, developing a respect for them. There is a premiss that says that if a person comes to know another culture better, presumably by living in the midst of it, he or she will come to develop a respect and even a love for those people. While that is often true and there have been many who break out of their local parochialistic prejudices by living elsewhere, another possible outcome is that one comes to understand the other culture better and has a reinforced contempt for the

underlying values that guide it. Mentoring, based as it is on professional connections and a parallel technical or business-related common goal, offers the promise of intercultural development that leads more assuredly to greater respect and broader tolerance of individual and cultural differences.

From Vertical Hierarchical Superior Subordinate Relationships towards Peer Team-based Relationships

While I have explored developmental, quasi-mentoring features of the superior/subordinate relationship, a common unit in the bureaucratic organization (Clawson, 1980), others have begun to look at peer mentoring (e.g. Kram and Isabella, 1985). The concept of peer mentoring stretches the definition of mentoring established by the Greeks, guild masters, and the early work of Doug Bray in the classic AT&T study of careers which showed that mentoring relationships tended to show eight years or so in age variation (Bray *et al.*, 1974). If we consider, however, that an essential idea of mentoring is for an experienced person to show an inexperienced person how to progress faster than they otherwise could or the "mentor" did, then mentoring between individuals of roughly the same age or rank begins to be a feasible concept. This is particularly true if one considers Michael Driver's career concepts (Driver, 1978) and notes that peer mentoring among steady-state types is a likely phenomenon. In a context of rapid technological change and shifting organizational structures with confusing family and personal anchor points, there is no reason to assume that people of roughly the same age and experience could not engage in mentoring activities, especially if the natural competitiveness of the bureaucratic pyramid is replaced with an encouraging teamwork in the process oriented firm.

From Work Focus towards Life Focus

Work played a dominant role in the lives of most people during the bureaucratic age. Many sacrificed various parts of their lives to work. Titles like *Work and Love* (Rohrlich, 1980), *Must Success Cost so Much?* (Evans and Bartolome, 1981), *Career Success/Personal Failure* (Korman, 1980), *Workaholics* (Machlowitz, 1980), *Working Ourselves to Death* (Fassel, 1990), *Work Addiction* (Robinson, 1989), and *Work, Family and the Career* (Derr, 1980), underscore the increasing concern with re-establishing a balance in life that leaves more time for exercise, good health, personal relationships, family relationships and community involvement. Recent statistics (reported in *USA Today*, 1995) show that paid vacation time in the USA and Japan after one year of work is ten days while in Germany, France and Austria, it is 25 days and in Brazil, Sweden and Denmark, it is 30 days. Members of the Baby Boomer and Gen-X cohorts have been putting increasing pressure on organizations to recognize and make account for employees' whole lives, including their

marriages, health and recreation. The younger generations are demanding more time for their personal lives. This means that paradoxically, mentors who are willing to talk about and engage with their protégés in discussing questions of building and maintaining this balance will be in greater demand and yet, since their generation has not been able to find that balance on the whole, less available to the younger people. I expect, however, that the content of mentoring relationships will increasingly include discussions of developing and maintaining this balance and hence begin to look more like the classical Greek and Medieval mentoring forms, broad in subject matter while still being deep in speciality areas.

From Seeking Mentors towards Seeking Protégés

In the 1970s and 1980s it was common for young MBA students and graduates to search for mentors. Formalized mentoring programmes began to gain popularity and many companies established them. There was a sense among the Baby Boomer generation that in an increasingly competitive world with shorter cycles, one needed a mentor to grow one's career as fast as one could. This was especially true for anyone who was not a white male. With increasingly diverse workforces and larger and larger corporations, people needed an advantage in climbing the corporate ladder.

Today, as organizations flatten and the pyramids begin to transmorph into ovals, circles, and truncated pyramids, many senior executives are feeling confused, threatened and even lost. Younger people are looking to their peers more for guidance in the new systems since most older people do not understand, identify with or want to encourage the new forms. This encourages the peer-mentoring trend mentioned above. This also leaves the older generation, though, in large numbers, psychologically isolated from the exercise of real influence and from the satisfying experiences of seeing their learning be passed on to others. As the multitudes of the Baby Boomer generation enter this later stage in life, one that Erikson (1950) characterized as facing a dilemma between generativity and isolation, many will be searching for ways to pass on their experience and insights to the next generation. That new generation is fewer in number, thus lessening the opportunity for inter-generational mentoring, at least for this cohort, and it is also becoming less stratified which further exacerbates the pressure on a small outlet for mentoring activity. Hence, I expect that senior people will be in search of protégés more than protégés will be in search of mentors.

From Top Down towards Reciprocal

Mentoring in the past, even the recent past in part – as outlined by Bray *et al.* (1974) – was characterized by older people working with younger people. While it was psychologically rewarding for older mentors to teach and guide

their younger counterparts, most of the career and political insights were gained by the protégés. Today's world is characterized by rapid technological innovation and resultant shorter life cycles of products, service standards, companies and even industries. In this context, senior people, out of school for a while and reinforced in a traditional paradigm, are often left afloat either unwilling or unable to embrace and utilize the new approaches and technologies that come out monthly. Paradoxically, the younger people most recently trained in school and raised not only with the new technologies, but also with the psychological comfort of living with change and ambiguity, are better prepared to live in and excel in this new world. They lack, however, the maturity and wisdom of experience and of living with their mistakes. Hence, I expect more reciprocal mentoring relationships to develop, relationships in which the senior partner may be passing on organizational politics, customer relations and stamina insights to the younger people while they in turn are coaching, guiding and outright instructing the senior people in how to use the new technologies and become more comfortable with rapid change.

From Homogeneous towards Heterogeneous

Historically, mentoring relationships have been largely same-gender, same-race relationships. In the future, with the increasing heterogeneity of the workplace and the increased rate of involvement in businesses of women and non-whites, one could naturally expect to see more and more heterogeneous developmental relationships sprout and flourish. Early on, these relationships may require thinking about special rules and/or stretch the ways in which people think about working together (see for example, Clawson and Kram, 1984), but before long, they will be accepted in society and business, and begin to merge in form and content with other relationships. One consultant in Atlanta, Georgia, has made a career out of delineating the content of such relationships by positing a hierarchy of "seven leagues" in society and the importance of people of colour learning the parameters of each league (such as cars to drive, clothes to wear, clubs to belong to, even hobbies and recreation to pursue) before expecting to be able to move "up" into the next league. I find it sad that business people think in this way, yet I am optimistic that in the next century we will move towards a society in which such superficial focuses of mentoring will give way to more functionally relevant value-added substance.

From Face-to-Face towards Terminal-to-Terminal

Clearly, as more and more people use the new Information Age technologies, people will more and more learn from people they have never seen. Whether one can call this mentoring is questionable. Yet, one cannot ignore

the potential and growing impact of the electronic network that now links the world's countries and citizens. Impersonal terminal-to-terminal e-mail-based "mentoring" will increase. People who want to know more about how to do a task or to get ahead in an industry will be increasingly able to find that information through their contacts on the Internet. Bulletin boards and LISTSERV networks already exchange information on thousands of topics. Senior people around the globe are already counselling and guiding less experienced, younger people several time zones away on all kinds of issues and about all kinds of decisions. A colleague, for example, recently contacted me from across the country about materials I was teaching in a course. Within a day, she had 36 files including syllabi, exercises, materials, articles, etc. that related to our e-mail messages and some subsequent phone messages. Again, I do not consider this mentoring, but I can see how this kind of connection could build to where it might approximate to an electronic version of mentoring. I regularly communicate with two other colleagues, former students, about all kinds of personal and family-related issues entirely by e-mail. Those do look much more like mentoring relationships, albeit ones that were built in the first instance face to face. Although these kinds of relationships will flourish, they will not in the end be deeply satisfying.

From Instrumental towards Relationship Rewards

Bureaucratic mentoring was, in essence, a means for developing high potential talent rapidly. Many MBAs, for instance, seeking mentoring relationships were concerned about rising more quickly in the organizations of their choice. There was a sense of "what's in it for me" in the conversations I had with these people. As information technology and convenient mass transportation continues to expand and envelop us, people will become increasingly concerned about developing and maintaining relationships. This will be true for both mentors and protégés. Both will be seeking developmental relationships largely because of a desire to hook up with other people in more than superficial, exchange-related ways. Deep conversations about the meaning of life, of family relationships, the meaning of careers, the purpose of the corporation, the meaning of success, of happiness and fulfilment will return to humankind's professional drives. A popularized example of this was manifest in the 1995 motion picture, *The Net*, in which the female protagonist, a stereotypic computer nerd, was caught in a web of intrigue and danger in large part because of a deep desire to connect with others. Although chatting on the Net and checking in on bulletin boards are interesting and informative, they are not very satisfying as far as human relationships go. The more people are electronically linked with a wider and wider circle of acquaintances in the globe, the more they will need and seek deeper personal relationships face to face. Hence, I expect developmental relationships that exhibit this kind of depth to flourish.

Focus on Team Development Rather than Personal Development

With the flattening of organizations and the expansion of electronic networks, boundaries in organizations are dissolving. This means that people from different disciplines will be interacting with each other more than ever before. The focus of mentoring, therefore, will shift from personal developmental agendas towards team development agendas. In this respect, one's peer team members may take on mentoring roles rather than a single individual. I expect that more and more individuals will look to their teammates as sources of insight, support, and guidance.

Implications for Individuals

These trends as I see them have several important implications for mentors and protégés-to-be.

Carving Out Time in Very Busy Schedules, Making Time for Relationships Will Be Increasingly Difficult

Since efficiency and productivity have become the watchwords in the last half of the twentieth century, people moving into the next century will have to carve time for relationships consciously out of their busy schedules. Can one be truly engaged with another human being when the cellular phone rings, the beeper goes off, and the computer voice calls from the next room, "you have an electronic message"? People who want to be engaged will actively have to carve time out of their schedules to be with people. This is difficult for many to do because "time with people" may not appear on the surface to be effective, efficient or productive. In terms of the business goals of the individual, it may not be more "efficient", but unless one fills one's social buckets there eventually comes a time, for most, that they wonder how did life became so barren.

Thinking about What to Give in Return

The logical extension of this is that people will then be consciously or subconsciously trying to figure out what they can gain from relationship time. That thought, in turn, leads one to wonder what one has to offer others for their time in relationship. People will become more facile at breaking through the superficial talk and in getting down to getting acquainted more directly and quickly and in their willingness to offer more openly what they have learned and experienced. The brevity of relationships will demand this if human connection is to continue. Time for shyness and introversion will diminish. At same

time, others may find this threatening. At one dinner conversation recently, a friend asked the people at the table what they would do if all constraints and restrictions were removed. I thought it a remarkable and wonderful way to get acquainted with the others very quickly. Answers to the question would give us all some insight into their private musings and fantasies. One young woman wanted to be Emmitt Smith. An elderly lady went on and on about being able to fly (like a bird), to travel the world, etc. In sharp contrast, a middle-aged, successful businessman at the end of the table answered, "How are you going to use this? What's this for?" His suspicion level kept him from engaging the rest of the group and we all left still as unconnected to him as we had been at the beginning of the conversation. Whether taught formally or by experience, more and more people will become efficient conversationalists if for no other reason than to counterbalance the increasingly impersonal world in which we live.

The Need to Walk the Fine Line in E-mail Communications

The anonymity of e-mail has created an Information Age concept, flaming. Without face-to-face contact and visual feedback, e-mail invites more direct, unscreened communications. These are usually outer directed rather than inner directed, that is, accusatory rather than revealing. Yet if mentoring is to occur on the Internet, people will have to develop a sense of how much they can reveal about themselves without becoming too vulnerable and hence open to flaming criticism. Mentors and protégés will have to develop a means of building trust and openness without the historic foundations that came from face-to-face conversations. After getting "flamed" by angry respondents who misinterpret or who correctly read poorly-thought-out transmissions, we will learn to present a cautious mask on the Internet e-mail network especially with those with whom we work. There is a paradox here: the keyboard seems anonymous and encourages us to be more direct, while the difficulty in interpreting on the other end encourages us to be cautious. This generation will learn a whole new way of conversing and communicating, some of which will be mentoring as outlined above. As people begin to mentor on the network, they will need to learn how and where they can drop their masks and be more direct without damaging the relationships.

Learning to Listen

Although this has been an important skill for centuries, effective listening will become increasingly important as the number of nonverbal cues (in the electronic age) declines and the importance of getting one's word in edgeways increases. Too often, people are becoming transmitters without becoming better receivers. The need for this skill is highlighted in Peter Senge's work on

the learning organization. Learning dialogue, e.g. attending to basic assumptions, and challenging them for the sake of seeing things differently and more accurately is a skill at play in learning organizations that will be a part of the new mentoring.

Questions

Having outlined an emerging context for the next century, revisited some definitions of mentoring, presented some trends in mentoring activities that seem to be forming in the Information Age, and listing some implications of those trends, I would now like to pose some questions for those interested in mentoring in the new era:

- How will people find their mentor or protégé counterparts in the new era? Will they continue to work through face-to-face meetings or will there be forums set up on the Internet like the personal ad columns in the present newspapers?
- How long will these relationships last? With e-mail providing worldwide support, there is no proximity reason for breaking them off when the protégé is promoted or transferred.
- Will the new generations of protégés really look to mentors to fill in some of the gaps that parents or single parents or no parents may have left in their early development, or will they remain isolated from that kind of experience?
- How can companies take advantage of the new technologies and the new insights about mentoring to foster and encourage healthy, working developmental relationships among their employees?
- What kind of role will mentoring, and especially formal mentoring programmes, take in the creation of a more melded but tolerant, hospitable, peaceable society?
- How will cross-cultural mentoring work out? Will there be early examples to encourage and guide subsequent generations?
- How does mentoring fit into a more egalitarian, democratically-oriented world? Will it have the same strong impact that it did in the more pyramidal, Industrial Age?
- Finally, what kinds of skills can business schools and corporations teach that will encourage healthy developmental relationships for those who could benefit from them?

Conclusion

Mentoring addresses some fundamental human needs to learn and to teach socially. It provides a deeply rewarding and personal way for the wisdom of one generation to be passed on to the next. Mentoring has survived several

paradigm shifts over the last 4,000 years and is likely to survive the present shift. In doing so, mentoring will develop some new forms encouraged by team-based organizations and new information technologies. The challenge for educators and trainers is to be aware of these changes and to adapt their curricula to include new skills and new perspectives. The challenge to senior managers is to seek mentoring opportunities more actively in an increasingly busy and demanding context. The challenge to young people is to learn both how to learn and how to teach, while still in the early stages of their careers.

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Perspectives on Mentoring

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Why should an organization's leaders support mentoring, given that research and practice suggests that mentoring offers mixed results for the organization and its leaders (Jacobi, 1991; Merriam, 1983)? Though protégés arguably benefit, as Collins and Scott (1978) suggest "Everyone who makes it has a mentor", what about the potential inequities visited on non-protégés (Fagenson, 1989; Meindl, 1989)? Mentors foster nurturing environments wherein protégés may develop faster and more completely than their peers and are therefore better prepared to compete in the organization and as leaders. This clearly creates issues related to non-egalitarian work environments in which some individuals receive preferential treatment (both in perception and in reality). The organization may suffer negative consequences when attention is drawn away from the benefits of mentoring to issues of fairness, particularly in cross-gender and cross-race relationships where societal taboos and sexual assumptions exist (Clawson and Kram, 1984; Ragins, 1995; Thomas, 1989). Even against this potentially uneven backdrop (Kram and Hall, 1995), interest and research into mentoring continues, stimulated by the benefits mentoring holds for mentors, protégés and organizations. A key issue for future research and theory integrating leadership and mentoring is whether the costs of a non-egalitarian work environment outweigh the benefits of mentoring.

Potential benefits of mentoring are first explored in this paper. We begin by asking, "Why bother mentoring?" from the mentor's perspective. Next,

protégé and organizational perspectives are introduced. Our intent is to unite the mentor, protégé, organizational worlds into a coherent argument for greater corporate-sponsored support for mentoring. We conclude that leader-supported mentoring offers leaders a pathway towards more effective and more egalitarian organizations.

Why Leaders Mentor

Each mentor's world is unique, shaped by personal, professional, and other situational motives. Even within this private world, motives for mentoring are more likely to be a kaleidoscopic mix that changes through time, rather than a single, fixed viewpoint. Therefore, attributions about mentoring motives range from the selfish to the altruistic, the political to the organizational.

On the selfish end of this continuum, many mentors realize that the very art of mentoring shapes protégés' motivations, which appear to grow out of an implicit quid pro quo bargain: "I help you, you help me". For example, Scandura and Viator (1994) found that in public accounting firms, protégés who had a top-ranking mentor reported a higher frequency of intentions to stay with the firm. Continued long enough, a shared commitment may grow into a bond of loyalty between the mentor and protégé. The result for the mentor may be the cultivation of what Jennings (1976) labelled a "crucial subordinate – one who puts the superior's need ahead of self as a career strategy". As the mentor continues to mentor further with a variety of protégés, the mentor becomes the hub of a network populated by protégés, tied to the centre through a series of implicit bargains long since melded into a web of personal and professional loyalties. That network serves in many capacities, from protégés "pulling strings" to locating talent and information on behalf of the mentor (Ragins and Scandura, 1994).

Other benefits may accrue to the mentor. The mentor's role in the organization may be seen as having greater legitimization, especially when mentoring is valued in the organizational culture, as among professionals. "King-makers" who gain referent power not only attract loyal followers, but also earn the respect and admiration of peers for being keen spotters of talent (Ragins and Scandura, 1994).

Somewhat more introspectively, since mentors are often advanced in their tenure and careers, the very act of mentoring may be rejuvenating to the mentor's career interests, motivations, and (to the extent that protégés may have new or advanced technical abilities) skills. Kram (1985) observed that for those who reach a point in their careers with limited advancement and/or growth opportunities, this life stage can be particularly difficult. Entering a developmental relationship with a young adult provides an opportunity at midlife for a mentor to redirect energies into creative and productive action which can be responsive to these salient, psychological concerns. With respect

to enabling others, the mid-life individual satisfies important generative needs and also has the opportunity to review and reappraise the past by participating in a younger adult's attempts to face challenges of early adulthood.

Even when legitimization and rejuvenation are not of concern to the mentor, the mentor-protégé relationship may create a professional or organizational legacy. Schein (1985) notes that corporate myths are critical to the corporate culture. The ability to have a legendary, mythic status in an organization and thereby affect corporate culture is inherently appealing. More altruistically, the mere act of giving time and effort to the protégé may be reward in itself, especially as the mentor's personal maturity leads to a redefinition of achievement and nurturing motives. Helping may be its own rewards. Thus, the union of mentor and protégé in the employment setting may transcend the work/career context, leading to satisfaction with the process, irrespective of the direct career benefits which may accrue from the mentoring process.

The perspective of the leader on mentoring is depicted in Figure 1, "The mentor's world". As the relationship evolves along the horizontal axis, the balance of objectivity and judgement versus nurturing changes on the vertical axis. What begins as minimal mentoring (perhaps little more than on-the-job-training) evolves to more moderate amounts of mentoring which might be characterized as skillbased development centred on projects or tasks. High mentoring levels occur as the mentor/protégé relationship evolves to a more collaborating, career-based form of interaction. Nurturing increases, with a concomitant decline in objectivity and judgement, as the relationship evolves towards a more transcendent one, perhaps best viewed as familial. Mentoring relationships are known to become transcendent over organizational

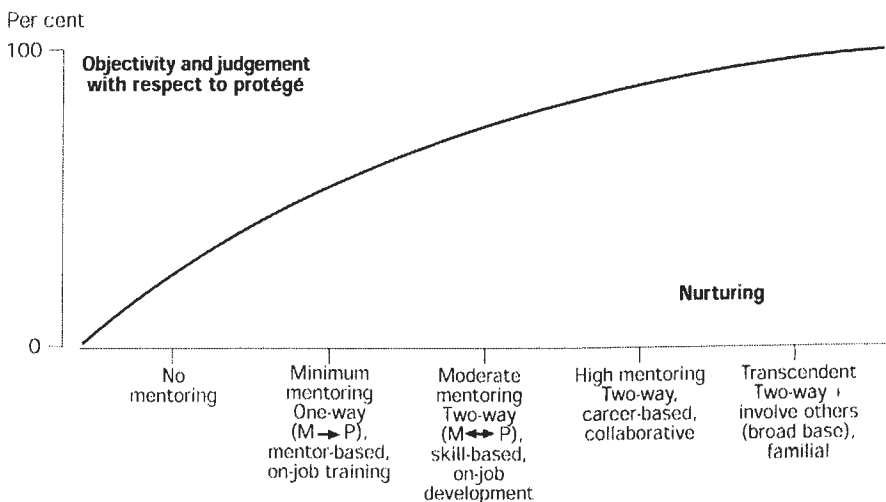


Figure 1: The mentor's world

boundaries, often continuing after a mentor has retired or a protégé has changed organizations. Here, the mentor not only counsels the protégé on organization or work-related matters, but also on the protégé's career, professional and personal growth. The mentoring literature has documented that all of these functions occur (Kram, 1985); however, we have described mentoring as a developmental process in which certain functions become more salient at different points in time in the relationship.

How Protégés Benefit

Benefits to protégés are, perhaps, the most obvious, more immediate (Collins and Scott, 1978), and best documented (Dreher and Ash, 1990; Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1992; Scandura and Schriesheim, 1994; Whitely *et al.*, 1991). Fundamental benefits for the protégé may be job security and career advancement. Simply being advised about the organizational and professional "do's and don'ts" can turn a trial and error approach to the protégé's career into a more efficient and effectively directed one.

To the extent that mentoring translates into improved job performance and its subsequent financial and career rewards, the value of the mentoring relationship is reinforced. It is here research suggests that protégé promotions (Dreher and Ash, 1990; Whitely *et al.*, 1991) and compensation (Dreher and Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992) appear influenced by a mentor. Perhaps of even greater value than the promotions and rewards, however, is the knowledge that one has a significant ally – one who is valued by those deemed to be superior in power, position, or experience – which undoubtedly enhances the protégé's self-confidence and the ability to take career-enhancing risks, particularly given the protection often offered by the mentor.

To the extent that a mentor/ally becomes a nominator or sponsor, or can influence those who are, career success is further ensured. Nominators can get the protégé's name considered for beneficial opportunities, such as promotions and special assignments; sponsors can go further and actually influence the important decision makers in favour of the protégé (Jennings, 1976). This function goes beyond the career or technical coaching process in that the mentor is actually using political influence for the protégé's benefit.

From the protégé's perspective, getting benefits from the mentoring relationship provides the reciprocal of the mentor's giving need. And this realization of potential combined with the self-confidence building benefits of the mentor/ protégé relationship, further accelerates the protégé's feelings of mastery and actual achievement.

Figure 2 depicts the world of the protégé over time. As the protégé learns from the mentor, the growth and learning potential inherent in the relationship decreases. The protégé's achievement potential, however, rises, as he/

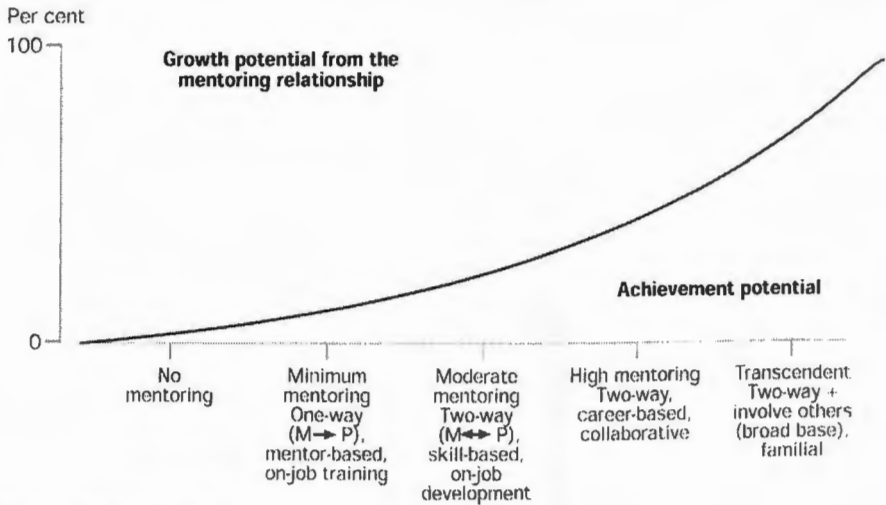


Figure 2: The protégé's world

she moves from no mentoring to the two-way process of influence which characterizes highly-developed collaborative working relationships (Graen and Scandura, 1987). Kram and Hall (1995) describe the mentoring relationship at this point as co-learning, in which the protégé also teaches the mentor and shares his/her ideas.

The Importance of the Relationship in Mentoring

The mentoring literature has focused on the stages of mentoring and the functions of mentoring. It must be noted that these relationships are similar to high quality, leader-member relationships, particularly from the junior person's point of view (Scandura and Schriesheim, 1994). Hence, a relationship model of the mentoring process is shown in Figure 3. In the relationship, mutual caring and loyalty increases as the social distance between the mentor and the protégé decreases. The better they get to know one another, the more the relationship is characterized by mutual trust and mutual obligation, similar to effective leadership relationships (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995).

For the mentor, often significant achievements have been attained via the relationship, enabling the mentor to have both the skills and confidence to nurture protégés. The protégé, earlier in his/her career, has yet to achieve mentor status. Thus, mentors and protégés, in different achievement/nurturing stages of their respective careers, meet and complement one another's developmental needs. As personal and professional needs are met through the relationship development process, organizations may benefit by having more satisfied, committed and productive members.

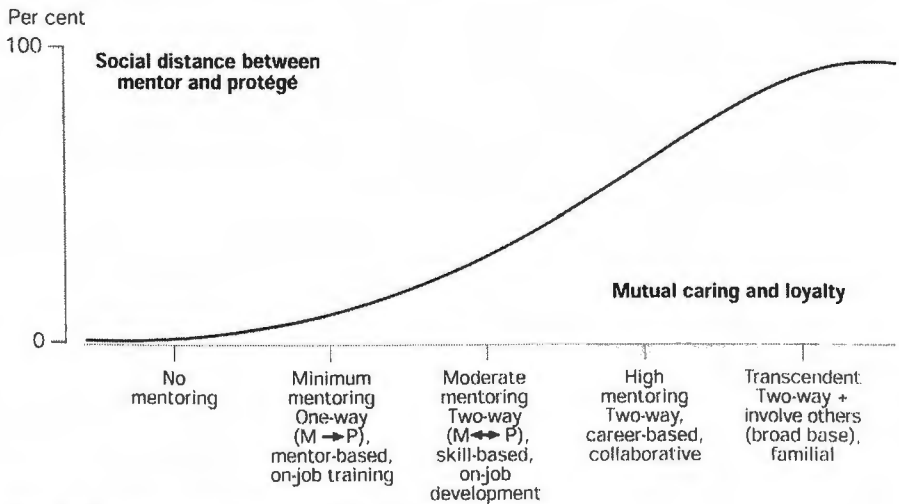


Figure 3: Evolution of the mentoring relationship

Why Organizations Gain

Gains for the organization (which we separate from those for the mentor or protégé) can be added to the equation in favour of mentoring relationships (Wilson and Elman, 1990). Even when organizational rewards are not congruent with individual performance (as in politically turbulent organizations), the financial, career and other performance-based rewards received by the protégé are an approximate index of the benefits accruing to the organization. Simply put, mentoring creates a three-way reciprocal context. For example, the mentor gives, the protégé gets, and the organization benefits. When the mentoring relationship enhances the protégé's contribution to the organization, the organization benefits.

Protégé-mentor interactions provide traditional vocational and psycho-social support in the form of encouragement and demonstration through role-modelling. The process of providing the support and encouragement generates greater sense of familiarity, if not intimacy, between the dyad members, arguably leading to a closing of social distance. Multiplied by the number of mentor-protégé dyads in the organization, intent to remain, employee voice and employee satisfaction measures are likely to improve, organizational learning is enhanced, particularly via vocational guidance, and employee/protégé motivation is stimulated, particularly by the psycho-social support; overall organizational performance and responsiveness should therefore improve.

As mentoring dyads develop, growing deeper and more stable, the organization becomes positioned to move beyond mere replacement planning as part of its human resource management operations and transform succession decisions into the broader process of continuity planning, ensuring a smoother

internal management transition in the face of openings and, perhaps, a more unified response to competitive or other environmental threats and opportunities (Kram and Hall, 1995).

The issue of non-egalitarian, or unfair, treatment is particularly salient for women and minorities in organizations today (Ragins, 1995). This importance emerges from trends of growing workplace diversity – whether caused by shifts in inter-generational values, multinational operations, or migration or immigration (Cox, 1994). In the face of workplace diversity, mentor/protégé dyads offer an intense, yet durable approach to inculcating corporate values, and, moreover, research shows that mentored individuals are more likely to be the organization's future leaders (Whitely *et al.*, 1991). Transmission and reinforcement of salient corporate values through the organization, particularly through mentor/protégé dyads, would appear to be of growing importance to leaders responsible for organizational development. From the organization's perspective, value and culture transmission may be a subtle, not easily measured, but powerful mechanism for ensuring employee loyalty and commitment in the face of turbulent environments and uncertain work relationships which tremble with each downsizing, restructuring, joint venture, merger and acquisition (Scandura and Siegel, 1995).

Towards Leader-Supported Mentoring

Leader-supported mentoring is a process which views mentoring as a necessary leadership process. Its primary objective is the attainment of egalitarian work environments through carefully managing the mentor's network of protégé relationships so that fairness is ensured. This is particularly important in working relationships with women and minorities whose talent must be developed for the future competitiveness of organizations (Cox, 1994; Ragins, 1995).

The process focus of leader-supported mentoring is a redefined balance of achievement and nurturing within the organization (see Figures 1 and 2). Improved organizational *and* individual achievement result from the additional nurturing that is a defining characteristic of leader-supported mentoring. While leader-supported mentoring is not an "all-or-none" phenomenon *vis-à-vis* other approaches to human resource management, neither is it a zero-sum trade-off between achievement and nurturing. Instead, psycho-social and vocational nurturing are viewed as a positive-sum relationship.

Bringing together the attributes of effective leadership and mentoring argues for organizationally sponsored, leader-supported mentoring. Although mentoring may occur spontaneously in virtually all organizations, leaders typically treat such informal mentoring/ protégé relationships with benign neglect. Mentoring quickly becomes a non-issue, or is assumed. Its merits are seldom discussed, let alone fostered throughout the organization. Mentoring may only be available to a select few who are similar to those in power

in terms of gender, race/ethnicity and other diversity variables. Yet, a wide array of human resource programmes are marshalled by the organization to enhance employee satisfaction, reduce turnover and give employees greater voice and involvement. These range from increasingly sophisticated, one-shot orientation programmes and team-based “bonding experiences” to 360-degree performance appraisals along with upward, downward and survey-feedback communication efforts, to identify but a few examples. And, many of these human resource-driven innovations do improve loyalty, voice, commitment and the like, at the margin. Yet collectively, these organizationally-sponsored efforts seek many of the same goals that can be derived from successful mentoring (as documented in the research literature): lower turnover, lower stress, greater loyalty, improved communications and ultimately improved employee performance.

The contrasting point between these varied approaches and leader-supported mentoring is that they represent actions the organizations does “to” the employee rather than something the senior leader does “for” the employee. Lacking personalization, they lack the impact (almost certainly) and the efficacy of mentoring. At the cynical extreme, these varied efforts are something “leaders” do to employees for the benefit of the organization, rather than the more personal efforts a mentor does for the benefit of the individual. As we hope we have demonstrated in our review of the literature, mentoring benefits mentees, protégés and organizations. Everyone wins.

We are not arguing against orientation, communications or employee feedback and appraisal programmes. These are necessary dimensions of organizations, particularly large ones. Instead, the argument here is that leader-supported mentoring is a powerful leadership tool, too often underutilized. It complements and supplements other organizational efforts and employee socialization and development. Rather than an “all-or-none” viewpoint, the argument is a more inclusive one which sees leader-supported mentoring as a supplemental, not replacement, approach to building more effective, satisfying organizations.

Further, in leader-supported mentoring, an organization which seeks to transcend a zero-sum mentality by trading social distance for caring and loyalty in pursuit of improved performance is not likely to emerge spontaneously. The argument against spontaneous success arising from any mentoring relationships is an empirical one: while informal mentoring relationships exist in a wide range of organizations – successful and unsuccessful – none attributes its success to spontaneous mentoring relationships. Even with assisted mentoring, organizational success is more likely to rest on a myriad factors, of which leader-supported mentoring is but one dimension.

Thus, the question: why be concerned with leader-supported mentoring if it cannot ensure organizational success? Why not merely continue with informal mentoring relationships as they spontaneously occur? The answer is a matter of degree. By moving from spontaneous to leader-supported mentoring,

the goal is greatly to expand mentor, protégé and organizational benefits of mentoring throughout the organization. Leader-supported mentoring is a system of mentoring relationships with the leader at the core. Of course, other aspects will contribute to the relationship between leader-supported mentoring and organizational success. For example, strategy, technology, economics, competitors and other variables moderate the success of any one innovation, such as leader-supported mentoring.

Rather the argument is that leader-assisted mentoring spreads the benefits of mentoring for the mentor and protégé to more dyads, with the resulting motivational and performance improvements accruing to relationships and the organization. Leader-supported mentoring is not an "all-or-none" phenomenon, nor is it a cure-all, where the promise is destined to exceed the results. Instead, it is but one potentially powerful leadership skill for more effective organizations.

Barriers and Leadership

With the logic for leader-supported mentoring being so strong and the practice so limited, the barriers between the concept and the practice must be formidable. Although barriers to mentoring are many, most are unique to the specific leadership and organizational situation. Past history, organizational culture, expectations and competences, workforce diversity and the urgency of other priorities are but a short, suggestive list of barriers. Many others are the result of sexism. Nevertheless, all organizations can point to examples of successful mentoring/protégé dyads occurring spontaneously.

Leadership is needed to overcome these barriers and move organizations from the infrequent, random and spontaneous mentoring/protégé dyads to more frequent, systematic and planned mentoring throughout the organization. This would, we suggest, increase the benefits of mentoring to the organization, its mentors and its protégés. Ultimately, these benefits further the leader's agenda for a more effective organization.

Preconditions for Leader-Supported Mentoring

The primary precondition for expanding mentoring/protégé dyads is leadership commitment to leader-supported mentoring. Rather than relying on infrequent and random mentoring relationships occurring, leaders must create the conditions that facilitate more systematic, organization-wide effort to create mentoring relationships.

Leader-supported mentoring calls on an organization's leader to create awareness throughout the organization of the benefits to be derived from mentoring efforts. Although potential protégés are likely to be intuitively aware

of these benefits, potential mentors may be less sensitive to those benefits which will potentially accrue to them. Neither mentor nor protégé is likely to be more than vaguely aware of the organizational benefits. The fundamental purpose in expanding the awareness about these three families of benefits is to increase the sensitivity of potential mentors and protégés to the possibility of forming mentor/protégé dyads. Simply put, the intent of leader-supported mentoring is to reduce perceptual thresholds, particularly among potential mentors, making potential mentor/protégé dyads more visible.

Creating awareness is likely to require persistent, ongoing efforts by organizational leaders over an open-ended period of time. The leader is seeking to change the organizational culture, not institute a new “programme” with a defined beginning, middle and end. By analogy, creating leader-supported mentoring is similar to ingraining a team orientation into the fabric of the organization. Neither is simple, quick or of limited duration.

Though the precise approach will be contingent on the unique organizational character and scope of the leader-supported mentoring effort, the characteristics of this organizational development intervention will rely on many of the traditional tools or large-scale organizational change. An action plan will need to be developed, outside facilitators will probably prove helpful, training and development programmes will need to be designed and implemented, formal and informal rewards structures changed; champions found; initial victories celebrated; and, perhaps, above all an ongoing dialogue among senior leaders about the status and direction of the firm’s leader-supported mentoring efforts.

Given the unique and highly personal nature of successful mentoring relationships, they cannot be forced. Assigning pairs of relationships might satisfy some organizational or leader need for measuring progress with the leader-supported mentoring effort. But quantitative tracking does little to ensure the success of these qualitative relationships. Instead, the leadership focus needs to be on those dimensions of organizational life which transform mentoring, since the inherent benefits for the mentor are often seen as less than the benefits for the protégé. Relevant organizational changes would include “bottom-up” or “360-degree” evaluations which include measures of mentoring contributions, mentoring awards and recognitions and pay rises. Even promotions must be tied to mentoring success.

Building More Satisfying Organizations – One Relationship at a Time

Many leaders today face a paradox. On the one hand, pressures for improved organizational performance come from increased foreign and domestic competition, combined with microscopic scrutiny from financial markets. On the other hand, downsizing, delayering and restructuring have broken the implicit

performance/career bargain which historically formed the basic of organizational loyalty and dedication. Thus, just when the pressures for organizational performance are continuing to rise, the foundations of that performance – people – show signs of cracking along the dedication to mentoring which may lie at that foundation.

Buying that loyalty and dedication with higher wages and benefits faces an ultimate limit in the marketplace as the huge underdeveloped economies of Asia and the Southern hemisphere emerge as formidable competitors. A new employment bargain is needed. One element – perhaps a major element of that bargain – will be the need for more humane, people-centred organizations. Central to this bargain is the provision of fair access to the learning processes offered by mentoring by the creation of egalitarian work environments. Those organizations with leader-assisted mentoring relationships may be better able to strike this bargain. They may prove to be both more humane and more competitive in the long run.

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Structure and Agency in an Institutionalized Setting: The Application and Social Transformation of Control in the Big Six

Mark W. Dirsmith, James B. Heian and Mark A. Covalleski

The organization of a Big 6 public accounting firm as a partnership has benefits that assist in the management process and has constraints that limit progress. A greater dedication to the business on the part of all of the partners, peer pressure on the weaker performers, a sense of fairness and equity, a high degree of energy, and a relatively strong work ethic not found in corporations all benefit management. The major aspect of a partnership that hinders management is the need to build a higher level of consensus than in other organizations, arising from the feeling on the part of the partners that they should be involved in managing *all* segments of the business. Progress and the accomplishment of what we are trying to accomplish has a price. The price is for existing partners to give up some of their control, power and freedom for the greater good. On balance they tend to resist doing this. The one area that constantly plagues me in my day-to-day management is the difficulty in managing a business composed of owners, professional *prima donnas*, if you like – where everything involves strong consensus building.

This observation from the executive managing partner of a Big 6 public accounting firm, suggests a paradox in the management control exercised over the members of professional organizations. On the one hand, control often resides in the individual professional as a consequence of

long-term socialization, and the imposition of formalized, structured techniques of control may cause professional-bureaucratic conflict and lead to dysfunctional behavior (Abbott, 1981, 1988; Freidson, 1986; Hall, 1972; Raelin, 1986; Smigel, 1964; Wilensky, 1964; Mintzberg, 1989; Fogarty, 1992; Chatman, 1991; Abernethy & Stoelwinder, 1995). On the other hand, this view belies the prominent application of formal, structured control practices in virtually all professional bureaucracies (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; Mintzberg, 1989; Van Maanen & Barley, 1984; Tortes, 1991) including the use of management by objectives (MBO) in public accounting firms (Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985a; Odiorne, 1976; McNair, 1991).

Organizational contingency theorists like Thompson (1967) and institutional theorists like Meyer and Rowan (1977) and Meyer (1986) proposed a partial answer to this dilemma: the two logics of control and professional autonomy can exist simultaneously within the same organization by "locating" them in two different portions of the organization and thereby "decoupling" them (Meyer, 1983; for a general critique of this locational specificity, see Orton & Weick, 1990). Within a professional organization, for example, the formalized practice of control may be located in its administrative component, while the more social, idiosyncratic process of actually performing the work may be located in the practitioner component (Freidson, 1986; Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Informed by the reasoning advanced by institutional theorists (for example Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) the initial phase of our continuing field study of the management of the (then) Big 8 public accounting firms did indeed yield a neat compartmentalization of, or decoupling between, formal control and professional autonomy. Here, we found MBO (though not always so initialed) being implemented by administrators within the national offices and effectively resisted by practice office partners (Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985a), while the actual process of managing professionals, in terms of their socialization, was accomplished through the idiosyncratic and social process of mentoring (Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985b). And yet, the executive partner's above observation, elicited during the second phase of our fieldwork, suggests that at least his firm's national office was far from satisfied with the current "decoupling" between its formal control structure and the actual delivery of professional services. In fact, he reported an active effort to reduce his practice partners' power and autonomy by exerting formal control over them in order to increase his firm's profitability. He was trying, in short, to dismantle the neat compartments of the administrative and practitioner components.

Perhaps not surprisingly, a number of partners and managers promoted to higher positions subsequent to our initial work (one of them include the international director of accounting and auditing) continued to confide in us that the character of their management practices were changing dramatically. They redefined what we thought of as a completed study as merely "Phase I," and encouraged us to continue our fieldwork so as to provide them with a "sounding

board" and "sympathetic ear," to ascertain whether similar "poor fools" existed in the other firms, and to help them interpret their lived experiences. We were challenged to dismantle our own compartmentalized thinking.

Consistent with this participant-issued challenge, this article addresses two research questions implicitly posed by the participants in our continuing study:

1. How can social agents change a perhaps overly stable, institutionalized organizational setting, and what socio-political dynamics accompany such an attempt?
2. How does one manage professionals who are at once a resource in and a constraint upon organizational change?

Consistent with the participant-driven nature of this inquiry, as opposed to an *a priori* focus on testing or refining theory, we have organized this article so that the theory discussion, or second order interpretations, follows the presentation of our research methods and the first-order interpretations or field observations of our participants (Van Maanen, 1988; Giddens, 1984). In practice, however, this discrete, sequential ordering was not so neatly compartmentalized. While we began with a theoretical template and the concepts of MBO and mentoring less than firmly in mind, the development of theory did proceed concurrently with the performance of our fieldwork. This fieldwork enabled us to understand our data and develop a theory, and the emerging theory provided a deeper understanding of what we observed in the field.

While we defer a more detailed consideration of theory to the last section of this paper, it is useful to briefly foreshadow that theory in order to promote a better understanding of our analysis. We draw upon three theoretical perspectives: institutional theory, the sociology of professions and structuration theory. Extending beyond a traditional proposition of institutional theory that formal control systems serve as symbolic displays leaving the direction of actual work activities to be performed by social means (see, for example, Meyer & Rowan, 1977), recent theorists have recommended a focus on power and group interest (Perrow, 1985). In particular, these theorists recommend systematic examination into the politicized role of widely legitimated symbolic structures in establishing new approaches to control and redistributing power among interest groups within organizations (Powell, 1985; Tolbert, 1988, 1991; Zucker, 1988). Here, Meyer and Scott (1983) urged that research probe "the creativity of actors in using ideological and institutional resources . . . as they manipulate definitions and use available standards of virtue," (p. 30). Through the strategic, inwardly directed use of legitimated structure, overly stable social systems may become transformed. In turn, organizational members may seek to resist the institutionalization of these new structural forms and power relations, or to redirect them to serve their own interests (Oliver, 1991; DiMaggio, 1988; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 22-30). Thus, influenced

by the relative power of organizational interest groups, the structural and the social may become interconnected (Scott, 1987, p. 501–502).

The sociology of professions perspective provides insight into the “locations” and processes involved in the structuring of professional work. Within professions like public accounting, one form of change is the encoding of expertise into the organization’s formal structure. This encoding could be accomplished by deploying new rule systems so as both to conform to the general cultural values of rationality, efficiency and science, and to maximize profitability (see, for example, Abbott, 1988, p. 16,325). Freidson (1986) reasoned that differences in position among professionals influences the creation, location and application of expertise. In particular, Freidson saw the separation between the administrator and practitioner components as critical to understanding organizational functioning, and he saw power, politics and group interest arising from the different duties they perform. Preoccupied by external political and economic forces facing their firms, administrators focus on formulating procedural and substantive rule systems that control how the work is performed. Then they allocate economic resources among practitioners to enforce these rule systems. Meanwhile, practitioners exercise power over the generation of resources insofar as they directly interact with clients and perform the actual services. Because a certain amount of power derives from client contact and because of the inherent difficulty in encoding professional work within formal structure, practitioners can transform the rule systems imposed on them by applying them informally and inconsistently (Abbott, 1981, 1988, 1991; Larson, 1977; for related accounting research, see Hopper *et al.*, 1986). Thus, we see once more an interconnection between formal structure and internal social processes.

The third perspective guiding our fieldwork is structuration theory (Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1991; for a critique, see Hauggard, 1993; Sewell, 1992; in accounting, see Macintosh & Scapens, 1990, 1991; Roberts & Scapens, 1985), and specifically the aspects that address the duality of structure and the dialectic of control. Giddens set out to develop a theory of the production, transformation, reproduction and dissolution of social institutions by specifically incorporating both the concepts of structure (that is, such structural properties of social institutions as the codes, rules and blueprints that influence and are influenced by social actions in the day to day activities across time and space; Giddens, 1984, p. 17) and agency (that is, those strategic actions of knowledgeable, reflexive social actors that constitute their working life) into the analysis. According to Giddens (1984)

Analyzing the structuration of social systems means studying the modes in which such systems, grounded in the knowledgeable activities of situated actors who draw upon rules and resources in the diversity of action contexts, are produced and reproduced in interaction. Crucial to the idea of structuration is the theorem of the duality of structure. The constitution of

agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize. Structure is not "external" to individuals: as memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices; it is in a certain sense more "internal" than exterior to their activities. Structure is not to be equated with constraint, but is always both constraining and enabling (p. 25).

Through the dialectic of control, structural properties are seen as constituting human social relations by "stretching" them across time and space. Those subject to these structures, in turn, transform them in their application, thus simultaneously constituting and embodying these structural properties. Consequently, structuration theory does not treat the structural and the social as "located" in separate compartments as in a dualism, but as "interpenetrating" one another as in a duality of mutual constitution: structure inheres in social relations and is expressed through the discourse and actions of human agents, and the social relations of these agents are at once constrained and promoted by structure (Riley, 1983).

In combination, these three theoretical perspectives suggest a research focus on (1) the strategic use of externally legitimated structures by administrative agents to redistribute power and transform an overly stable social system like the public accounting firm; (2) the resistance and diversion of these imported structures by knowledgeable practitioner agents who retain power; and (3) the internalization of these legitimated structures into the discourse and actions of the everyday practitioners, who in turn physically embody and reproduce these structures.¹

We have organized the rest of this article into three sections. In the first section, we describe our research methods, entailing the use of an interpretive field research strategy. The second section sets forth the first-order interpretations of our field work that concern the participants' own views of their everyday activities. These interpretations, in turn, offer a series of categories and dichotomies subsequently challenged by the second-order interpretations (Laurence and Gidewell, 1975). The final section describes our second-order interpretations or impressions of the field work. These impressions sometimes challenge the dichotomies described in our first-order interpretations, as between the administrative component and the practitioner component, and formal structure and social process. They also amplify and redirect the interpretations of the public accountants participating in our study.

Research Methods

The empirical portion of this study may be described as an ethnographic, interpretive field study (Van Maanan, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Agar, 1985; Giddens, 1984). We intended to examine certain facets of structural

and social change, and resistance to this change *vis-à-vis* the control practices deployed Big 6 firms, using the language of the participants and conducting analyses in a largely inductive, descriptive manner. We identified the formal control practice of MBO and the social process of mentoring as important in the firms during the first phase of the study, as opposed to being *a priori* foci (Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985a, 1985b). We developed the categories differentiating them, shown in Table 1, during field work as first order interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 347–351).

The organizations studied included each of the Big 6 public accounting firms, known as “the Big 8” before two recent mergers. They include Arthur Andersen (which was discussing a merger with Price Waterhouse during this

Table 1: MBO and mentoring in contemporary organizations

Attribute	MBO	Mentoring
1. Nature of process	Formal, structured, objectified and external to individual.	Informal, social, subjectified and internal to individual.
2. Purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regularize and make organizational members' behavior predictable. Exercise of formal control to benefit organization. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regularize and make organizational members' behavior predictable. Demonstrate how conformity to social control benefits the individual.
3. Focus	Individuals and subunits as parts of the organization.	Individual as a member of a social network.
4. Locus of Activity	Hierarchically or administratively oriented; requires direction of top management.	Practitioner oriented and diffused throughout organization.
5. Timing Structure Feedback	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Regular, cycle basis; b. Specific goals, means to accomplish goals; c. Formal appraisal provided on a cycle basis related to total achievement. Documented. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Irregular; b. Spontaneous, one-on-one interaction. c. Informal, irregularly provided, related to individual not firm goals. Undocumented.
6. Economics	Tends to stress quantitative, usually financially-oriented goals.	When addressed, financial matters incorporated related to advocating for individual.
7. Politics	Seemingly apolitical.	Seeks to educate and integrate individual into political milieu.
Selected References	Anthony, 1965; DeWolfson, 1975; Drucker, 1954, 1976; Raia, 1974; Slusher and Sims, 1975; Odiorne, 1976; Shalley <i>et al.</i> , 1987; Kondrasuk, 1981; Covalleski and Dirsmith, 1981; Dirsmith and Covalleski, 1985a.	Zaleznik, 1970; Hunt and Michael, 1983; Noe, 1988; Roche, 1979; Shapiro <i>et al.</i> , 1978; Levinson <i>et al.</i> , 1961; Kanter, 1977; Kram, 1983; Ragins, 1989; Dirsmith and Covalleski, 1985b; Whitely <i>et al.</i> , 1991; Fichman and Levinthal 1989.

Elements 4–7, relabeled as A–D, serve as the focus of discussing our field observations.

study); Ernst & Young (formed by a merger between Arthur Young and Ernst & Whinney); Coopers & Lybrand; Deloitte & Touche (formed by a merger between Deloitte, Haskins & Sells and Touche Ross); KPMG Peat Marwick and Price Waterhouse. These six firms are among the largest professional bureaucracies in the world (Mintzberg, 1989), and they represent the most under-researched organization-based profession to emerge as a direct consequence of commercial enterprise (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1986). They also represent a profession within which one can first expect "expertise" to become encoded within the organizational structure as opposed to the individual (Abbott, 1988).

We held semi-structured interviews with 180 individuals across two phases of the study using a theoretical sampling plan (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 40,102–103). We designed the first phase, begun in 1980, to reveal the forces shaping the application of organizational control from the perspective of the practitioner component (Freidson, 1986). Interviews ranged from one to six hours, and averaged more than two hours. They featured individuals representing, in ascending order, staff members, seniors, managers and partners, predominantly from five eastern cities and one midwestern city. We shared our interpretations pertaining to MBO and mentoring with participants so as to refine those interpretations and develop further, participant-oriented questions (see also Dirsmith & Covaleski, 1985a, 1985b; Van Maanen, 1988).

During the second phase of the study, we shared formal reports pertaining to the first phase with the participants and with other firm personnel. Following the distribution of these reports, a number of partners and managers contacted us in order to discuss our initial findings; describe how our results affected their own views of management control; and place their experiences subsequent to the first phase into context using our interpretations to illuminate their lived experiences. These partners and managers encouraged us to extend our study to help them better understand the evolving nature of management control as related to change within the firms, and to ascertain whether other individuals in their own firms, and at other firms, were experiencing similar challenges.

We focused the second phase of our study mainly on understanding management control and efforts firms use to effect change, primarily from the perspective of the administrative component (Freidson, 1986). We attempted to maintain some distinction between those two components, as symbolized for us by two distinct data analysis phases, in order to derive added insights into their interrelationships. In this second phase of the study, we interviewed individuals from all ranks, although managers and especially partners within the administrative component of the firms predominated (Freidson, 1986).

Individuals participating in this phase of the study included such administrative partners as international office personnel up through the rank of international firm directors and deputy directors of accounting and auditing, national office personnel up through the rank of two recently retired senior managing partners, and managing partners at the senior, deputy, regional and

practice office levels. Most of those we interviewed within the administrative component had risen to their positions from the practitioner ranks, the only exceptions being human resource directors and expert systems project directors.² Those representing practice component positions included office division directors for the audit, private companies, tax and consulting areas, as well as administrative support staff members, engagement partners and managers. For both components, we included observations or reports of multiple generations of mentor-protege relations, ranging up to five generations.

The data collection entailed interviews, self-reported life histories and daily diaries recorded on participant controlled tape recorders over six months, direct observation, and an extensive review of archival material pertaining to specific individual partner MBO plans and specific practice office business plans expressed in terms of and nested within U.S. firm goal strategies and international firm strategies. The interviews for this phase of the study ranged from one hour to four nonconsecutive work weeks. (This latter regimen involved the direct observation of an office managing partner in his interactions with client executives, national office personnel, his own office's personnel, his family and charitable and civic organizations.) We supplemented these data with a review of relevant newspaper coverage (Freidson, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988) of such important events as lawsuits against the firms and their mergers.

We developed first-order (Van Maanen, 1988) or first-level hermeneutic (Giddens, 1984) interpretations from the interviews and archival record analyses for both phases of the study. These interpretations represented an integration of the participants' own interpretations and yielded, for example, the "attributes" depicted in Table 1. Our approach to developing the "categories" followed the constant comparative method proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss (1987) and Lincoln and Guba (1985). Here, using field notes and tape transcripts, we developed the categories in the table and refined them during our field work. We developed additional first-order and second-order interpretations in an effort to ascertain what various organizational actions and events meant to the social actors themselves, and to the researchers at an "impressionistic" level (Van Maanen, 1988; Weick, 1989). Here, we concentrated on integrating confirming evidence and reexamining observations that appeared to be contradictory.

Next, we shared interpretations with select audit firm members to ascertain whether they considered the manner in which we "bracketed their lived experiences" appropriate (Van Maanen, 1988; Agar, 1985; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). We also refined our second-order interpretations, which we had foreshadowed in the introduction and discuss in more detail in the impressions section of the article. We shared these theoretically informed interpretations with participants who expressed interest in them. In addition, we returned the transcripts of the self-administered tape recordings, to those participants for their review. One regional managing partner deleted material relating to

partner compensation and termination as “too sensitive.” One division director deleted his expletives.

To “give voice” to our impressionism (Van Maanen, 1988; Weick, 1989) or second order hermeneutic orientation (Giddens, 1984), in the following sections we will (1) preserve many striking stories told by participants to demonstrate the accuracy of our accounts and to bring our own imaginations into play (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 102); (2) retain such conventions as drawing distinctions between MBO and mentoring, administrator and practitioner, researcher and participant, as dramaturgical devices for emphasizing our “tackling back and forth between” (1988, p. 138), or balancing and harmonizing the two “cultures” involved in the study; and (3) express our second-order interpretations as “impressions” gained from the field work, remaining aware that these impressions may diverge from those of other researchers.

MBO and Mentoring in the Big 6: First Order Interpretations

Table 1 shows the key attributes differentiating MBO and mentoring within the Big 6. We identified these categories, which represent first-order interpretations, during the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 347–351). This section compares and contrasts our field observations of MBO with mentoring in the CPA firms using four of the dimensions appearing in Table 1: (1) locus of activity; (2) timing, structure and feedback; (3) the economics of practice; and (4) intra-firm politics. These four dimensions proved particularly germane for examining the institutionalized and social roles of MBO and mentoring in the firms; as a second-order interpretation (Van Maanen, 1979, 1988; Giddens, 1984), it appeared that the first three categories in Table 1 – nature, purpose and focus – were subsumed within the remaining four as roughly depicted in the table.

During the following discussion of first order interpretations, we cite relevant references in order to establish an initial linkage between our field observations and the theory developed in the impressions discussion.

The Practice of MBO

Locus of activity. The Big 6 firms tended to initiate MBO at the national office level, which serves as the administrative component of these professional organizations (Freidson, 1986). As a management control device, MBO requires partners and, to a lesser extent, managers establish operating objectives. But consistent with Mintzberg’s (1989) definition of professional bureaucracies, the definition of “top management” in public accounting firms proved problematic. We found that practice office partners (Freidson, 1986), as evidenced in our opening quote, considered their organizations to be democratic and decentralized, with the major operating and strategic decisions

made by line partners. Practice office partners assumed this arrangement to be mandated by the professional, client-driven nature of their work, which, in turn, necessitated and justified their own autonomy. The basic attitude was that the audit team, not a national office, produced quality client service and, perhaps more importantly, fees. Thus, the national office existed to serve line partners and to represent the firm to outsiders. In fact, many line partners viewed the national office as "overhead." Not lost on these line partners was the fact that their power rested with their client contact. Additional power came from their role in interpreting and applying the general standards of audit performance promulgated by the profession and their firms.

Managing partners in both practice offices and regions emerged as important in administering the MBO effort by serving as the link between the firm's goals and the definition, articulation and evaluation of line partners' goals. Though all the firms shared the practice of promoting only line partners to the office managing partner position, and while several of these individuals participating in our study still managed engagements, others saw them as serving primarily as administrators. On this point, when asked what is *the* key question he had concerning such administrative partners, one division director replied,

To the extent that you get into the administrative role, you've left the profession.

You're not dealing with all that technical stuff, the client problems and their business.

You're dealing with your own business problems. I would like to know how they resolve the conflict between their being a professional and a pure business man.

The firm members themselves acknowledged this tension between the practitioner and administrative components. Not surprisingly, they saw MBO as serving primarily the CPA firm and only secondarily the individual firm member despite the basic building blocks of the MBO programs being ostensibly focused on individual partner objectives. Thus, members of both the administrative and practitioner components recognized the administrative thrust and focus on the firm rather than on the client online partner. In addition, MBO tended to "stretch" the social relations between administrators and practitioners across space (Giddens, 1984, p. 286) – that is, between the practice and the national offices.

Timing, structure and feedback. We found two approaches to MBO in use. First, at the beginning of each new fiscal year, the line partners listed objectives to be monitored and the means to their accomplishment. Standards of performance included specific dollar sales targets, targeted realization rates (collected fees as a percentage of charged costs, where charged costs were an elastic function of the time spent on the audit), and client billings. Partners

then began the budget cycle, reporting their results at year end and possibly during the year to the office division heads and managing partners.

In the second approach, the firms arranged firm, office and individual goals into a hierarchical structure, where each partner's objectives became subsets of the office's general business plan, which factored in the local business environment and client base. We found these objectives typically expressed in such quantitative terms as "profits per partner." Similarly, the local office plans became subsets of the firm's overall plan. According to one regional partner, practice offices were subject to periodic visits by the firm's deputy managing partner to ascertain if the region was "meeting plan," or if remedial actions were begun when it was not. These plans focused almost solely on financial goals. One international firm partner reported finding an increasing focus on the international firms, and that his role was to assess the degree to which national firms were conforming to overall international firm goals.

In contrast to administrators, practice partners believed MBO efforts (1) had become centrally orchestrated (MBO tended to be formal and applied firm-wide); (2) had become ritualistic or a "shell game" (goal setting occurred once at the beginning of the year, and review of performance occurred once or twice thereafter at specified times even though MBO advocates recommended that it be continual); (3) emphasized quantitative and especially financial objectives – for example, dollars of sales or realization rates (where qualitative objectives appeared, they tended to adopt concrete criteria like teaching certain types of continuing education sessions for specified numbers of hours, were listed in lower positions, and received a low emphasis in comparison to office-region-national-international firm goal strategies); and (4) tended to remain at or above the partner level and, therefore, failed to encourage interaction across hierarchical levels.

Practice partners also considered MBO clearly, subordinate to client service demands. In fact, they often observed everything administrative, including the MBO process, to be "back-burnered" to the clients' service needs, and their clients' business and financial reporting cycle effectively "calendarized" their own internal administrative processes. Further, the line partners saw goal achievement comparisons between themselves and the offices as primarily administrative. Rarely, if ever, did they take precedence over client demands. In short, they saw MBO as *talk* about goals, while client service *was* the goal. The practice partners, however, appeared to devote little time to reflecting on client-centered actions. They found MBO administration was scheduled only during otherwise slack time, never during the busy season.

It was not just that administrative partners focused on quantitative measures, but also that line personnel actively resisted more qualitatively-oriented evaluations. For example, with regard to providing feedback on professional behavior and appearance, one resigned national office partner commented in an exit interview on his role as a tour of duty manager in the national office before his promotion to partner:

I remember a counseling session when they told me that a couple of times they had detected that I didn't have my tie stuck back enough in behind my collar, and they could see a little line of it under my collar, and that it wasn't professional appearance, and that if I was going to make partner, I had to project a more professional appearance. In fact, that was seemingly as important as my technical ability. I was infuriated. I told him that that was the most penny-ante bullshit that I had been told in a long time.

Similarly, we heard about the futility of formal training programs designed to engender firm commitment. One manager reported in a phase one interview that

In our firm, the non-technical CPE (Continuing Professional Education) seminar for managers is called "charm school." One time we had [an academic] consultant come in to talk about the importance of an "I'm ok, you're ok attitude." It was a lead balloon. Then one manager [since promoted to partner] stood up and said "You don't understand our firm, or at least our level. Around here, it's an I'm ok, everyone else is an asshole attitude." The place went up for grabs.³

The manager concluded that the consultant had failed to understand that marked competition and its opposite, comradeship, abound in public accounting firms, where we found continual pressure and rampant cynicism reported to be occupational hazards. Our respondents also alluded to a record of firms formally saying the correct words but exhibiting slight and inconsistent people-orientation in their actions.

Where MBO spanned hierarchical ranks below the line partner level (for example, managers counseling seniors), firm members were reported to have interacted poorly, only going through the motions of giving and receiving feedback. Practitioners attributed this inadequate interaction to a discomfort with formal and – perhaps more importantly – documented evaluations that convey both good and bad news, to the closely associated phenomenon of impaired confidentiality of personnel-related information, and to a perceived need to preserve the appearance of "equity" among staff members. In addition, pay raises appeared to be incommensurate with formal evaluations for lower ranking individuals, in part because of uncertainty over what these evaluations meant, in part because of constraints imposed by national office guidelines on salary adjustments where departures had to be accompanied by full justifications, and in part because of a desire to smooth over conflict among office members. In some firms, through the use of a "matrix" salary adjustment model, the national office restricted the percentage and amount of pay increases and standardized the pay ranges for professional personnel by rank and by years of service (Zucker, 1988, p. 39; Tolbert, 1991). Thus, administrative rather than practice partners did, in fact, effectively control the internal allocation of financial resources (Freidson, 1986). In addition, MBO

“stretched” social relations spatially between administrative and practitioner partners, internationally across ranks, and temporarily across the annual budget cycle as “calenderized” by the busy season (Giddens, 1984, p. 286).

The attitudes of the line partners toward MBO ranged from disdain to faint hope. (“It’s a bullshit process that gives national the appearance of managing our practice.” “It does nothing to help us better manage ourselves,” and “We just have not done anything with it as of yet, though it has promise.”) Among administrators, the views were more positive. (“Maybe the lack of success does not lie with MBO, but rather with our implementation of it.”) This latter position is, however, ironic because MBO had already been a prominent concept for a decade in most of the firms.

The professional bureaucracy as an economic entity. Management by objectives first appeared in CPA firms in the late 1970’s, concurrent with national trends in the profession toward: rapid growth, both internally and by merger; heightened competition, spawned in part by anti-trust pressure to engender competition within the profession; increased litigation (Palmrose, 1987; participants reported \$30 billion of asserted claims to be pending in the U.S.); and the threat of regulation (for example, the Metcalf and Dingell congressional hearings). Firms tended to promote managers to partners with fewer years of accumulated experience (as few as seven years experience after receiving the baccalaureate in the case of one participant), thus raising significant quality control concerns.

A major argument for MBO was its usefulness in promoting long term, business-oriented goal commitment – for example, a commitment to selling auditing and consulting services. Without the formal, enforced focus on these goals, administrative partners feared that the line partners would perform ineffectively. They embraced MBO as a handy tactic for improving management. At the time, it had become the most widely used management technique in the country, had gained credibility in many client organizations, and therefore enjoyed a great deal of legitimacy. That clients used MBO (and clients were the main source of power for the practice partners) registered clearly with the administrative partners (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1986). Using the language of institutional theory, MBO had been legitimated, and thus it could prove to be a source of legitimation (DiMaggio, 1988; Zucker, 1988) in reminding practice partners that they worked for an organization rather than as autonomous professionals. Because of its perceived legitimacy, administrators hoped MBO would help centralize control and encourage goal-directed behavior.

Two international firm partners pointed to two related forces contributing to the trend toward centralization of authority in the national and international firm offices, and the adoption of such formal management control techniques as MBO. The first force involves a trend of a firm’s management consulting division toward organizing client-based rather than office-based service teams, in response to the service needs of clients who increasingly span geographical regions and national boundaries. This trend encourages *firm* members to

emphasize the service needs of clients and the corresponding economic goals of the firm through formal management control measures. Hence, the emphasis on the practice office's goals and the practice partner's goals decreases. One disadvantage of these trends is a concomitant "nesting" of individuals in transitory service teams rather than in practice office teams. This nesting in transitory teams, in turn, occasions the cost of leaving individuals unintegrated into a social milieu that would socialize and support them as professionals and as potential partners. One participant reported this nesting to be an especially acute problem for practicing auditors who had no audit clients, but instead were continually developing and selling new audit "products" like client litigation support. He pointed out that beyond the more abstract notion of socializing these individuals into the firm lay the concrete issue of developing "career tracks" (Grey, 1994) for what appears to be an increasingly important type of role. At issue here is the organizational positioning of practitioners who extend the jurisdictional domain of the firm's services (Abbott, 1981, 1988). One strategy reported at some of the firms involves reorganizing along industry lines that emphasize the *clients'* lines of business rather than the *firms'* traditional lines of business – audit, tax and consulting.

The second force concerns efforts to deal with problems attendant upon a firm's internationalization. One international partner reported a financial focus newly applied in his firm and said his role was to support the development of the "one-firm concept." He reported that his firm's long-term goal was for him to approve personally every audit proposal for new, large clients – a responsibility traditionally reserved for the managing partner of each practice office, loosely overseen by the regional managing partner and the national office. One of a complex of efforts to harmonize audit practice worldwide, centralize authority, standardize audit methods, and formalize management control, this new policy appeared to be directed at removing responsibility and authority from line partners, office managing partners, and even national offices. It strikes directly at the line partners' traditional power base – controlling the client relationship and applying auditing techniques (Freidson, 1986).

Predictably, this international partner reported significant resistance to such global "harmonization efforts," a report corroborated by two national partners who later noted that the partner's position and function had been eliminated upon his retirement. They attributed this adjustment to a resistance by the managing partners in the national offices, primarily in the U.S. and U.K., once they realized that power was being shifted to the international office under the cloak of "harmonization." Thus, national partners were able to resist new forms of structure wielded by a still weak international office (Giddens, 1984; DiMaggio, 1988).

The administrative partners stressed documenting the goals of the practice partners on paper, thus making them visible. Upper level management believed that such specific identification generated commitment, and commitment motivated action. Thus, they saw goal statements as quasi-contractual. For example,

assigned as a “turn-around” managing partner of and a “smoke jumper” for a troubled office, one participant informed the line partners of the office’s new strategic financial goals, which had been specifically “targeted” for him by the national office. He also told them that if they could not “buy into” these goals, they should consider themselves “counseled out” of the firm. Many did, in fact, resign, observing that public accounting had increasingly become “a young man’s *business*” (the emphasis on the last word was the participant’s).

As a senior administrative partner reported, one economic strategy implemented by his firm resulted from a stagnant audit market in his geographic region. As a result, the firm could change only endogenous factors to increase partner compensation – for example, by “rightsizing” (that is, terminating) as many as 300 partners to a number more supportable by a stable revenue base:

Being a partner to many represents a very significant goal and has significant stature. However, as a result of a specific effort over the past several years to improve the value of partnership by controlling the number of partners – that is, improving financial leverage, substantially improving the earnings of partners, and instituting partner wealth-building programs – the status of partners has substantially improved.

Money thus appeared to be important to administrative and practice partners, almost as much for its symbolic value as for compensatory and purchasing power. A number of administrative partners commented that as they noticed salary increases among their clients’ chief financial officers (a key peer reference group and often recruiters of firm managers and younger partners), they placed greater emphasis on increasing partner compensation so as to maintain status internally (even for the individual line partners) as well as externally. Part of this reduction in the number of partners appears to have been effected by retaining only those partners who would “buy into” the firm’s financial goals, which meant adopting them as individual goals. One resigned senior manager took this position but with an ironic twist: “The stick is so hard and held over you for so long [until you make partner] that the carrot has to be big. But even *then*, there is, *still* the stick.” One partner reported on his own MBO counseling sessions in a resignation interview:

Every year when they called you in on your review, it’s always, “Well, you did great this year. You did wonderful. Now, what are you going to do to do twenty percent more next year?” Felt great the first couple of times they said it, but by your sixth or seventh year in [partnership], and you’re doing twenty percent more every year, there’s got to be a point when you say, “Gee, how much more can I do?”

Thus did the administrative component appear to achieve control over the practitioner component by means of controlling the internal allocation of

the firms' economic resources, partially transforming and controlling client contacts, and partially controlling the application of the profession's abstract system of knowledge (Freidson, 1986; Abbott, 1988). While expressed practitioner attitudes remained "it's a bullshit shell game," one partner observed that it had begun to "bite" (he intended the double-entendre) into his own activities.

The politics of practice. Participants generally held an ambivalent view on firm politics. While all of them accepted politics as a fact of firm life, some viewed it as deflecting energy from effective management and others viewed it as an important part of management. To form our first-order interpretations, we adopted a neutral definition of "politics" from *Websters* as being sagacious in promoting strategy. Somewhat more specifically, Pfeffer defined "organizational politics" as "those activities taken within organizations to acquire, develop and use power and other resources to obtain one's preferred outcomes in a situation in which there is uncertainty or descensus about choices" (1981, p. 7). Within the firms studied, politics involve sagacity in promoting the strategies of the administrative component or the practitioner component, which involves invoking the power and influence of the various social actors.

MBO was found to be ostensibly mute on organizational politics. Its administrative advocates typically represented MBO as merely a technical, relatively objective, proceduralized approach to management. Ironically, by the virtue of its ostensible technicality, objectivity and silence on organizational politics, its role as a political symbol demonstrating a commitment to rationality and centralizing power within the firms may not have been recognized or at least overtly discussed by practitioners (Powell, 1985; DiMaggio, 1988). On this theme, Hopwood (1984) reasoned that the use of such seemingly objective rationalizing techniques serve to remove the debatable from open debate and place it into the trivial and dull realm of calculation. As such, MBO may be seen as a form of political language which Pfeffer (1981, p. 194) characterized as

necessary and useful to justify and legitimate organizational decisions and thereby make the exercise of power less overt and more effective. In the development and use of political language, the intention is often to make the use of power unobtrusive, and to make a political decision process appear to conform to the widely shared social values of rationality and justice. The use of rational analysis and planning in formal organizations [such as MBO] can, in many instances, be viewed as the development and use of political language to accomplish the justification of decision outcomes, while at the same time making the politics producing the decision less salient.

Pfeffer (1981, p. 229) went on, however, to assert that the use of political language to mask the covert exercise of power is only partly and temporarily successful:

[P]olitical language and symbolic activity take place in a competitive environment in which certain individuals are trying to discredit the symbols and language used by other participants. In this competition among symbols and languages, it is likely that the self-interest of the various actors involved will have at least some chance of being discovered and expressed. It is unlikely that through language and symbols one can be permanently prevented from coming to see other points of view, particularly when these other points of view impact the self-interest of those involved.

Consistent with Pfeffer's reasoning, on an informal and covert level, the political dynamic of MBO was readily recognized by practitioners as they passively resisted and transformed it. As intended, MBO encouraged practice partners to establish such general stated financial goals as achieving specific realization rates or acquiring specific audit fees for new business. Many line partners suggested, however, that these general goals failed to achieve specific changes in their behavior, nor did they sufficiently penetrate to subordinate levels in the firm's hierarchy other than to increase the pressure to complete audits under budget. As one engagement partner observed, these goals never seemed to "come alive," and the partners found difficulty knowing what specific actions to take. And so, some simply ignored MBO in their conscious, everyday activities. But here, we found criticism directed more at MBO as a practice than at centralization trends or any increase in the power of the administrative cadre. MBO appears to have objectified and depersonalized the rhetoric of management and centralization, *and also* its resistance and transformation.

Key administrative partners found this lack of a link between stated goals and specific actions frustrating. As one regional partner, since promoted to deputy chairman and then chairman of his firm, observed,

One of the major issues that is beyond my control that I have not anticipated is the unwillingness on the part of the partners and staff to pay the price for changing strategic direction, mainly by giving up personal freedom and influence over one's activities and the activities of those around them.

Thus, while this participant saw power as shifting (DiMaggio, 1988), the shift appears to have been lessened by the coherence of the existing social network of practitioners (Orton & Weick, 1990), a coherence apparently supported by the process of mentoring.

The Process of Mentoring

Locus of activity. In marked contrast to central implementation of MBO, mentoring tended to be diffused throughout the firms, although only some of the professionals participated in mentoring relationships. In the first phase of our study, it appeared that prototypical mentor-protégé associations occurred

predominantly between partners and managers and were mainly informal and social (Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985b). In addition, the formal mentoring programs that provided staff auditors with counseling appeared to be narrow in scope and weak in terms of their long-term effects (Benveniste, 1987; Hunt & Michael, 1983). But in the second phase, where we focused primarily on partners and only secondarily on managers, we found at another level senior partners, who tended to form a cadre of key firm members, mentoring less powerful partners in relationships that had a much more complex character than being merely "informal." In the former associations far-ranging career and even life style counseling were reported to take place and were focused on negotiating the difficult path to partnership. Mentor-partners had for a long period observed protégés in terms of performance, commitment to the firm and clients, their ability to handle increased visibility, their discretion and loyalty, and their willingness to appear and behave "partner-like." Similarly, protégé-managers had ample occasion to observe the mentors' use of power, their self-confidence, their willingness to extend themselves and take risks, their accessibility and "visibility" to protégés, and their dependability.

In the latter, partner-to-partner relationships, mentors had typically made the transition to administrative component positions (practice office managing partner and above) and sought to shift the protégé's perspective to that of the firm as a profit-making business, a shift seen as necessary to attaining the next level in the partnership structure. Thus, mentors retained the former focus of helping protégés promote their careers, with the added burden of improving the protégés-partnership status. They also served the firm by helping develop a new management cadre committed to its strategic direction.

Thus, for both forms of mentoring, the focus of was primarily on the individual rather than firm, where MBO was focused. In the partner-manager relationships, effort was similarly directed at serving the protégé. In the partner-partner relationships, serving the protégé equated to encouraging the protégé to serve the firm, and one served the firm by developing one's protégé as a junior member of management cadre.

Unlike MBO, a strategy that originated within the administrative component to be applied to the practitioner component, mentoring almost always arose in the practitioner component where relationships first developed and then spread to the administrative component with the promotion of mentors to administrative positions. While MBO tends to merely "stretch" social relations between administrators and practitioners across space, as between national and practice offices, partner to partner mentoring also stretches social relations across time in the sense that such relationships spanned decades and even generations of mentor-protégé dyads (Giddens, 1984, p. 286). At least partially through both MBO and mentoring, the administrative and practitioner components formally and informally interpenetrate one another.

Timing, structure and feedback. In contrast to the "calendarized" regularity of the formal MBO effort, mentoring appeared to be a continuous, although

irregular, often day-to-day, and almost always engagement-to-engagement, informal social process.

In at least one firm, managers under consideration for partnership underwent a battery of formal interviews, then a two-week "luxury retreat" with an equal number of partners that resembled a "rite of passage." Again, the criteria for admission included behaving and appearing partner-like. "Professionalism," the participants believed, is quality difficult to teach; one demonstrates it only through action. As one partner observed, "There are many things a good partner does that cannot be articulated to others. This means that he has to make himself visible to the manager."

In general, the participants considered a protégé's actual and apparent commitment to the firm as documented in partnership promotion dossiers as a partnership prerequisite, a resource upon which to build (for both protégés and mentors), and a product of effective mentoring.

With regard to feedback, mentoring tended to foster "no punches pulled" counseling and criticism. This impression obviously applied to protégés, but it held as well for mentors insofar as other firm members perceived their quantum of power and saw them as "on the bus" or "on track" (travel metaphors tend to demonstrate possessing or gaining power) in maintaining their status during the firm's change of "destination." Thus, although such relations were almost solely face-to-face, in contrast with Giddens (1984, p. 286) who concluded that structure tends to perform this function, the *social* process of mentoring was seen as "metaphorically stretching" *social* relations across time and space.

Largely off the record and enunciated among trusted people, the mentoring guidance and advice could be highly specific and "gritty," covering the protégé's relations with clients and key partners, the business aspects of the firm, the protégé's appearance and behavior, and the politics of practice. Because it flowed from one person to another, with the implicit intent of aiding the protégé, our participants never described mentoring as "penny-ante bullshit."

But mentoring did effect control, even direct physical control, and revealed its hierarchical and generational aspects mainly by means of immediate, sometimes nonverbal communication. For example, one manager reported attending a speech by the regional managing partner in another office. While this person spoke, the participant's mentor, an office division director for auditing subsequently promoted to regional managing partner, tried to improve the alignment of the overhead projector for him. One angry glance from the presenter effectively communicated his displeasure with the division head, who quietly sat back, folded his hands and remained still for the rest of the speech. The manager reported that this was when he realized that this was his mentor's mentor. While the effects of mentoring can have immediacy, these social relations tend to be long lasting, spanning decades and extending even into retirement.

The professional bureaucracy as an economic entity. The economics or business of auditing also arose as one major focus of mentoring, but unlike

MBO, as a symbolic rather than instrumental activity. Upper echelon partners reported most firms to be doing everything possible to teach the business of auditing. But firm members, including managers, suggested that while the business training they received had been forceful, the formal system did little to provide it *actively*. They found the formal system passive in that only if they worked hard they could locate the detailed information they needed. By contrast, they suggested that mentoring provided timely and fairly, but only fairly accurate information about compensation for individuals across all ranks, the value of partners' shares and hence salaries, utilization (charged time as a percentage of standard available hours) and billing rates of specific individuals. It also provided useful but inexact information about impending promotions and "out counselings" and their causes, prospective client acquisitions and (particularly) losses, realization rates for specific clients (which, in turn, signal the power they confer on the engagement partner), engagement and budget information for specific clients where annual engagement fees ranged to over \$10 million per year for individual audit clients and over \$40 million for consulting clients, and office, firm and engagement profitability.

Even though this mentoring process is informal, the economics or business of auditing had penetrated to affect the language used in mentoring relationships and, more broadly, to influence the way in which practitioners attributed meaning to their everyday existence in a way that stressed the importance of "the business" to them as individuals. Such phrases and issues as "new audit products," "homogenization of services," and "internationalization of practice" entered practical discourse and conveyed crucial meaning (Giddens, 1984) for mentors and protégés alike in the sense that survivors had to talk about, internalize, and act upon them.

At first, the contrast between MBO and mentoring with respect to the business of auditing seemed curious in the sense that the informal system appeared more actively to convey usable information than the formal system, which found resistance. At first we naively proposed that perhaps the profession does not stress business either because it is inconsistent with the client service ideal or because the profession serves its own self-interest in masking its business focus (Larson, 1977). Participants rejected our proposition and insisted "the business" of auditing was increasingly stressed, both formally and informally. Paradoxically, perhaps, some senior partners also reported worrying openly about whether the *formal* emphasis portends the death of the profession, threatening to limit their ability to advocate politically on behalf of protégés and implying they are "out of touch" with a firm's political and economic realities.

The politics of practice. The strongest and most emotionally charged responses in our interviews centered on the politics of practice management. Mentors agreed that mentoring necessarily involves instruction in practical politics – both those of the administrative component with its own strategies to support and those of practice office partners wishing to support theirs

(Pfeffer, 1981). Mentoring involves politics in a number of ways. Helpful mentors instruct protégés on office and firm politics. They also advise and help their protégés manage their visibility among important partners. Elements of advantageous visibility include assignments to the “right” clients and bringing in significant new business – significant in terms of both revenue and prestige – activities seen as related yet distinct. But beyond bringing in new business and raw revenue, a protégé and mentor had make sure to that new clients had the right “risk profile” in terms of the audit risk-business return tradeoff.

One younger partner observed that effective mentors instruct protégés on managing the “*perception* of strong client service and commitment to the engagement and concurring partners, in contrast to merely *giving* good client service.” Similarly, a manager, since promoted to partner and again to managing partner of a small practice office, argued that a good mentor “looks after the numbers of his disciples and defends them against the higher-ups in the promotion process.” When asked what these “numbers” were, he replied, “The classics – realization rates, client billings, time budget averages, revenue and profit per partner.” In other words, a mentor *informally* communicates and translates the *political* aspects of the very goals the *formal* system confronting the engagement partner stresses: MBO.

In addition, mentors instructed protégés about the “hot buttons” of the firm as a profit-seeking economic entity, which involves establishing a connection between the protégé and such concepts as “new audit products”, “homogenization of services” and “internationalization of practice.” While mentors traditionally address such concerns as these in developing an advocacy position for their protégés, it appears that through an informal process, the business had penetrated to influence the language the practitioners used, and more broadly, how practitioners gathered, assimilated and attributed meaning to their professional lives. Through the informal expression, or practical discourse (Giddens, 1984) of formal goals in terms relevant to the protégé, these business goals became practicable for mentors and protégés alike, both of whom had to talk about, internalize, and act upon them. In so doing, mentoring became a metaphorical “doubleedged sword” for the firm – at once politicizing, or more nearly recognizing the covert political climate for what is was, and encouraging protégés to gain an appreciation for the business and fostering the advancement of those broadly educated protégés socialized to support the firm.

Office size appeared to influence the nature of mentor relationships. For example, mentors from smaller offices found difficulty covertly managing the perception of client service because office managing partners typically maintained close client contact, at least for the more important engagements. For one such practice office managing partner, this contact entailed a three-continent, one-week visit to four different client locations at the close of a fiscal period. For another international director of accounting and auditing, it entailed maintaining direct contact with key clients he had directly served

for thirty years. In maintaining direct contact, the administrative partner effectively alerted the client to the importance of its business and reduced the current line partner's primary source of power – sole control over the client relationship (Freidson, 1986). Our respondents reported this contact to be a general and intensely performed practice.

In addition, "maturity of the market" arose as an important consideration: the more highly competitive the client market among the large CPA firms, the more mentors tended to stress "looking after the numbers." Thus, in competitive environments, practice personnel enjoy still less control over their primary source of power, the clients (Freidson, 1986), and must engage more effectively in what they see as a more political process: MBO.

One important role mentors served was to "orchestrate the [partnership promotion] proposal process" by helping to display the right numbers in promotion dossiers. But office context remained important. For the more established, profitable, "alpha male" offices, this "numbers orchestration" could appear to be "bush-league and garish" (that is to say, amateurish and tasteless) and was consequently disdained by senior practice partners typically not involved with mentor relationships, who had established their own successful control of client associations. This observation pointed to a dilemma for managers and younger partners: Mentors must instruct their protégés in politics. Meanwhile, the act of mentoring is itself politically charged and risky for both mentor and protégé. Non-mentoring, senior partners may interpret the "perceptions management" aspects of mentoring as attacking the integrity of the profession and even threatening the power status quo. In addition, non-protégés could become jealous of those being protected and groomed.

One partner voiced concern over mentoring's "self-fulfilling prophecy." That is, if a mentor believes a protégé has "the right stuff," the mentor will nurture and sponsor even a protégé who proves ill-equipped for the rigors of public practice. Similarly, people judged to lack "the right stuff" because of their differences – women, minorities or mavericks – may face covert political obstacles to their integration into the firm. One persistent problem, for example, is the dearth of female role models at the upper echelons. One audit senior who candidly called herself "a star" on the brink of promotion to manager, recalled health problems that impaired her performance on a tense audit and caused friction with the engagement partner. Her formal career counselor interceded on her behalf even though her male mentor had been reluctant to do so (Noe, 1988). She declined to discuss the incident further or more specifically.

One male mentor (a regional managing partner) for a pregnant female manager protégé discussed her maternity leave problems not with the firm itself but with two clients. The partner described these clients as demanding; when they needed the engagement manager, they needed her immediately. They also wanted engagement team continuity to minimize any "start up costs" in establishing a "meeting of the minds" between their own staff and the

auditors. The mentor reported himself currently in the process of reconciling these clients to the firm and manager but expressed doubts about the outcome. In yet another instance, one woman who had left public accounting, reported a lack of access to political information. By default, she sought such information from secretaries, a decision she believes carried political costs. Thus, the political aspects of mentoring appear to span organizational boundaries and suggest that the progression of women in the profession can meet obstacles beyond their own firms and colleagues.

As these anecdotes imply, the character of male–female mentor relationships may differ from female–female or male–male relationships. The literature on mentoring frequently addresses the problems of cross-gender relationships in historically male-dominated professions like public accounting (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Shapiro *et al.*, 1978; Berg, 1988; Noe, 1988). This literature generally proposes that an extra layer of complexity – induced possibly by sexual tension, added to an already complex, emotionally charged, politicized relationship – may make mentor relationships and professional careers difficult for women and others seen as lacking “the right stuff.” One problem may be that the inherent social network of public accounting firms may be overly stable and thus informally institutionalized in its exclusion of women (Kirkham & Loft, 1993). It also creates problems for mentors and firms in communicating politically sensitive information pertaining to professional behavior and appearance, as evidenced by a recent sex discrimination lawsuit successfully launched against a Big 6 firm that eventually reached the U. S. Supreme Court (Berg, 1988; McCarthy, 1988a, 1988b; Wenniel, 1989).

Both mentors and nonmentor administrators considered power important. Mentors who successfully sponsored protégés through the promotion process, found themselves better connected with the new cadre of partners than non-mentors, which stabilized their own social network. Furthermore, practice office managing partners who had served as mentors often proved disproportionately effective in gaining promotions for their office’s managers, so much so that they “exported” many new practice partners to other offices and thus extended and further stabilized their own social networks. The result appears to be more power for the exporting office, for its managing partner, and for promoted and exported partners who retained associations with other offices. Ironically, line partners reported on two managing partners legendary for their success in exporting partners and gaining informal power, who found their very success limiting their acquisition of formal power, as signaled by their absence on such key administrative committees as policy boards and executive committees – absences the managing partners themselves reported to be major disappointments in their careers. They interpreted this failure as reflecting fear among national office administrators that if the partners acquired formal appointments on top of their considerable informally derived influence, they would gain too much power.

But some key administrative partners viewed power as naturally accompanying effective practice management. One firm deputy managing partner observed that

Many view "politics" as being negative or a dirty word. [But] politics is very, very positive. Someone who is political has the ability to motivate and direct others and align them with their own thinking and behavior. This is what leadership and management is all about. Power, on the other hand, is interesting. In many instances, it is necessary to have the power to get things done. It is always best to have that power, but not be required to use it (on this point, see also Pfeffer, 1981).

Thus, some partners interpreted firm politics in relatively neutral terms or even positively as the sagacious promotion of strategy. Power, however, was reported to be more effective when exercised covertly. On one level, for the administrative component, this exercise came with the use of MBO as a form of political language to promote the strategy of centralizing power. Mentors countered this strategy within the practitioner component by redirecting MBO to serve the needs of protégés. On another level, however, the administrative component had also learned to use mentoring to serve its own ends.

Many younger partners reported what they perceived as the premature death of the mentor relationship upon their promotion. Before being promoted, they considered partnership "the final plateau," signaling "a rite of passage" in becoming "important adults" within the firm. After their promotions, however, they found a wholly new, unforeseen competition. They had arrived at a new, unanticipated starting line, and they needed continued guidance, nurturing and protection to negotiate a higher set of hurdles. Nevertheless, a general feeling prevailed that a partnership meant they had reached their "majority" and that a partner could and should be on his or her own.

This quest for and appearance of independence, signaled by the sloughing off of a mentor, seems, however, naive and descriptive of partners no longer "on track." Even senior partners through the rank of vice chairman retained mentors. These partners described an inner circle of management cadre who were "on the bus" and shared a vision: they recognized the need for setting the strategic, largely financial direction of the firm on a centralized basis in the national or even international office; they saw MBO as a rationalizing technology helping to set this direction; and they committed themselves to this change toward exercising centralized control. Thus, their social relations became "stretched" (Giddens, 1984) in space and time as they embarked on the "bus ride." On this level, mentors emphasized a commitment to this new direction in both fact and appearance, and they actively promoted, even "paid the fare" for, their long-term protégés. This inner circle formed critical and increasingly centralized control groups, many of them not at national offices, suggesting that not all partners are created or maintained equally even in a general partnership. It also suggests that the administrative function may not

be simplistically “located” in the national office nor in a specific set of job titles (Giddens, 1984; Freidson, 1986; Orton & Weick, 1990).⁴

A female line partner and a female director of human resources considered this issue of “boarding the bus” particularly problematic for women. Although women were increasingly able to reach the seemingly final plateau of partnership, once there, they often found themselves isolated, hitting an unexpected second-level “glass ceiling.” They generally lacked mentors to assist them rise in new invisible superstructure to gain “the next plateau.”

It appears in at least some instances, then, that two forms of social networks – the formal, hierarchical structure of the organization, and the informal, mentoring-based relationships – conjoined at the highest management cadre level. But whereas the original, practitioner mentor relationships aimed at helping the *individual* respond to the political climate of the firm embodied in MBO, these new administrative-mentor relationships aimed at furthering the *firm’s* interest *vis à vis* the creation, implementation and diffusion of formalized control practices and the exercise of centralized power. It is less that administrators foreswore that which gave them power to begin with – for example, effective practitioner-mentor relationships (DiMaggio, 1988) – as that it had been transformed into a new power resource to serve differing ends: those of the firm (Giddens, 1984). Those “on the bus” were, however, unable unilaterally to determine the “destination” sought by the firm. There remained effective resistance from line partners who retained power in their own right, (Freidson, 1986; Giddens, 1984). As one firm’s deputy chairman observed, practice partners tended effectively to “resist relinquishing control, power and freedom for the greater good of the firm.”

Much of the substance of mentoring, in other words, centered on teaching the practical discourse (Giddens, 1984) of public accounting – the business, the politics and the power – that may take place “on stage” but remains largely behind the scenes. While individuals resisted in formal sessions such “penny-ante bullshit” advice as tucking a tie under a collar or projecting an “I’m-okay-you’re-okay attitude,” they welcomed such information from a mentor. They were also receptive to “numbers orchestration” information that arose directly from the quantitatively oriented MBO process when a mentor transformed it into terms useful to protégé’s survival. Thus, while the formal diffusion of MBO may have overtly challenged the entrenched parochial interests of partners in practice offices, these very practitioners exerted strong efforts behind the scenes to learn and then apply the “correct” political language (Pfeffer, 1981). MBO appears to have penetrated practice operations through informal means, and in the process had been transformed into a political tool useful for advocating the protégés’ and mentors’ and practice offices’ interests (DiMaggio, 1988; Giddens, 1984). In other words, its success lay in its extraordinary malleability. Moreover, the substance of MBO, the financial direction of the firm as a business, became the substance of mentoring and “boarding the bus.” Everyone on the bus knew it. Those mentors off the bus were seen as having “the wrong destination.”

Impressions

The insights and shortcomings of institutional theory, the sociology of professions perspective, and structuration theory all appear useful for understanding the interplay between structure and agency in maintaining and transforming social order within the Big 6. They also help an observer come to terms with a series of apparently false dichotomies of various concepts associated with the management of public accounting firms, as between the administrative and practitioner components, (Freidson, 1986; Abbott, 1988; Mintzberg, 1989), the cool imagery of formal structure and the warm imagery of human social processes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), control and professional autonomy (Abbott, 1988; Giddens, 1984), and MBO and mentoring (Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985a, 1985b). One can articulate the interplay between each of these dualities, as opposed to dualisms (Giddens, 1984, p. 25), within the Big 6 firms with reference to the two research questions posed in the introduction:

1. How can social agents change a perhaps overly stable, institutionalized organizational setting and what socio-political dynamics accompany such an attempt?
2. How does one manage professionals who are at once a resource in and a constraint upon organizational change?

In an effort to change the overly stable social system of the firms, the administrative component imported a legitimated form of formal organizational practice, MBO, from a different time and place – from their clients – in the hope of legitimating the actual application of control to the firms' professional cadre and redistributing power relations within the firms (Zucker, 1988; Tolbert, 1988). The application of a familiar, abstract, objective, proceduralized, client-sanctioned form of control allows one to attribute the need for a business focus and concomitant "meritocracy culture" of performance to the depersonalized environment rather than to the administrators (Hopwood, 1984). Thus, the institutionalization of one rationalizing technique with cultural relevance (Abbott, 1988), MBO, helped delegitimize and deinstitutionalize the professional autonomy of the practitioner component (DiMaggio, 1988; Pfeffer, 1981). But process of institutionalizing and deinstitutionalizing proved to be profoundly political (DiMaggio, 1988), and the knowledgeable, reflexive practitioners recognized it as such (Giddens, 1984). Consequently, they resisted the application of formal control, and transformed and redirected it to serve their own ends, in part through mentoring (Giddens, 1984). Thus, structure *vis-à-vis* MBO could not be merely manipulated by administrators as one more variable in the management equation to transform the firms; not only could MBO constitute social relations within the firms, but it could also itself be reconstituted in its application (Giddens, 1984).

While the overt use of MBO in changing the firms met resistance, it did proceed covertly via the social process of mentoring. Here, at a discursive consciousness level (Giddens, 1984), mentors recognized MBO for the political as opposed to instrumental practice it was (Pfeffer, 1981), and transformed it into a means for advocating for their protégés by enabling them to game the formal system, as in partnership proposal orchestration to display the “right numbers.” In doing so, however, mentors could not merely manipulate MBO as one more exemplar of the political process of management to represent the protégé; mentors both socially constituted MBO, and were themselves reconstituted in their transformation of MBO. Here, at a practical consciousness level (Giddens, 1984), in teaching gamesmanship skills, MBO infused at first the words of mentors and protégés, but then, with time, their thoughts and actions (Giddens, 1991, p. 211). Thus MBO became a “virtual structure” (Sica, 1986; Sewell, 1992), as in “virtual reality,” within the minds and social relations of mentors and protégés.

With regard to the duality of structure (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992), MBO became at once the *medium* of social practices within the firms, though in a much transformed fashion, and an outcome of these social practices. Thus, MBO at once constrained and promoted the social relations between mentors and protégés by channeling their discourse toward a firm dialect, while also giving them something to discuss, resist and take action concerning in advocating for the protégé. But, with the covert constitution of MBO within social relations, the firms encountered a dilemma. In teaching and embodying gamesmanship skills within an increasingly active political milieu, they engendered further cynicism among practitioners and administrators, often incompatible with an “atmosphere of confidence and good faith” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 357). Firms traditionally rely on such an atmosphere to confront the “charismatic disorder” (Abbott, 1981) of their clients’ needs by means of operating processes having a “low technicality-indeterminacy ratio” (Larson, 1977). In such a setting, professionals cannot develop scripted routines or standard operating procedures for addressing a client’s complex, unique, ever-changing problems. Instead, they must rely on the individual professional guided by expertise and local knowledge to develop a tailored action strategy. In such settings, Argyris (1977) considered it inherently difficult to deploy control systems that both minimize misunderstandings by and injustices upon those controlled, in the sense that the system underrepresents the complexity and indeterminacy of what they do. Argyris concluded that

Employees who are responsible and loyal understand these constraints, and in doing so, place themselves in a dilemma. If they accept the high probability of injustice as necessary, then they have acted to legitimize injustice. If they do not accept the necessity of injustice, they would be seen as disloyal. Those at the upper level may find it necessary to defend themselves from the dilemma of having to be unjust in order to make the organization effective (1977, p. 166–117).

Faced with this dilemma, our participants grew more cynical as they gamed and internalized and acted upon the tenets of MBO. We found neither a "control over" as in the application of formalized structure nor a "control with" as in the socialization of members (Boland, 1980), but a "control within" individuals and their social relations. Despite this cynicism, however, most members who could remained with their firms, saw partnership as a worthy though costly goal, and still considered their firms important organizations. Thus, we found a duality of cynicism *cum* organizational allegiance within the firms, but a duality wherein many knowledgeable agents – administrators and practitioners alike – openly worried whether this cynicism portended the death of the firm and the profession. Yet, they continued to apply a control ethos that under-represented the broad repertoire of actions expected of professionals, purportedly to make the firms more effective.

While Giddens (1984) emphasized the duality of structure, our study suggests the importance of the *duality of social relations* in that mentoring became at once a medium of instantiating MBO within the practitioner component and an *outcome* of this structural practice in the sense that it infused the of participants' words, thoughts and actions. Thus, mentoring *promoted* the actual application of MBO within firms, and *constrained* it by resisting its overt application to controlling participants' actions and, instead, transforming MBO to serve the needs of the protégé. What emerged from this duality of dualities – a duality of structure *and* a duality of social relations – was the strategic transformation of the firms, fostered neither by the structural practice of MBO nor the social process of mentoring, controlled neither by the administrative component nor the practitioner component, but influenced by the political interplay between and mutual constitution of the structural and the social, the administrator and practitioner.

This interplay also illustrates some shortcomings in our underlying theories. Discussions directed at extending institutional theory (for example, DiMaggio, 1988; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Scott, 1987; Tolbert, 1988, 1991; Zucker, 1988; Fischer, forthcoming) urge a focus on power and the role of legitimated structures in serving competing interest groups, while preserving the cool imagery of formal structure external to human agents as opposed to the warm imagery of social processes (see especially DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 15). Our analysis suggests that while power may be concerned with conflict and negotiation, as between administrators and practitioners, power also resides in the structuring of interests, both in the formal structure, and in a "virtual structure" (Giddens, 1984, p. 17; Sica, 1986) that inscribes both structure and its transformation (Giddens, 1984, p. 15), constituted in the minds of the human agents and their social relations. According to Sewell (1992, p. 4),

Structures [like MBO] are not the patterned social practices that make up social systems, but the principles that pattern these practices. Structures, therefore, have only what [Giddens] terms a "virtual" existence. Structures do not exist concretely in time and space except as "memory traces, the

organic basis of knowledgeability" (i.e., only as ideas or schemas lodged in human brains) and as they are "instantiated in action" (i.e., put into practice).

Thus, the cool imagery of formal structure *vis-à-vis* MBO at once constitutes and is constituted by the warm imagery of social relations among human political agents. According to Giddens (1984, p. 25) "Structure is not 'external' to individuals. [A]s memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices, it is in a certain sense more 'internal' than exterior to their activities." Thus conceived, while no "real," free-standing entity of formal structure may exist, the "virtual structure" of MBO is apparently quite capable of influencing the words, thoughts and actions of social actors.

In addition, our field work suggests that while the structure of MBO represents a response to societal expectations of rationality and efficiency (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Fischer, forthcoming; Abbott, 1988), it is also the case that the ethos of autonomy and discretion is an institutionalized expectation of what constitutes professional endeavor. Because professional discretion is itself institutionalized, the Big 6 firms may be conceived of as overly stable social systems (DiMaggio, 1988; Fogarty & Dirsmith, 1995). Thus, a fragmented external environment calling at once for rationality and professional autonomy is manifested in a fragmented internal environment in public accounting firms, with the administrative component responding to expectations of rationalized practice and the practitioner component responding to expectations of professional autonomy (for further discussion of multiple societal expectations, see Freidland & Alford, 1991).

Within the sociology of professions area, (Freidson, 1986; see also Abbott, 1988; Mintzberg, 1989) discussed are the administrative *component* and practitioner *component* of professional organizations, thus placing these functions in distinct "locations." Our study, however, suggests a problem with of this spatial placement. For example, participants spoke of helping protégés "to board the bus" by emphasizing the importance of viewing their activities through the lens of the firm, thus forswearing the traditional focus of mentors of serving primarily the protégé and supporting an allegiance to professional autonomy. While administrators were, to be sure, on the bus, the passenger list also contained many practitioners of various vintages. The idea of the bus effectively extended the administrative *function* in both space and time as it embarked on its "trip." The act of practitioner mentors helping protégés board the bus likewise extended the practitioner component in space and time. Thus, our study suggests that no discrete "locations" for the administrative and practitioner components exist in public accounting firms, and we find no fixity of the function itself. Rather, we find movement. Moreover, when mentors infuse their protégés – and their own words, thoughts and actions – with the structure of MBO, administration itself becomes embodied within the individual (Giddens, 1984). Thus, our study produced an important distinction:

administrators wield some degree of power, but the power actually resides in administration (Teulings, 1986, makes a related point concerning managers versus management). Notice, for example, that in adopting the "bus" metaphor, our participants neglected to mention who was driving the bus, thus suggesting a depersonalization of administration.

While Giddens structuration concept has received criticism from a variety of standpoints (for example, it cannot account for systematic change and the production of power; Van de Ven & Rogers, 1990; Hauggard, 1993; Sewell, 1992; or Giddens, 1984, fails to address post modernist contributions adequately; Macintosh & Scapens, 1990), our work suggests that his concept implicitly gives primacy to structure over human agency, as signified by the term itself – the duality of *structure*. In turn, structural properties, in our case MBO, appear to overcome the face-to-face social interactions by extending them in time and in space. But our study also suggests a *duality of social relations* in that the social relation called mentoring is at once a *medium* of instantiating the structure of MBO in practitioner agents, and an *outcome* of this structural practice such that the words, thoughts and actions of these agents became infused with the principles of MBO. In turn, *mentoring* at once promoted, transformed and constrained MBO. Thus, joining the structural element of MBO which routinizes the centralization of power and illustrates the duality of *structure* (see for example, Giddens, 1984, p. 282), *mentoring* confounds the centralization of power and thus illustrates the duality of *social relations* (see Sewell, 1992, for further discussion of multiple dualities). In addition, metaphorically, our work suggests that social relations extend beyond face-to-face interactions, thus freeing them from the limits of a specific time and place. The complicity of mentoring in socially "boarding a bus" with some future destination strongly suggests that social relations extend themselves spatially and temporally in the minds and social relations of human agents.

Our results, in short, suggest that a duality of dualities resides within the structuration of contemporary public accounting firms. On the duality of *structure* side, consistent with Abbott's (1988) reasoning that organizations represent a viable alternative to professionalization, the administrative component appears to be partially successful in its use of such rationalizing techniques as MBO to encode some of the expertise of practice partners within the formal structure of the organization. It thereby reduces practice partner autonomy. At the same time, on the duality of *social relations* side, we find mentors accommodating and transforming such rationalizing techniques as MBO. Thus, our results also suggest that structure, a virtual structure, becomes encoded in both the social relations of practice and administrative partners and their protégé, and in the minds of these social agents. It is by this means that the "control within" concept is constituted in the words, thoughts and actions of the everyday professional, and the administrative function becomes diffused throughout the firms.

Notes

1. Perhaps conspicuous by its absence – given our prior research on contrasting cultures or world theories across the Big 6, expressed in terms of the mechanistic and organic metaphors (for example, Carpenter, *et al.* 1994) – is a cross sectional analysis of structure and agency in the firms. For example, it may seem that firms having an “organic” culture may not be as likely to adopt MBO or be as reliant on a relatively informal process of mentoring because their culture already supports lateral and vertical communications among firm members. While the firms are quite different in their partnership incentives, extent of standardization, etc., and despite our sensitivity to such issues, we were surprised by the lack of differences across the firms concerning the issues examined in this study. While the language applied did vary across the firms, the issues at play in the application of structure and its resistance, transformation and embodiment by practitioners did not. To some extent, however, it did appear that the more highly structured firms more visibly exhibited and discussed such social-structural outcroppings as “boarding the bus,” described in the text, while such discussions tended to be viewed as “garish” by participants from more organic firms where such practices were still practiced, though more covertly. While prior cross sectional work has focused on only audit operating processes, the work we report here focused on the management of the firms. Intriguing for future research would be an examination of the interpenetration or mutual constitution of firm management and audit operations, wherein focus should be on structuring rather than structure (Giddens, 1984, p. 17, 1991; DiMaggio, 1988) that implies the imagery of connected, swinging pendula.
2. A high proportion of our participants received promotions during the course of our study (for example, managers to practice partners, office managing partners to regional partners, and regional partners to deputy chairman, chairman and international firm director). This occurrence points to the potency of the sample selected, and to a potential bias in that individuals so promoted may have been more successful in terms of supporting firm goals as expressed through the MBO program than the “average” firm member. It is also worth noting that the length of our study allowed us to benefit from the fortuitous turn of a number of events, such as being present on the day a new managing partner was named for the firm’s largest U.S. practice office, and the opportunity to conduct a six-hour interview with a recently retired senior managing partner who was eager to share his life experiences shortly before his death.
3. McCarthy (1988a) provides further analysis concerning the powerful connotations attaching to the phrase “charm school” in the Big 6 that have been broached in a discrimination appeal heard before the U.S. Supreme Court.
4. Some contrast appears here with prior work concerning the administrative function in the Big 6. Here, Greenwood, *et al.* (1990, p. 750) observed in a study of the large CPA firms in Canada that administrative positions for example, directors of human resources, continuing professional education, finance, etc.) enjoyed relatively low status and a limited duration. While we found participants who were “tour of duty” managers and partners or were assigned to national office task forces to address specific problems then to return to their practice offices – who possessed little power during their one to three year assignments – these were not the focus of our study. Instead, we found a strong one-directional progression through positions from practice office division directors, office managing partners, regional managing partners, national directors of accounting, and auditing, deputy chairman, chairman and international director of accounting and auditing, etc. with the exception of changes in positions attributable to firm mergers. While we found it unusual to find someone being solely an engagement partner (except immediately prior to retirement and then to champion a particular industry group or develop a new “audit product”), it was frequently the case, as reported, that administrative partners maintained client contact. Then too, as reported, we found

that the administrative function could not be so neatly located in the national office. Further, we interviewed no one who claimed that, for example, the position of deputy chairman was without power. Typically, the exit from key administrative postings was to move laterally, retire or "die in the trenches," though a recently retired international firm chairman, who was at the time of our interview the leader of a nationally prestigious organization, was obviously still a firm member in his soul and a mentor to a regional managing partner, also at our interview. Lastly, not all administrative positions were of equal power and status with, for example, directors of human resources and continuing professional education having substantially less status than, for example, directors of accounting and auditing or, for a time, audit methods. As we discuss in the impressions section, what ultimately proved important to an understanding of the relationship between agency and structure was not *human* administrators, but rather the structuration of the administrative *function* within the "virtual structure" of the firms (Sica, 1986; Sewell, 1992).

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Faculty/Student Mentor Program: Effects on Academic Performance and Retention

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During the past decade, American universities have made a concerted effort to create campus environments that reflect the diversity of the general population, especially with regard to gender and ethnicity. As the efforts to attract and retain students of underrepresented minorities have intensified, colleges and universities have implemented a variety of support programs. One type of program that has become particularly popular is an adaptation of the apprentice model of graduate education; this is the faculty mentor program in which faculty members are encouraged to serve as mentors to undergraduate students. As used here, *mentoring* refers to a situation in which a more-experienced member of an organization maintains a relationship with a less-experienced, often new member to the organization and provides information, support, and guidance so as to enhance the less-experienced member's chances of success in the organization and beyond. We will refer to the more-experienced member of such a relationship as a *mentor* and the less-experienced individual as a *protégé*.

Current research on mentoring deals with two types of settings: business organizations and educational environments. The literature from business sources often treats mentoring as an organizational strategy for training and developing personnel within a firm, whereas other literature takes a vocational perspective and suggests guidance for individual career development (e.g.,

Dreher and Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1989; Kram, 1985). The research from educational sources ranges broadly from peer mentoring in secondary education to studies of graduate education in doctoral programs (e.g., Queen, 1994; Wilde and Schau, 1991). The mentoring process itself takes on a variety of forms. In some cases, formal programs are administered in which students are assigned to mentors. In others, students and mentors develop relationships "naturally" with no formal support from the administration. Furthermore, the research literature is accumulating in the absence of a generally accepted definition of mentoring (Jacobi, 1991). The result is a somewhat confusing array of studies loosely aligned with the concept of mentoring.

While some of the research assesses the achievement of specific mentoring outcomes (as does the study to be described here), much of the published work appears more concerned with examination of the mentoring process itself and how it is perceived by the participants. For example, Rice and Brown (1990) surveyed undergraduate students acting as peer mentors. Their report focuses on how the participants felt about the mentoring and how these feelings correlated with personal characteristics such as interpersonal skill and self-perception. In other educational research students provided descriptive and evaluative information on their faculty mentors and the mentoring relationship (e.g., Cesa and Fraser, 1989; Frierson, Hargrove, and Lewis, 1994; Wilde and Schau, 1991).

Research on mentoring has not been driven or dominated by theory. Rather, current efforts are directed at determining just what the forms are that mentoring might take and what some of the correlates and consequences are of these different forms of mentoring. Development of theoretical constructs to make sense of all this "dustbowl empiricism" should be forthcoming. Meanwhile, some tentative efforts in the direction of conceptual thinking have been suggested. Jacobi (1991) describes three reports of factor analyses of mentor behavior. These studies point to the existence of at least two robust factors: direct career assistance (providing information, problem solving, sponsorship) and social-emotional support (providing acceptance, counseling) (e.g., Noe, 1988). While most research deals with the effects of the mentoring relationship on protégés, at least one report suggests a more complex model that includes effects on the mentors themselves. Busch (1985) presents data indicating that mentors see benefits for themselves that are derived from participation in the mentoring relationship.

Issues of gender and ethnicity have received considerable attention in the mentoring literature. It has been suggested that mentoring effects may be enhanced by gender matching (Fitt and Newton, 1981). The perception of shared values, experiences, and social networks, for example, may encourage the development of a bond between mentors and protégés of the same gender (Hughes, 1988). In a number of university programs, an effort has been made to match students and mentors on the basis of gender, ethnicity, or both (e.g., Johnson, 1989; Meznick, McGrath, and Garcia, 1989). The results have been

mixed with regard to matching on gender. Frierson, Hargrove, and Lewis (1994) reported that students responded more positively to female than to male mentors. Wilde and Schau (1991) reported that some of the female students in their study commented on the importance to them of having a female mentor. But when the survey data were analyzed for differences attributable to gender of mentor or protégé, no differences were found on ratings of such factors as supportiveness and fostering of professional development.

In a survey of men and women in business, Dreher and Ash (1990) found that individuals experiencing extensive mentoring relationships received more promotions, had higher incomes, and were more satisfied with their compensation than individuals experiencing less extensive mentoring relationships. No gender differences were found, however. Women did not report fewer mentoring experiences than men. While mentoring relationships were associated with measures of career success, differential mentoring experiences could not account for the observed difference in incomes between men and women. There may even be mentoring situations in which gender matching results in decreased effectiveness. In Noe's research (1988), mentors matched with protégés of the opposite gender reported that their students used the relationship *more* effectively than did protégés of the same gender.

Mixed results are also found in the research on ethnic matching. In a study of African-American college students, Frierson, Hargrove, and Lewis (1994) found that students who had African-American mentors reported more positive attitudes than did protégés who had worked with white mentors. By contrast, Atkinson, Neville, and Casas (1991) surveyed psychologists who had experienced mentoring during graduate school or in their early years in practice. They found no evidence that ethnic matches resulted in higher protégé ratings of perceived mentoring benefits than did cross-ethnic pairings.

The evaluation research on mentoring programs in education has tended to use weak designs. Most of the work relies on self-report measures in a retrospective, correlational design with the data gathered at a single point in time (Jacobi, 1991). Often the data are subjective and reported without adequate evidence of reliability and validity. Weak statistical analyses are not uncommon (e.g., Frierson, Hargrove, and Lewis, Smith and Davidson, 1992). Also, given that a primary reason for the development of campus mentoring programs is the retention and enhanced academic success of at-risk ethnic minority students, it is noteworthy that such outcome measures have not been included in the published reports. According to Jacobi's review (1991), one of the best evaluations of a formal mentoring program was conducted by Cosgrove (1986). That study showed the effect of mentoring on satisfaction with the university environment and developmental gains. Mentored students were compared with a control group, but there was no assessment of the program effects on student academic performance. In fact, a review of the literature has failed to locate a single report of a control-group study dealing with the effects of a university mentoring program on undergraduate retention and performance. Such a study is the subject of this report.

The main goal of this research was to examine whether and how participation with a faculty mentor played a role in academic success. Of particular interest was whether meeting with a mentor during a student's first year at the university affected grade-point average, units completed, and retention rates in subsequent years. It was expected that students who had access to mentors would show higher scores on measures of academic success than would comparison students who had not been mentored. The specific hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 1. Students in the mentoring program will achieve a higher level of academic performance as measured by grade-point average (GPA) and will complete more units of credit.

Hypothesis 2. Mentored students will have a higher retention rate at the university and will graduate at a higher rate.

Hypothesis 3. Academic performance and retention will be unrelated to gender of mentor or protégé, or to the match in gender between the two. This expectation follows from the fact that the existing research on gender effects either has received no support (Dreher and Ash, 1990; Wilde and Schau, 1991) or is supported primarily by methodologically weak measures that are subject to response bias (Frierson, Hargrove, and Lewis, 1994; Noe, 1988).

Hypothesis 4. Academic performance and retention will be unrelated to ethnicity of mentor or protégé, or to the match in ethnicity between the two. This hypothesis is made in view of the finding that ethnic effects were either not supported (Atkinson, Neville, and Casas, 1991) or based on subjective and unvalidated reports by protégés (Frierson, Hargrove, and Lewis, 1994).

The number and duration of contacts between protégés and mentors should have an impact on the beneficial outcomes of participation in a mentoring program. Kram (1985) has suggested that the amount of time mentors and protégés are in contact is a factor in obtaining the potential benefits of mentoring. To the extent that dyads meet regularly and spend meaningful amounts of time together, student protégés should have the opportunity do such things as ask questions, discuss issues, observe the mentor, and set goals. We expected that the more extensive the contact between mentors and protégés, the greater the potential would be for positive effects on students' academic success. This led to:

Hypothesis 5. The number and duration of mentor-protégé contacts will be positively correlated with GPA and negatively correlated with retention rate.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 are summative in nature (Posavac and Carey, 1992) in that they address the overall effectiveness of the mentoring program relative to its primary goals – retention and academic performance. Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 are elements of formative evaluation; they address the process or

form of the program and involve variables that may help to explain why the program achieves or fails to achieve its stated goals. For example, hypothesis 2 addresses the possibility of an interaction effect. The alternative (as opposed to null) form of the hypothesis states that exposure to the mentoring program will have a greater positive effect on protégés matched to same-gender mentors than it will on protégés matched to different-gender mentors. Data supporting such an interaction would result in greater understanding of program effects and could lead to modifications designed to improve the program.

In summary, the goal in this research was to test a series of hypotheses about the effectiveness of an assigned mentoring program against independently and objectively compiled data. This research does not test a theoretical model of mentoring. What it does is provide a straightforward test of whether an assigned mentoring program can contribute to student academic success. That is, will students who participate with an assigned mentor achieve higher grade-point averages, complete more units per semester, and be less likely to drop out of college than will students in a comparison group of nonmentored students?

Method

Program Description

The mentoring program evaluated here served as a retention effort at a large metropolitan university on the West Coast. Its goal was to facilitate personal contacts between faculty and students. The purpose of these contacts was to provide assistance to students to help them succeed in reaching their academic goals and in graduating from the university.

Although any student could apply to participate, the target population was students from ethnic groups that were underrepresented at the university. Students were recruited in two ways. During the summer prior to entering the university as freshmen or as transfers, students in the target population were mailed program information and an invitation to participate. Students, most of whom had already received the mailing, were also recruited directly during their participation in campus outreach programs such as Summer Bridge. Approximately 20% of all students who were contacted enrolled in the program.

Faculty participants were recruited through university-wide distributions of the program description and an application form. About 10% of the entire faculty volunteered to mentor one to four students for an academic year. Students were matched with faculty on the basis of shared academic interests. Thus, students who specified a major on their application were assigned to a mentor whose specialty was in the same (e.g., history/history) or a related (history/political science) field. Undeclared majors were assigned to mentors

who agreed to work with such students. Less than 1% of the mentors or students stated preferences (e.g., gender, ethnicity), and those few were accommodated whenever possible.

Mentors and students were encouraged to meet regularly throughout the year but were not required to adhere to a particular structure in their mentoring relationship. Mentors were asked to maintain a log of their contacts with protégés that included date, duration, and the general content of their meetings. These logs provided documentation that contacts between the student and the mentor had actually occurred.

In addition to their private meetings, the program offered a number of activities to create opportunities for mentors and students to spend time together. During the academic year six workshops provided training on subjects as varied as mentoring styles and campus resources and career network development. There were social events such as luncheons and free tickets to university theatrical productions. Small grants ($\leq \$500$) were available to encourage mentors and students to initiate research projects or to attend professional meetings together.

Sample

Written data in the form of the mentors' logs recording the content and duration of contacts with protégés were available for 339 students. These were the students whose retention and academic achievement data were evaluated in the present study. The students participated in the mentoring program during their first year at the university. Protégé data were examined for three waves of participants beginning with the fall of 1992.

For comparison purposes, the mentored students were matched with 339 students who had not enrolled in the program. The matching was done by means of a computer routine that searched through all university records for students who had not participated in the program but who were comparable in other characteristics. Each protégé was matched with a control student who matriculated in the same semester and year, was of the same gender, same ethnic group, same entering class, and had the same entering GPA (for freshmen the entering GPA was their high school GPA, for transfers it was their previous cumulative college GPA). After an exact match on year, gender, ethnicity, and class level was achieved, the program optimized on GPA. The mean difference in GPA between the protégé and control groups was .00 (S.D. = .05). All comparative data were pulled from routinely compiled administrative records.

The resulting sample of 678 matched students was 37% male and 63% female. Entering class level was 47% freshmen and 53% transfer (primarily juniors). Mean entering GPA was 2.82 (S.D. = 0.49). The ethnic distribution was 69% Latino, 22% African American, 3% Native American, and the remaining 6% were from a variety of other ethnic groups.

The group of mentors was comprised of 126 faculty, administrators, and staff. Mentors were volunteers who agreed to meet with their assigned student(s) throughout one academic year. Many mentors "reenlisted" at least once; 74 participated for one year, 45 for two years, and 7 for three years. Participants from every college and from most departments served as mentors. They represented a range of faculty levels (part-time instructor to dean). More females (72) than males (54) volunteered. The majority of the mentors were Caucasian (91). A number of ethnic minority mentors also participated in the program (Latino, 15; Asian, 14; African American, 5; Native American, 1).

Variables

Academic achievement was measured by GPA after the first semester, second semester, and cumulatively at the time the data were gathered, which could total as many as three years for some students. The mean number of units completed per semester was based on the first year of enrollment at the university. Retention was indicated by whether the student was still enrolled in the spring of 1995 or had withdrawn from the university for any reason other than graduation. Contact sheets maintained by the mentors were used to determine the number of contacts and total number of minutes of mentor-protégé contact during the first year that the student participated in the program.

Results

A series of *t*-tests was conducted separately on each of the academic success variables: first semester, second semester, and cumulative GPA, dropout rate, and graduation rate. In each test, protégé scores were compared with control group scores. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for each variable by group. As the table shows, mentored students completed an

Table 1: Mean differences between mentored students and paired controls on academic achievement and retention measures

	<i>Protégé</i> Mean (S.D.)	<i>Control</i> Mean (S.D.)
Units/Sem.	9.33 (4.08)	8.49 (4.53)*
1st Sem. GPA	2.50 (0.93)	2.20 (1.11)**
2nd Sem. GPA	2.32 (1.12)	2.14 (1.22)**
Cum. GPA	2.45 (0.81)	2.29 (0.93)*
Drop Rate	14.5%	26.3%**
Graduated	6.0%	6.0%

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$.

Note: Comparisons tested with *t* for dependent samples, except for drop rate, which was tested with chi-square.

average of .84 units more per semester than did students in the control groups, $t(338) = 2.63, p < .01$.

There were consistent differences in GPA favoring the mentored students. The greatest programmatic impact on GPA occurred during the first semester. At the end of their first semester at the university, protégé grades were .3 of a grade point higher than those of students in the control group; the respective means were 2.50 and 2.20, $t(338) = 4.38, p < .001$. This pattern of differences continued into the second semester when the protégés ($M = 2.32$) exceeded their controls ($M = 2.14, t(338) = 3.4, p < .001$) and was also found cumulatively (protégé $M = 2.45$, control $M = 2.29, t(338) = 2.85, p < .01$).

Only one of the two measures of retention revealed effects for mentoring. The dropout rate (students who failed to reenroll in any semester) among protégés was about half of that for students in the control group, 14.5% versus 26.3%, $\chi^2(1) = 14.56, p < .001$. There was no difference between the two groups on their rate of graduation. It may be premature, however, to assess graduation rate because only 6% of the students have completed enough units to graduate.

Consistent with our hypothesis, Table 2 shows that academic success and retention rates were unrelated to the gender of the protégé or of the mentor. Male and female protégés did not differ significantly in units completed, the various measures of GPA, or dropout rate. Likewise, protégé gender affected neither the average number of contacts nor the total duration of those contacts with mentors. Mentors of either gender apparently were equally capable of encouraging protégés. With one exception, the measures of academic success and contact did not significantly differ for students of male or female mentors. The one exception to that pattern was that female mentors had an average of

Table 2: Academic achievement and contacts as a function of protégé gender and mentor gender

N	Mentee (student)		Mentor (faculty)	
	Male 125	Female 213	Male 149	Female 188
Units/Sem.	9.08 (4.08)	9.48 (4.08)	9.57 (3.98)	9.12 (4.16)
1st Sem. GPA	2.44 (0.94)	2.54 (0.93)	2.58 (0.91)	2.44 (0.95)
2nd Sem. GPA	2.19 (1.14)	2.39 (1.10)	2.43 (1.10)	2.23 (1.13)
Cum. GPA	2.36 (0.81)	2.51 (0.81)	2.51 (0.80)	2.40 (0.82)
Drop Rate	15.1%	14.1%	16.1%	13.3%
# Contacts	6.65 (4.23)	7.66 (5.33)	6.50 (4.32)	7.95 (5.35)**
Contact Time	111.34 (131.63)	131.63 (179.13)	111.34 (169.52)	135.02 (158.66)

* $p < .01$.

Note: Comparisons tested with t for independent samples, except for drop rate, which was tested with chi-square.

Table 3: Academic achievement and contacts as a function of match between protégé and mentor gender

N	Genders matched 209	Genders differed 128	Male-male match 73	Female-female match 135
Units/Sem.	9.17 (4.08)	9.64 (4.09)	9.14 (3.99)	9.14 (4.13)
1st Sem. GPA	2.49 (0.94)	2.53 (0.93)	2.51 (0.93)	2.47 (0.94)
2nd Sem. GPA	2.23 (1.11)	2.47 (1.12)	2.19 (1.12)	2.25 (1.11)
Cum. GPA	2.41 (0.83)	2.54 (0.79)	2.36 (0.83)	2.42 (0.83)
Drop Rate	15.9%	12.4%	19.2%	14.1%
# Contacts	7.88 (5.04)	6.39 (4.69)**	6.74 (3.99)	8.50 (5.50)*
Contact Time	123.59 (147.09)	126.30 (187.86)	96.07 (113.57)	138.21* (161.30)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Note: Comparisons tested with t for independent samples, except for drop rate, which was tested with chi-square.

1.45 more contacts with their protégés than did male mentors (female $M = 7.95$, male $M = 6.50$, $t(334) = 2.68$, $p < .01$).

As we have noted above, there is little empirical evidence but persistent anecdotal support for the view that gender matching between protégés and mentors enhances the outcomes of mentoring programs. In the present sample, there were 209 students who were of the same gender as their mentors and 128 who were not. As the two left columns of Table 3 demonstrate, gender matching had very little effect on academic performance. There was, however, one significant difference favoring the gender-matched students on the total number of contacts with their mentors. The means were 7.88 contacts for gender-matched students and 6.39 contacts for their controls, $t(335) = 2.72$, $p < .01$. While number of contacts was greater for gender-matched pairs, these contacts were also briefer on average because the total contact time was lower for gender-matched protégés, although not significantly so.

A different way to examine the impact of gender matching is to assess whether there was a differential effect among matched dyads for gender of the dyad. The right columns of Table 3 present the results of these analyses. As with the comparisons of matched and unmatched pairs, gender of the matched pairs also was not associated with the academic performance outcomes of mentoring. Similar to the previous analysis, however, there were apparent effects for number of contacts and total duration of the contacts. Male-male pairs averaged 6.74 contacts while female-female pairs averaged 8.50 contacts, $t(206) = 2.43$, $p < .05$. The mean differences in duration of contacts were 96.07 minutes for male-male pairs and 138.21 minutes for female-female pairs, $t(206) = 1.98$, $p > .05$. While the female protégé/mentor pairs met more often and for longer periods of time than did the male pairs, these two dependent variables did not show any significant relationship to academic performance.

Table 4: Academic achievement and contacts as a function of protégé ethnicity

N	Latino 235	African American 75	Native American 9	Other 20
Units/Sem.	9.40 (3.99)	9.05 (4.51)	10.94 (2.87)	8.85 (3.89)
1st Sem. GPA	2.57 (0.82)	2.25 (1.01)	2.68 (0.90)	2.53 (0.69)
2nd Sem. GPA	2.35 (0.70)	2.09 (1.13)	2.86 (1.11)	2.53 (1.14)
Cum. GPA	2.51 (0.82)	2.23 (0.80)	2.66 (0.66)	2.56 (0.78)
Drop Rate	15.7%	13.3%	11.1%	5.0%
# Contacts	7.23 (4.71)	7.31 (5.71)	6.00 (4.06)	8.45 (5.47)
Contact Time	123.03 (167.48)	116.28 (149.18)	144.22 (165.21)	159.55 (172.29)

Note: Comparisons tested with ANOVA, except for drop rate, which was tested with chi-square.

Ethnicity

A central hypothesis of this evaluation was that ethnicity of the protégé, the mentor, or the ethnic match of the pair would be unrelated either to academic performance or to retention. Table 4 presents the results related to this hypothesis. Analysis of variance on these means showed no significant differences between protégé ethnic groups on academic achievement or retention. Similarly, there were no differences due to ethnicity on the average number of contacts with mentors or on the total duration of contacts. An analysis of variance was conducted using ethnicity of the mentor as the grouping factor (Table 5). Again, the statistical analysis revealed no significant differences on protégé academic performance, dropout rate, or number of contacts. Similar to the analysis of gender-matched dyads, the issue of ethnically matched protégé/mentor pairs was assessed. Table 6 shows that among the 76 matched and 260 unmatched pairs, there were no significant differences on any of the achievement or contact variables. This set of analyses clearly demonstrates

Table 5: Academic achievement and contacts as a function of mentor ethnicity

N	Caucasian 224	Latino 58	Asian 36	African American 11	Native American 7
Units/Sem.	8.97 (4.51)	10.25 (3.93)	9.74 (3.99)	8.98 (4.51)	11.36 (3.84)
1st Sem. GPA	2.50 (0.91)	2.62 (0.96)	2.45 (1.7)	2.46 (0.57)	2.19 (1.29)
2nd Sem. GPA	2.28 (1.12)	2.48 (1.12)	2.29 (1.07)	1.98 (1.49)	2.81 (0.82)
Cum. GPA	2.40 (0.84)	2.71 (0.67)	2.41 (0.85)	2.14 (0.74)	2.68 (0.68)
Drop Rate	15.6%	15.5%	11.1%	9.1%	0%
# Contacts	7.57 (5.14)	6.53 (3.01)	7.17 (4.76)	8.82 (8.81)	4.71 (4.46)
Contact Time	133.92 (170.47)	93.53 (127.86)	117.25 (160.89)	139.64 (203.20)	116.71 (161.33)

Note: Comparisons tested with ANOVA, except for drop rate, which was tested with chi-square.

Table 6: Academic achievement and contacts as a function of match between protégé and mentor ethnicity

N	Ethnicity matched		Ethnicity differs
	76	260	
Units/Sem.	9.90 (4.18)		9.16 (4.06)
1st Sem. GPA	2.51 (0.92)		2.50 (0.94)
2nd Sem. GPA	2.38 (1.17)		2.30 (1.11)
Cum. GPA	2.57 (0.69)		2.42 (0.85)
Drop Rate	14.5%		14.6%
# Contacts	7.28 (4.95)		7.34 (4.96)
Contact Time	110.61		129.20
	(137.66)		(170.46)

Note: Comparisons tested with *t* for independent groups, except for drop rate, which was tested with chi-square.

Table 7: Correlations between frequency of mentor-protégé contact, total contact time, and academic achievement

	Total units	1st Sem. GPA	2nd Sem. GPA	Cumulative GPA
No. of Contacts	.05	.12*	.11*	.11*
Contact Time	.17**	.13*	.21***	.19**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

N = 338.

that neither ethnicity of the protégé nor of the mentor was a significant factor in the effectiveness of the mentoring program.

Amount of Contact

During their year in the program, protégés averaged 7.28 contacts (S.D. = 4.97) with their mentors. The mean total contact time was 124.25 minutes (S.D. = 163.41). Table 7 shows the correlations between degree of mentor-protégé contact and the major academic outcome variables. While the correlations are not large, all but one show a significant tendency for students who have greater contact with their mentors to perform better, as measured by units completed and by GPA. The squared correlations indicate that only 1.2% to 3.6% of the variance in academic performance can be attributed to variation in mentor-protégé contact.

Discussion

The first objective of this evaluative research was to determine whether the university mentoring program succeeded in enhancing the academic performance of undergraduate students. It was hypothesized that participation in the program would result in more units completed per semester and higher grades (as measured by GPA). This hypothesis was supported. When compared with

their matched controls, students in the program completed slightly less than one additional unit per semester and attained a higher grade-point average equivalent to between .2 and .3 of a grade point. While the increase in completed units is relatively small for any particular semester, the cumulative effect of units completed over a four- or five-year university career could represent an eight- to ten-unit difference between the two groups. It was also hypothesized that protégés would have a lower dropout rate than their matched controls. Support was again found; the dropout rate for protégés was approximately half that of their controls (14.5% vs. 26.3%, respectively). If this differential dropout rate is attributed to the mentoring program, then the program was responsible for retention of 40 targeted minority students who would otherwise have dropped out. If the time period of the study were extended to cover the typical period of an undergraduate education (four or five years as opposed to several semesters), then the actual number of retained minorities could be considerably larger.

These findings provide good support for the conclusion that the program being evaluated did indeed cause the reported academic gains. The support would have been even stronger if students had been randomly assigned to participate in the mentor program or the control group. Randomized control is, unfortunately, very difficult to achieve in organizational research outside the laboratory. Use of matched controls was the most feasible approach in the research reported here. Each protégé was paired with a control who was matched in gender, ethnicity, and prior GPA. By matching on GPA, students in the program and their controls were paired as closely as possible on mental ability, study skills, academic motivation, and resources. GPA acted as a surrogate measure for underlying ability, motivation, and other factors relevant to academic performance. To understand the logic here, consider an alternative explanation for the enhanced GPA of protégés as compared to their controls. One could suggest that students who volunteered for the mentor program were more motivated as students than those who declined and were selected as controls. But, if academic motivation is viewed as a relatively enduring characteristic, then it would have been operating in the past and would have been accounted for by matching students on the *results* of such motivation – prior GPA. To argue that motivation suddenly shifted *and was maintained thereafter* for some students and that such a shift accounts for the apparent program effect requires an awkward line of reasoning. Yet such reasoning must remain as a possibility.

The use of randomized control groups is a highly desirable practice in field research. Yet in the review of studies of university mentoring programs for undergraduates, no reports were found in which randomized groups were used to identify effects on independently measured academic achievement. Only one study was located that used a randomized-group design (Cosgrove, 1986), but it did not deal specifically with academic outcomes. The research

presented here is unusual in that it combines experimental control and objective outcome measures of academic performance in an effort to identify program effects on targeted minorities and women.

It has been suggested that mentor-protégé pairs matched on gender will be more effective than those of different genders (Hughes, 1988). The research has been mixed on this issue, so an analysis of gender matching was included here. It was hypothesized that gender matching would have no significant effects on academic measures. The results showed gender matching did not influence units completed, GPA, or dropout rate. There was a difference, however, in number of contacts between mentors and their protégés. In their first year in the program, students who matched their mentors in gender totaled 7.9 contacts compared with 6.4 for those who did not match in gender. In a separate analysis, it was found that the female-female pairs had contact more frequently than did the male-male pairs (8.5 contacts vs. 6.7 contacts, respectively). This difference was associated with greater total contact time, again favoring the female-female pairs. Such a difference may be simply another validation of the traditional sex-role stereotype in American society. That is, female-female relationships are characterized as more openly social, more intimate, and more affective than are corresponding male-male relationships. For our purposes, the nature of gender differences in social interaction is of less import than the finding that gender matching was not associated with differences in academic outcome measures for the undergraduates included in this study.

The literature on ethnic match between mentor and protégé parallels that on gender matching. That is, arguments and rationales can be found both supporting and refuting the benefits of such matching. The empirical research is mixed on this issue. We tested the hypothesis that ethnic matching would be beneficial but we did not anticipate support. The data on academic outcomes showed no differences that could be attributed to ethnicity. Specifically, the protégés belonging to different ethnic groups did not differ in academic success. Nor did the protégés differ when grouped by ethnicity of the mentor. Finally, there were no significant differences in academic outcome measures when student-protégé pairs who were of the same ethnic group were compared with pairs who differed in ethnic identity.

Previous research on gender and ethnic matching effects seems to show a pattern. When matching is shown to have an effect, the dependent variables are often measures of *attitudes and preferences*. For example, Frierson, Hargrove, and Lewis (1994) found gender and ethnic effects on reported attitudes about the mentoring. Similarly, Ugba and Williams (1989) found that students indicated preference for mentors of their own gender. When the dependent measures are *objective and behavioral*, effects associated with gender and ethnic match are less common. This may explain why such effects are found less often in the organizational behavior literature where the outcome measures are often

objective (e.g., salary attained, rate of promotion). The factors that explain beliefs, preferences, and expressed satisfaction may be quite different from those that explain overt behavior and its direct consequences. In the research reported here, no self-report measures are involved, and no associations with gender or ethnic status were found.

The final hypothesis predicted that greater student contact with mentors will be associated with greater academic gains by the students. This hypothesis received modest support. Low but significant correlations showed that the more contacts (and more contact time) between mentor and protégé, the greater the academic achievement (measured by units completed and by GPA). This may indicate that more extensive mentoring will bring about slightly greater academic performance. Alternatively, it may simply reflect the tendency for the more capable students to take greater advantage of all relevant resources – including access to mentors. It would be desirable to have data relating to which contacts were initiated by the student and which were initiated by the mentor. If most were mentor initiated, then the correlations would appear to reflect program effectiveness. But even here, it could be argued that mentors prefer to initiate contact with the more capable and responsive students, leading to the reported correlations between number of contacts and academic achievement.

The research reported here supports several recommendations. For university mentor programs emphasizing objective criteria such as student retention and academic performance, it appears that matching students with same-gender or same-ethnicity mentors is not an important consideration. However, if student preferences are a driving force in the operational details of the program, then such matching may deserve serious consideration. This matching issue deserves further exploration in future research. It may be that the most important variables for optimal matching have little to do with gender and ethnicity. Researchers may do well to explore matching on preferred learning style, world outlook, communication style, and a number of personality variables. Another direction for future work is to conduct descriptive studies of university mentor programs as currently conducted. A taxonomy of possible programs could be developed with the programs arrayed on such dimensions as degree of structure, university size, and nature of organizational climate.

We conclude with a comment on methodology. As long as field experiments using randomized groups are rare in the literature, uncertainties will remain in the interpretation of social action programs. Yet, given the commitment of American universities to address the challenges of social diversity, evaluation research must proceed using all the experimental control and power attainable within each research situation. The use of matched controls and objective data constitutes a reasonable compromise for those seeking to understand the impact of their programmatic efforts. The present study demonstrates one path toward such understanding.

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Mentor Functions and Outcomes: A Comparison of Men and Women in Formal and Informal Mentoring Relationships

Belle Rose Ragins and John L. Cotton

Mentoring relationships are a critical career resource for employees in organizations. Mentors are individuals with advanced experience and knowledge who are committed to providing upward support and mobility to their protégé's careers (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985a). Mentors help their protégés by providing two general types of behaviors or functions: career development functions, which facilitate the protégé's advancement in the organization, and psychosocial functions, which contribute to the protégé's personal growth and professional development (Kram, 1985a). The presence of a mentor is associated with an array of positive career outcomes: Protégés receive more promotions (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992), have higher incomes (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991), and report more mobility (Scandura, 1992) and career satisfaction (Fagenson, 1989) than nonprotégés. Mentoring has also been found to have a positive impact on organizational socialization (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1993), job satisfaction (Koberg, Boss, Chappell, & Ringer, 1994), and reduced turnover intentions (Viator & Scandura, 1991).

Many organizations recognize the important benefits of mentoring and have attempted to replicate informal mentoring relationships by creating

formal mentoring programs (Burke & McKeen, 1989; Geiger-DuMond & Boyle, 1995; Zey, 1985). One key difference between formal and informal mentoring relationships is that informal mentoring relationships develop spontaneously, whereas formal mentoring relationships develop with organizational assistance or intervention – usually in the form of voluntary assignment or matching of mentors and protégés. A second distinction is that formal relationships are usually of much shorter duration than informal relationships (Douglas, 1997).

Although it is clear that formal and informal mentoring relationships differ in how they are formed and the length of the relationship, there is little research on whether formal and informal relationships differ in the functions mentors provide or the career outcomes protégés obtain during the mentoring relationship. Many organizations simply assume that formal relationships are as effective as informal relationships and implicitly offer their employees formal relationships as a substitute for informal mentoring relationships (Keele, Buckner, & Bushnell, 1987; Kram & Bragar, 1992). Moreover, formal mentoring programs are being implemented across the nation: It is estimated that a third of the nation's major companies have a formal mentoring program (Bragg, 1989), and this figure is expected to continue to increase (Murray, 1991). These formal mentoring programs are being developed without the benefit or guidance of empirical research.

This situation has particular relevance for women, who face greater barriers to developing informal mentoring relationships than men (Ragins & Cotton, 1991) and may therefore be more likely to seek formal relationships as a substitute for informal mentoring relationships. Additionally, many organizations target women for formal mentoring programs in the attempt to help them advance in the organization and break through the "glass ceiling" (Catalyst, 1993; Herry, 1994; Kram & Hall, 1996; Scott, 1992). However, these organizations may not be helping their female employees if formal mentors are less effective than informal mentors.

Accordingly, the first and primary purpose of this study is to compare the mentoring functions and career outcomes associated with formal and informal mentoring relationships. A second purpose of this study is to understand whether the gender composition of the relationship affects the relationship's functions and outcomes and whether this effect varies by the type of mentoring relationship. As discussed earlier, many organizations develop formal mentoring programs that focus either exclusively or primarily on their female employees. The assignment of a male or female mentor may produce different outcomes from the relationship (Ragins, 1989) and may therefore be an important factor to consider in the development of a formal mentoring program. This study's objective, therefore, is to provide timely information for organizations seeking to develop mentoring programs and to contribute to the knowledge base necessary for emerging mentorship theory.

Literature Review and Hypotheses

Mentor Functions

According to Kram's mentor role theory (1985a), mentors can provide two broad categories of mentor functions. First, they provide career development functions, which help protégés learn the ropes and facilitate the protégé's advancement in the organization. Kram (1985a) theorized that mentors can provide five specific career development functions: sponsoring promotions and lateral moves (sponsorship); coaching the protégé (coaching); protecting the protégé from adverse forces (protection); providing challenging assignments (challenging assignments); and increasing the protégé's exposure and visibility (exposure).

Psychosocial functions compose the second broad category of mentor functions. These behaviors address interpersonal aspects of the mentoring relationship and enhance the protégé's sense of competence, self-efficacy, and professional and personal development. Career development functions depend on the mentor's power and position in the organization, whereas psychosocial functions depend on the quality of the interpersonal relationship and the emotional bond that underlies the relationship. Career development functions focus on the organization and the protégé's career, whereas psychosocial functions affect the protégé on a more personal level and extend to other spheres of life, such as the protégé's personal development. Kram (1985a) theorized that mentors may provide four psychosocial functions: helping the protégé develop a sense of professional self (acceptance and confirmation), providing problem-solving and a sounding board (counseling), giving respect and support (friendship), and providing identification and role modeling (role modeling). It is important to note that mentoring is not an all or none phenomenon; a given mentor may provide all of just some of these functions.

Formal and Informal Mentoring Relationships

There are distinct differences between formal and informal mentoring relationships that may impact the mentor's functions and the career outcomes of the relationship. These differences involve the way the relationship is initiated, the structure of the relationship, and the processes involved in the relationship.

Initiation of relationship. Informal mentoring relationships develop on the basis of mutual identification and the fulfillment of career needs. Mentors select protégés who are viewed as younger versions of themselves, and the relationship provides mentors with a sense of generativity, or contribution to future generations (Erikson, 1963). Mentors are usually in mid-career stages that involve reassessment of life accomplishments (Erikson, 1963; Kram, 1985a; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978), and generativity

helps mentors avoid stagnation and allows them to progress to the next life stage. Protégés select mentors who are viewed as role models. Protégés are in early career stages that involve developing a sense of professional identity, and role modeling helps protégés advance through this stage. This mutual identification leads to the often-cited intensity of the informal relationship and the parallels drawn between mentoring and parent-child relationships.

Informal mentoring relationships also develop on the basis of perceived competence and interpersonal comfort (Allen, Poteet, & Burroughs, 1997; Kalbfleisch & Davies, 1993; Kram, 1983, 1985a; Olian, Carroll, & Giannantonio, 1993; Olian, Carroll, Giannantonio, & Feren, 1988). Mentors tend to select high-performing protégés who are considered rising stars or even diamonds in the rough. Similarly, protégés select mentors with desired expertise. Members of informal mentoring relationships select partners they enjoy working with and often report a mutual attraction or chemistry that sparks the development of the relationship (Kram, 1983, 1985a).

In contrast, members of formal mentoring relationships are typically assigned to one another by a program coordinator on the basis of application forms submitted by the potential mentor and protégé (Douglas, 1997; Gaskill, 1993; Murray, 1991). In many cases, the mentor and protégé do not even meet until after the match has been made. Thus, in contrast to informal relationships, identification, role modeling, and interpersonal comfort do not play a role in the development of formal relationships. It is therefore reasonable to expect that the psychosocial functions of role modeling, friendship, and counseling may be less in formal than informal mentoring relationships. Formal mentoring relationships are also less likely to be founded on mutual perceptions of competency and respect. Formal mentors are selected on the basis of their competency, but this judgment is made by the program coordinator rather than the protégé (Gaskill, 1993; Murray, 1991; Phillips-Jones, 1983). Additionally, formal mentors may view their protégés as at-risk performers who enter the program because they need remedial attention (Ragins, 1997a). It is reasonable to expect that the acceptance and confirmation mentor functions, which are founded on respect and perceived competency, will be less in formal than informal mentoring relationships.

Structure of relationship. Formal and informal mentoring relationships differ in the length and formality in the relationship. Informal relationships last between 3 and 6 years (Kram, 1985a), whereas formal relationships are usually contracted to last between 6 months and 1 year (Murray, 1991; Zey, 1985). Members of informal relationships meet when desired, but the mode, frequency, and location of contact for formal relationships are often specified in a contract signed by both parties (Murray, 1991; Zey, 1985). The goals of formal relationships are specified at the start of the relationship and are screened by the program coordinator. In contrast, the goals of informal relationships evolve over time and adapt to the career needs of the individuals.

There are three potential outcomes of these different structures. First, informal mentoring relationships have more time to build psychosocial and career development functions. Mentoring may not have an immediate effect on career outcomes; it may take time for the benefits of mentoring to materialize. Kram (1985a) theorized that the benefits of mentoring extend beyond the duration of the relationship, and Chao (1997) found that the advantages of being mentored continue over time. This time-lag effect is particularly relevant when considering promotions and compensation, which usually change only once a year. Therefore, informal mentors' career interventions may have more time to reach fruition than formal mentors' career interventions.

Second, protégés in formal relationships may perceive that their mentors spend time with them because of a commitment to the mentoring program and the organization, rather than because of personal commitment to the protégé, or because the mentor believes in the protégé's potential. Both parties recognize that the relationship is short-term and that the mentor may be assigned to another protégé after the relationship is over. These factors may restrict the development of trust and emotional closeness in the relationship and the provision of psychosocial functions.

Third, formal relationships are contracted to focus on career goals that are short-term and relate to the protégé's current position (Geiger-DuMond & Boyle, 1995; Gray, 1988; Murray, 1991). In contrast, informal mentors are concerned with the long-term career needs of their protégés; in some cases the protégé's needs may take precedence over the needs of the organization, and the mentor may recommend that the protégé move to another organization. Informal mentoring relationships are therefore more aligned with the view that careers no longer unfold within a single organization but instead become "boundaryless" in spanning many different organizational settings (cf. Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Hall & Mirvis, 1996).

Processes in relationship. There are four additional processes that may lead to different functions in formal and informal mentoring relationships. First, formal mentors may be less motivated to be in the relationship than informal mentors (Ragins & Cotton, 1991). As discussed earlier, formal mentors may not identify with their protégés. In addition, formal mentors may enter the relationship to be good organizational citizens rather than because of their own developmental needs. Although formal mentors may receive more organizational recognition than informal mentors, they may not be ready to be mentors, and they may be less likely to receive the internal rewards associated with mentoring (cf. Ragins & Scandura, in press). It is therefore reasonable to expect that formal mentors may not be as motivated as informal mentors to provide career development and psychosocial functions.

Second, formal mentors may have less effective communication and coaching skills than informal mentors (Kram, 1985b, 1986). Protégés select informal mentors with strong communication and coaching skills (Kalbfleisch & Davies, 1993; Olian et al., 1988). Formal mentors may be viewed as having

good communication skills by program coordinators, but if the protégé does not share these perceptions, the relationship may become strained and less effective.

A third factor that may limit the effectiveness of formal mentoring relationships is that many programs match members from different departments or functional units in the attempt to avoid charges of favoritism (Douglas, 1997; Murray, 1991). This practice may impede the formal mentor's ability to intervene on the protégé's behalf and provide exposure, protection, sponsorship, and challenging assignment functions. Moreover, informal relationships often evolve on the basis of mutual interests, job functions, and career paths. Formal mentors who are in different departments or functional areas than their protégés may also have different career paths and may therefore provide less effective career counseling and role modeling for their protégés.

Finally, because formal mentors are more visible than informal mentors, they may be more self-conscious about engaging in career development behaviors that may be construed as favoritism by others in the organization. Informal mentors generally engage in such behaviors with impunity; informal mentors have been found to sponsor their protégés into upwardly mobile positions, give them challenging "stretch" assignments, and buffer them from adverse forces in the organization (Kram, 1983; Scandura, 1992). Because formal mentoring relationships are public relationships that are monitored by program coordinators, formal mentors may be less likely than informal mentors to intervene on their protégé's behalf.

Review of Research

As the above theoretical review indicates, formal mentors can be expected to provide less of each of the nine career development and psychosocial functions than informal mentors. Only two studies directly investigated the relationship between type of mentor and mentor functions. On the basis of existing theory, both studies proposed greater benefits for informal than formal mentoring relationships. Although the results of these studies were complementary with existing theory, only partial support for theoretical predictions was found. In a study of 212 informal and 53 formal protégés, Chao, Walz, and Gardner (1992) found that protégés in informal mentoring relationships reported more career development functions and higher salaries than protégés in formal relationships. However, no support was found for their hypothesis that protégés in informal relationships would report more psychosocial functions than protégés in formal relationships. Fagenson-Eland, Marks, and Amendola (1997) found that informal protégés reported more psychosocial benefits than formal protégés in their study of 16 informal and 30 formal protégés employed at two merging organizations. However, informal and formal protégés did not significantly differ in reports of career development and role modeling functions.

These studies, although groundbreaking, used only the broad categories of mentoring functions and did not provide an in-depth investigation of the nine specific mentoring functions theorized by Kram (1985a). Chao et al., (1992) used Noe's (1988) 21-item mentor functions instrument, which measures Kram's (1985a) two broad categories of career development and psychosocial functions. The career development scale consisted of 7 items that measure the protection, challenging assignment, and exposure functions, but do not include Kram's coaching and sponsorship functions. Psychosocial functions were measured using a 14-item scale that omitted the friendship function and included the coaching function. The coaching function is a career development function (Kram, 1985a) but is loaded on the psychosocial factor in Noe's scale (Noe, 1988). The instrument is conceptually limited in that it does not allow for an analysis of the nine individual mentor functions because single items are used to measure many functions, and some functions are not represented in the instrument. Fagenson-Eland and her colleagues (1997) used the Scandura and Katerburg (1988) 18-item mentoring functions questionnaire, which collapsed Kram's (1985a) nine mentor functions into three broad categories: career development, psychosocial, and role modeling. However, like Noe's (1988) instrument, this instrument assesses only the broad categories of mentor functions and therefore does not allow for a full assessment of Kram's mentor role theory by investigating the effects of each of the nine individual mentor functions.

One objective of the present study, therefore, was to extend this prior research by providing a more fine-grained analysis of the relationship between type of mentor and each of Kram's (1985a) mentor roles. Toward this aim, we used the Ragins and McFarlin (1990) 33-item mentor role instrument, which allows for a separate analysis of the effects of each of Kram's (1985a) nine mentor functions, as well as two additional functions.

Another objective of our study was to assess the relationship between formal and informal mentoring and career outcomes, such as promotion rate and compensation. There has been a lack of research investigating these relationships. As discussed earlier, Chao et al. (1992) explored the relationship between the type of mentoring relationship and compensation. She reported that individuals with informal mentors had greater compensation than individuals with formal mentors, but she did not investigate the relationship between type of mentor and promotion rate. We would like to replicate and extend her study by investigating the relationship between formal and informal mentoring, compensation, and promotion.

Our study also attempts to follow Chao et al.'s (1992) lead in recognizing that the effects of mentoring on career outcomes may not be immediate, but may take place over time. This is particularly relevant when investigating formal mentoring relationships. As discussed earlier, because formal mentoring relationships usually last a year or less (Murray, 1991; Zey, 1985), static measures, although suitable for capturing current perceptions of the

mentor's behaviors or functions, fall short of capturing the career outcomes of the relationship; the effects of a formal mentoring relationship may not be realized for 1 or 2 years following the relationship's termination. Chao and her colleagues (1992) recognized this issue and wisely included duration of mentoring relationship as a control variable in their study. They also tested for differences between protégés with current or recent mentors and protégés who had relationships that ended 2 years prior to being surveyed. They found no differences between these groups, but they made the valuable point that it is important to examine historical effects and control for the duration of the relationship when investigating the relationship between type of mentoring and career outcomes. Toward that end, we controlled for the duration of mentoring relationship and included retrospective measures of the history of mentoring relationships in our analyses.

Hypotheses of Formal and Informal Mentoring Relationships

On the basis of the theory and research reviewed above, we hypothesized that protégés in informal mentoring relationships would report that their mentors provide more career development and psychosocial functions than protégés in formal relationships.

Hypothesis 1: Protégés in informal mentoring relationships will report that their mentors provide more career development functions (sponsorship, coaching, protection, challenging assignments, exposure) than protégés in formal mentoring relationships.

Hypothesis 2: Protégés in informal mentoring relationships will report that their mentors provide more psychosocial functions (acceptance and confirmation, counseling, friendship, and role modeling) than protégés in formal mentoring relationships.

We also expected that informal protégés would report more overall satisfaction with the performance of their mentor than protégés in formal relationships.

Hypothesis 3: Protégés in informal mentoring relationships will report greater satisfaction with their mentors than protégés in formal mentoring relationships.

We also expected a positive relationship between the history of prior mentoring relationships and career outcomes. In particular, protégés who had primarily informal relationships in the past should report more compensation and a higher promotion rate than protégés with a history of primarily formal relationships.

Hypothesis 4: Protégés with a history of informal mentoring relationships will receive more compensation and promotions than protégés with a history of formal relationships.

The next section explores the conjoint effects of the gender composition of the relationship and the type of mentor on mentor functions and career outcomes.

Gender Composition of Relationship

Existing mentorship theory holds that the gender composition of the mentoring relationship is a critical factor affecting mentoring functions and outcomes (cf. Ragins, 1997a). Ragins (1997a, 1997b) observed that social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), the similarity-attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971), and the relational demography perspective (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989) all predict more perceived similarity, identification and role modeling in same-gender as compared with cross-gender relationships. Carrying this logic to the mentoring arena, Ragins (1997a) predicted that psychosocial functions, which incorporate similarity, identification, and role modeling, should also be stronger in same-gender as compared with cross-gender mentoring relationships.

Hypothesis 5: Protégés in same-gender relationships will report more psychosocial functions (acceptance and confirmation, counseling, friendship, and role modeling) than protégés in cross-gender mentoring relationships.

Ragins (1997a) also proposed that mentors' power in the organization influences their ability to provide their protégés with such career development functions as sponsoring their protégés to high-ranking positions, protecting them from adverse forces, and giving them needed exposure. She proposed that because majority mentors (i.e., male mentors) generally have more power in organizations than minority mentors (i.e., female mentors), they should be better able to provide career development functions and organizational outcomes. This proposition was partially supported in a recent study by Dreher and Cox (1996), which found that protégés with male mentors received greater compensation than protégés with female mentors. However, their study did not investigate career development functions or promotion rates, or the impact of the history of mentoring relationships on compensation and promotion. We therefore wanted to build on their study and test existing theory by proposing the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 6a: Protégés with male mentors will report more career development functions (sponsorship, coaching, protection, challenging assignments, exposure) than protégés with female mentors.

Hypothesis 6b: Protégés with a history of male mentors will report more compensation and promotions than protégés with a history of female mentors.

Expanding on this framework, Ragins (1997a) proposed that compared with other gender combinations, male protégés with male mentors should receive the most benefits from the mentoring relationship; these protégés should be the most satisfied with their relationships and should receive more psychosocial and career development benefits from their relationships than any other gender combination. Correspondingly, she proposed that relationships involving minority mentors (i.e., female mentors) and majority protégés (i.e., male protégés) should be the most limited in providing mentoring functions; they are limited in providing career development functions because of the female mentor's relative lack of power, and they are limited in providing psychosocial functions because the relationship is cross-gender. Existing theory (Kram, 1985a) and research (Chao et al., 1992) indicates that psychosocial and career development mentor functions are inter-related and may synergistically build on one another, thereby making the differences between these dyads even more salient (Ragins, 1997a).

This theoretical perspective was tested by the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 7a: Male protégés with male mentors will report more career development and psychosocial functions and more satisfaction with their mentors than any other gender combination of mentoring relationship.

Hypothesis 7b: Male protégés with female mentors will report less career development and psychosocial functions and less satisfaction with their mentors than any other gender combination of mentoring relationship.

We also expected that male protégés who had primarily male mentors in the past would receive greater career outcomes than any other gender combination. Similarly, male protégés with a history of primarily female mentors should report less career outcomes than any other gender combination. These expectations are based on the theory discussed above (Ragins, 1997a), as well as on the finding of positive relationships between compensation and psychosocial and career development mentoring functions (Chao et al., 1992; Scandura, 1992).

Hypothesis 8a: Male protégés with a history of male mentors will report greater compensation and promotion than any other gender combination.

Hypothesis 8b: Male protégés with a history of female mentors will report less compensation and promotion than any other gender combination.

Finally, we wanted to explore whether the gender composition of the relationship interacts with the type of relationship in influencing the mentoring

relationship. Because there was no theory or research to provide direction, we tested the following research question: Does the gender composition of the relationship moderate the relationship between type of mentoring (formal vs. informal) and reports of mentor functions and satisfaction with the relationship?

To date, only one study investigated the impact of gender composition of mentoring relationships on mentor functions, and there has been no research investigating the relationship between the historical composition of the relationship and career outcomes. In a survey of 181 protégés in informal mentoring relationships, Ragins and McFarlin (1990) found that same-gender protégés reported engaging in more social activities with their mentors than cross-gender protégés and that female protégés with female mentors reported more role modeling than any other gender combination. However, one limitation of this study was that a restricted sample of female mentors prevented a comparative analysis of all four gender combinations. Because this situation is relatively common in male-dominated organizations and occupations (Noe, 1988; Ragins, 1989), we obtained a sample of individuals from male-typed, female-typed, and gender-integrated occupations to obtain adequate sample sizes for each of the four gender combinations of mentoring relationships.

In a related study, Ensher and Murphy (1997) examined the effects of race similarity among 104 minority students who were assigned to formal, same-gender mentoring relationships that lasted for 8 weeks. The researchers found that minority protégés assigned to same-race mentors reported more career development functions than minority protégés assigned to different race mentors but found no support for their prediction that psychosocial support would be greater among same-race mentors or that female mentors would provide more psychosocial support than male mentors. However, because protégés were assigned to same-gender mentors, the researchers were unable to examine the effect of the gender composition of the relationship on mentoring functions.

In this study, we examined the effects of gender composition and the type of mentoring relationship on mentoring functions and outcomes. We extended prior research and tested new theory by measuring specific mentor roles and by investigating the impact of history of mentoring relationships on career outcomes.

Method

Procedure and Respondents

Sampling procedure. One goal of our study was to investigate the effects of the gender composition of the mentoring relationship on mentor functions and outcomes. Because male-dominated occupations have a shortage of

higher-ranking, female mentors (Ragins, 1989), and this study called for a sample of male protégés with female mentors, we obtained a sample of men and women in male-typed, female-typed, and gender-integrated occupations. Three occupations were selected on the basis of labor statistics and research on occupational gender-typing (Beggs & Doolittle, 1993; U.S. Department of Commerce, 1996): engineering (male-dominated), social work (female-dominated), and journalism (gender-integrated). Formal mentoring programs are used in all three of these occupations (Paine, 1986; Smith, Chase, & Byrd, 1986; Taibbi, 1983).

We obtained a national random sample by using mailing lists of national professional associations representing these three occupations. To obtain a gender-balanced sample, equal numbers of male and female names were randomly selected from each mailing list. A total of 3,000 surveys were mailed; 1,000 (500 to men, 500 to women) were sent to each of the three occupations. Follow-up surveys and reminder letters were sent according to a modified version of the Dillman mail survey method (Dillman, 1978). A total of 1,258 surveys were returned, for a response rate of 42%. Self-employed and retired employees were excluded from analyses. Relatively complete data for analyses were available for 1,162 respondents.

Respondents. Respondents consisted of 654 women and 500 men; 8 respondents did not report their gender. The occupational breakdown of the respondents consisted of 362 journalists (31.2%), 414 social workers (35.6%), and 386 engineers (33.2%).

We used an established definition of mentor (Ragins, 1989) in our survey: "A mentor is generally defined as a higher ranking, influential individual in your work environment who has advanced experience and knowledge and is committed to providing upward mobility and support to your career. Your mentor may or may not be in your organization and s/he may or may not be your immediate supervisor." Formal mentoring was defined as follows: "In order to assist individuals in their development and advancement, some organizations have established formal mentoring programs, where protégés and mentors are linked in some way. This may be accomplished by assigning mentors or by just providing formal opportunities aimed at developing the relationship. To recap: Formal mentoring relationships are developed with *organizational assistance*. Informal mentoring relationships are developed *spontaneously*, without organizational assistance." To ensure that respondents had a clear understanding of the distinction between formal and informal mentors, we asked respondents to describe their formal mentoring program immediately following the question asking them to identify whether their mentor was formal or informal. We also asked the respondents to describe the history of their mentoring relationships over the last 10 years, starting with their most recent mentor. For each relationship, we asked the respondents to give information on the mentor's gender, the type of relationship (formal/informal), the mentor's position (supervisory/nonsupervisory), and the duration of the relationship.

On the basis of these definitions, 510 respondents (43.9%) reported having an informal mentor, 104 respondents (9%) reported having a formal mentor, and 548 (47.2%) did not have a mentor. The final sample was composed of these 614 protégés, which consisted of 352 female protégés, 257 male protégés, and 5 who did not report their gender. Although men and women did not significantly differ in having a mentor, $\chi^2(1, N = 1,135) = 0.36$, *ns*, men were nearly twice as likely to be in a formal mentoring relationship: 22% of the men reported currently being in a formal relationship, compared with 12% of the women in the sample, $\chi^2(1, N = 608) = 10.39$, $p < .001$. Men were also significantly more likely than women to have a history of formal mentoring relationships: 18.5% of the men reported having primarily formal mentors in their past, compared with 9.7% of the women, $\chi^2(1, N = 579) = 9.37$, $p < .01$. One implication of these gender differences is that if the type of mentoring relationship does affect mentoring functions and outcomes as proposed, the type of mentoring relationship should be included as a control variable when testing the gender composition hypotheses.

The sample involved 348 (57.1%) individuals in same-gender relationships and 261 (42.9%) in cross-gender relationships. A more fine-grained breakdown revealed 233 male protégés with male mentors, 115 female protégés with female mentors, 24 male protégés with female mentors, and 237 female protégés with male mentors. The median length of the current mentoring relationship was 4.0 years, and the average length was 6.7 years. The current mentoring relationship for male protégés was significantly longer than for female protégés, $t(426) = -2.77$, $p < .01$, indicating that this variable should also be used as a control variable in the analysis. Fifty-three percent of the protégés reported that their mentors were also their supervisors, and there were no significant gender differences on this variable, $\chi^2(1, N = 611) = 1.06$, *ns*. The average age of the protégés was 46 years, and 92% were Caucasian. Most were married (70%) and had completed (63%) or pursued (12%) graduate degrees.

Measures

History of mentoring relationships. We asked our respondents to give information about each mentoring relationship they had over the last 10 years, as well as their current mentoring relationship. They were asked to report whether their prior relationships were formal or informal, the gender of their mentors, their mentors' positions, and the duration of the relationships.

The history of prior relationship type was measured by dividing the number of prior relationships that involved formal mentors by the total number of prior formal and informal mentoring relationships. Higher values therefore reflect a greater proportion of formal than informal mentoring relationships. The history of prior gender of mentors was measured by dividing the number of

prior relationships involving male mentors by the total number of relationships involving both male mentors and female mentors. Higher values thus reflect a greater proportion of male than female mentors. The history of relationships involving specific gender compositions was computed in a similar manner.

Mentor functions. The Mentor Role Instrument (MRI) was used to measure mentor functions (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). The 33-item instrument was developed via confirmatory factor analysis, and independently measures each of Kram's (1985a) nine mentor roles. The instrument also assesses two additional psychosocial-related roles: parent and social interactions. According to Kram (1985a), these roles may emerge in response to gender issues in mentoring relationships; protégés may seek to avoid sexual issues in cross-gender relationships by viewing their mentor as a parent figure or by avoiding informal, after-work social interactions.

The MRI has proven reliability and preliminary evidence of validity (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). The 33-item instrument has 3 items per mentor role and was measured on a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The instrument may be found in the Appendix. The coefficient alphas for the eleven mentor roles ranged from .63 to .91 and are listed on the diagonal of the correlation matrix in Table 1.

Mentor satisfaction. The protégé's satisfaction with the mentor was measured by a 4-item scale. The items, which are listed in the Appendix, used the same 7-point Likert scale used in the MRI. The coefficient alpha for the satisfaction scale was .83.

Career outcomes. Promotion rate and compensation were used to measure mentor outcomes. Using established definitions of promotions (cf. Whitely et al., 1991), promotions were defined as involving two or more of the following criteria: significant increases in annual salary, significant increases in scope of responsibility, changes in job level or rank, or becoming eligible for bonuses, incentives or stock plans. Given the above definition, respondents were asked how many promotions they received over the last 10 years. Respondents were also asked to report their current annual compensation, which included salary, bonuses, commissions, stock options, and profit sharing.

Control variables. Six variables that may be related to promotion rate and compensation were considered as potential covariates: organizational rank, organizational tenure, position tenure, number of career interruptions, education, and occupation (engineering, social work, and journalism). We also considered six other mentoring variables that have been found to be related to mentor roles and outcomes in other studies (cf. Burke & McKeen, 1997; Chao et al., 1992; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990; Whitely et al., 1991). These variables included whether the mentor is the protégé's supervisor, the length of the mentoring relationship, the average number of hours spent in the relationship per month, the number of prior mentoring relationships, the protégé's age, and the protégé's socioeconomic background.

Table 1: Means, standard deviations, alphas, and intercorrelations of variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1. Occupation	2.02	0.80	—	—15	03	—19	—18	07	01	01	06	14	15	—02	13	06	—03	—01	02	—01	07	07	—10	—13	—08	—06	—03	—05
2. Position tenure	80.83	84.37		—	—30	19	17	—01	01	10	11	—05	—09	20	08	—25	—01	—06	—07	—09	—04	—10	—03	—03	01	—09	—03	03
3. Career interruptions	0.44	0.82			—	—12	—02	01	08	—01	01	—01	—00	—09	—15	09	—01	01	07	03	—01	02	01	05	01	—04	—02	01
4. Current relationship length	6.76	6.60				—	49	—16	—24	—09	—11	01	—02	12	07	—16	06	01	—06	—06	—04	—08	17	17	14	17	06	16
5. Prior relationships length	13.17	12.48					—	—07	12	05	03	01	—01	16	07	—07	09	04	01	—02	—01	—03	14	18	09	14	11	15
6. Current supervisory mentor	0.53	0.50						—	54	04	02	04	—02	04	04	05	—01	12	—04	16	21	14	—06	—06	—01	—05	03	—05
7. Prior supervisory mentors	1.19	1.16							—	18	21	—01	—05	10	01	05	—06	06	—02	08	11	06	—12	—04	02	—08	03	—17
8. Current type of relationship	0.17	0.37								—	88	—02	—02	13	—11	—04	—11	—18	—11	—10	—08	—13	—17	—10	—03	—12	—01	—16
9. Prior types of relationships	0.09	0.17									—	—04	—04	11	—10	—05	—12	—17	—08	—11	—07	—11	—16	—09	—03	—12	—01	—15
10. Current mentor gender	0.77	0.42										—	81	27	19	03	02	06	—01	04	04	09	—04	—06	07	—04	—01	02
11. Prior mentors' gender	0.75	0.35											—	31	24	03	03	05	00	03	03	07	—01	—10	09	—01	03	02
12. Protégé gender	0.43	0.49												—	30	—09	—00	00	—04	—01	—04	—01	—03	07	12	—01	02	—05
13. Compensation	\$53,385	\$30,959													—	14	—01	10	—01	06	01	12	—04	—02	03	—01	00	03
14. Promotion rate	2.15	2.08														—	06	12	16	09	12	17	03	05	08	05	06	06
15. Satisfaction with mentor	23.80	4.27															(83)	25	36	14	34	28	70	28	08	62	50	58
16. Sponsor	14.34	4.25																(82)	48	71	52	77	30	20	27	25	43	36
17. Coach	14.93	3.74																	(74)	42	43	58	40	32	14	32	50	31
18. Protect	12.38	4.30																		(81)	40	69	24	20	30	16	34	23

(Continued)

Table 1: (Continued)

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
19. Challenge	16.00	4.37																			(91)	58	25	15	12	31	47	31
20. Exposure	14.90	4.10																				(85)	28	18	19	21	39	37
21. Friendship	17.52	3.37																					(80)	36	17	60	58	64
22. Social	9.88	5.52																						(88)	30	35	37	21
23. Parent	4.85	3.11																							(74)	22	27	08
24. Role model	15.69	3.80																								(78)	54	39
25. Counsel	15.10	3.58																									(63)	38
26. Accept	19.12	2.24																										(90)

Note: Decimals omitted from correlations and coefficient alphas. *ns* ranged from 547 to 563, except protégé gender ($n = 1,154$), compensation ($n = 1,076$), and promotion ($n = 1,079$). Relationship length and position tenure are reported in months. Current relationship: 1 = formal mentor, 0 = informal mentor. Prior relationships: Higher values represent greater proportion of formal mentors in past. Mentor gender/protégé gender: 1 = male, 0 = female. Prior mentors' gender: Prior higher values represent greater proportion of male mentors in past.

$ns > .07$, $p < .05$, two-tailed.

To preserve power, covariates were selected that had significant correlations with dependent variables but low intercorrelations (Neter & Wasserman, 1974). Tests were made of all control variables by independent interaction terms to test homogeneity of regression assumptions fundamental to covariance analyses. On the basis of these criteria, the protégé's occupation (engineering, social work, journalism), the duration of their current mentoring relationship (converted to months), and whether their current mentor was their supervisor were selected as covariates for analyses that involved reports of the current mentor's functions and satisfaction with the current mentor. For analyses assessing the relationship between the prior history of mentoring relationships and career outcomes, covariates included occupation, position tenure, the number of career interruptions, the duration of prior mentoring relationships, and the number of those relationships involving supervisory mentors.

Results

Analyses

The correlations, means, standard deviations, and coefficient alphas for the study variables are displayed in Table 1. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses and a priori planned group contrasts were used to test the study's hypotheses.

Separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted for each of the dependent variables. For hierarchical analyses involving the dependent variables of mentoring functions and satisfaction with the mentor, independent variables were entered in the following order: (a) the control variables; (b) type of relationship, that is, whether the current relationship was formal or informal (Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3); (c) the current mentor's gender (Hypothesis 6a) and the protégé's gender; (d) the two-way interactions involving mentor gender, protégé gender, and the type of relationship; and (e) the three-way interaction involving mentor gender, protégé gender, and the type of relationship (Research Question). Hypotheses that assessed the relationship between the history of the mentoring relationship and career outcomes (promotion and compensation) were tested in a three-step hierarchical analysis in which the control variables were entered in the first step, the history of the type of mentoring relationship in the second step (Hypothesis 4), and the history of the gender composition of prior relationships in the third step (Hypothesis 6b).

Duncan's Multiple Range tests were used to test hypothesized differences between the adjusted group means of the four gender combinations of mentoring relationships (Hypothesis 5, Hypotheses 7a & 7b, Hypotheses 8a & 8b). We used hierarchical regression analyses to obtain betas for the four covariates and the type of mentoring relationship (formal vs. informal); we then used these betas to compute the adjusted means.

Mentoring Control Variables

Both of the mentoring control variables were significantly related to the dependent variables. Mentors who were supervisors provided more career development functions than nonsupervisory mentors, but no significant differences were found for psychosocial functions. The length of the mentoring relationship was positively related to compensation and psychosocial functions but was unrelated to career development functions.

Comparisons of Informal and Formal Mentoring Relationships

As displayed in Table 2, the significant negative beta for the type of relationship term indicates full support for Hypotheses 1, which predicted that protégés with informal mentors would report more career development functions (sponsoring, coaching, protection, challenging assignments, and exposure) than protégés with formal mentors. Hypotheses 2 predicted that protégés with informal mentors would report more psychosocial functions than protégés with formal mentors. As shown in Table 3, this hypothesis received support for four of the six psychosocial functions. Protégés with informal mentors reported that their mentors provided more psychosocial functions involving friendship, social support, role modeling, and acceptance than protégés with formal mentors. However, no significant differences were found on reports of the parent and counseling functions. Full support was also received for our prediction (Hypothesis 3) that protégés with informal mentors would report greater satisfaction with their mentors than protégés in formal relationships.

Partial support was received for Hypothesis 4. In support of our prediction, the hierarchical regression analyses revealed that individuals with a history of informal mentors had significantly greater compensation ($M = \$56,629$) than individuals with a history of formal mentors ($M = \$48,107$). Although those with a history of informal mentors also had more promotions over the last 10 years ($M = 2.55$) than those with a history of formal mentors ($M = 2.04$), the differences were not significant when controlling for differences in position tenure, number of career interruptions, occupation, supervisory status of mentors, and length of mentoring relationships over the last 10 years. The results of these analyses are shown in Table 4.

Effect of Gender on Mentoring Relationships

As discussed earlier, because men were significantly more likely to have formal mentors than women, and the type of mentoring relationship was found to be related to mentoring and career outcomes, the type of mentoring relationship needed to be controlled for when investigating gender effects in mentoring relationships. Therefore, type of mentoring relationship was entered

Table 2: Summary of hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting career development mentoring functions (Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 6a, and Research Question)

<i>Mentor role and predictor</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	ΔR^2	R^2
Sponsor (<i>n</i> = 567)					
Step 1: Control variables					.01*
Supervisory mentor	1.07	0.36	.12**		
Relationship length	0.02	0.03	.03		
Occupation	-0.03	0.23	-.01		
Step 2				.03***	.05***
RT	-2.05	0.47	-.18***		
Step 3				.002	.05***
MG	0.52	0.44	.05		
PG	0.02	0.37	.00		
Step 4				.00	.05***
MG \times PG	-0.07	1.51	-.01		
RT \times MG	-0.58	1.23	-.04		
RT \times PG	1.29	1.22	.07		
Step 5				.002	.05***
MG \times PG \times RT	3.33	3.23	.16		
Coach (<i>n</i> = 567)					
Step 1: Control variables					.006
Supervisory mentor	-0.37	0.32	-.05		
Relationship length	-0.04	0.02	-.07		
Occupation	0.06	0.21	.01		
Step 2				.01**	.02*
RT	-1.15	0.42	-.12**		
Step 3				.00	.02
MG	-0.03	0.39	-.00		
PG	-0.13	0.33	-.02		
Step 4				.02**	.04**
MG \times PG	2.71	1.34	.31*		
RT \times MG	-0.53	1.09	-.05		
RT \times PG	2.95	1.08	.19**		
Step 5				.003	.04**
MG \times PG \times RT	4.18	2.85	.24		
Protect (<i>n</i> = 564)					
Step 1: Control variables					.03**
Supervisory mentor	1.31	0.36	.15***		
Relationship length	-0.02	0.03	-.04		
Occupation	-0.12	0.23	-.02		
Step 2				.01**	.04***
RT	-1.28	0.48	-.11**		
Step 3				.001	.04***
MG	0.43	0.45	.04		
PG	-0.10	0.38	-.01		
Step 4				.001	.04**
MG \times PG	-0.48	1.54	-.05		
RT \times MG	0.05	1.25	.004		
RT \times PG	1.07	1.24	.06		
Step 5				.000	.04**
MG \times PG \times RT	-1.36	3.29	-.007		

(Continued)

Table 2: (Continued)

Mentor role and predictor	B	SE	β	ΔR^2	R^2
Challenge ($n = 568$)					
Step 1: Control variables					.05***
Supervisory mentor	1.80	0.36	.20***		
Relationship length	0.00	0.03	.003		
Occupation	0.32	0.23	.05		
Step 2				.01*	.06***
RT	-1.05	0.48	-.09*		
Step 3				.002	.06***
MG	0.39	0.45	.04		
PG	-0.42	0.38	-.05		
Step 4				.005	.06***
MG \times PG	0.40	1.55	.04		
RT \times MG	-0.23	1.25	-.02		
RT \times PG	2.16	1.25	.12		
Step 5				.006*	.07***
MG \times PG \times RT	6.52	3.28	.32*		
Exposure ($n = 567$)					
Step 1: Control variables					.02**
Supervisory mentor	1.04	0.35	.13**		
Relationship length	-0.03	0.03	-.05		
Occupation	0.26	0.22	.05		
Step 2				.02***	.04***
RT	-1.60	0.45	-.15***		
Step 3				.006	.05***
MG	0.79	0.42	.08		
PG	-0.05	0.36	-.01		
Step 4				.001	.05***
MG \times PG	-0.023	1.46	-.002		
RT \times MG	0.62	1.18	.05		
RT \times PG	0.01	1.18	.00		
Step 5				.000	.05***
MG \times PG \times RT	1.43	3.11	.07		

Note: Dummy coding of predictors: Supervisory mentor: 1 = supervisory, 0 = not supervisor. Relationship type (RT): 1 = formal mentor, 0 = informal mentor. Mentor gender (MG): 1 = male, 0 = female. Protégé gender (PG): 1 = male, 0 = female.

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

hierarchically before gender terms in the regression analyses, and the group means were adjusted for type of mentor in the planned group contrasts.

Effect of same-gender relationships. We predicted (Hypothesis 5) that individuals in same-gender mentoring relationships would report more psychosocial functions than individuals in cross-gender relationships. We tested this hypothesis by using the Duncan's Multiple Range test. The adjusted group means for all gender combinations are displayed in Table 5. Although the means generally were in the direction predicted, Hypothesis 5 was not supported. However, there was evidence that the gender composition of the relationship affected two psychosocial functions. Specifically, female protégés with female mentors were significantly more likely to report engaging in social activities with their mentors than female protégés with male mentors. Male protégés with female mentors were significantly less likely than all other gender combinations to report that their mentor provided acceptance roles.

Table 3: Summary of hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting mentor satisfaction and psychosocial mentoring functions (Hypothesis 2, Hypothesis 3, and Research Question)

<i>Mentor role and predictor</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>ΔR²</i>	<i>R²</i>
Mentor satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 568)					
Step 1: Control variables					.004
Supervisory mentor	0.01	0.36	.001		
Relationship length	0.03	0.03	.05		
Occupation	−0.14	0.23	−.03		
Step 2				.01**	.02*
RT	−1.25	0.48	−.11**		
Step 3				.00	.02
MG	0.23	0.45	.02		
PG	−0.004	0.38	.00		
Step 4				.008	.02
MG × PG	2.70	1.54	.27		
RT × MG	−1.47	1.25	−.11		
RT × PG	1.84	1.24	.10		
Step 5				.000	.02
MG × PG × RT	0.86	3.28	.04		
Friendship (<i>n</i> = 568)					
Step 1: Control variables					.03***
Supervisory mentor	−0.19	0.28	−.03		
Relationship length	0.08	0.02	.15***		
Occupation	−0.28	0.18	−.07		
Step 2				.02***	.06***
RT	−1.38	0.37	−.15***		
Step 3				.001	.06***
MG	−0.22	0.34	−.03		
PG	−0.13	0.29	−.02		
Step 4				.02**	.08***
MG × PG	2.65	1.18	.34*		
RT × MG	−1.74	0.96	−.17		
RT × PG	2.90	0.95	.21**		
Step 5				.000	.08***
MG × PG × RT	−1.90	2.52	−.12		
Social (<i>n</i> = 568)					
Step 1: Control variables					.04***
Supervisory mentor	−0.39	0.46	−.03		
Relationship length	0.12	0.03	.14***		
Occupation	−0.66	0.29	−.09*		
Step 2				.01*	.04***
RT	−1.22	0.61	−.08*		
Step 3				.01	.05***
MG	−0.98	0.57	−.07		
PG	0.95	0.49	.08*		
Step 4				.02*	.07***
MG × PG	4.65	1.94	.37*		
RT × MG	−0.36	1.57	−.02		
RT × PG	3.38	1.56	.15*		
Step 5				.00	.07***
MG × PG × RT	1.65	4.14	.06		

(Continued)

Table 3: (Continued)

<i>Mentor role and predictor</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	ΔR^2	R^2
Parent (<i>n</i> = 568)					
Step 1: Control variables					.02**
Supervisory mentor	0.12	0.26	.02		
Relationship length	0.06	0.02	.13**		
Occupation	-0.23	0.16	-.06		
Step 2				.00	.02*
RT	-0.15	0.35	-.02		
Step 3				.01*	.04***
MG	0.39	0.32	.05		
PG	0.62	0.28	.10*		
Step 4				.00	.04**
MG \times PG	0.63	1.11	.08		
RT \times MG	-0.72	0.90	-.08		
RT \times PG	1.61	0.89	.12		
Step 5				.00	.04**
MG \times PG \times RT	-3.37	2.36	-.23		
Role model (<i>n</i> = 568)					
Step 1: Control variables					.03***
Supervisory mentor	-0.23	0.32	-.03		
Relationship length	0.09	0.02	.15***		
Occupation	-0.14	0.20	-.03		
Step 2				.01*	.04***
RT	-1.07	0.42	-.10*		
Step 3				.001	.04***
MG	-0.31	0.39	-.03		
PG	-0.06	0.34	-.01		
Step 4				.01*	.05***
MG \times PG	2.55	1.35	.29		
RT \times MG	-1.24	1.10	-.11		
RT \times PG	2.08	1.09	.13*		
Step 5				.004	.05***
MG \times PG \times RT	-1.53	2.89	-.08		
Counseling (<i>n</i> = 568)					
Step 1: Control variables					.005
Supervisory mentor	0.27	0.30	.04		
Relationship length	0.03	0.02	.06		
Occupation	-0.11	0.19	-.02		
Step 2				.000	.005
RT	-0.01	0.40	-.00		
Step 3				.000	.005
MG	-0.08	0.38	-.01		
PG	0.08	0.32	.01		
Step 4				.017*	.02
MG \times PG	0.43	1.29	.05		
RT \times MG	0.34	1.05	.03		
RT \times PG	3.10	1.04	.21**		
Step 5				.000	.02
MG \times PG \times RT	-0.42	2.76	-.02		

Mentor role and predictor	B	SE	β	ΔR^2	R^2
Acceptance ($n = 568$)					
Step 1: Control variables					.03**
Supervisory mentor	-0.10	0.19	-.03		
Relationship length	0.05	0.01	.15***		
Occupation	-0.05	0.11	-.02		
Step 2				.02***	.05***
RT	-0.88	0.24	-.14***		
Step 3				.003	.05***
MG	0.19	0.23	.04		
PG	-0.27	0.20	-.06		
Step 4				.01**	.07***
MG \times PG	2.37	0.79	.46**		
RT \times MG	-0.79	0.64	-.12		
RT \times PG	0.58	0.64	.06		
Step 5				.002	.07***
MG \times PG \times RT	2.09	1.68	.20		

Note: Dummy coding of predictors: Supervisory mentor: 1 = supervisory, 0 = not supervisor. Relationship type (RT): 1 = formal mentor, 0 = informal mentor. Mentor gender (MG): 1 = male, 0 = female. Protégé gender (PG): 1 = male, 0 = female.

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Effect of male mentors. As displayed in Table 2, no support was found for Hypothesis 6a, which held that male mentors would be associated with more career development functions than female mentors. Partial support was received for Hypothesis 6b, which held that protégés with a history of male mentors would report more compensation and promotions than protégés with a history of female mentors. When controlling for differences in position tenure, number of career interruptions, occupation, length of mentoring relationships, supervisory status of mentors, and the type of mentor (formal vs. informal), the hierarchical regression analyses revealed that protégés with a history of male mentors received significantly greater compensation ($M = \$60,140$) than protégés with a history of female mentors ($M = \$41,354$). Protégés with a history of male mentors also reported more promotions over the last 10 years ($M = 2.6$) than those with a history of female mentors ($M = 2.3$), but these differences were not statistically significant. The results of these analyses are shown in Table 4.

Effect of other gender combinations. We used the Duncan's Multiple Range test to test Hypotheses 7a and 7b, and the results of these analyses are shown in Table 5. Contrary to our predictions (Hypothesis 7a), male protégés with male mentors did not report more mentoring functions or satisfaction with their mentors than any other gender combination. However, some support was found for Hypothesis 7b, which predicted that male protégés with female mentors would report fewer functions and less satisfaction than any other gender combination. The general pattern of means revealed that male protégés with female mentors reported less psychosocial and career development functions than the other gender combinations, but these effects were only significant for three of the mentor roles and the mentor satisfaction variable. Compared with other gender combinations, male protégés with female mentors were less

Table 4: Summary of hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting career outcomes (Hypotheses 4 and 6b)

Predictor and career outcome	B	SE	β	ΔR^2	R^2
Promotions ($n = 512$)					
Step 1: Control variables					.06***
Position tenure	-0.01	0.001	-.23***		
Career interruptions	0.05	0.11	.02		
Occupation	0.04	0.11	.02		
Supervisory mentors	0.09	0.07	.05		
Length of relationships	-0.01	0.01	-.03		
Step 2: Hypothesis 4				.001	.07***
Prior relationship type	-0.43	0.50	-.04		
Step 3: Hypothesis 6b				.000	.07***
Prior gender of mentors	0.09	0.24	.01		
Compensation ($n = 508$)					
Step 1: Control variables					.05***
Position tenure	17.80	17.01	.05		
Career interruptions	-5148.51	1723.67	-.14**		
Occupation	6044.48	1722.06	.16***		
Supervisory mentors	219.03	1169.03	.01		
Length of relationships	211.41	111.82	.08*		
Step 2: Hypothesis 4				.01**	.06***
Prior relationship type	-22552.85	7523.73	-.13**		
Step 3: Hypothesis 6b				.04***	.11***
Prior gender of mentors	19503.37	3569.42	.22***		

Note: Higher values of prior supervisory mentors indicate greater proportion of supervisory mentors. Higher values of prior relationship type indicate greater proportion of formal mentors. Higher values of prior gender of mentors indicate greater proportion of male mentors.

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. *** $p < .001$.

satisfied with their mentors and were less likely to report that their mentor provided acceptance in their professional development. Male protégés with female mentors were also significantly less likely to report that their mentors provided challenging assignments and exposure than female protégés with male mentors.

Although male protégés with male mentors did not report more mentoring functions than other gender combinations, they did report more compensation, as shown in Table 5. This indicated partial support for Hypothesis 8a. As predicted, male protégés with a history of primarily male mentors reported greater compensation than any other gender combination. However, male protégés with a history of male mentors did not receive more promotions than any other gender combination. Limited support was found for Hypothesis 8b; male protégés with a history of female mentors reported significantly less compensation than male protégés with male mentors, but predicted differences were not found for the other gender combinations. Although male protégés with a history of female mentors had the lowest promotion rate of any gender combination, the difference was only significant when comparing this group with female protégés and male mentors.

Table 5: Adjusted means for study variables by gender combination of current and prior mentoring relationships (Hypotheses 5, 7a, 7b, 8a, and 8b)

Variable	Male protégés, male mentors (n = 208)		Female protégés, male mentors (n = 105)		Male protégés, female mentors (n = 23)		Female protégés, female mentors (n = 220)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Current mentoring relationship								
Overall satisfaction with mentor	23.6 _a	4.1	23.6 _b	4.0	21.4 _{a,b,c}	6.1	23.5 _c	4.5
Satisfaction								
Career development roles								
Sponsor	14.0	4.1	13.9	4.1	13.5	3.9	14.4	4.2
Coach	14.9	3.6	15.4	3.6	13.8	4.7	15.2	3.6
Protect	12.5	4.1	12.4	4.3	12.2	4.3	13.0	4.3
Challenge	15.5	4.3	15.7	4.1	14.0 _a	5.2	16.1 _a	4.1
Exposure	15.1	3.9	14.8	4.1	13.6 _a	4.4	15.5 _a	4.2
Psychosocial roles								
Friendship	16.3	3.3	16.9	3.2	15.6	4.9	16.7	3.4
Social	9.2	5.4	9.9 _a	5.8	8.3	4.9	8.4 _a	5.2
Parent	4.3	3.2	3.2	3.3	4.0	3.1	4.0	2.9
Role model	14.4	3.8	15.1	3.6	13.6	4.9	14.6	3.8
Counseling	14.6	3.6	14.8	3.4	14.3	4.3	14.7	3.6
Acceptance	17.9 _a	2.2	18.4 _b	2.1	16.3 _{a,b,c}	4.5	18.3 _c	2.1
Prior mentoring relationship								
Career outcomes								
Compensation (X\$1,000)	68.4 _{a,b,c}	42.3	41.7 _{a,d}	19.4	\$46.5 _b	13.6	\$50.8 _{c,d}	23.7
Promotion rate	2.3 _b	2.2	2.5	2.1	1.3 _a	2.2	2.9 _{a,b}	2.1

Note: Means adjusted for covariates and type of mentoring relationship. Means having the same subscript differ significantly at $p < .05$.

An examination of the means in Table 5 reveals other provocative findings. Specifically, although female protégés with a history of primarily male mentors received significantly more promotions than male protégés with either male or female mentors, they did not receive more compensation. This suggests that compensation and promotion may be independent events for some groups. Another interesting result was that female protégés with a history of male mentors reported significantly greater compensation than female protégés with a history of female mentors. These women also reported significantly greater promotion rates than male protégés with a history of male mentors and those with a history of female mentors.

Research Question and Other Gender Interactions

The research question was assessed with the three-way interaction between mentor gender, protégé gender, and type of mentoring relationship (formal vs. informal). A significant three-way interaction was only found for the mentoring function of challenging assignments. A plot of this interaction revealed that for individuals in cross-gender relationships, informal mentors provided more challenging assignments than formal mentors, but for individuals with same-gender relationships, formal mentoring relationships provided more challenging assignments than informal relationships.

An examination of Tables 2 and 3 reveals that the effects of formal and informal mentoring relationships varied by the gender of the protégé in 5 of the 11 mentoring functions. The adjusted means for the significant two-way interactions revealed a similar pattern for 4 of the 5 mentoring functions. Specifically, the type of mentor influenced reports of mentor functions for female, but not for male protégés. Compared with female protégés with informal mentors, female protégés with formal mentors reported less coaching (formal $M = 13.9$, informal $M = 15.9$), role modeling (formal $M = 13.4$, informal $M = 14.8$), friendship (formal $M = 14.9$, informal $M = 16.8$), and social interactions (formal $M = 6.8$, informal $M = 9.0$). Male protégés, on the other hand, reported equivalent coaching (formal $M = 15.0$, informal $M = 15.2$), role modeling (formal $M = 14.1$, informal $M = 14.3$), friendship (formal $M = 15.8$, informal $M = 16.1$), and social interactions (formal $M = 8.8$, informal $M = 8.9$) with formal and informal mentors. The pattern was somewhat different for the counseling function. Like the other functions, female protégés reported receiving less counseling with formal mentors ($M = 14.2$) than informal mentors ($M = 14.8$), but male protégés actually reported receiving more counseling from formal ($M = 15.5$) than informal ($M = 14.2$) mentors. In short, although protégés in formal relationships generally reported less mentoring functions than protégés in informal relationships, this relationship was not equivalent for men and women. Although the presence of a formal mentor was not associated with less mentoring functions for male

protégés, formal mentoring was associated with less mentoring functions for female protégés.

Significant two-way interactions between mentor gender and protégé gender were also found for the coaching, friendship, and social roles functions. For coaching, although there were few differences between male and female protégés with male mentors ($M_s = 15.4$ and 15.7 , respectively), male protégés with female mentors reported significantly less coaching ($M = 14.2$) than female protégés with female mentors ($M = 15.8$). A similar pattern was found for the friendship function: Male and female protégés with male mentors reported equivalent friendship functions ($M_s = 16.2$ and 16.5 , respectively), but male protégés with female mentors reported significantly less friendship functions ($M = 15.4$) than female protégés with female mentors ($M = 16.8$). A plot of the interaction for social roles revealed a somewhat different pattern in that protégés in same-gender mentoring relationships reported more social interactions with their mentors than protégés in cross-gender relationships. The social functions means for women and men in same-gender relationships were 9.8 and 9.1 , respectively, but the means for women and men in cross-gender relationships were 8.2 and 8.1 .

Post Hoc Analyses: Comparisons with Nonmentored Respondents

One reasonable question that comes to mind when viewing these results is whether there were differences between those not mentored and those who had formal or informal mentoring relationships. This question replicates Chao et al.'s (1992) study, but it is also an extension of her study because we investigated promotion rates. We used an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) to compare formal protégés, informal protégés, and nonmentored individuals on the career outcomes of compensation and promotion. Our results replicated Chao et al.'s (1992) findings. When controlling for occupation, tenure in position, and number of career interruptions, we found that employees with a history of primarily informal mentors received significantly more compensation ($M = \$56,629$) than those without mentors ($M = \$51,389$), $F(2, 924) = 6.48$, $p < .01$, but there were no significant differences in compensation between nonmentored individuals and those with a history of formal mentoring relationships. As discussed earlier, when adding the additional control variables of length of mentoring relationship and supervisory status of mentors to our analyses, we found support for our hypothesis that protégés with a history of informal mentors would receive greater compensation ($M = \$56,629$) than protégés with a history of formal mentors ($M = \$48,107$). These results also replicated Chao et al.'s (1992) findings.

We also extended Chao's work by exploring the effect of mentoring on promotion rate. Consistent with prior research that compared informally

mentored and nonmentored individuals (e.g., Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992), an ANCOVA revealed that nonmentored individuals ($M = 1.78$) had significantly fewer promotions than those with a history of informal mentors ($M = 2.55$), $F(2, 924) = 9.893$, $p < .0001$. However, nonmentored individuals ($M = 1.78$) did not significantly differ from those with a history of formal mentors ($M = 2.04$), with respect to the number of promotions received. As discussed earlier, individuals with a history of formal and informal mentors did not significantly differ in the number of promotions received.

In sum, those with a history of formal mentors did not receive greater career outcomes related to compensation or promotion than those lacking mentors. Those with a history of informal mentors received more compensation and promotions than nonmentored individuals and more compensation than those with formal mentors.

Discussion

The Comparison of Formal and Informal Mentoring Relationships

The first objective of our study was to provide a comprehensive test of mentor role theory (Kram, 1985a) by comparing the specific mentoring functions received by protégés in formal and informal mentoring relationships and the career outcomes associated with these relationships. We found that protégés with informal mentors received greater benefits than protégés with formal mentors. protégés with informal mentors reported that their mentors provided more career development and psychosocial functions than protégés with formal mentors; significant differences favoring informal mentors were found in 9 of the 11 mentor roles. In line with these findings, protégés with informal mentors reported greater overall satisfaction with their mentors than protégés with formal mentors. Protégés with a history of informal mentors also earned significantly more than protégés with a history of formal mentors. Although protégés with a history of informal mentors also reported more promotions than protégés with formal mentors, the difference was not statistically significant.

These findings support the theoretical prediction that formal mentoring relationships provide less mentoring functions and are less effective than informal relationships (cf. Kram; 1985a; Kram, 1986). Our findings were consistent with the significant findings of other research (Chao et al., 1992; Fagenson-Eland et al., 1997) and extend these studies by examining the full range of mentoring functions and career outcomes related to promotion and compensation. However, one question that comes to mind when viewing these results is why protégés in formal relationships received fewer benefits than protégés in informal relationships. As discussed in the introduction, existing theory points to a host of differences in the initiation, structure, and processes

in formal and informal mentoring relationships. For example, formal relationships are short term and may have less identification, comfort, and motivation than informal relationships. Although these factors remain to be assessed directly in the future research, they can certainly explain why protégés with informal mentors in the present study reported more psychosocial functions and greater satisfaction with the relationship than protégés with formal mentors. However, the differences between formal and informal mentoring in compensation and career development roles may be due to selection; protégés who are selected or select informal relationships may be better performers than protégés who join formal mentoring programs. In other words, individuals who become informal protégés would have achieved more than those who become formal protégés even without their mentor's assistance. Individuals who become informal protégés may also be more career-driven and may seek and be more responsive to their mentor's career development functions than individuals who become formal protégés. Future research could take a longitudinal approach and collect performance measures to assess how much of the variance in protégés' career outcomes is due to the protégé's ability, the mentor's ability, or some combination of these two variables.

In support and extension of other research (Chao et al., 1992; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992), we found that those with informal mentors received more compensation and promotions than those without mentors, but no significant differences were found between those with formal mentors and nonmentored respondents. Although these findings indicate that the effects of formal mentoring on career outcomes may be quite limited, this does not automatically mean that formal mentors are without value; Chao et al., (1992), for example, found that protégés with formal mentors reported higher levels of some forms of organizational socialization than nonmentored individuals. Future research needs to expand the scope of career variables studied to capture the potential benefits of formal mentoring relationships. For example, formal mentoring relationships may be quite useful for immediate performance measures, such as on-the-job training, or as an impetus for the development of early career and performance goals.

The Impact of Gender Composition of the Relationship

The second objective of our study was to provide a direct test of new theory on gender and mentoring (Ragins, 1997a) by assessing the relationship between the gender composition of the mentoring relationship and mentoring functions and outcomes. We also explored whether the gender composition of the relationship interacted with the type of relationship in influencing mentoring functions.

Our study revealed that the gender composition of the mentoring relationship affected reports of mentor functions and compensation. Although there

was no support for the general hypothesis that same-gender relationships would report more psychosocial functions than cross-gender relationships, female protégés with female mentors were significantly more likely than female protégés with male mentors to engage in after-work, social activities with their mentors. This finding is congruent with other research indicating decreased reports of social interaction for women in cross-gender mentoring relationships (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). One explanation for this finding is that female protégés in cross-gender relationships may be reluctant to engage in after-work, social activities with their male mentors for fear that the interaction would be misconstrued as sexual in nature (Clawson & Kram, 1984; Hurley & Fagenson-Eland, 1996).

Although the presence of a male mentor was not associated with more career development functions, having a history of primarily male mentors was significantly related to compensation. Specifically, when controlling for position tenure, number of career interruptions, occupation, length of prior mentoring relationships, and whether those relationships involved formal or informal mentors and supervisory or nonsupervisory mentors, both male and female protégés with a history of male mentors reported more compensation than protégés with a history of female mentors. Moreover, female protégés with a history of male mentors earned significantly more than female protégés with a history of female mentors, suggesting that these findings reflect more than simple gender differences in protégé salary. These findings are congruent with recent research by Dreher and Cox (1996), who found a significant relationship between the presence of a White male mentor and compensation. The findings are also congruent with existing theory that posits a relationship between mentor power and outcomes of mentoring relationships (Ragins, 1997a, 1997b). According to this theory, male mentors can provide more career outcomes than female mentors because they have more power in organizations (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989).

Our study also found some support for emerging theory that explores outcomes associated with specific gender combinations of mentoring relationships. Diversified mentorship theory predicts that male protégés with male mentors should receive the most benefits from their relationships, whereas male protégés with female mentors should receive the least benefits (Ragins, 1997a). We found some support for both propositions. Male protégés with male mentors did not report more mentoring functions than other gender combinations, but male protégés with a history of male mentors had greater compensation than any other gender combination. Although the relatively small sample size requires cautious interpretation, male protégés with female mentors did report less satisfaction with their mentors than any other gender combination and were less likely to report that their mentor provided acceptance in their professional development. Male protégés with female mentors were also less likely to report that their mentor provided challenging assignments and exposure in the organization than female protégés with male

mentors. These findings support theoretical predictions related to gender differences in power and the mentor's ability to provide exposure, challenging assignments, and compensation for their protégés (Ragins, 1997a). The finding that male protégés with female mentors reported less acceptance from their mentor and less satisfaction with the relationship may also reflect personality differences among men who chose female, as opposed to male mentors. In a study of male graduate students, Infante (1990) found that men who chose female mentors were higher in self-esteem and the need for support and affiliation than men who chose male mentors. This suggests that even if female mentors give equivalent support as their male counterparts, they may still be viewed as providing insufficient support relative to the need of their male protégés. Future research could explore this possibility and examine other personality characteristics that predict male protégés choosing female mentors and vice versa.

An unexpected but striking finding of our study was that although female protégés with a history of male mentors received more promotions than their male counterparts, they received less compensation. This finding may reflect gender discrimination in organizations and is congruent with Stroh, Brett, and Reilly's (1992) finding that women managers were promoted as frequently as their male counterparts but were less likely to receive the compensation associated with their promotions. One important implication of this finding is that although male mentors may help female protégés advance in the organization, they may not be able to buffer their female protégés from biased compensation decisions.

The gender composition of the mentoring relationship not only influenced mentoring functions and outcomes but also moderated the relationship between the type of mentor and the challenging assignment mentoring function. Protégés in cross-gender relationships reported that their mentors provided less challenging assignments with formal as compared with informal relationships. Those in same-gender relationships, however, actually reported receiving more challenging assignments from their mentors when the mentor was formally assigned. This suggests that same-gender mentoring relationships should be used in formal mentoring programs that are aimed at developing the protégé's job performance by giving them stretch assignments.

A surprising finding of our study was that the benefits of formal and informal mentoring varied by protégé gender. Male protégés with formal mentors not only reported more counseling than female protégés with formal mentors, but they also reported more of this function than both male and female protégés with informal mentors. It is clear that for the counseling function, male protégés stand to gain the most from having a formal mentor. Although the presence of a formal mentor did not have an adverse effect on male protégés, it reduced reports of coaching, role modeling, social, counseling, and friendship functions for female protégés. This suggests that female protégés may have the least to gain from entering a formal mentoring relationship.

Limitations of This Study

Several limitations of this study should be mentioned. First, although retrospective measures of mentoring history are more appropriate than static measures for assessing the relationship between mentoring and career outcomes, retrospective measures are self-report measures that are susceptible to recall and other biases. A longitudinal approach would certainly be preferable for studying mentoring history efforts, and future research should use longitudinal data.

A second limitation of this study was the relatively small sample of male protégés with female mentors. We recognized the difficulty in obtaining this sample when we viewed prior research; the Ragins and McFarlin (1990) study, for example, had only 11 of these relationships out of a sample of 510 employees. These researchers observed that studies of male-dominated organizations and occupations are unlikely to produce adequate samples of female mentors with male protégés. With this caveat in mind, we explicitly sought to obtain gender balance in our study by using an equally weighted sample of social workers, journalists, and engineers. It is telling that of the 1,162 respondents, we had only 24 male protégés with female mentors. Our tentative finding of less mentoring functions and outcomes associated with these relationships may be due not just to the rarity of female mentors but also to the dynamics of the relationship. Future research could explore in greater depth the interpersonal dynamics in female mentor-male protégé relationships.

A third potential limitation of our study came about as a result of our attempt to obtain balance in the gender composition of the mentoring relationships in our sample. Specifically, although a sample of social workers, journalists, and engineers increases the probability of different gender combinations of mentoring relationships, at the same time it raises the possibility that occupational differences in mentoring may account for some of the findings in our study. As a point in fact, social workers were more likely to have formal mentors than journalists, $\chi^2(1, N = 614) = 13.44, p < .01$, and female mentors were less likely to be reported among engineers than the other two occupations, $\chi^2(1, N = 615) = 37.56, p < .001$. With this in mind, we controlled for occupation by entering it in the first step of all of our hierarchical regression analyses and by using means that were adjusted for occupation in our means tests. We also reran the analyses separately for each of the three occupations and found generally equivalent results. Nevertheless, occupational differences may still account for some of the findings of the present study.

Finally, although regression analyses allowed us to hierarchically control for mentoring and organizational variables, and the type of mentor in separate steps, the use of many separate regression analyses results in restricted control over experiment-wide Type I error. Accordingly, marginal levels of significance were not reported. We also reanalyzed the data using a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) and ANCOVA analyses, and the regression results

were replicated with one exception: The three-way interaction between mentor gender, protégé gender, and type of mentor for the dependent variable of challenging assignments did not maintain its significance in the MANCOVA analyses.

Implications for Organizations

One clear implication of this study is that formal mentoring programs should not be considered as a substitute for informal mentoring relationships but should be offered in partnership with informal relationships. Formal mentors are probably most effective when they approximate informal mentors in as many ways as possible. Along those same lines, where possible, formal mentoring programs should mimic the development of informal relationships. One example of this is when the organization identifies pools of potential mentors and protégés, trains these individuals in the skills necessary for effective mentoring relationships, but then allows them to select their own mentoring partners (cf. Forret, Turban, & Dougherty, 1996). Another suggestion is for organizations to use formal mentoring relationships as a springboard for the development of informal relationships; protégés with formal mentors would be encouraged to identify and select informal mentors while in the last stage of their formal mentoring relationship. It is important for organizations to avoid sending the implicit message that once a protégé has an assigned mentor, this mentor is sufficient and that they should not attempt to gain an informal mentor. One way to accomplish this is for training programs to include strategies and skills for developing relationships with informal mentors.

A second key implication of this study is that although formal mentoring relationships are less effective than informal relationships, they may be even less effective for female protégés. This is an important issue because formal mentoring programs are being developed as part of emerging diversity initiatives, and many are aimed at helping women break through gender-related barriers to advancement (Catalyst, 1993; Herry, 1994; Kram & Hall, 1996; Scott, 1992). It would therefore be misleading for organizations to offer formal mentors as a substitute for informal relationships, or for them to suggest, directly or indirectly, that the relationships are interchangeable. Instead, the results of this study suggest that for optimal promotion rate, female protégés should develop informal mentoring relationships with male mentors. However, even these male mentors are no panacea, since promotion and compensation appear to be independent events for women in organizations (Stroh et al., 1992).

Future Research

This study examined the relationship between gender, the type of mentoring relationship, and mentoring functions and outcomes. Although we found direct effects between gender, the type of mentoring relationship and compensation,

it was beyond the scope of this study to examine whether mentoring functions mediate these relationships. A review of the bivariate correlations suggests that the relationship between mentoring functions and career outcomes is relatively weak and varies by the type of function. Future research needs to examine mediational effects and the relationship between mentoring functions and career and organizational outcomes. If the mentor's behaviors or functions do not mediate the relationship between the type of relationship and career outcomes, perhaps other mediators that have not been studied are operative, such as the protégé's behaviors in the relationship or the interaction between mentor and protégé behavior.

An interesting finding in our study was that supervisory mentors provided more career development functions than nonsupervisory mentors for four of the five career development functions (sponsorship, protection, challenging assignments, and exposure) but did not differ in provision of psychosocial functions. These findings, which replicate Ragins and McFarlin's (1990) study, suggest that supervisory mentors may have a better assessment of the career needs of their protégés than nonsupervisory mentors and may be in a better position to provide career development functions because of proximity, contact, and control over work assignments. However, although proximity may allow supervisory mentors to provide more career development functions, it may not allow them to become closer to their protégés. Supervisory mentors may hold back from providing psychosocial functions because intimacy and friendship in their mentoring relationships may conflict with their supervisory roles. These relationships should be explored in future research. The significance of the supervisory mentoring variable also illustrates the importance of including mentoring control variables, particularly when investigating gender effects in mentoring relationships (cf. Ragins, 1999).

Finally, future research should explore the effects of different historical combinations of mentoring relationships on career outcomes and processes. In this study, we examined separately the historical effects of gender composition and the type of mentor on career outcomes. The results of this study could be used as a foundation for the development of a theoretical model that explains how the history of various combinations of mentoring relationships combine to affect career outcomes. This model could examine how gender composition interacts with type of mentor (formal, informal, supervisory, and nonsupervisory) in affecting a host of career and organizational outcomes. Which types of relationships are critical in which career stages for the protégé and the mentor? What individual, interpersonal and organizational factors affect the historical composition of mentoring relationships? Which types of compositions are most effective for which types of situations? One point that is driven home by the present study is that the outcomes and processes in mentoring relationships are influenced by the gender of the members of the relationship. Future studies, therefore, need to use large enough samples that allow for an in-depth exploration of these important, but complex, gender interaction effects.

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Appendix: Instruments Used in Study

Mentor Role Instrument (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990)

My Mentor:

(SPONSOR)

- helps me attain desirable positions.
- uses his/her influence to support my advancement in the organization.
- uses his/her influence in the organization for my benefit.

(COACH)

- helps me learn about other parts of the organization.
- gives me advice on how to attain recognition in the organization.
- suggests specific strategies for achieving career aspirations.

(PROTECT)

- protects me from those who may be out to get me.
- "runs interference" for me in the organization.
- shields me from damaging contact with important people in the organization.

(CHALLENGE)

- gives me tasks that require me to learn new skills.
- provides me with challenging assignments.
- assigns me tasks that push me into developing new skills.

(EXPOSURE)

- helps me be more visible in the organization.
- creates opportunities for me to impress important people in the organization.
- brings my accomplishments to the attention of important people in the organization.

(FRIENDSHIP)

- is someone I can confide in.
- provides support and encouragement.
- is someone I can trust.

(SOCIAL)

- and I frequently get together informally after work by ourselves.
- and I frequently socialize one-on-one outside the work setting.
- and I frequently have one-on-one, informal social interactions.

(PARENT)

- is like a father/mother to me.
- reminds me of one of my parents.
- treats me like a son/daughter.

(ROLE MODEL)

- serves as a role-model for me.
- is someone I identify with.
- represents who I want to be.

(COUNSELING)

- serves as a sounding board for me to develop and understand myself.
- guides my professional development.
- guides my personal development.

(ACCEPTANCE)

accepts me as a competent professional.
sees me as being competent.
thinks highly of me.

Satisfaction with Mentor Scale

My Mentor:

is someone I am satisfied with,
fails to meet my needs,
disappoints me (reverse-scored)
has been effective in his/her role.

Note: Both instruments were measured using a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Items were randomly ordered in the survey.



Power/Knowledge and Psychosocial Dynamics in Mentoring

Nic Beech and Anne Brockbank

Introduction

The historical roots of mentoring lie in the Greek myth of Ulysses, who in preparation for his lengthy sea voyages entrusted his young son to the care of his old friend Mentor. Thereafter the name has been identified with a more experienced person who forms a relationship with a less experienced person in order to provide them with advice, support and encouragement (Collin, 1988). The activity of mentoring is normally linked to fostering career success, and it has been seen as a 'thread that connects all successful individuals' (Pearce, 1987).

Formal and informal mentoring have increasingly been seen as part of a human resource strategy (HRS) in which organizations seek to develop their human resources in a way which leads to competitive success (McKeen and Burke, 1989; Wright and Werther, 1991; Cunningham and Eberle, 1993). Inasmuch as mentoring can be seen as a key aspect of staff and management development (Whitely, Dougherty and Dreher, 1991) it is an integral part of a properly defined human resource strategy which must be concerned with the development of people in the most effective manner (Keep, 1992). This understanding is associated with a 'soft' HRS and management style (Storey and Sisson, 1993) which seeks to develop abilities, competencies and concepts in people, and to facilitate and encourage their use, rather than creating a system of control and extrinsic motivation, the latter being seen as 'hard' HRS.

Kram (1988) identified two broad functions within mentoring. First, career functions, including sponsorship and coaching, which enhance career advancement (of the mentee). Second, psychosocial functions, including friendship, counselling and role modelling were identified as enhancing a sense of competence, identity and effectiveness in a professional role. Where career functions are the primary focus, which is often the case in formal mentoring programmes, the model tends to be knowledge-based, instrumental and carefully controlled. Alternatively, when psychosocial functions are primary the mentoring experience includes an intensity of emotion, risky self-transformation and development for both parties (Baum, 1992).

The benefits of career functions come largely from the experience, seniority and organizational ranking of the mentor, who is able to help the mentee to 'navigate effectively in the organisational world' (Kram, 1988). Psychosocial functions, on the other hand, rely on the quality of the interpersonal bond between mentor and mentee, and the degree of trust which exists within the relationship. Factors which influence the psychosocial bonding include mutual liking, respect, exclusivity, counselling skill and the desire for intimacy (Kram, 1988).

The potential for psychosocial functions to trigger feelings, fantasies and memories/experiences from the past, may take the relationship into the realms of therapy and the 'unfinished relationship'; a relationship deemed to obstruct the contractual work relationship as it transfers elements of past relationships into the present (Clarkson and Shaw, 1992). The projective fantasies which characterize such an unfinished relationship, while part of everyday life, can lead to inappropriate or exaggerated behaviour and so can be dysfunctional. Psychosocial functions, such as acceptance and confirmation/affirmation, are likely to enhance a 'developmental' relationship which provides the individual with the information, support and challenge which they need to meet their development needs (Clarkson and Shaw, 1992). The description of such a developmental alliance suggests a relationship based on explicit, consciously chosen contractual arrangements between the parties involved (Clarkson and Shaw, 1992). Active learning and development are likely to emerge from developmental relationships, where they occur, as such relationships foster autonomy and independence rather than passivity and dependence. Positive linkages between outcomes of career advancement and satisfaction and extensive developmental mentoring have been reported (Dreher and Ash, 1990).

The negative effects of passivity and powerlessness on learning and development have been emphasized by Freire (1972), and the necessary and sufficient conditions for the freedom to learn have been identified as including the psychosocial functions described above (Rogers, 1983). The superficial learning which occurs in situations of power imbalance may occur in mentoring situations and may, therefore, adversely affect perceptions of the relationship. In particular, where the mentor has hierarchical authority over the mentee,

the psychosocial functions which support a developmental relationship may be inhibited by the power inherent in the relationship.

The superior-subordinate relationship known as the 'managerial couple' (Krantz, 1989) is loaded with shared fantasies, hopes and disappointments, as well as 'collusive, defensive patterns' (Krantz, 1989: 161). And the mentoring couple is likely to exhibit some of these characteristics for the same reason; the hierarchical boundary.

Strategies (likely to be unconscious) adopted by the mentoring couple include 'projective identification', 'splitting', 'pairing' and 'attribution error'. Projective identification occurs where either party desires to be the other, and may adopt imitative behaviours displaying a longing to be like the other (Horwitz, 1983). Splitting is defined in object relations theory as the unconscious polarization of persons or 'objects' so that good may remain uncontaminated by bad (Mitchell, 1986). Mature adaptations to the splitting tendency can be found where individuals can accept the best and worst in each other. The phenomenon of 'pairing' (Bion, 1959) has been identified in group dynamics and occurs where two people identify each other (unconsciously) as complementary in some way, and adopt behaviours to use this to mutual advantage. Attribution error, where outcomes are attributed mistakenly to dispositional factors like gender, age or relationship, rather than situational causes, may under-estimate external/organizational influences (Ross, 1977).

So, in mentoring pairs where a hierarchical boundary exists, we might expect to find reactions to authority, such as dependency and counter-dependency, where the authority figure is either lionized or rebelled against; idealization of the mentoring pair, where they and others romanticize the relationship, sometimes to the point of stimulating gossip; and intergroup dynamics leading to jealousy and attribution error (Ross, 1977). The ability to integrate the strengths and limitations in individuals characterizes maturity in the managerial couple (Lapierre, 1989).

The phases of a mentoring relationship have been identified as: initiation, cultivation, separation and re-definition (Kram, 1988; Levinson et al., 1978). The parallel with biological phases of development and mating behaviour has been noted, as well as the status and dependency implicit in the mentoring relationship (Bushardt, Fretwell and Holdnack, 1991; Auster, 1984). The parent/child analogy, noted by Levinson et al. (1978) and others (Kates, 1985; Kahn, 1981), and psychoanalytic analyses of mentoring have concentrated on the early life stages (including the Oedipal stage) with all the anger and aggression this implies (Baum, 1992). The power of unconscious expectations within mentoring pairs has been explored and findings reveal that mentoring relationships which the participants see as successful often incorporate an intensity of emotion not unlike parenting or falling in love (Phillips-Jones, 1982). Transactional analysis reflects some of the unconscious dynamics described in the mentoring relationship (Berne, 1964), and provides three categories (ego-states) covering: parent-type behaviours (either nurturing or

critical); adult-type behaviours, typically displaying autonomy and objectivity; child-type behaviours (natural or adapted), often emotionally charged and typically experienced as powerlessness (Berne, 1964).

Mentoring can be conceived as a social relationship through which the mentee is socialized into the culture of an organization (Townley, 1994). It entails psychosocial processes which assimilate the mentee into the community. This involves the internalization of group norms, acceptable forms of thought and behaviour, and values, in short; the dominant 'discourse' which is defined as 'thought as a social practice' (Merquior, 1985: 18).

Townley (1993, 1994), who conducts an explicitly Foucauldian analysis of human resource management (HRM) sees mentoring as a decentralized form of learning which focuses on a specific individual, and which may include an important element of 'confession' in which the learner reveals details about his or her weaknesses and learning/development needs. A Foucauldian 'historical analysis of the present', argues that a 'Greek' model of mentoring, where the mentee is led to a 'happy and autonomous life through good advice', has been replaced with what is referred to as a 'Christian' model where there is an emphasis on obedience and control of the mentee's behaviour by the mentor (Townley, 1994). In the latter form the end result is not autonomy of the mentee but a continuation of hierarchical dominance and control (i.e. the antithesis of a developmental relationship). Power in this context is not seen merely as crude coercion but as intrinsically linked to knowledge, as it is categories of thought and perception which determine further thoughts, understandings, actions and practices of the community that shares the discourse. The production of knowledge is, therefore, the production of power to think and act, and Foucault sees the two elements as part of one category: power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980).

In relation to this, mentoring can be conceived as a panoptic technique which potentially or actually renders the details of an individual's behaviour and thought visible to management. The effect of such a technique is to create self-disciplined behaviour among mentees. Grey (1994) argues that processes such as appraisal, selection and career development operate as panoptic techniques. It is not the case that the operation of panoptic techniques and power/knowledge are experienced as psychosocial dysfunctions. They are operating well when mentees are happy; partly because it is fulfilling for a self-managing subject to be measured through mentoring, appraisal and review, and partly because the processes are not conceived or experienced as unpleasant or coercive forms of control. The measurement of individuals reaffirms their own self-assessment approach, and even where the finding is negative (where the processes are reviewed as unsatisfactory), they may be unhappy at the outcome, but not at the justification for the process. The techniques of power/knowledge can be conceived as helpful from the employees' point of view because they enable the individuals to progress towards their goals (Grey, 1994). Although the employees are conforming, they believe that they



are following their own will or best interests. Where a mentee experiences the techniques as unpleasant or coercive, then power/knowledge has ceased functioning effectively.

Method

Thirty-five middle and junior managers, from an NHS Trust hospital, who had attended university-based management development programmes (incorporating a Certificate of Management qualification) had mentors to support them throughout the programme (and potentially beyond). The pairings were arranged by a mixture of informal and formal procedures. The staff development department in the hospital endeavoured to take advantage of any informal relationships already in existence and invited the course participants to make a choice of mentor from among the managers on the grades above them. No attempt was made to prevent direct line managers being the mentor (although this type of arrangement has been criticized, Megginson, 1988). Short questionnaires had been distributed to all the mentees before and after the course, and these provided some background information for the detailed analysis of interviewed pairs.

Mentoring was established with the purpose of supporting the course participants' learning and development. It sought to provide practical support, for example enabling mentees to gain access to people and information in the organization which would have been difficult for them to access alone. It was also expected that the mentor would give advice and help with ideas and direction for project work, and in applying ideas and techniques in the workplace. In addition to this it was envisaged that the process would also be developmental for the mentors. It would help them to develop their interpersonal and management skills, such as listening and coaching. At a more macro level, mentoring was part of the overall change programme which sought employee and management involvement at all levels.

This study focused specifically on mentoring and the interviews and discussions were directly concerned with the mentoring process, relationships and outcomes. Our general interest was in examining the way the mentoring relationships had developed and continued or declined. Our aim was to use different ways of accessing the perceptions of the actors involved and to attempt to interpret the meanings and understandings that the actors established. We were interested in examining what had occurred in the relationships. Had they, for example, proceeded through the various stages of 'maturity'? We were also seeking to understand any problems which had occurred.

Research-focused discussions were held with four training and development managers, and four pairs of mentor and mentee were studied in detail. Pairs were self-selecting based on the willingness of both to be interviewed, and the logistics of carrying out the research. In-depth open-ended interviews

were carried out, and these were designed to enable respondents to focus on aspects of the relationship that held meaning and significance for them. The interviews were carried out over a period of a year after the end of the programme, and typically lasted between one and two hours. The members of each pair were interviewed separately by a different researcher, who then transcribed the interview. Comparisons of mentor and mentee perceptions of the same relationship were not made until after transcription.

Although the interviews were carried out over a year, and this may have had some delay effect, there was no clear indication that this had an effect on discernible patterns such as viewing the mentoring as useful/not useful, or viewing career prospects as good/bad. It may, theoretically, influence the view on the importance of 'follow-up action'. However, all respondents thought this was important, regardless of when they were interviewed. In all interview cases views formed were substantiated with examples from the time period within the change programme. Therefore, it is not thought that the time difference had a major impact on the outcomes of the research.

The approach taken was inductive and based on grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1992) and theoretical categories emerged from the data. Action research (Lewin, 1946, 1947) was also influential on the approach as the researchers were involved with interventions in the organization. While it is accepted that this means the research is not, in the strict sense, repeatable, we would agree with Eden and Huxham (1993) that uncertainty can be reduced by multiple perspectives on the situation, in this case from interviews, discussions and two researchers' involvement.

Findings and Analysis

Questionnaires were distributed to the mentees before and after the course. These indicated that most people had not got much out of the mentoring relationships, but the reasons for this were unclear, and possibly disguised in the questionnaire. Frequency of meeting, levels of confidentiality and directiveness were not reported as significant problems. Eighteen months after the course, mentees were contacted again to see what had happened in their careers. Of the 19 who responded 12 had not changed job, and of those who had only 1 felt that mentoring had been of assistance.

Open-ended Pair Interviews

All four mentors were women, with two male and two female mentees. A striking outcome of the transcriptions is the contradictory accounts given by the partners in each pair. A number of categories emerged from the data and the key ones have been labelled as follows:

- the relationship and psychosocial functions;
- management style;
- power/knowledge;
- career functions.

The categories bear relation to concepts in the literature, but they are not necessarily synonymous as they are theoretical categories which are links between, and derived from, the substantive data.

In the data presented below, participants are referred to with a name beginning with 'J' if they are a mentor, a name beginning with 'H' if they are a mentee, and 'C' if they are another person.

Pair 1: Judith and Hannah

The relationship Judith and Hannah are two women who had known each other for five years when the mentoring started. Judith was Hannah's direct line manager. Judith felt that she had an intense and emotional relationship with Hannah. When talking about Hannah she expressed admiration and deep concern, and reported cases of Hannah imitating her and an approach which can be seen as protective parenting. For example, Judith said of Hannah:

She's easily led. Sometimes I question her choice of friends. . . . We got very intense, the relationship got very intense. It built up to a peak, and now there is a distance – more me than her – I'm sure she's noticed. I don't think she's unhappy. I think I was probably suffocating her – a bit too intense. I'd gone over the top with trying to help.

Judith's interpretation was that it was a one-way relationship, with Hannah 'absorbing' her, but that the relationship had declined, and this was evidenced by a sense of loss, and loss of control:

I don't know what's going on in her life anymore. When I do I think 'Oh God, Hannah' . . . half of me thinks I want her to go, I want her to go out into the world, experience new things, but I'd just like to have her for a couple of years first.

Hannah's account is a total denial or concealment of the relationship described by her mentor. Hannah experienced a broken relationship with a partner which coincided with a cooling off between the two women, but, while this featured importantly in Judith's report of events, it is conspicuously absent from Hannah's account. Hannah did not express any of the intensity, emotion, closeness or feeling of loss which were evident in Judith's account. She claimed that mentoring did not really happen, and what did happen was absorbed into the normal working relationship.

The strong sense of 'identification' in Judith's account suggests that the relationship was deep and significant to her, meeting her need to be 'reproduced' in some way (Judith had been married and was childless), and this was borne out by the evidence of parent/child ego-state interactions, largely emanating from the nurturing parent ego-state (Berne, 1964). The professed unawareness of Hannah can be accounted for in the typical embarrassment of a child who is over-nurtured by an over-involved parent, or alternatively the denial of an adolescent who does not wish to appear to be still under the influence of his/her parents. It could be argued that such a conclusion may mark the end of a 'successful' mentoring relationship, but it may also indicate a failed one.

Management style Judith feels that she was too directive, and tried not to be.

I can hear myself doing it, dictating, directing too much so instead of gently easing them . . . I do dictate, I know I do. I don't like it particularly. I see it as a weakness . . . I find it frustrating. I've got to sit there and let them work it out for themselves. An hour later they've got to where I know they should be 5 minutes into the meeting . . . I want them to be able to say 'I actually made that decision myself'.

For Hannah, however, management style does not seem to be an issue, and she does not mention it. The tortured wonderings of Judith suggest a struggle to leave the parent ego-state and adopt the adult mode, a struggle which she resolves by withdrawal.

Power/knowledge There is a distinction between direct knowledge in a traditional sense and the Foucauldian relational concept of power/knowledge. Both were significant for pair 1. The direct knowledge functions of the relationship were subordinate to the psychosocial functions for Judith. She did think that Hannah had 'picked up things' from her, and that she would not have reached the stage she was at without help from Judith:

I have certainly come up with things that she couldn't have as parts of the organization she couldn't have known things that I would. I've been dead chuffed when she's taken them on board and done very well. She's benefited from my knowledge,

but comments of this type were rare.

Conversely, for Hannah, knowledge was very important. She felt that the mentoring relationship had never materialized, and this was largely because she perceived Judith to be lacking the necessary knowledge. She said:

I would prefer someone in the organization who knew what was going on . . . I went to others who were higher, but no one had the knowledge



to help. . . . I suppose there was some emotional support and praise, but there was no input of ideas . . . it was beyond her course. She had done the CMS, and what we did was totally different, it was far beyond.

The value Hannah placed on Judith as a person was declining as her perception of Judith's knowledge level declined. Over a period of years Hannah 'looked up to' Judith less and simultaneously 'confessed' less. She gradually stopped telling Judith about her personal life and matters of importance to her.

Hannah perceived the desirable skills of a mentor to be the same as those of a teacher; Judith was primarily concerned about the psychodynamics of the personal relationship. As a result the mentoring relationship never became established, and the couple were locked into a parent/child complementary interaction (Berne, 1964).

The power/knowledge relation contained contradictions. Judith saw herself as having a high level of knowledge; technically, generally and of Hannah. She saw herself as having 'empowered' Hannah. However, Hannah devalued the empowerment from Judith and saw herself (Hannah) as holding greater knowledge. Hannah was aware of the dynamic of the changing power/knowledge nexus, and her own withdrawal in a way that Judith was not. Judith's interpretation conformed broadly to the interactions as they occurred, except that her perception was not sensitive to the changes that were occurring, and this left her open to psychosocial dysfunction. In particular, her knowledge of Hannah was not as great as she thought. As a result Hannah's perception was more powerful and it protected her from the potential emotional hurt of withdrawal.

Career functions Judith expressed the desire and hope that she had contributed to Hannah's career development saying: 'I'd like to think that if she hadn't met me, she might not have got on'. Hannah had been promoted to her current position with the support of Judith. Hannah, however, did not see the mentorship as a major factor in her career, and although she expressed a considerable amount of concern about her career during informal conversation with the researcher, none of her envisaged solutions involved Judith or mentoring in general.

Pair 2: Jane and Hazel

Jane and Hazel were two women who had known each other for 10 years and Jane was Hazel's line manager until she left the organization during the planned mentoring period.

The relationship Jane and Hazel expressed a considerable amount of mutual respect, and had a friendly work-based relationship. Jane expressed guilty feelings that she had not spent enough time with Hazel, and she also expressed

concern for Hazel. Hazel said that Jane was a very caring person and that she had never been so supported. Jane trusted Hazel and saw her as mature and a fellow professional.

The mentoring relationship was very informal, with Jane waiting for Hazel to make the initial contact, and although there was professional respect, Hazel felt that there was very little input from Jane. This was not seen as a problem because Hazel perceived herself to have little need of a mentor: 'my needs were met because they were few'. Hazel felt that there had not really been any genuine mentoring, although there had been a 'safety net' of emotional support which could have been called on if needed. There was a sense of free movement between ego-states in this mentoring pair, with Jane ready to adopt a nurturing parent stance, should it be required, and Hazel aware of that option. However, the tenor of the relationship suggests adult-adult transactions, based on mutual respect and rationality.

Management style Jane had a developmental and participative management style. She encouraged meetings and collaborative working among those who reported to her, and strongly encouraged them to reorganize their work so that individuals, such as night-shift workers, would not be left isolated. She organized regular meetings at which views were aired, and solutions to problems sought in a participative manner. Jane described her management style as

the sort of thing you just do, you look after the people that work for you, you are a sort of buddy to them, to keep an eye on problems they might be having, to support them, to give advice, to facilitate their learning capacity.

It is interesting to note that Jane regarded problems as something her staff had, rather than something they caused. This form of attribution would tend to be associated with soft rather than hard management approaches.

Sometimes she went beyond a participative style and became almost passive in allowing staff a great amount of freedom, and trusting in their professionalism. Her concept of the management role was that of a 'buddy', and her concern was to look after the people who worked for her. The developmental aspects of Jane's management style utilized her nurturing parent ego-state to good effect.

Power/knowledge The relational development of power/knowledge in this pairing was established on mutual respect. The view each held of the other was of 'the whole person'. For example, there was an awareness of their reasons for pursuing a 'caring' career, and aspects such as management style, technical ability and professional skill were largely shared and were congruous with egalitarian interactions. The importance of factors such as professional skills and ethics united the two and supported the intuitive mutual attraction ('my



sort of person') which had been experienced at their first meeting. The focus of power/knowledge was internal in unifying the subgroup (of specialist professionals) with which both identified, and external in differentiating the sub-group from other closely related groups. This particular subgroup held a higher status than others within the same profession. The in-group was not merely defined by functional speciality, but also by an espousal of purpose which was part of self-definition. That is, there is value in carrying out this function which forms part of the meaning of life for the participants. Non-identification within the pairing could, therefore, be a threat to the self as it could constitute a challenge to the prevailing (self) image.

Most of the interactions between Jane and Hazel could be characterized as adult-adult (Berne, 1964), and there is no evidence of the use of overt or coercive power or hierarchical authority. Jane did not emphasize management knowledge, and dismissed her own CMS course as 'embarrassing', and 'all stuff we knew already'. In so doing she was down-playing a difference between them. Hazel, conversely, did emphasize the importance of Jane's knowledge and experience as criteria for choosing her as mentor. She did not see her level in the organizational hierarchy as an important criterion, but the level of knowledge was stressed.

The image of this pair bore closest resemblance to the societally approved conception of nursing/caring professions of all of the pairs. The image was of devotion and non-instrumentality reflecting the capacity for vision and vigilance, creativity and care which characterizes maturity in the managerial couple (Lapierre, 1989). In this pair the image had lasted over 10 years of their careers. In other pairs the devotional image and the impact of power/knowledge on in-group/out-group images was not as unifying as in this one.

Career functions There were no clear references to career functions by either Jane or Hazel. Re-structuring within the organization threatened Jane's position and she may have been preoccupied with her own career planning at the time.

Pair 3: Jackie and Hillary

Jackie is female and is the line manager of Hillary, who is male.

The relationship The mentoring relationship between Jackie and Hillary was strongly influenced by their hierarchical relationship. As Hillary said: 'In hindsight, I wouldn't have picked her. . . . We get on . . . as subordinate and boss, but it is definitely hierarchical, and it isn't the relationship I would have benefited from as mentor/mentee'. While Jackie was more equivocal, it was clear that the relationship was not fulfilling psychosocial needs on either side. Hillary reported that there was some 'emotional' support (that is, directed to

him 'as a person' rather than as a subordinate) at the beginning of the relationship, but this did not have enduring usefulness for him, particularly because it 'did not cross over into the practical'. Early adoption of the nurturing parent ego-state may have helped the relationship to begin, but it appears that disillusionment occurred early on, there was no progression to adult states and Jackie appeared to lose her confidence, possibly reverting to her own (hurt) child ego-state, feeling devalued and under-used.

Management style Jackie has an MBA and made a number of references to management theory and to applying what she had read. She was concerned with detail and her preferred learning style was to read widely, assimilate theoretical knowledge and then apply it. This did not fit easily with Hillary's style, as he took a more pragmatic approach, seeking to minimize reading and contemplation, and to achieve outputs in the shortest time possible (usually being deadline driven).

Jackie reported having an open style, and being concerned for the development of employees. She tried to interact with Hillary in a non-critical way and felt that this was successful. Jackie had been doubtful about appointing Hillary because of his more direct and pragmatic style which did not make him popular. The implication was that he lacked subtlety and interpersonal skills in interacting with other members of staff. However, Jackie felt she had facilitated his development. Hillary's perception was different in that he acknowledged initial emotional support, but ultimately dismissed it as not being practical enough. He perceived Jackie as prescriptive about the way he should carry out his course work, but he was also critical of Jackie's management style for lacking direction. He felt that in some instances Jackie was incompetent.

Power/knowledge The assumption of this pair, and particularly Hillary, was that direct knowledge was important and valuable. A key factor in Hillary's selection of Jackie as a mentor was that fact that she had an MBA, however Hillary reported that the 'knowledge did not transfer readily to the course'. As time, and the course, progressed he increasingly judged Jackie to be incompetent. This change in evaluation altered the power/knowledge created within the pairing. Hillary became less willing to 'confess' by being open about his thoughts and feelings.

Inefficiencies in her style led to a dilution of my respect for her position. . . . A problem was coursework on my own organization. It led to problems, especially where detrimental things were said about her management style. Some were problems between her and the structure that were of her own making.

At this point Hillary started to withhold information from Jackie, and stopped showing her his course work assignments. 'By then I realized I could do it efficiently without her.' Hillary specified that it was Jackie, rather than mentors in

general, that he was better off without. This conclusion mirrors the break-up of parent and child following the disillusionment of adolescence and maturity, without the psychosocial basis of a continuing relationship (Berne, 1964).

Hillary had assumed that Jackie would be able to contribute knowledge to his strategy which, while not being purely instrumental, was focused on realizing career aspirations. Her knowledge was one of the keys to unlock the door to progression. However, when this turned out not to be the case, the relational operation of power/knowledge altered such that the balance began to reverse. Like pair 2, pair 3 work in a technical specialism, however, their function is less central than pair 2's, and while it is valued by other groups, their differentiation does not provide the same source of status as it does for pair 2. In the case of pair 3, power/knowledge did not operate to strengthen in-group ties. Rather it operated within the group in a way that threatened the established hierarchy. As with pair 1, Hillary's superior knowledge of his own perceptions and withdrawal intentions protected him from psychosocial dysfunction, while Jackie's self-image did not help her to perceive the way Hillary's conceptions were changing. If she had perceived it, she would probably have absorbed the new information into her image of Hillary as somewhat arrogant.

Career functions Although Jackie felt that her involvement in the development of Hillary would be useful for his career development, this was not the perception of Hillary, who did not feel that the mentoring had impacted on his development significantly. From his perspective the mentoring side of the relationship had ended after only about one and a half months, although in a formal, or superficial, sense it had continued for two years. Interestingly, Jackie had already been instrumental in Hillary's promotion to his present position, but Hillary was not aware of the thought process and slightly risky investment Jackie had made in him. He felt he had gained his current position by right, and expected his own skill and knowledge to lead to future advancement.

Pair 4: Juliet and Harry

Juliet is female and the manager of Harry who is male. Catrina is female, a member of the department and was also mentored by Juliet.

The relationship Harry had shown some of his early work to Juliet, but had felt 'negative vibes' and wishing to preserve an 'amicable working relationship at all costs' had withdrawn from the mentoring aspects of the relationship at a very early stage (about one month into the course). Harry felt that he had not gained any benefits at all from the relationship. Although Harry was seeking to maintain an amicable working relationship, this does not match the perception presented by Juliet. Juliet saw the relationship as basically hierarchical, and

many of the interactions as reported by Juliet are parent-child in transactional analysis terms (Berne, 1964), with Juliet predominantly in critical parent mode. However, Harry's report of interactions shows him trying to achieve adult-adult interactions, giving direct feedback and stating his position clearly. Juliet spoke quite extensively about Harry's criticisms of her (none of which Harry reported), for example, 'Harry has written things about me being autocratic. I'm not autocratic. He has no sense of awareness'. In every case her reaction to a perceived criticism was defensive and aggressive, and explicit threats were invariably made about Harry's job security. Harry did not disclose any of the threats during the interview, but he had withdrawn from mentoring interactions which may have broken complementary parent-child interactions.

Juliet made a number of judgements of Harry, including ones about his social life outside work, and used these as a basis for denying him time to work on his course assignments. She did not feel he deserved 'that type of support' because of his 'hectic' social life. She had tried to give Harry 'friendly advice' which entailed advising him to cut down on his social life because his job was not secure.

Juliet thought that Harry did not use her effectively as a mentor, and she attributed this to Harry attempting to conceal from her that his course work was incomplete. She gained this information from Catrina. 'He didn't want me to know how far behind he was with his college work. Catrina told me, she said he was an embarrassment. She was obtaining her certificate and he hadn't even completed the final piece of his work!' Juliet behaved like an angry and vengeful critical parent who had the power to punish Harry if she chose. He broke the transactions in order to preserve himself, having attempted to move the transactions to adult mode. There was evidence that Juliet was hurt and resentful about not being consulted, and rationalized Harry's reasons for avoiding contact with her in order to cope with the unacceptable possibility that he just did not want her.

Management style Juliet's style was directive and forceful. It was assumed that people respond best to pressure, and, therefore, the only way to command respect is to pressure them and make demands on them. Juliet thought that Harry did not command respect from his subordinates because his management style was not direct and forceful enough.

Juliet exhibited a lack of trust of employees and a considerable amount of effort was put into surveillance. Even though Harry is a middle ranking manager, Juliet suggested that he should stay at work to do his course work (and thereby be checkable), and she also said 'He's very forgetful. I keep an eye on his diary . . . discreetly'. In addition to this Juliet formed views of Harry based on reports from Catrina who saw Harry as 'an embarrassment' in class and 'always late with his work'. This is a form of surveillance-at-a-distance, where Harry was observed away from the workplace, and reported back on by a 'loyal management subject'.

It is interesting to note that although Catrina's information is encouraged and apparently uncritically received, at one point 'she got ideas above her station . . . once or twice I had to put her back'. By accepting this, and by adopting Juliet's approach to management (e.g. by achieving outcomes before deadlines, and by being overtly concerned for the reputation of the department), Catrina had proved herself to be a good management subject. Harry had singularly failed to achieve this by not responding to parent-child interactions with child-parent responses, and by not being compliant in *confession* of his outside work activities.

Power/knowledge Both Harry and Juliet assumed that Juliet had the power to adversely affect Harry's job (and life) and that he was not secure. This assumption encouraged him towards defensive withdrawal which just aggravated Juliet and made her want to exercise this perceived power. The effect on her was to become selfrighteous, highly confident and to adopt a mono-perspective of events. She saw her view of events as real and the perceptions of others (especially Harry) as illusory. Although Juliet expressed high confidence and sureness, this could have been a defensive reaction to an inability to acknowledge self-doubt or challenge. She certainly perceived Harry as a threat to her image of 'how things ought to be', but she never acknowledged him as a threat, rather she constantly dismissed him as childish. To accept that Harry was right about the management style to be adopted and the avoidance of stress and perfectionism would have challenged Juliet's self and her view of how one gained position and status in society. Therefore, it was not a possibility in this circumstance and defensive aggression and withdrawal were the most likely dynamics.

Juliet made use of overt power a number of times, for example:

I said to him, 'you have a difficulty, you have to be praised all the time, well, I'm sorry I'm not going to change my ways, and if you have a difficulty with that you'd better find another job. I don't get any praise, I don't get praise'.

The idea of Harry finding another job was doubtful as, in Juliet's own words 'at the moment jobs are hard to come by' and she expressed the opinion that at Harry's age it would be difficult for him to leave:

It's time he was looking for something outside, but he's on good money here. . . . if he doesn't go and get something else, he won't at his age, it's time to be going looking.

Most of this interaction is in critical parent mode, but there is a switch into child mode – 'I don't get any praise, I don't get praise', in other words, 'if I don't have it, then you can't have it either' and 'what about me?' Other interactions are aggressive; for example Juliet said that she was dis-establishing Harry.

Normal procedure is to dis-establish the post rather than the person (and this would fit with a pattern of assertive behaviour; to focus on the person would be interpreted as aggressive).

It is interesting that, despite all the power that was being expressed, Harry felt that Juliet lacked the necessary knowledge. 'The mentor needs a recent management qualification or training to give the student insight into what the tutors are looking for'.

Harry did not disclose the threats, although after the interview, in conversation, he said he knew his position was not secure, and a considerable amount of time was spent discussing options for further study and alternative sources of employment.

Career functions Harry did not perceive any beneficial career functions to have derived from the mentoring relationship. Informal conversation revealed that he was concerned about his career, which he regarded as close to termination with the organization, and he had started to explore alternatives.

All Juliet's references to Harry's career path saw it as being downward and terminal. She felt hurt by his withdrawal and remained in critical parent mode, rather than moving, at Harry's invitation, into adult mode. Juliet had significant need requirements of her own and these could not be met in the mentoring relationship. Further, because her own psychological needs were not being met, an unfinished relationship of her past dominated the interactions, and she had neither interpersonal skills nor psychological resources to offer Harry.

Discussion

It was clear from the data that there were significant problems with the mentoring in the case-study organization. The majority of mentees indicated no benefits in terms of career or psychosocial functions. None of the pairs studied achieved 'developmental' relationships in which autonomy was fostered (Freire, 1972; Clarkson and Shaw, 1992). None of the pairs progressed through the envisaged stages of development (Kram, 1988; Levinson et al., 1978). In general there was premature cessation of effective relations, although formal, superficial relations may have continued. Career functions were not served.

A number of psychosocial dysfunctions were reported; for example there was evidence of an 'unfinished' relationship in pair 1 – Jane expressed guilt and anxiety, and Juliet exhibited stress and defensive reactions. The literature would lead one to expect psychosocial dysfunctions for the mentees and the potential use of coercive power in hierarchical relationships, but in this case it was the *mentors* who were adversely affected even though the relationships were hierarchical. There are a number of potential reasons for this. First, there is the role conflict of being both supporter and assessor of the mentee.

Most mentors were more comfortable with one or other side of the role, and the twin problems of insufficiently emphasizing the non-favourite side and of having to carry out behaviours which contradicted the favourite side flowed from this. Second, there is the tension that success is, to some extent, self-defeating. A successful conclusion means the mentee leaving the relationship or 'departing the nest'. Third, there is the issue that while things may appear to be working, there is some level of hidden withdrawal by the mentees, of which the mentors are only peripherally aware. This may be very 'unsettling' for the mentors.

It is clear that cessation was initiated by the mentees rather than the mentors. Power/knowledge played both a direct and an indirect role in this. In Harry's case withdrawal was partly in order to protect the working relationship, but in all cases (including pair 4) knowledge was identified by the mentees as a key factor. Harry thought that mentors needed a recent management qualification in order to give insight into 'what the tutors were looking for'. Hillary lost respect for Jackie as he began to see her as inefficient and her knowledge as not being transferable or useful. Hazel stated that she would not have retained Jane as her mentor even if she (Jane) had remained with the organization because she lacked sufficient knowledge. This indicates a change as the perception of Jane as knowledgeable had been a factor in Hazel choosing her as mentor. However, Hazel now felt that her level of knowledge had surpassed that of Jane. Hannah's withdrawal was explicitly because of a perceived lack of knowledge on Judith's part. So in all cases perceived knowledge was an important factor in the breakdown of mentoring.

There is no reason to assume variation in the level of knowledge of the mentors, and this level was perceived by the mentees when they selected the mentors. In some cases (pairs 2 and 3) the mentor's knowledge was a positive criterion in making the choice. However, the level of knowledge of the mentees was changing relative to that of the mentors. The mentees came from functional, clinical or professional areas and were aiming to discover what management was about and 'how to do it'. They were seeking access to the thoughts as action, or discourse, of management. As the mentees became able to use the language and judge actions by use of the management discourse their mentoring relationships were affected. They began to perceive their mentors in management terms such as 'authoritarian', 'theory X' and 'inefficient'. This reflected the changing relational aspect of power. As assumptions and judgments about the validity and usefulness of the mentors were questioned by the mentees they began to seek knowledge from other sources such as higher levels of management and colleagues on the course. As the mentees increasingly came to define themselves (and to be defined by the university) as competent in management, they increasingly defined their mentors as incompetent. This process was accompanied by (and was contemporaneous with) the process of withdrawal from a meaningful relationship, leaving a superficial appearance of a relationship in place. Mentees withheld information, feelings and emotion.

Power/knowledge is not only observed in the power obtained by expert knowledge, it is revealed as a changing relational force which operates at the level of assumptions and covert aspects of the discourse. In all cases the mentees were assumed by both parties to be less skilled and knowledgeable than the mentors. With the exception of pair 2 the distinction was thought to be large and emphatic. This assumption created a power imbalance between mentor and mentee. In some cases (particularly pair 4) there was an assumption that the mentor had power of determination over the job, career and livelihood of the mentee. In pair 1 the mentor was perceived as having influence over career progression. In pair 3, although Hillary attributed career success to himself rather than to circumstances or the efforts of Jackie, there was an acknowledgement that while she was not a 'gatekeeper', her support would be important for progression.

The perception of power over job/career fostered the construction of misleading images of each other within pairs. For the mentees, the image of the mentor as influential and guiding became something to break away from. In cases where the image was confirmed by expressions of overt power, the need to break free was accentuated and hastened. In other relationships where there was less or no explicit reference to overt power, the need to break free was from the image of an un-needed nurturing parent-child relationship.

The predominant image held by mentors of mentees was of a nurturing/developmental relationship. This meant a power imbalance that was not only just, but was also in the interest of the mentee. Advice-giving and guidance were felt to be appropriate, and the 'correct' action on the part of the mentee would be acceptance. Under this perception breaking free by mentees would be unnecessary and inappropriate. As a result the mentees had to disguise the thoughts which led to their withdrawal, and the fact of their withdrawal, so as to avoid the supposed potential negative impact of disapproval of the mentors.

According to a Foucauldian analysis 'the gaze' of surveillance (which seeks knowledge of the mentee) produces 'the look' by which those being surveyed create the impression of conformity. An example is shown in pair 4, where Harry singularly failed to achieve 'the look' (in contrast to Catrina who was compliant in the surveillance of Harry). In all cases mentees maintained 'the look' of compliance by carrying on with the superficial aspects of the relationship. For example, meetings were still held and discussions were conducted on relevant topics, but there was generally a withdrawal from the deeper aspects of the interaction. The mentees stopped revealing their genuine thoughts and feelings. In other words, they protected themselves against the outcomes of 'confession' (which could be equally part of 'Christian' and 'Greek' mentoring modes, 'hard' and 'soft' management styles) by appearing to reveal themselves while not actually doing so.

The breakdown of relationships could be linked in some instances to a breakdown in effective operation of mentoring as a power/knowledge

panoptic technique. In pair 4, for example, surveillance became more overt and threatening as the more subtle technique of providing the mentee with supported means of self-development failed to deliver an appropriately pliant management subject.

It has been argued that processes such as career development can operate not only as panoptic techniques but as 'projects of the self' in which the individual becomes self-managing in a way which is both useful to the organization and more invasive than management processes could overtly seek to be. Grey (1994) explores the career as an organizing principle in the project of the self of accountants. A fundamental factor in career success is displaying and feeling the right enthusiasm, even for mundane trainee tasks. Review and appraisal operate panoptically to inspire enthusiasm in bored trainees, but this function is apparently redundant in trainees who are already highly dedicated and enthusiastic. However, Grey (1994) argues that the techniques are not actually redundant for the latter group. They can come to see the disciplinary techniques of review as a benevolent means to realize their own life projects. This is true even of those who are ejected from the system. Their complaints focus around the techniques not being sufficiently employed to help them change, not in them being over- or incorrectly employed, or indeed, employed at all.

Pair 4 is again an interesting example. Catrina's case would conform to this analysis. She saw the mentoring process as benevolent and helpful to her aim to become a more professional manager and rise up the 'career ladder'. Juliet clearly conceives the mentoring process as benevolent, even though it is used as part of a range of coercive tools against Harry. For Catrina, power/knowledge has not broken down because she is happy and believes she is progressing. Conversely, Harry is unhappy, knows he is not progressing in the job, and for his relationship with Juliet, power/knowledge has broken down.

'Confessions' and self-revelation were occurring in peer groups of mentees who were mutually supportive. Thus, the mentees were receiving their 'strokes' elsewhere while the confessors/mentors received disguised 'discounts' from the ineffective confessions of mentoring meetings. This meant that power/knowledge was functioning such that, although the confessors should have been in a superior position with greater knowledge of the mentees than the mentees had of them, in fact there was a reversal. The mentees were in a superior position because, equipped with an understanding of management discourse, they could interrogate the rhetoric and behaviour of the mentor (both in general and in the mentoring discussions) and form judgements. These judgements were kept secret from the mentor, but were sometimes discussed with close peer groups and occasionally with wider groups such as the class. The mentees gained a superior position because they 'knew' of the failings of the mentor and protected themselves from being known by the mentor.

The mentors did not perceive or understand what had happened. In most cases they did realize that there was something wrong or something missing, but they were confused about what stage the relationship had reached, and

even this limited realization did not occur until after the withdrawal had been effected. The mentors responded with a mixture of defensiveness, aggression, sorrow, and feelings of loss and guilt. It is clear that the mentors had suffered significant psychosocial dysfunction.

For the mentees other than Harry and Catrina it could be argued that the operation of power/knowledge broke down temporarily as their mentoring relationships collapsed. However, they established a peer self-help group which had the effect of carrying forward many of the objectives of the mentorship scheme. Not only were they conforming to desired management behaviour and thinking, they were voluntarily meeting in their free time and mixing management socialization with leisure activities. They were seeking, granting and receiving approval, ideas and practices which they believed improved them and made it more likely that they could achieve their potential to gain power in the organization and change it for the better. This was happening in a self-generating and reciprocal way.

This is analogous to Grey's (1994) comments on the invasion of career-oriented activities into the lives of the accountants he studied who had to have the 'right sort' of family, social activities and network in order to progress. But this was not experienced as imposed from without. It was all part of the individuals' freely chosen (as they thought) life plans. In the same way, for the aspiring health service managers, although they did not join the same clubs as their superiors, their careers and aspirations did operate as a technique of becoming self-managing. Although they did not view their experience of mentorship as an effective means for them to pursue their own life projects, they did not dismiss the concepts and processes of mentorship per se. They merely relocated these functions in a self-chosen peer group instead of a hierarchical mentor. Power/knowledge is relational and its exercise can inspire resistance. This can be collectively organized to a greater or lesser extent so as to form a basis from which a resistant discourse can operate (Austrin, 1994). In this case, the resistance was partial and operated in an anti-hierarchical mode.

What emerges from this analysis is that while it is true, as the literature would have it, that power/knowledge and psychosocial functions are important, in this case they actually operate inversely to the hierarchical power structure of the organization. Foucault sees power/knowledge as operating on both subordinates and superordinates (Legge, 1995), and in this case the subordinates used knowledge as a way of assessing their superiors and then used their power as a member of a dyadic relationship to prevent meaningful interaction. The result was psychosocial dysfunction for the mentors.

The expectation is that where there is a hierarchical relationship between the mentor and mentee, the mentoring will lack openness, freedom and a developmental focus. The reason for this would be assumed to be the constraints on interaction imposed by the hierarchical power inherent in the relationship. In this case we can identify 'vicious spirals' of declining relationships where



alterations in the power/knowledge balance were linked to psychosocial dysfunction.

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Critical Reflections on Mentoring in Work Settings

Ann Darwin

Most adults can identify a person who had a significant influence on their learning and development. They come in many guises: teachers, bosses, coworkers, and friends. Hence, mentoring has become a major preoccupation of popular media and educational discourse. In George Lucas's *Star Wars* trilogy, Luke Skywalker is paired up with veteran Obi-Wan Kenobi, an experienced and supportive mentor. Other well-known mentor-protégé relationships include Ernest Hemingway's mentor, Gertrude Stein; Gail Sheehy claims Margaret Mead as her mentor, who in turn was inspired by Franz Boas. In the world of adult education, Allen Tough's mentor at the University of Chicago was Cyril Houle.

For centuries, mentoring has been used as a vehicle for handing down knowledge, maintaining culture, supporting talent, and securing future leadership. In prerevolutionary China, the passing of the throne by the sovereign to a successor was known as *Shan Jang*, stepping out of the way. Mentoring flourished in the English feudal system as favored pages and squires became knights. The apprenticeship model was practiced by the Guilds in Medieval times. During the Renaissance and Baroque periods, patron families supported talented artists. There has been a strong reproductive element attached to mentoring, well suited to societies relying on ritualized behavior to protect the status quo.

Implicit in traditional mentoring practices are unchallenged assumptions about knowledge and power. Learning was a means of transmitting knowledge to protégés, and the mentor's primary role was to maintain culture. The mentor was a protective teacher, guide, or sponsor. This is not surprising, as

the etymological meaning of the term comes from the root *men*, which means to remember, think, counsel. The word *protégé* comes from the French verb, *protéger*, to protect. Thus, traditionally, the mentoring relationship has been framed in a language of paternalism and dependency and stems from a power-dependent, hierarchical relationship, aimed at maintaining the status quo.

Most governments and many organizations consider continuous, on-the-job learning as necessary for all employees. The movement toward competency-based training and education has brought new responsibilities for supervisors to provide learning development opportunities and career support to members of staff. Therefore, it will become increasingly important to know about mentoring relationships. Although the language of mentoring has largely been dominated by popular psychology or human resource development, the presence of an adult learner and a teacher clearly locates it in an ideology of adult education. This has been demonstrated by Daloz (1986), Merriam (1983), Stalker (1994), and even Knowles (1980) who emphasized the need to create an optimal climate of the kind usually deemed necessary for mentoring.

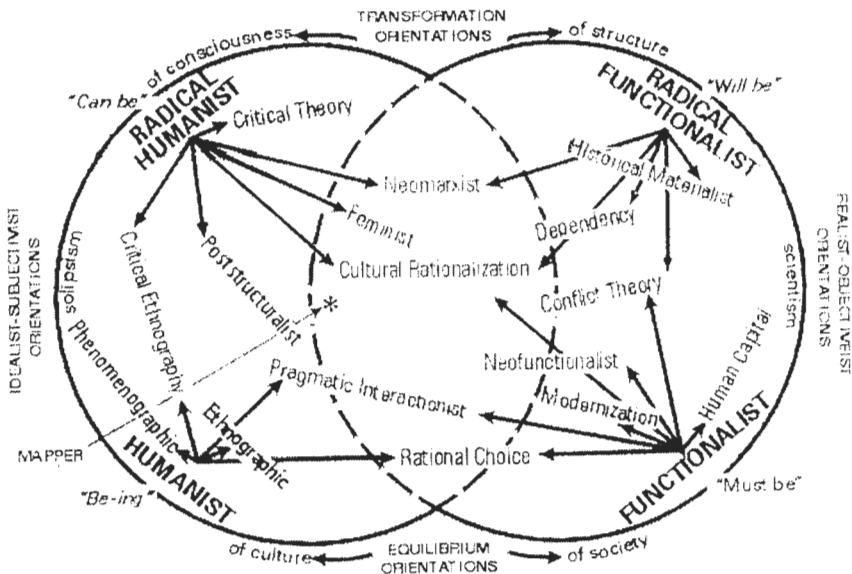
Many organizations became interested in mentoring when research indicated it was linked to career success (Roche, 1979), personal growth (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978), leadership development (Zaleznik, 1977), and increased organizational productivity (Zey, 1984). Work settings are far more complex than they were a few decades ago. Yet, what is known about mentoring is rooted in assumptions developed as part of a surge of interest in the topic in the late 1970s. Researchers continue to confirm exclusive workplace practices by restricting studies to samples drawn from successful, high-achieving managers (Clawson, 1980; Kram, 1980). The shortage of women in senior management positions excluded them from the most prominent early studies (Levinson et al., 1978; Roche, 1979). As many studies built on earlier works, findings often are based on research conducted on mainly male samples. Research suggests that women develop differently from men, thus raising questions about the appropriateness of anchoring mentoring practices on research conducted only with men (Baker-Miller, 1991; Gilligan, 1982). In addition, much recent research has been directed more toward practice than to theoretical and conceptual understandings of the mentoring phenomenon (Appelbaum, Ritchie, & Shapiro, 1994). A lack of conceptual clarity may be due, in part, to ambiguity in definitions of the term *mentor*. Workplace mentors were traditionally defined as older, powerful members of an organization who provided career and psychosocial support to a younger, less powerful person. Definitions today are often less restrictive. How mentoring is defined and used appears to depend on one's point of view.

Need for a Map

There is much more to mentoring than giving advice. Moreover, although mentoring clearly involves adult learners, significant chunks of literature about it are generated by people with little or no understanding of adult

education. There is a contest between those who construct mentoring within a functionalist perspective (where the task is to yield efficiency) and others who consider it a matter of social justice. To understand what lies beneath this contest, a map is needed.

Social cartography is the process of mapping theory. This study was informed by Burrell and Morgan's (1979) mapping of organizational theory but, more particularly, by Paulston's (1996) recent cartographies of education. Figure 1 shows Paulston's latest mapping of social theory that buttresses education. Beneath the overlapping circles are two axes. The horizontal axis concerns ontology, the essence of phenomena. Researchers vary with respect to the extent that they think there is an objective reality out there, external to the individual. On the left side of Paulston's model – on the horizontal axis – are theoretical formulations wherein it is assumed that reality is subjectively constructed. On the right are theories that assume an objectivist orientation. Reality exists outside the individual. The vertical axis concerns power and self-interest. It asks, Who benefits (from, e.g., mentoring relationships)? At the bottom of the vertical axis are theories that reinforce existing power relations. At the top are the more critical formulations that challenge extant power relations. Think of this map like Microsoft Windows. The horizontal and vertical axes are opened first. Next, the two overlapping circles are laid down. Finally, theoretical formulations (e.g., critical theory) are laid onto the map and an effort made to show their interrelationships. This yields four quadrants. The zone at the lower right-hand side of the map is concerned with functionalist



Source: Paulston (1996).

Figure 1: Social cartography of theory about mentoring

perspectives (such as human capital and modernization theory). The lower left identifies theories (such as phenomenography or ethnography) that can be characterized as Interpretivist. The upper left zone concerns Radical Humanist formulations (such as critical or poststructuralist theory) and the upper right the Marxian or Radical Structuralist perspectives (such as those in historical materialism and dependency theories).

Contemporary workplaces pose problems for older notions of mentoring constructed from within a Functionalist frame of reference. Although Interpretivist and Radical Humanist formulations have much to contribute, the purpose of this article is to compare and contrast Functionalist with Radical Humanist notions of mentoring by deploying two corners of Paulston's map to analyze mentoring. With this in mind, the first task is to consider the workplace of the future.

Workplace at the Dawn of the 21st Century

Women and men employed in factories in 1899 would barely recognize today's workplace. Quite apart from the silencing of noisy machinery and demise of smokestacks, mentoring is unlike that of yesteryear. Two major changes have influenced the way mentoring is defined and used: advances in technology and an embrace of diversity.

Technology

As a result of information technology, computers and telecommunications have become faster and more affordable, enabling organizations to produce goods and provide services with little requirement for human beings. Many organizations have reengineered and downsized, resulting in increased redundancies and flatter organizational structures. These changes have had an impact on the way work is performed. More people are working part time and, in many cases, from their homes. This trend is likely to continue, so that by 2001, less than half the workforce in the industrial world will be in full-time employment, and work, as we currently know it, will come to an end (Rifkin, 1995). Although not everyone agrees with these predictions, work settings will continue to be transformed by technology discoveries. Consequently, old career development models have lost their potency as fewer organizations offer "one job for life" in return for loyalty. Furthermore, this career instability includes middle-age employees who find themselves having to relearn and compete for jobs in an open marketplace. They may be more vulnerable than younger people who have been raised in an age of greater uncertainty. Mentoring is now more likely perceived as an activity relevant to young and old alike.

These days, many older workers are being encouraged into early retirement. Consequently, senior people able to provide experienced career advice

are fewer, and those who remain may be out of step with new rules of the game. In addition, as organizations change, there is an increase in part-time and contract work, a rise in unemployment, and massive restructuring efforts in the name of efficiency. People are being forced to reframe the notion of work. The organization will not provide a job for life. Mentoring models may be useful when times are stable, but reproduction of the status quo may not be what organizations need when faced with rapid changes.

Two reviews of mentoring literature were published in which Merriam (1983) cautioned against potentially negative effects, and Hunt and Michael (1983) proposed the establishment of formal mentoring programs. The latter's optimism appears to capture the ethos of the early 1980s as large amounts of funds and energy poured into the development, implementation, and evaluation of formal mentoring programs (Carden, 1990). A North American survey in 1996 suggested that the percentage of businesses planning mentoring programs doubled between 1995 and 1996, from 17% to 36% (Jossi, 1997). These programs may be a result of organizational guilt in the aftermath of downsizing, a need to ease the pain of those left behind in organizations and to retain some vestige of intellectual capital and organizational loyalty. The questions that must continue to be asked are, Whose goals are being pursued? Who benefits? Whose interests do such programs serve?

Diversity

The notion that mentoring is an exclusive activity undertaken predominantly by older males for younger males is no longer appropriate. Stalker (1994) suggests an alternative view of mentoring that endorses the resistance and transformations women mentors bring to patriarchal cultures and "critiques the existing power bases and explores the ways in which power can be used to challenge the status quo" (p. 370). Women are allegedly more likely to regard power as a source of "power with" rather than "power over" and consequently to value learning within relationships as a key developmental experience (Hartsock, 1983; Kirkpatrick, 1975; McClelland, 1975). Learning to reframe attitudes, emphasizing the importance of interdependence over dependence and intimacy over emotional distance, may be less difficult for women than men.

Women also face discrimination and identity issues throughout their careers different from those of men (Baker-Miller, 1991). To achieve equality, women in the late 1960s attempted to minimize differences between men and women. This was no easy task because there existed an attitude that women "might not provide as good a return on investment for the corporation as developing a male manager would" (Cook, 1979). Due to the small number of women in management positions, it was, and still is, easy for them to be entrapped in stereotypical roles, ranging from the "iron maiden" to the "mother," "seductress,"

or “pet” (Kanter, 1977). Others label successful women “queen bees” and berate them for not looking to clone their younger sisters.

Developmental theories of mentoring claim knowledge is a passive process. Knowledge needs to be viewed as an active process in which curiosity is encouraged and learning becomes a dynamic, reciprocal, and participatory process. From this perspective, learning is about knowing differently, and change is more likely to occur as a result of individual learning. Mentoring partnerships will continue to happen serendipitously, as they have done for centuries. Exclusive, power-dependent mentoring practices, however, cannot continue in work settings. To understand this, it is necessary to consider the way orthodox functionalist views of mentoring are challenged by Radical Humanist conceptions.

Functionalist Perspectives

Traditional mentoring practices fulfilled two main functions: The first was to help younger protégés advance their careers by showcasing their work. The second was a psychosocial function that helped protégés gain self-confidence required in a leadership situation. The more functions present in the relationship, the more it resembled traditional mentorship.

A mentor was commonly viewed as a powerful member of an organization who sponsored career advancement. Relationships usually occurred informally, between senior (in age and position) and junior (usually male) members of the organization for the purpose of fast-track promotion and succession planning. This Darwinian survival-of-the-fittest process ensures that protégés learn techniques for operating successfully within a corporate culture, thus placing them “ahead of the pack.” Mentors “go to bat” for their protégés, provide access to scarce resources, help with visibility, protect from harm, and promote and recommend for challenging assignments. In return, mentors fulfill “some deep-seated need to teach, assume a parental role, or indulge various altruistic yearnings that presumably haunt executives in late careers” (Zey, 1984, p. 77).

Functionalist-oriented research suggests that having a mentor leads to career success and higher salaries; finding a mentor has become a functional and socially desirable activity (Roche, 1979). There are extensive mentor-protégé relationships among business elites. Young executives with mentors are allegedly happier with their career progress and work than are nonmentored colleagues. Although female executives are far less prevalent, mentors are alleged to be equally important for the career advancement of women (Collins, 1983; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Jeruchim & Shapiro, 1992; Missirian, 1982).

There are, however, problems in perspectives that assume one right way to advance a career. People in senior positions looking for a successor often identify protégés who have certain characteristics and tend to advance people

most like themselves (Kanter, 1977). Individualistic and competitive notions of social stratification embedded in functionalist perspectives imply that those who succeed have done so solely through their own efforts. Such views ignore inequalities of race, gender, and class. This process is reinforced by researchers who assume the workforce consists entirely of White, middle-class males. Yet, the relationship between mentoring and career success is not found in those from lower socioeconomic groups who receive significantly less mentoring than people with higher socioeconomic status backgrounds (Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991).

Recycled Power Relationships

From a functionalist perspective, mentoring is associated with recycling of power within workplace relationships. First, protégés seek more powerful individuals within the organization. The mentor holds power until the protégé is independent, and then the cycle starts again, only this time, the protégé is now the mentor for someone else. Mentors give their protégés a preview of what it means to have power, thus removing some of the mystery. This recycling of power is based on the assumption that mentoring is a power-dependent, hierarchical activity, which initiates the protégé and renews the mentor. A high degree of correlation between identity and work group membership, which mirrors power relations, is also assumed.

Women and racial minorities have mainly been excluded from organizational norms and, as such, have been granted limited access to this cycle of power. For example, women have had mentoring relationships almost entirely with men, but the degree of mutuality in the relationship often was limited, and "the barriers to empathy and identification often prevented the development of a fuller mentoring relationship" (Levinson, 1996, p. 270). They have often been forced to move outside the organization for psychosocial support in developing their professional identities "because the people inside their workplace often can not provide the core internal sense of career that is so crucial to building a total career self-concept" (Thomas & Higgins, 1995, p. 9).

In an attempt to make mentoring more accessible to women and disadvantaged groups, organizations created specialized programs, the benefits of which have been documented (Collin, 1988; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Klauss, 1981; Wilson & Elman, 1990; Zey, 1984). This functionalist approach to mentoring allegedly provides mutual benefits to the protégé, the mentor, and the organization. Benefits to the mentor include satisfaction, loyalty, and peer recognition; benefits to the protégé are assumed to include greater understanding of organizational culture, career advice, and promotion; and benefits to the organization include increased motivation and productivity, stability of culture, reduced turnover, leadership development, and improved communications.

Researchers allude to potential dangers of such programs, such as overdependence, jealousy, and the possibility of unwanted romantic or sexual involvement sometimes associated with cross-gender mentoring. The experience and skill of the mentor and the willingness of the protégé to take responsibility for the relationship are also mentioned (Kram, 1985; Merriam, 1983; Shapiro, Haseltine, & Rowe, 1978). Even if conditions are optimal, formal programs place heavy burdens on human resources as there are few managers at the top available to act as mentors. One of the inevitable results of organizationally sponsored mentoring programs is the temptation to mechanize the process. Although the notion of organizations encouraging career development of employees has considerable merit from a functionalist perspective, difficulties occur when mentoring programs are made compulsory and seen to be the only valid means of on-the-job learning. Formal mentoring models are authoritarian because they are introduced and controlled by senior managers (Caruso, 1992).

Mentors as Providers of Psychosocial Support

Adult development perspectives suggest that early adulthood is one of initiation and that middle adulthood is one of reappraisal (Kram 1983; Levinson et. al., 1978; Missirian, 1982; Phillips-Jones, 1982). Each of these phases involves unique developmental tasks that must be mastered to advance to the next stage (Erikson, 1980). In these conceptual frameworks, the mentor is viewed as a transitional figure who guides and nurtures the protégé into the adult world through a series of phases, from dependence to independence.

Career development research also suggests that people proceed through stages separated by a transitional period, a time of adjustment. Mentoring is first encountered during the establishment stage, usually when young people first enter an organization and are in most need of guidance and support. Mentors, in their mid- to late 40s, at the maintenance stage of their career, pass on their acquired knowledge to young people who have just started, enabling them to build a sense of identity and purpose. One of the best-known mentoring models was postulated by Kram (1983). She suggested that mentoring relationships proceed from initiation (a period of 6 months to 1 year), during which time the relationship gets started; cultivation (a period of 2 to 5 years), during which time the range of career and psychosocial functions provided expands to a maximum; separation (a period of 6 months to 2 years), after a significant change in the structural role relationship; and redefinition (an indefinite period), during which time the relationship is ended or takes on different characteristics, making it more peer-like. There are allegedly reciprocal benefits. The protégé gains competence and insights, whereas "the mentor acts almost as an instrument of God, continuing the 'creation'

of the individual, and gains an unusual sense of singularity and importance” (Sheehy, 1981, p. 182).

Development models are now being questioned (Kram & Hall, 1995) as career paths are less predictable and people are less likely than in the past to receive life-long developmental support from one person. Furthermore, development models assume that the mentor has more career-related experience and knowledge than does the protégé. However, midcareer workers, at the maintenance stage, are now having to learn new skills: those in which younger workers may already be more competent. Career age, rather than chronological age, may be more important. Career growth will be a process of continuous learning, which combines relationships and work challenges. Moreover, it is probable that Kram’s (1983) work on stages has lost relevance because mentoring relationships are more likely to be shorter than in the past.

These developmental models are also based on the need for separation, with intimacy reemerging at the redefinition stage. This does not appear to be the case in Gilligan’s (1982) research, which suggested a fusion of identity and intimacy for women, rather than identity preceding intimacy. Developmental theory has established men’s experience and competence as a baseline against which everyone’s development is judged, often to the detriment or misreading of women (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986).

There is an ethereal quality in mentoring relationships, and “magic is available to anyone willing to stand in the right place” (Daloz, 1986, p. 18). There is nothing wrong with the notion of a person who will appear serendipitously to provide guidance and direction. What is troubling about this view is that like all fairy stories, it may leave many people waiting patiently and powerlessly for such a person to materialize. It may also perpetuate the myth of meritocracy in explaining success, suggesting that anyone can become successful if they attract a mentor, work hard, and live happily ever after. Moreover, it appears that not everyone is fortunate enough to be standing in the right place. Mentors who offer comprehensive support to protégés are reportedly rare (Clawson, 1985; Hanlan & Weiss, 1981; Levinson et al., 1978; Merriam, 1983). Mentoring is allegedly critical to adult development, yet few people have had a mentor. Could this mean that most people are not fully developed? Or that perhaps mentoring is meant only for the scions of industry?

There are flaws in theories that suggest that there is a predictable path for development throughout adulthood, that emotional boundaries must be present within such relationships, and that there exists in the workplace a successful core of White, middle-class successors to organizational hierarchies. A great deal of mentoring research has been based on this assumption and remains relatively unchallenged. Traditional assumptions about mentoring, aimed at replicating the status quo, may have been relevant in a time before women entered the workforce and before downsizing and flatter structures reduced the role of hierarchy within organizations. These theories are anchored in a world that no longer exists.

Radical Humanist Perspectives

Recall that in Paulston's (1996) cartography of social theory, Radical Humanism is located at the subjectivist end of the ontology axis and at the "transformation" end of the vertical axis. The field of adult education is replete with theory or frames of reference that can be characterized as Radical Humanist. Freire's (1972) work is the best known example of Radical Humanism in adult education. But, as well, there is participatory research, the Canadian Antigonish movement; literacy campaigns in Latin American countries; certain AIDS-education programs (that foreground power relations and subjectivity); most branches of critical pedagogy; much of the work done with indigenous people in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada; popular theatre; and various critical strands in postmodern thought (Paulston, 1999). As well, part of Mezirow's work on transformational learning is located in this paradigm.

Although advocates of the learning organization appear on the surface to favor the democratization of the workplace and employee empowerment, a Radical Humanist perspective asks that we dig below the surface and examine power relations and ontological commitments nested in mentoring. Great caution is needed. From within a Radical Humanist perspective, mentoring is a process that places social justice in the foreground. Power relations are challenged and worker subjectivity respected. The Radical Humanist mentor takes a broad perspective that goes well beyond notions of efficiency found in a functionalist perspective. This can be seen clearly in the struggle over what is meant by a *learning organization*. Is this an organization that has embraced the social democratic ethos of lifelong education or a fancy name applied to well-oiled corporatism of the new right?

Some literature on learning organizations stresses the development of a climate that encourages risk taking, dialogue, and horizontal relationships as a means of creating new knowledge. Mentoring becomes a collaborative, dynamic, and creative partnership of coequals, founded on openness, vulnerability, and the ability of both parties to take risks with one another beyond their professional roles. Relationships become opportunities for dialogue, and *expert* and *learner* become arbitrary delineations. Within a Functionalist framework, mentoring involved the transfer of technical and cultural knowledge from mentor as teacher, to protégé as learner. But within Radical Humanism, the relationship becomes adult-like and interdependent. The concept of *colearning* suggests that individuals transcend roles (or create different roles) and interact as colleagues.

With power relations, employee subjectivity, and learning in the foreground, mentoring is important for all employees, including senior managers having to learn new rules and technologies. Thus, they are more likely to find themselves co-inquirers in the search for work meaning and career growth. Such a view sits well with the changing culture of the workplace



and recognition of the need for organizations to encourage different ways of structuring meaning, of perceiving the self and the world (Daloz, 1986). One of the strengths of mentoring in a Radical Humanist perspective is that it is founded on a learning model that uses tacit knowledge, typically untaught but essential to thriving organizations.

Organizations must make more, rather than less, use of reflexive practice. Rapid change often induces competition, and people react conservatively, with a tendency to descend into fundamentalism. There are paradoxes here. Most people work in a competitive environment yet often are asked to collaborate and care for one another. They are told to engage in intentional learning that requires self-reflection and yet are asked to do more with less. They are asked to take risks, yet organizational culture does not support risk taking. Within such a paradoxical environment, organizations need to encourage formation of mentoring relationships through dialogue.

Power and control of knowledge remain barriers to open communications in work settings, as many people are in the dual role of mentor and supervisor. The need for psychological freedom may be in conflict with the exercise of authority (Collin, 1988; Kadushin, 1985; Wilson & Elman, 1990). Structural barriers prevent people from being able to transcend roles but also exist in the minds of people. Their removal must start with a heightened awareness of power and authority and willingness to develop new ways of relating to others (Kahn & Kram, 1994). Whereas traditional leadership theories focus on the behaviors of leaders (Yukl, 1994), a Radical Humanist perspective would dwell on how power flows between leaders and followers. In this regard, it appears that leaders who distance themselves from followers are less effective (Bass, 1990). Leadership and mentorship appear to be closely aligned, as relationships, rather than structures, become more valued within work settings.

From a Radical Humanist rather than a functionalist perspective, a variety of workplace mentoring relationships would be encouraged, for example, peer mentoring that offers mutually supportive and challenging partnerships of coequals, marked more by reciprocal influence and less by notions of downward influence and role-defined relationships (Jeruchim & Shapiro, 1992; Kram & Isabella, 1985; Louis, 1980). Mentoring circles have been proposed as a way in which diversity objectives can be achieved.

Research that explores heterogeneous relationships is relatively thin due to the unchallenged assumption that mentoring is a one-to-one developmental relationship between an older and a younger person. Yet, the notion of mentoring as a diffused function that should be embraced by all workers is a critical element in work settings. People's images of mentoring rarely take into account nonhierarchical, democratic relationships, although organizational terminology may be changing, with categories such as "superior-subordinate" softening into "team leader" and "team member."

Finally, from a Radical Humanist perspective, mentoring can no longer afford to be seen as some add-on feature to human resource development

that socializes new recruits. Rather, organizations need to acknowledge power relations and value time for connection between workers within and outside the organization. Contributions from old and young people are valued, so perspectives are challenged and new knowledge is created. Bly (1996) calls mentoring a “vertical” process, one in which young members of a society learn how to *be* in that society. He believes that the breakdown of these vertical relationships has created a sibling society, one in which members live out a perpetual adolescence. Relationships need to be both up and down, so older and younger organizational members keep asking, How do these decisions today affect tomorrow?

It will be a challenge for decision makers to shift their focus from functionalist notions of mentoring. A major challenge will be learning to break away from past mindsets and habits that may act as barriers to learning. Mentoring would become one of a number of strategies that are part of an overall plan to share intellectual and emotional resources. Individuals would be encouraged to share both tacit and explicit knowledge with others, in one-to-one mentoring relationships and a variety of other forms, both homogeneous and heterogeneous. Such articulation (moving from tacit to explicit knowledge creation) will be critical, as movement in and out of organizations becomes more frequent. In this way, new knowledge is created and power relationships are exposed. Organizations may learn to become less myopic.

Perhaps the notion of mentoring as a colearning, interdependent activity – which encourages authentic dialogue and power sharing across cultures, genders, and hierarchical levels – is too utopian. However, if mentoring is viewed less as a role and more as the character of the relationship, it has the capacity to transform workplace relationships.

Afterword

Research has been far from orderly, with little agreement as to how mentoring should be defined and used. Most research on mentoring remains almost exclusively anchored in a functionalist paradigm. Functionalist perspectives, with their stress on efficiency, are congruent with economic rationalism nested in Reganism, Thatcherism, and Mulroneyism. But as the December 1999 demonstrations against the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle showed, these perspectives do not command enthusiastic support.

In the same way, there is now dissatisfaction with the utopianism of the “learning organization,” which for many workers, involved the tumult of restructuring, the need to do more with less, the confusion of “multiskilling,” and anxiety about losing their job. In this context, older functionalist forms of mentoring seem like a throwback to a past when knowledge, the workplace, and work relationships were more stable and power relations were not challenged. The widespread use of technology and importance ascribed to diversity

in the workplace means that there will be a continuing need for mentoring from within a functionalist frame of reference. But in addition, there is now a profound need for mentoring that foregrounds power relationships and employee subjectivity.

The task here has been to analyze the workplace at the dawn of the 21st century and to make the case for infusing mentoring with a Radical Humanist perspective. It is not that trainers or Human Resources Development (HRD)-oriented adult educators are entirely wedded to functionalist perspectives. On the contrary, many realize that "there's more to it." But because of economic rationalism and intense competitiveness, few have time to invoke theory that reaches beyond functionalist orthodoxy.

What is needed is a study of how mentoring looks when viewed from within all the theoretical lenses nested in the four quadrants of Figure 1. In this article, the task has been to compare and contrast mentoring from within functionalist and Radical Humanist perspectives. It is hoped that by so doing, others will be challenged to consider the possibility that there is more to mentoring than giving advice. Moreover, there is more to mentoring research than surveys that attempt to link program initiatives with work-related outcomes.

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Mentoring and the Tolerance of Complexity

Bob Garvey and Geof Alred

1. The Backdrop

Kessels [1] argues that “organisations have a direct stake in the personal enrichment of employees because excellence on the job requires employees who are comfortable with their work and who have strong and stable personalities. Personal enrichment is thus less an employee privilege than a condition for good performance.” His may be a challenging statement for people working within a capitalist society as it suggests that economic progress, is strongly associated with social conditions, learning and a sense of morality.

Mentoring is becoming increasingly employed in a range of occupational settings [2]. We speculate that this is because mentoring activity encourages and facilitates informal or ‘open’ learning (see page 11). More traditional formal or ‘closed’ approaches to learning are increasingly being criticised for not delivering enhanced capability and performance to organisations [3]. Against this background it becomes inevitable that alternatives to the ‘formal’ are investigated by organisations.

In the context of workplace learning concepts such as “situated learning” [4] and the “zone of proximal development” [5] take on particular significance for there can be little doubt that the message in these theories is very clear – learning is a social activity.

Workplace mentoring (as we conceive it, see page 5) because it is social, situated in the “zone of proximal development” [6] and involves both the cognitive and the meta-cognitive is all-engaging and is therefore learning of a higher mental order. Gladstone [7] cites Bolles [8] as stating that “a mentor is the highest level educator” (8: 10). And, Vygotsky [6] would agree

Any higher mental function necessarily goes through an external stage in its development because it is initially a social function . . . Any higher mental function was external because it was social at some point before becoming an internal, truly mental function. (p. 162)

Mentoring is related to and associated with reconceptualisations of organisations, such as the “knowledge-creating company” [9].

2. Changing Organisations

Organisations tend to be motivated by ideas which may help them achieve competitive advantage, survival or progress in their activities. But, the world is changing. For instance, the business world in the late eighties and early nineties saw ‘the quality boom’. This was primarily driven by organisations seeking competitive advantage through the superior quality of their products or services. This, combined with a drive to cut costs, resulted in great developments in technology and changes in working practices. Manufacturing industries saw the introduction of sophisticated automation and consequently the increased demand for a technically skilled workforce able to be flexible and adaptable. Ironically, some skilled workers started to become de-skilled as a result of introducing new technology [11].

The public sector in the UK has also seen many changes. In the main, these were driven by a political desire to reduce public expenditure but at the same time there was an attempt to improve the quality of service. Many public sector organisations became subject to ‘market principles’ with compulsory competitive tendering and ‘commercialisation’ of its activities.

High quality products and service at reduced cost became the entry point at which organisations could do business [12,13]. As competitive advantage based on quality alone became more difficult to sustain businesses started to develop new customer led strategies. This meant the need to focus on people and relationships and slogans began to appear in organisational documents such as ‘people mean business’, ‘people are our most important asset’.

Some organisations are now attempting to develop into “learning companies” [14] in order to achieve competitive edge. This requires paying attention to people’s need for support, encouragement, challenge and learning through and from situated experience. This challenges managers stuck in the old paradigms of management control and command and the Taylorist concept of economic man.

Thus, the human landscape of working and living in this new century is evolving and perhaps involves an increasingly more complex set of demands. The complexity of working and living within a capitalist community seems likely to accelerate. This is due in part to technology becoming more sophisticated, communications faster and competition keener. In such a climate, the demands on people increase as their working lives change rapidly. As Jarvis [15] puts it “. . . change, then, is one of the conditions of the modern world.”

3. The Aim of the Paper

This paper explores mentoring in the light of complexity and the premium placed upon knowledge in organisational viability. It draws on current discourses about future organisational viability in the operating conditions of early 21st century industrialised society. These discourses draw on complexity theory and the broad range of theories pertaining to being and learning at work. Against the above backdrop it becomes necessary to ask – what can mentoring contribute and what is its role in a complex environment?

Our discussion is in two parts. First, we attempt to give an impression of complexity at work, and what it means for the individual. We link the central ideas of complexity theory with the notion of a corporate curriculum [1], an inclusive concept intended to capture the complex nature of learning at work, in all its variants. These include an instrumental view of learning but goes further to embrace learning that is informal, experiential, reflective and the outcome of collaboration. This broader concept of learning is encouraged and supported by mentoring relationships.

Secondly, we speculate on the contribution mentoring can make in complex organisations where employees are part of a knowledge economy by virtue of producing knowledge and being engaged in learning at work.

4. Mentoring and the Organisation

Mentoring is versatile and complex. It is used for a variety of purposes in organisations and often where transitions are necessary. We propose that inherent in mentoring is the capacity that one person has to help another [16,7] and that this capacity needs to survive and thrive in a complex environment. However, there are challenges. Despite the acknowledged benefits, mentoring activity is not always recognised and is not always valued sufficiently within the work environment.

Research (Collin [17]; Clawson [18]; Clutterbuck [19]; Garvey [20]) shows that the authority which comes with a direct line-management position is not appropriate in a mentoring partnership. Mentoring is concerned with learning

and development within a trusting relationship. Therefore, the mentor is best situated between the organisation and the mentee, knowledgeable about both and responsive to both. As Collin [17] puts it, the mentor "acts as the leading edge in the process of socialisation in which the individual adapts to the needs and *ambience* of the company, whilst retaining his own individuality and, thereby, achieves his own style of managerial development" and, the mentor "personifies the company's *psychostructure* and acts as midwife in the process of socialisation" (original italics).

Organisational factors that influence mentoring forms include the perceived purpose of mentoring; organisational culture and management style; and the "dominant logic" [21] and organisational environment. In relation to purpose, there is evidence of an association between an instrumental form of mentoring and a perception of mentoring as a 'management tool' to fast track employees seen as having exceptional talent [20,22,2]. This encourages mentor control, an emphasis on giving advice, and, in some cases, manipulation.

There are other examples of the form mentoring takes. Here the focus is the holistic development of the mentee. Where the development of the mentee and organisational goals coincide, it is appropriate to talk of a 'mentoring organisation' where employees use a number of people to assist in different ways to enhance their learning at work [23]. In contrast, there are organisations where mentoring works against the grain of organisational culture. Antal [24], for instance, has observed that "unfortunately, many companies foster highly competitive behaviour and stress bottomline results in a way that discourages supportive behaviour between members of the organisation". She speculates, from her experience of mentoring schemes for women, that mentoring "is more sensitive than other training activities to the corporate culture in which the individuals work". One reason for this is that much of the learning at work, and much of the nature of organisational culture, stems from informal rather than formal activities. An effective mentor knows this and is effective by virtue of understanding how the organisation works and how to get on in it. The mentor is in a key position standing 'off-line' between the organisation, its values, culture and practices, and the developing employee.

More generally, the informal learning that takes place in mentoring is affected by what has been referred to as 'organisational mindset', an outlook that reflects organisational culture. Senge [25] describes it as a "mental mode" comprising "deeply ingrained assumptions, generalisations, or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action". Similarly, Bettis and Prahalad [21] use the phrase "the dominant logic" to emphasise that the influence of the organisation on individual thinking can be subtle and indirect. Both Senge and Bettis and Prahalad argue that organisational mindset influences both behaviour and thinking, and has the potential to inhibit or enhance learning capabilities.

In sum, the form mentoring takes is influenced by the 'mindset', management style and culture of the organisation. Paradoxically, it can both be



constructive and destructive, helpful and manipulative, confirm cultures and change them. Mentoring is about learning and learning is complex, paradoxical [15] and associated with change. Mentoring also involves iterative learning, reflexive and reflective learning. These are essential learning processes in a complex environment.

5. Complex Systems and Mentoring

Stacey's [26] application of complexity theory to organisations recognises three types of system: stable; unstable; and complex. All are non-linear feedback systems, where there are many outcomes to any action, group behaviour is more than the sum of individual behaviours, and small changes can escalate into major outcomes.

Mentoring in a stable organisation takes place against a background of relatively clear paths, both short and long, that the mentee will tread in the organisation. Here there is an emphasis on means rather than ends, such that mentoring may involve largely instrumental teaching and learning. We suggest that stability within an organisation at the beginning of the 21st Century is likely to be a short-lived reality. Consequently, mentoring activity may be based on faulty assumptions. These assumptions, based on a concept of stability, may include a clear and recognisable career path and a continuity and stability of employment within the same organisation. People with such assumptions may see mentoring as a way to maintain the existing system and thus become disappointed when mentoring does not match their expectations [11].

Mentoring is an activity that addresses a combination of short, medium and long term goals, and concerns primarily 'ends' as well as 'means'. Hence, mentoring is severely challenged in an unstable environment. It may become focused exclusively on short term goals, disappear or be displaced by friendships between people sharing a common difficult fate [27]. Mentoring may slip into the 'shadow-side' [28] where it has the potential to be both destructive or add value. The outcome of it falling into the shadows depends on the prevailing management style and culture.

A complex system is both stable and unstable. It is a dynamic system at the edge of instability, characterised by short term predictability and long-term unpredictability. Instability is ever present, and a complex system is described as being in a state of 'bounded instability' [26]: there are limits but they do not operate in a deterministic fashion; and there are rules, but these are local and other rules are found in other parts of the system. Hence, following rules does not ensure predictable outcomes, and is not always intelligent behaviour. The effects of actions of one part – an individual, a team, a department – arise in complex interactions with the actions of other parts. The best course of action is difficult to discern because the final outcome emerges in an unpredictable way from a multiplicity of actions by others. Hence, decisions need to be coupled

with a capacity and a readiness to deal positively with whatever ensues from the complex interactions of the whole. This includes the ability to compromise, to be resilient and accept that there may not be a 'right' answer.

Mentoring is partly in the shadows, by its very nature (mentor discussions happen in private and are bound by confidentiality) and partly in the light, when valued and resourced by an organisation through logistical and personnel support. This places mentoring in a state of 'bounded instability'.

Boolean algebra gives a helpful formal description of complex systems existing in nature [29]. Complex systems have also been modelled by arrays of interconnected light bulbs, where switching on and off is governed by simple local rules. The resulting patterns are the unpredictable result of multiple actions in complex interaction within the system; they are not planned and do not originate from any particular part of the system.

When the system is a human system, such as a manufacturing company or a hospital, and the capacity and readiness to respond to what emerges are present, then there is potential for emergent innovation that is beneficial. A light bulb in a Boolean array makes a difference because it is part of an open system, it is well connected, responds unambiguously to other light bulbs and sends clear messages. Contributing in a complex human system rests in part upon the equivalent human qualities such as being open, a good communicator, sensitive and empathic towards others and also being part of a broad network of people at work with both strong and weak connections.

Other examples of complexity, such as the performance of music, are perhaps more intuitively analogous to learning at work. The nature of a particular performance is complex: there are rules set by the score, performance notes, the instruments and limits of the performers, hence the instability is bounded; but the music collectively played is unique to that performance, to that occasion. The good conductor is one who knows he cannot control everything that happens but rather will allow the fullest participation of each player within the vision and spirit of the music. The classical recording industry thrives on the variety of performance that arises from the complexity of performing groups of musicians. What is new in a performance, the emergent innovation, is heard most explicitly when musicians improvise and it is striking that Drucker [10] and Barrett [30] have used the improvising jazz band as a metaphor for learning at work. The point made by these writers reminds us again of the importance of informal learning, of learning that departs from the rules, away from overt training and instruction, and within the daily flow and flux of experience at work. This is the province of mentoring.

Mentoring deals with peoples' experience and behaviour, and certainly, at an individual level, human behaviour is complex, as is human experience. At times of change, when mentoring is most valuable and developmental, the mentee is likely to experience themselves and their situation as complex. For people experiencing complexity, attempting to reduce the situation to simple terms ignores their reality and creates personal tensions and conflicts. It is

also dishonest. An organisation in a state of bounded instability is complex and is better understood as such.

Taking a complexity perspective allows us to go beyond instrumental mentoring and the view of the mentor's socialising role in the mentee's adaptation to the 'needs and ambience' of the organisation. Mentoring, as a powerful means of learning informally, has a significant role in knowledge productive organisations, namely to help the mentee function productively in a complex environment. In a complex system, networks become more important and an individual will, like the light bulbs, have and need multiple connections. Some of these connections will be mentoring relationships. We assert that the role for mentoring can only increase as more organisations seek to operate as knowledge productive organisations.

6. The Knowledge Economy and a Corporate Curriculum

The concept of a complex system serves as an analogy for people working and learning in organisations. We believe that the analogy is particularly useful in understanding organisations that succeed by virtue of being knowledge productive. Hence, we turn now to one characterisation of a knowledge productive organisation [1] and assert that this exemplifies a complex system. We attempt to substantiate our assertion by illustration rather than formally.

Knowledge Management is currently a much discussed imperative in organisations. To manage knowledge is an understandable aim, but it is unlikely to be attained using traditional approaches, as knowledge, in contrast to information, "cannot be managed by purposeful planning, systematic arrangement, and control" [1]. The fluid, emergent quality of learning in a complex organisation and the importance of informal learning require an organisational dynamic that allows the organisation to "operate at the edge where long-term outcomes are unknowable" [26] and probably unmanageable in the traditional sense.

The notion of a corporate curriculum [1] provides a useful way of describing and discussing the workplace as a complex learning environment. Kessels [1] regards the corporate curriculum as an inclusive concept of learning at work. He describes it as a 'rich landscape' of learning. In broad terms, curricula may be closed or open [31]. If the curriculum is closed, the 'teacher' tightly controls the content of the learning and the outcome is socialisation by boundaries of certainty. The closed curriculum, in assuming a rationality and orderliness in human activity tends to develop orderly, logical thinkers who assume that human activity is rational.

If the curriculum is open, the content of the learning is more integrated and boundary free. The outcome of this approach is socialisation and understanding through active engagement and participation. The open curriculum, in assuming a less orderly and holistic base to learning, tends to develop a

tolerance and understanding of uncertainty, change and paradox. It helps to develop creativity, lateral thinking and flexibility [31]. We believe that this concept has relevance to adult learning in a complex environment.

The features of Kessel's [1] corporate curriculum are as follows:

- 'acquiring subject matter expertise and skill directly related to the scope of the target competencies;
- learning to solve problems by using this domain specific expertise;
- developing reflective skills and metacognitions conducive to locating paths leading to new knowledge and means for acquiring and applying this asset;
- securing communication skills that provide access to the knowledge network of others and that enrich the learning climate within the workplace;
- acquiring skills that regulate motivation and the emotional dimension of learning;
- promoting peace and stability to enable specialisation, cohesion, and integration;
- causing creative turmoil to instigate improvement and innovation'.

Learning in this rich landscape goes far beyond formal training. By combining both the closed and open curricula and by paying attention to these 'landscape' features, an organisation may be able to develop its own rich landscape where learning occurs through active engagement and participation. This will not only develop specific skills and knowledge but also create flexibility, adaptability, creativity and innovative thinking – the generally accepted attributes of "knowledge workers" [10,25]. We suggest that mentoring activity is one way to help and support people as they become 'knowledge workers'.

The following section aims to illustrate how mentoring, a complex activity itself, can assist people to tolerate complexity.

7. Learning and Tolerating Complexity

There are two senses of the word 'tolerate'. First, and one commonly used, is the sense of 'putting up with'. Tolerance in this sense implies that a person views situations as, simplistically tolerable or intolerable so that the very perception of a situation becomes part of what makes it more or less tolerable. This, we believe, chips away at the personal qualities and abilities that determine optimal performance. Complexity here is experienced as 'complication', a source of frustration, discomfort and a drain on energy.

A second sense of 'tolerate', and one closer to its etymological root, is 'to sustain', to keep going and remain effective in prevailing conditions. This is a more positive connotation. If a mentee works in a complex environment, they will prosper and contribute if they can remain effective in a state of bounded

instability. This requires perception of the situation for what it is. If the situation is a 'rich landscape of learning' then the successful mentee will have an appreciation of themselves in respect of all seven elements of their learning and performance at work.

Any one issue, which might be examined in mentoring, may involve all or several of the elements of the corporate curriculum. These elements interact in complex ways. For example, problem solving may involve both detailed discussions with others and effective team work. If skills in these areas are undeveloped, problem solving may suffer. Improving the necessary communication skills may in turn depend upon how an individual responds emotionally when working in a team. Deciding on appropriate action is not straightforward – attending a course on communication skills may or may not help. A situated approach, such as working towards a degree of 'peace and stability' at work may be more beneficial. Individual efforts in this direction are likely to be subject to organisational constraints and 'mindset' but mentoring may offer one opportunity. So, instead of talking about communication skills *per se*, mentor and mentee will discuss the value of reflection, of drawing breath, of standing back and viewing a situation afresh [32]. Hence a difficulty with problem solving may be ameliorated by exploration of some other part of the rich landscape that initially seems far removed. In this way, understanding of oneself as a learner, and work as a place to learn, is deepened; or, in other words, a complexityinformed perspective is recognised, assimilated and acted upon. In this way complexity is tolerated, lived with and accepted as normal.

When complexity cannot be tolerated, an employee's learning in the corporate curriculum and mental health suffers. Then the employee may resort to any of three sorts of response. First, they may 'run faster', in the belief that doing more of what appears to work will resolve the situation. Garvey [22] describes this as the "time pressure culture". Here a person works long hours, becomes task oriented and often becomes stressed and ineffective. In such an environment mentoring has difficulty in surviving because neither mentor nor mentee feel that they have the time to participate in anything other than the immediate work in hand [22]. Secondly, they may deflect from their own responsibility and attempt to get what they want from others through manipulation and playing political games. Thirdly, they may retreat from complexity in a major way and become cynical, alienated, tired, stressed, burnt out or ill.

8. Complexity in the Mentoring Role

The mentor's role, itself, is complex. Clutterbuck [19] identifies the various ways in which mentors help mentees. These are organised along two dimensions to distinguish the mentor role as the coach, the counsellor, the

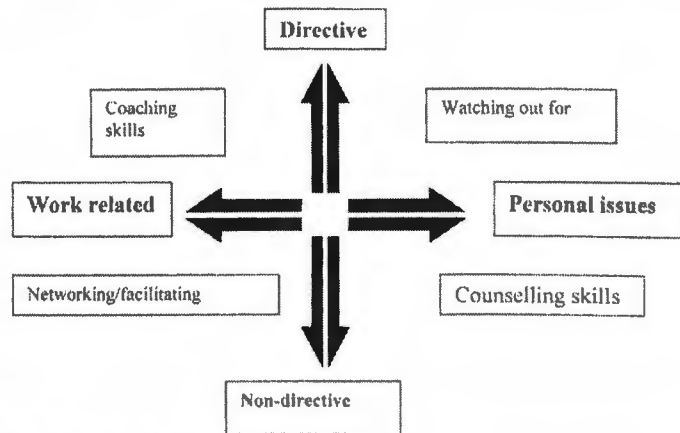


Figure 1: After Clutterbuck [19]

networker, facilitator or the guardian (Fig. 1). We have altered this framework by suggesting that rather than roles, a different perspective could be gained by examining the skills employed in mentoring activity. The first dimension in Clutterbuck's framework refers to the extent to which the mentor is directive or non-directive. We have adapted the second dimension to distinguish between work related or the personal needs of the mentee.

This typology is useful in clarifying the various ways in which mentoring is understood. The four mentoring approaches, as broad descriptions, exist in complex organisations and contribute to mentee development. In the spirit of this discussion, we would like to extend Clutterbuck's framework by adding a third dimension, orthogonal to the first two – the dimension of complexity.

Then, each of the four approaches may be more or less complex, depending upon the psychological make-up of the mentee and mentor, the nature of their relationship and on the complexity of the organisation.

Each role then has the potential to be in a state of bounded instability. When the framework is extended in this way, three aspects of mentoring in a complex organisation can be identified.

First, helping another person tolerate complexity requires certain personal qualities. It is important, for instance, for the mentor to be tolerant, patient and generous towards the mentee. As discussed above, traditionally mentoring has been seen as an activity in which 'ends' are more important than 'means'. In a complex organisation, the emphasis on 'ends' remains but deciding on the 'means' is itself far from straightforward. If a mentee doggedly persists with a 'run faster' strategy when it is clearly becoming counterproductive, the mentor's contribution to changing this will depend upon his or her ability to help the mentee hold on to all the elements and aspects of the situation – organisational, interpersonal and intrapersonal – before greater

understanding can lead to a new approach. This is when mentoring requires persistence and resilience.

Secondly, the content of mentoring sessions will allow for the mentee to appreciate the complexity of their situation. There will be value in looking in detail at specific incidents or events and exploring the mentee's experience of these. The seven elements of the corporate curriculum provide a useful framework for an employee to examine their experience of being a learner at work.

Learning lessons from experiences of being knowledge productive is itself complex. Nonaka [9] has observed that the creation of new knowledge "depends on tapping the tacit and often highly subjective insights, intuitions, and hunches of individual employees and making those insights available for testing and use by the company as a whole" (p. 19). The mentor is in advantageous position, part in the shadow, part in the light, to link individual achievements and organisational goals.

Thirdly, mentoring in complex organisations is likely to amplify the diversity of mentoring. This is generally recognised in Clutterbuck's typology but with less emphasis on the mentee's experience and the diversity of mentoring any one mentee may seek. In complex organisations, the mentee will value the mentor who helps them tolerate the complexity. This will include, for both parties, a high degree of self understanding and a recognition of the importance of restoring oneself, so that tolerating as 'sustaining' does not give way to tolerating as merely 'putting up with'. To be restored is to achieve a measure of the necessary stability in one's position at work (despite the complexity all around), to appreciate those talents and qualities that are exchanged for employment, and to renew one's personal commitment and "sense of identity with the enterprise and its mission" 9: 19. In this sense, the mentoring relationship is a core relationship for the mentee in the organisation.

9. Conclusion

We have highlighted that rather than the mentor helping the mentee do the job in hand, the role is to help the mentee ask – what is the job in a complex environment? – a central question in a developing knowledge productive organisation. However, if the role were only that, the mentee would sooner or later not have a job to do! The task is also to discover what the mentee needs to do a job that is ever changing and subject to multiple influences in unpredictable ways. It is to explore the mentee's need to be true to themselves and to thrive in a state of bounded instability – a state, we have argued, in which organisations will increasingly find themselves in the future.

There is a challenge here for all people in the work place. Mentoring, located within a rich landscape of a corporate curriculum, has the potential to help people tolerate the increasing complexity of their lives. However,

mentoring, being complex, is not always readily accepted or understood. It is often simplified [11] and thus its potential remains untapped. Therefore we suspect that were a connoisseur of wine to discuss "mentoring and the appreciation of complex wine", their argument would have parallels with what we have sketched above. The connoisseur of wine may prefer the term 'fine', rather than 'complex', and they may describe the challenge of mentoring as the avoidance of yet one more coarsened and oversimplified palate.

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Formal Entrepreneurial Mentoring: The Efficacy of Third Party Managed Programs

Leonard Bisk

Introduction

National, regional and local economic development agencies use entrepreneurial mentoring as one ingredient in a wide assortment of assistance programs to entrepreneurs and small business owners. Formal entrepreneurial mentoring, where an agency engages in pairing mentors and mentees, is examined in this research. Mentors (used interchangeably here with coaches, advisers and counselors) and their protégés (mentees, mentorees) have been studied at length and in detail within the context of organizational development and human resource management, euphemistically called organizational mentoring (corporations, institutions and government) (Caruso, 1992). Within the larger organizational mentoring category, mentoring of women in business has yielded a body of research of its own (Merriam, 1983). Formal mentoring of small and medium sized business (SME) owner/managers, has been the subject of less critical analysis. Deakins *et al.* (1999, 1998, 1997) engaged in case study research and measured increase in revenues and payroll as an indicator of success of a program in Scotland, acknowledging that “star performers” distorted their findings. The Chrisman *et al.* (1995, 1994, 1985) studies of the Small Business Development Center Counseling Programs seek to find “a more rigorous approach that both achieves the objective of measuring economic impact and can be feasibly implemented”.

This paper reports on the results of one component of a doctoral thesis, that compares formal and informal mentoring of entrepreneurs in Ireland. Summarized here are the results of a questionnaire mailed to participants in Enterprise Ireland's Mentor Network, of which 104 (26 percent) responded out of a sample of 400. The preliminary results suggest that Irish entrepreneurs accrued benefits from the government supported development agency's random assignment of mentors. The data support the continued involvement of government and quasi-government agencies in providing this service to emerging enterprises and established businesses. This paper should be viewed as a work in progress and in context. The plan is to engage in in-depth interviews with some of the respondents and their mentors.

Relevant Literature

The role of government in stimulating economic development through the encouragement of entrepreneurial effort is extremely problematic and to many may even seem counterintuitive. Governments and government agencies have tried many different approaches to enterprise development including, but not limited to: low interest loans, grants and subsidies; education programs and retraining; business incubators, networking schemes, mentoring programs; and easing government regulations (Howard, 1990).

Even before entrepreneurship became a formal field of study, academics and bureaucrats sought to identify and study potential entrepreneurs (Fleming, 1999; Hull *et al.*, 1980). The effort to determine effective devices economic development professionals might make available to entrepreneurs, and how to measure their effectiveness, has been equally challenging (Bennett *et al.*, 1999; Binns and Kirkham, 1997).

One increasingly popular component of economic development offerings has been entrepreneurial mentoring programs (Shane and Kolvereid, 1995; Birley and Westhead, 1992). In one form or another such programs have been in operation since the early 1990s. In the USA the dominant programs are the Small Business Development Centers (SBDC) Counseling programs and the Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE). In Europe the dominant programs are the UK's Business Link – Professional Business Advisor (PBA) Programme and Ireland's Mentor Network. The SBDC program and the PBA program have been evaluated in a variety of longitudinal and quantitative studies (Chrisman and Katrisha, 1994, 1995; Chrisman *et al.*, 1985, Deakins *et al.*, 1997, 1998, 1999). Remarkably, there are no studies evaluating the effectiveness of SCORE, a volunteer organization that does receive some nominal funding from the Small Business Administration (SBA). In addition to these well known and high profile initiatives, many local economic development agencies have either initiated or are contemplating entrepreneurial mentoring

programs. These agencies have little or no basis for determining criteria for selection of the mentors, mentees or how to match them.

On the other hand, mentoring within the organizational behavior and human resource fields (often referred to as organizational mentoring) has been researched and reported in depth (Caruso, 1992; Chao *et al.*, 1992; Dreher and Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1989; Kram, 1986; Merriam, 1983). In addition to the literature on organizational mentoring there is a small but growing industry of firms and organizations offering training or promoting various mentoring and executive coaching programs.

Terminology

Mentoring is extremely complex and open to a diverse range of interpretations and applications. Its definition lies in Greek mythology, but modern mentoring may be viewed as a role modeling, someone who exerts considerable influence over his/her protégé. Collin (1979) defines mentoring as,

... a protected relationship in which learning and experimentation can occur, potential skills can be developed, and in which results can be measured in terms of competencies gained rather than curricular territory covered.

This would be a particularly rich definition in the context of the development of entrepreneurs. It implies a long-term relationship to allow time for experimentation and reflection, thereby allowing deep learning to occur (Graham and O'Neill, 1997).

It is also worth considering one model of mentoring discussed by Stead and Wiggins (1994). This model proposes that mentoring is a generic process, in which the core process goals and transferable skills such as providing challenge and learning support may be channeled to many different contexts. Stead and Wiggins (1994) call this type "consultant mentors". The appeal of this concept with regard to new firm formation is the added value that this type of mentor brings to the relationship, including providing the entrepreneur with access to the mentor's network. Two-thirds of the respondents to the questionnaire reported businesses that were two or more years old. This response has several implications, the principal being that even firms which may not be considered "new" benefit from mentors.

The small business adviser or mentor brings a dynamic web of resources in terms of their broad business knowledge and personal and professional networks. Taken with the definition offered above, this would suggest that mentoring would be placed at the longer term, collaborative end of the advice continuum (Graham and O'Neill, 1997).

The following are abbreviated definitions of frequently used terms in this paper:

- *Entrepreneurs*. These are defined as any small or medium sized business owner/manager receiving financial or management assistance from Enterprise Ireland.
- *Mentees*. These are the self same entrepreneurs who are participants in the mentor programme. (Some programs use the terms protégés or mentorees, which are interchangeable in this paper.)
- *Mentors*. These (sometimes referred to in other programs as coaches, advisers, counselors) are the individuals the mentor programme has assigned to provide advice to its clients.
- *Psychosocial support*. In the context of entrepreneurial mentoring this refers to value systems, self-worth, personal advice, and issues of interpersonal relationships.
- *Career related support*. In the context of entrepreneurial mentoring this deals with areas of management – finance, marketing, competition, intellectual property rights, etc.
- *Formal mentoring*. This is the process of a third party (company, institution, agency) matching mentors and mentees.
- *Informal mentoring*. This is the process of individuals (either the mentors or mentees) making the selection on their own, even if a third party has encouraged the process.

Formal versus Informal Mentoring of Entrepreneurs

Given that this paper reports on preliminary results of research into formal and informal mentoring of entrepreneurs, some time and space should be allocated for a discussion of the topic.

Table I illustrates the various elements or stages of the entrepreneurial mentoring process, with columns for both informal and formal mentoring.

The table begins with “awareness”. In a socio-cultural environment such as Ireland which does not encourage entrepreneurship, views failure in highly negative terms and does not foster individuals expressing their feelings, most

Table I: Elements or stages of the entrepreneurial mentoring process

<i>Stage/function</i>	<i>Informal</i>	<i>Formal</i>
Awareness	Felt need for advice	Felt need for advice and/or seeking assistance
Initiation	Approach network	Approach third party agency
Contact	Network referral	Third party selected
Engagement	Informal	Formal meetings
Frequency	Random, as needed	Fixed and random
Term	Indefinite (two to ten years)	Definite (third party funded)
Comfort level	Immediate	Evolving
Expectations	Stress relief, encouragement	Suspect, grant aid, loan(s)
Termination	Outgrow mentor	End of engagement

entrepreneurs will not seek help unless there is intervention from a third party. We might paraphrase by noting that formal mentoring is better than no mentoring at all. Ragins and Cotton (1999) note, "Many organizations recognize the important benefits of mentoring and have attempted to replicate informal mentoring relationships by creating formal mentoring programs". They go on to observe that the "difference between formal and informal mentoring relationships is that informal mentoring relationships develop spontaneously, whereas formal mentoring relationships develop with organizational assistance or intervention . . . and the formal relationships are usually of much shorter duration".

The second stage of the process is contact. There is extensive literature on entrepreneurial networks. Birley (1985) reported on the extent to which entrepreneurs interact with the networks in their local environment. Birley's research alludes to entrepreneurs not availing themselves of available resources in their community. Aldrich and Zimmer (1986) discuss entrepreneurship through social networks. Hansen (1995) discusses entrepreneurial networks and new organization growth. Birley (1985) Aldrich and Zimmer (1986), and Hansen (1995) all view entrepreneurial networks from the perspective of US society. If, however, one tries to apply network theory to the Irish perspective, the Irish culture is itself a barrier. Irish entrepreneurs have networks but appear to be less willing to tap into their networks. Therefore, even if the Irish entrepreneur has overcome the first stage of the process, awareness, he/she may not be willing to tap into the existing or available network (Cohen *et al.*, 1998) and therefore not move to the second stage, contact. This is where the value of the unaffiliated external mentor appointed by a third party may be beneficial.

The third stage of the process is frequency, which is rarely mentioned in the mentoring literature.

The Irish Economy – A Brief Overview

In order to appreciate the context of this research, the following is a short description of the current economic climate. Ireland has been characterized as the "Celtic Tiger", a not so subtle effort to compare it to the "Asian Tiger" economies – South Korea, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia. It is true that Ireland has the healthiest and most robust economy in the European Union. The Economic and Social Research Institute of Ireland (ESRI) noted in its *Quarterly Economic Commentary, December 2000*:

Economic growth looks to be even stronger than last year. We estimate that real GDP growth for 2000 will be 9.9 percent moderating to a still robust 7.5 percent in 2001. In real GNP terms the respective growth rates are 8.6 and 6.6 percent in 2000 and 2001 (McCoy *et al.*, 2000).

There are many unique circumstances that contribute to Ireland's current economic situation. Ireland was the beneficiary of massive EU subsidies throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. In fact, 2001 was the first year Ireland became a net contributor to the EU. Ireland is one of the smallest economies in Europe and was further behind the original EU states and may have "leapfrogged" stages of economic development experienced by other EU members.

Ireland is one of the two EU members where English is the official language. That fact, coupled with economic incentives and the desire of US firms to have a "beachhead in Europe, was certainly a contributing catalyst to Ireland's economic growth. Additional factors were a high unemployment rate, a relatively non-confrontational workforce as well as one that is young and well educated; all of which contributed to American and other multinational companies setting up operations in Ireland (de Pillis and Reardon, 2001).

The above discussion assists in explaining Ireland's economic development. However, parallel to the development of corporate presence in Ireland there has also emerged a small, indigenous cadre of SMEs. Their emergence and growth has been sufficient to justify interest in assistance programs offered by the Irish Government to assist and encourage these enterprises. Nevertheless, all this economic activity has not yet resulted in an explosion of entrepreneurial activity. In fact, The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) 2000 Executive Report indicates that among the 21 countries reporting, Ireland is next to last in both nascent firm prevalence and new firm prevalence. Less than one in 100 adults between the ages of 18 and 64 are engaged in entrepreneurial activity (versus the USA which has a rating of one in ten or the UK one in 33).

Entrepreneurial mentoring programs, on their own, will never be the sole catalyst for growth in entrepreneurial activity, nor should they be expected to fulfil that role. The potential contribution of entrepreneurial mentoring programs is as a component of overall economic development. They are intended to reduce the failure rate and not increase the start-up rate. It is in this context that this paper explores formal mentoring in Ireland.

Formal Mentoring in Ireland

The principle organization in Ireland engaged in matching mentors and entrepreneurs is Enterprise Ireland (EI). The Mentor Network (MN), a division of EI, has matched over 5,000 enterprises with mentors during the past decade. Entrepreneurs seeking mentors come to the MN through a variety of channels, including local and regional development agency referrals, advertising programs of the MN, word of mouth recommendations and referrals from EI field staff. Mentors are developed through the "old boys" network of corporate managers and through some nominal advertising. Nearly half of the mentors are retired individuals who were involved in upper level management of Irish

subsidiaries of multi-national companies, formerly government owned businesses and private institutions such as banks. Additionally, there are mentors from the free professions (such as accountants) and some mentors who are still active in business.

The MN pays the mentors a modest per diem fee for up to ten meetings with their mentees. This basically covers any out of pocket expenses they may incur and would not be a financial incentive for anyone to volunteer to be a mentor. Regional MN directors manage the matching of mentors and mentees. There are no formal criteria for the matching process and mentees can request a change if they do not feel the mentor is meeting their expectations.

Another mentoring program, which some mentoring purists would consider a hybrid at best, is the PLATO Programme. The participants are organized into small groups, with a group leader being provided by a local large company. Over a thousand owner managers have been processed through the PLATO Programme since its inception in 1993. PLATO has subsequently been discontinued even though some of the groups continue to meet.

Shannon Development has also engaged in its own mentoring program for businesses that would not otherwise qualify for Enterprise Ireland's Mentor Network. Shannon Development has been the regional development agency in mid-west Ireland and was engaged in economic development even before Enterprise Ireland or its antecedents.

Methodology

The questionnaire consists of 44 questions. The majority of the questions (39) are multiple-choice, requiring the respondent to check boxes. Some of the multiple-choice questions involve a single answer (i.e. yes or no; no mentor, one mentor, two mentors, three or more mentors). Other multiple-choice questions involve checking off all that apply (i.e. previous business experience – managed similar business, owned similar business, worked in unrelated business or industry, etc.) Several multiple-choice questions are set up as charts of characteristics or professions on five-point Likert scales (i.e. respondents are asked to characterize frequency of seeking advice from various professional or personal contacts, such as spouse and accountant; very often, often, sometimes, infrequently, never). Enterprise Ireland's MN mailed 400 questionnaires to their clients with a cover letter from the director of the program, including a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the University of Limerick, Department of Marketing and Management. The MN database consists of over 5,000 participants over the past 12 years. The MN mailing was sent to 400 of its most recent participants. The MN mailing of 400 questionnaires yielded 104 responses (26 percent). No follow up letters or telephone calls were made to any of the recipients. The author did not have access to the names and addresses of the sample.

As was noted earlier, the Chrisman and Deakins studies measured increases in revenues and/or increases in reported payroll taxes to measure the effectiveness of the respective programs they were examining. There is no quarrel with this approach; although there are so many other factors, which may contribute to increase in revenues, it would be difficult to attribute the "success" of these mentoring programs solely on the basis of this measure. Therefore, this study relies on the responses of the entrepreneurs themselves as the principal measure of success. The presumption a mentee retains his or her mentor after the formal engagement has terminated or that the mentee compensated the mentor beyond the per diem paid to the mentor by Enterprise Ireland reflect two potential indicators that the participants perceived benefit from the engagement. More specifically, and more subjectively, the respondents were asked, "Please describe one example of a recommendation/idea that your mentor gave you, that you implemented and benefited you or your business". Some of the responses to this question are noted in the findings.

The length of a mentoring relationship is an important control variable that should be included in comparisons of formal and informal mentoring (Chao *et al.*, 1992). As this study does not have a control group, the retention of the mentors by the entrepreneurs after the initial engagement period could, therefore, be one measure of the mentees' perception of the efficacy of the mentoring program or at least the need for formal mentoring programs.

Hypotheses

The extensive research on organizational mentoring and the recent Waters *et al.* (2001) study on entrepreneurial mentoring in Australia suggest that mentees receive decidedly more psychosocial support than career related support. The Waters paper reported on a formal mentoring program of start-up businesses. Career related support in the entrepreneurial context refers to direct management or business operations advice and access to the mentor's networks, rather than advancement within an organization. Psychosocial support is essentially the same dynamic in both organizational and entrepreneurial mentoring. Even regarding the networking element of a mentoring relationship, it appears that entrepreneurs have their own technical or sector specific networks but lack the general business network, such as bankers, accountants, lawyers, etc. Entrepreneurs, especially those building businesses around some proprietary technology, may actually prefer their mentor to be from an unrelated business sector to preclude any "leakage" of the technology. Deakins *et al.* (1997) reported that some of the PBA clients indicated there was a need to match mentors and mentees with regard to knowledge and/or experience in the mentees' business sector. However, mentoring is a dynamic process, therefore the following is posited:

- H1.* The career related advice entrepreneurs seek from their mentors is primarily of a general business nature and not industry or sector specific. Therefore entrepreneurial mentors need not be experts in the business or industry of their mentee's enterprise.

The organizational literature includes an abundance of information and research on training programs for both mentors and protégés. A small industry has emerged to provide training books, videos, courses and workshops on training (Clutterbuck and Associates in England, HRD Press in the USA as examples). Here again entrepreneurial mentoring lags behind organizational mentoring. Neither SCORE, SBDC nor MN offer any training to either their clients or their mentors. Considering that mentoring in general is not a well-known concept in many countries and specifically within the business community, it is posited:

- H2.* The success rate of entrepreneurial mentoring relationships would increase if mentors and mentees participate in an orientation program.

When engaged in research that is either cross-cultural or where the researcher is from one culture and the data sample is from another culture, care should be taken not to impose cultural biases or to draw conclusions based on personal perspective. Given this caveat, it may be necessary to factor in consideration of entrepreneurial mentoring programs issues, which would not be relevant in an organizational mentoring environment. "... Irish culture and history may contain elements inhospitable to entrepreneurship" (de Pillis and Reardon, 2001). This caveat may be true for many other nationalities as well. In addition, it would be useful to understand whether the age of the entrepreneur and his or her educational level have any impact on their perceptions of the effectiveness of the mentoring engagement. Finally, the question of the age of the enterprise as a variable in the perception of the effectiveness of the engagement should be considered: "Do owner/managers of start-up enterprises perceive higher value in a formal mentoring engagement than do owner/managers of enterprises in business for several years?":

- H3.* Socio-cultural conditions, age and education of the mentee and age of the enterprise have a direct impact on the perceived benefits entrepreneurs accrue from their mentors and their acceptance of assigned mentors.

Findings

This study does not use objective measurements to determine the success of the engagement as does Chrisman's and Deakins' studies which measure the increase in reported revenues or payroll taxes. Rather, the entrepreneur

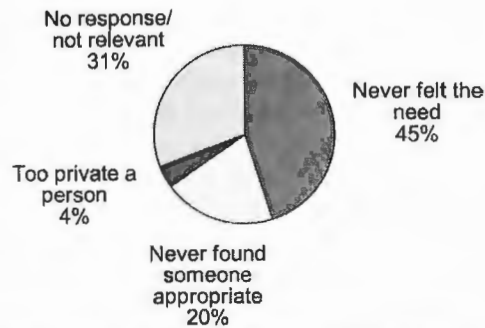


Figure 1: Q. 17: Main reason you do/did not have a mentor before

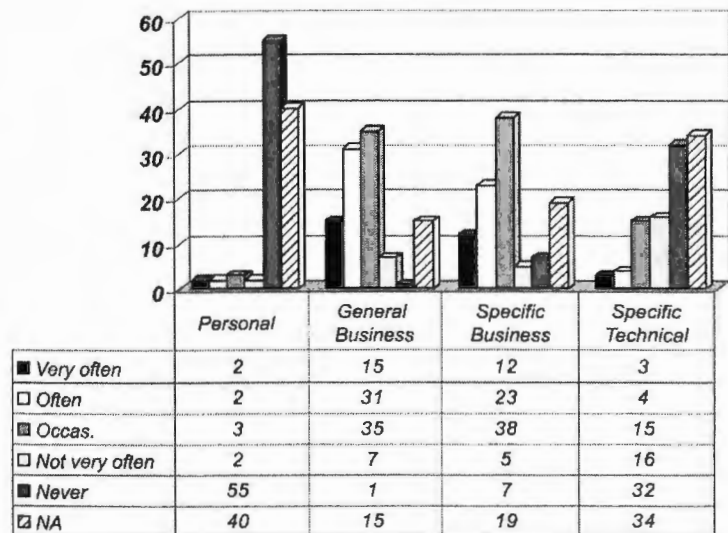


Figure 2: Q. 14: Frequency of advice by category

mentees themselves, through their responses to the various questions, have offered their perception of the value of the relationship (see Figures 1 and 2). Responses to two specific questions offer insight here, one question asks the respondents to offer an example of a recommendation their mentor provided, on which they acted and that yielded a benefit. The other question asks the respondents to indicate whether they continued the engagement.

Only 26 of the respondents described their mentors as entrepreneurs. The majority reported their mentors were either from the free professions (principally accountants) or retired executives from large institutions, divisions of multi-national firms or government companies.

Of the respondents, 36 ($n = 104$) replied they never had a mentor prior to being assigned one by Enterprise Ireland. Several even wrote in an unanticipated response to a multiple-choice question that they had not been familiar with the concept prior to their involvement in the EI program.

Ireland does not appear to have a tradition of seeking help from peers or associates, nor is there a strong culture of volunteerism. While the research has not yet been completed to confirm or deny this hypothesis, it is believed that socio-cultural issues may inhibit Irish (and many other cultural groups) entrepreneurs from seeking out informal mentors, thereby justifying the establishment and maintenance of a formal mentoring program (de Pillis and Reardon, 2001). Waters *et al.* (2001) found in their study of Australian mentees that the respondents received greater psychosocial support from their mentors than career related support. The responses from Irish entrepreneurs indicate that they neither sought nor received much psychosocial support.

This variance between Australian and Irish entrepreneurs may be a result of the format of the questionnaires, the fact that the Australian sample consisted of start-up businesses versus the Irish sample that contained a mix, or it may be a socio-cultural issue.

Of the respondents, 79 answered referral by Enterprise Ireland adviser or a local development agency to the question of what brought you to the Mentor Network. These responses strongly suggest that these clients would not have engaged in "self-seek. Deakins *et al.* (1998) in their ISBA paper discuss this issue quoting Kram who writes, "assigned relationships through formal programmes were found to be problematical". They go on to suggest "forced pairing" violates the true spirit of mentoring. In the absence of a culture of self-seeking or an indoctrination program into the benefits of having a mentor and even teaching entrepreneurs how to self-seek, EI's MN has provided real value for both its clients and the taxpayers footing the bill.

The question, "Please describe one example of a recommendation/idea that your mentor gave you, that you implemented and benefited you or your business", revealed very interesting data. Slightly more than half the respondents did not answer this question. Of those who did not answer, a third indicated that they were still in their engagement and could not report on anything specific at the point they were responding. The respondents, who answered this question in the affirmative offered insights with their responses of the needs of EI clients for basic management advice. The following is a random sample of the responses:

- cash flow plan;
- recommended preparation of an article on current project for publicity;
- joined IMI (Irish Management Institute);
- change price structure – margins were too small, made a huge difference to profits;
- adaptation of existing plastic part for other uses;
- monthly accounting and P&L;
- stock control and traceability;
- changed a process using steam to an infrared system, very successfully;
- try other products;

- to ask to see and meet with someone I had been sending brochures and letters to;
- better record keeping;
- advice to focus on product development; and
- profit margin analysis of product line.

Conclusions

The responses from the mentees in this study suggest that once they overcame the anxiety of talking about their businesses with their mentors they were prepared to maintain the contact beyond the formal engagement period. Of the respondents 46 percent maintained a relationship with their mentors upon completion of the formal engagement, with or without compensation. The numbers may actually be higher as some of the respondents reported they were still working within the formal engagement period. It may be that the continued interaction with their mentors is a result of the fact that the respondents are still uncomfortable seeking advice and support from their networks even after they have realized benefits from the mentoring experience.

In the 1997 study of Scottish entrepreneurs reported by Deakins *et al.*, they found “that some clients on the support programme put forward a view that there may be scope for greater matching of mentors to client; either through the mentor’s sectoral experience, or gender”. The responses from the Irish entrepreneurs in the present study seem to indicate that most of the advice sought is of a general nature and that the lack of sectoral experience is not a material barrier. Therefore, we can conclude that *H1* has been supported by the responses (see Figure 3).

Referring to the previous question “If you answered none or limited, is this a problem?” 11 answered yes and 66 answered no.

Regarding *H2*, this requires additional research with a control group scenario of pairs of mentors and mentees who have gone through an orientation program compared to pairs who have not.

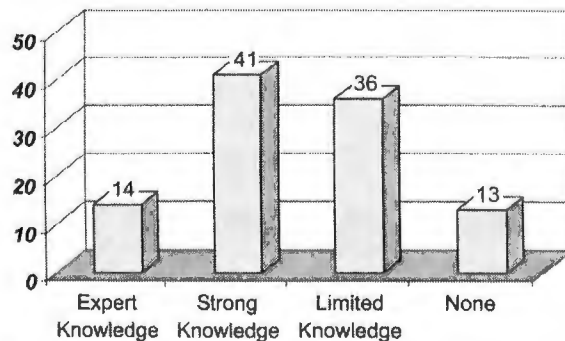


Figure 3: Q. 12: Degree of knowledge/experience of mentor about mentee's business/industry

Finally, considering *H3*, the responses to date support this as regards age and education of the entrepreneurs and age of the enterprise, but further testing of the data is required to confirm or deny this hypothesis. Regarding socio-cultural conditions, the analysis of a comparable sample from a different socio-cultural group will have to be completed to prove or disprove this hypothesis.

Two-thirds of the respondents to the questionnaire reported their businesses were two or more years old and this response has several implications for both researchers and practitioners. The principal implication is that nascent entrepreneurs are as much in need of mentoring relationships as start-up entrepreneurs.

Considerations for Future Research

The socio-cultural impact on entrepreneurial behavior has not been studied to any great extent. De Pillis and Reardon's research and the initial findings of this study certainly suggest that, at least within the Irish context, there are some unique factors to be considered. Further research into other ethnic and national groups paralleling de Pillis and Reardon ought to be pursued to expand our knowledge. Research into the socio-cultural dimension as a major factor in crafting enterprise development programs may reveal the need for different approaches not only for mentoring programs but also for many other components of local economic development programs.

One area to be considered, which has not been addressed either in this paper or in other research to date, is whether the research in organizational mentoring can be applied to entrepreneurial mentoring. Are the needs of entrepreneurs for advice and support different than the needs of individuals within corporations, educational and health institutions, and government agencies? Additionally, we might ask about the needs and skills of the mentors in organizations versus mentors of entrepreneurs. Allan *et al.* (1997) researched mentor motives in organizations but no research has been reported to date on mentor motives in entrepreneurial mentoring programs. These questions lead to the following hypotheses:

- H4.* The needs of entrepreneurs for advice and support are different than those of an individual working within a hierarchical organization.
- H5.* Mentors to entrepreneurs have different motivations and require different skill sets than mentors to proteges in hierarchical organizations.

Another issue to be researched is the differing needs of start-up entrepreneurs versus those who have been in business for some time from the perspective of the personality and skill sets of the mentors. Do nascent entrepreneurs have different needs of their mentors than start-up entrepreneurs, whether psychosocial or career related?

Finally, we ought to find out whether a positive formal mentoring experience encourages entrepreneurs to "self-seek" informal mentor relationships and, if not, why.

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Engagement Mentoring for 'Disaffected' Youth: A New Model of Mentoring for Social Inclusion

Helen Colley

Introduction

Mentoring is the 'in' thing. Over the last 20 years, it has become a major feature of initial education and continuing professional development in contexts ranging from business management to teaching. We have also, more recently, seen a spectacular rise in its popularity with policy-makers as an intervention with socially excluded young people in schools and in post-compulsory education and training (PCET). This is evident not only in the UK, but also internationally.

In this article, I analyse the growth of this latter type of mentoring at three levels. I trace the recent rapid expansion of youth mentoring, and identify the emergence of engagement mentoring, a new model of mentoring for social inclusion. I illustrate the model by drawing on a recent case study of a typical engagement mentoring scheme. In conclusion, by connecting the existing evidence (including academic, practitioner-oriented and policy texts) on engagement mentoring with feminist readings of Bourdieu and Marxist theory, I problematise this model, and subject it to critical analysis that relocates mentoring within the broader social and economic context from which it is so often disembedded. Let us begin by reviewing the scale of the mentoring phenomenon to date.

The Rapid Expansion of Mentoring for Social Inclusion

By the early 1990s, one author had already come to describe mentoring as a mass movement which represented a social and historical phenomenon in its own right (Freedman, 1995, 1999). Tens of thousands of middle-class adults across North America were volunteering as mentors for poor urban youth through the programme *Big Brother Big Sisters* (BBBS). By the mid-1990s, a similar type of youth mentoring had also begun to take root in the UK (Piper & Piper, 1999, 2000). From 1994 to 1995, the Institute of Careers Guidance (ICG) conducted the Mentoring Action Project (MAP), which formed the largest such initiative in Britain to that date. Over a quarter of all statutory careers services in England and Wales participated in the MAP, and 1700 young people were allocated mentors within it (Ford, 1999). The Dalston Youth Project (Benioff, 1997) became nationally lauded as an exemplar of mentoring for socially excluded youth. Alongside these developments, the National Mentoring Network (NMN) was established in 1994 to support the promotion of mentoring schemes and the development of a national infrastructure.

Miller (2002) has recently catalogued the further expansion of mentoring in a number of advanced capitalist countries (mainly, although not exclusively, anglophone) during the last five years. In the USA alone, BBBS now boasts a quarter of a million volunteers. With presidential backing from George W. Bush, it is currently engaged in a five-year campaign to recruit 1 million more mentors to work with 14 million young people 'at risk'. The BBBS model has been taken up in Canada and Australia, whilst Israel and Sweden have also seen the development of significant youth mentoring programmes. In the recruitment of volunteers as mentors, there is a noticeable trend (reflected in the case study I shall discuss later) towards drawing on the population of undergraduate students. The largest mentoring project in the USA, *GEAR-UP*, is currently aiming to double the 750,000 undergraduate mentors it had in 2000, working with 16–19 year-olds at risk of disaffection. In Israel, 20% of higher education students act as mentors to children in schools, and in Sweden a similar pattern is being followed. Although mentoring has not flourished to the same extent yet in other European countries, Miller suggests that there are more favourable cultural conditions and growing support for it in Ireland, Norway and the Netherlands.

Mentoring has, however, burgeoned massively in Britain, particularly since it has been enthusiastically embraced by the Labour government elected in 1997. The then Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) (now the Department for Education and Skills [DfES]) immediately began to provide the NMN with a mentoring bursary which has been substantially increased year on year. Soon after, the House of Commons Select Committee on Disaffected Children stated that all programmes seeking to address disaffection should include mentoring (House of Commons, 1998). It has since been promoted by four different government departments, covering education, training and


employment, youth justice, health promotion, ethnic minorities and social exclusion. In education, mentoring became a standard ingredient in the recipe of almost every major new policy initiative, including prevention of school truancy and drop-out from postcompulsory education and training (PCET) (DfEE, 1999a), responses to the report on the Stephen Lawrence inquiry which highlighted institutional racism (DfEE, 1999b), proposals to develop 'gifted and talented' children (DfEE, 1999c), and the *Learning Gateway* initiative to support labour market transitions for young people who had not succeeded at school (DfEE, 1999d).

By the start of 2002, the number of affiliates to the NMN had grown from an initial 350 to 1250 and still rising. It had also attracted sponsorship from the McDonalds fast food chain. About one-third of its programmes organise mentoring for young people in PCET contexts. In addition, one in three schools in Britain now use mentoring in a systematic way, and over 750,000 volunteer mentors are active in such programmes. Many are involved through two major new government programmes which represent the culmination of this trend: *Excellence in Cities*, aimed at improving the academic performance of children from disadvantaged communities in inner-city schools; and the *Connexions* service, a new national service which is replacing the former careers services in England. Its aim is to provide multi-agency support for young people aged 13–19 through their transitions from adolescence to adulthood and from school to post-compulsory education, training and employment (DfEE, 2000a).

Britain also follows the international trend of seeking volunteer mentors from the undergraduate student population. The National Mentoring Pilot Project was launched in 2001, linking 21 Education Action Zones (in deprived inner-city areas) to 17 higher education institutions, and matching 800 undergraduate students as mentors to 2500 young people. This project has, however, found itself in competition to recruit students with *Excellence in Cities*, as well as with mentoring programmes organised through *Millennium Volunteers* and other local initiatives (A. Colley, personal communication, April 2002).

The major programmes organise paid mentors as well as volunteers. *Excellence in Cities* and *Connexions* have already employed 2400 'learning mentors' in schools since 2000, and this is set to rise to 3000 by 2004. In addition, *Connexions* is seeking to recruit 20,000 'personal advisers' to work with 16–19 year-olds. In January 2001, Gordon Brown, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced a further £5.3 million from the Treasury to support the development of youth mentoring over the next three years. Subsequently, the Home Office has established six regional 'Mentor Points' in major cities to coordinate the recruitment and training of mentors for many of these projects, while *Connexions* has its own large-scale training programme now under way (DfES, 2002).

For the most part, this tidal wave has carried all before it in a surge of celebration. Mentoring seems to encapsulate a 'feel-good' factor, typified in scenes at the NMN Conference and similar occasions: joyously tearful presentations of



bouquets from mentees to mentors; or playlets where young people represent their mentors as angels, replete with halo and wings. Yet there is an irony in such a practice being sponsored so heavily by a government overtly committed to evidence-based practice and to the pursuit of 'what works'. There is little evidence to support the use of mentoring on such a vast scale (Skinner & Fleming, 1999). While Ford's evaluation of the MAP demonstrates positive outcomes (Ford, 1999), it has to be noted that the mentors were qualified and experienced careers advisers and youth workers, and that the research did not have a longitudinal element. There is alternative evidence that mentoring may be counterproductive to policy intentions for interventions with socially excluded young people (Philip & Hendry, 1996; Colley, 2000b; Fitz-Gibbon, 2000), and that even where young people are enthusiastic about their experience of being mentored, their mentors may not share this view (Colley, 2001b, 2003b). Moreover, it is a practice that remains poorly conceptualised and weakly theorised, leading to confusion in policy and practice (Piper & Piper, 1999; Philip, 2000; Roberts, 2000a, 2000b). Before going on to describe and analyse the model of engagement mentoring itself, it is helpful to review the way in which interest in mentoring for young people first developed, and the context for its meteoric rise in the last few years.

Early Interest in Youth Mentoring

One of the earliest spotlights on mentoring for young people 'at risk' came from a psychological study of young people from multi-ethnic communities in Hawaii throughout the first 18 years of their lives (Werner & Smith, 1982). This identified a number of risk factors which made young people vulnerable to maladaptive outcomes such as mental ill health, criminal offending, and long-term unemployment. However, one of the major findings was that the majority of young people in the study, irrespective of the level of difficulties they faced, achieved successful transitions to adulthood thanks to a number of protective factors. One key factor was that resilient young people sought and obtained support and advice from informal mentors among their kin and community. Similar evidence arose from later studies of young mothers in ethnic communities in the USA (Rhodes *et al.*, 1992; Rhodes, 1994). This finding about the protective nature of mentoring in informal, community contexts was seized upon as a basis for introducing planned mentoring schemes, but some important *caveats* raised by the research were often overlooked. These included cautions against a 'false sense of security in erecting prevention models that are founded more on values than on facts' (Garmezy, 1982, p. xix).

There are two main flaws in any assumption that the benefits of such mentoring can be replicated in planned and institutional contexts. Firstly, it is impossible to conclude from the research whether the successful mentoring bonds created by some young people are a *cause* or an *effect* of their resilience

They may represent neither, but simply a researcher-constructed *correlation*. The possibility remains that less resilient young people might have difficulty in bonding with adults. This might mean that the allocation of mentors would be of little benefit, and would risk reinforcing rather than diminishing a young person's sense of isolation. The second danger is that planned mentoring schemes risk ignoring (and working against) the community-based networks of significant adults that this and similar studies revealed. Value judgements may dominate decisions about the social groups from which mentors will be sought. Nevertheless, research agendas have continued to assume that investigations of young people's self-sought mentoring relationships 'are likely to indicate fruitful ways of crafting policies and programs so they can be maximally effective for a more diverse population of young adolescents' (Scales & Gibbons, 1996, p. 385). The proliferation of such programmes indicates that the transference of mentoring into planned settings has been widely accepted as unproblematic.

A series of evaluations of localised projects in the USA (e.g. McPartland & Nettles, 1991; Blechman, 1992; Haensly & Parsons, 1993; Zippay, 1995; Dondero, 1997; DuBois & Neville, 1997; Ringwalt *et al.*, 1996; O'Donnell *et al.*, 1997) indicates how planned youth mentoring began to flourish there. These projects reveal a distinct trend in respect of the goals that mentoring relationships were supposed to pursue. Those goals include so-called 'soft outcomes', such as enhanced self-esteem, but usually continue to focus funding requirements on the 'harder' targets: educational goals, including school-related behaviour and academic progress; social goals, such as the reduction of criminal offending and substance abuse; and employment-related goals, such as entry to the labour market or training programmes (McPartland & Nettles, 1991). As Zippay noted:

The use of mentors in social services programs has become an increasingly common intervention, and typically aims to increase education and job skills among at-risk youth (1995, p. 51, emphasis added)

Some of the reports of these schemes proffer uncritical and biased promotion of mentoring, appealing to policy-makers and institutional leaders to introduce prevention and/or intervention programmes with a strong mentoring element: 'Mentoring is an old idea that works . . . Adult mentors serve as beacons of hope for young people adrift in an uncertain world', declares Dondero (1997, p. 881). Despite such optimism, they present extremely limited evidence of their claims for the benefits of mentoring.

Others (e.g. McPartland & Nettles, 1991; Ringwalt *et al.*, 1996; and see Dishion *et al.*, 1999, for a fuller review) avoid unsubstantiated claims of this kind, finding evidence of inconclusive and even negative outcomes of mentoring in relation to school achievement and/or anti-social behaviour. Nevertheless, such evidence does not appear to have inhibited the growing popularity of mentoring with policy-makers. Despite fairly negative outcomes

from their evaluation, the researchers in one such case explained that the project managers:

are using our evaluation of the project's first two years to *intensify and focus their efforts* for the future. They expect one-on-one mentoring to gradually become available for most student participants . . . (McPartland & Nettles, 1991, p. 584, emphasis added)

BBBS shares the same approach. It links young people from single-parent households with unrelated mentors, claiming that the sole aim is to provide these young people with an adult friend, rather than seeking to improve or eradicate specific educational or socio-economic problems (Grossman & Tierney, 1998, p. 405). Nevertheless, it too promotes the setting of goals for young people around improved educational performance, the development of life skills, access to the labour market and improved transitions to adulthood (Freedman, 1995, p. 216).

However, Freedman's study of BBBS (1995, 1999) advances the view that broader policy considerations have driven both practice and research in the field of mentoring. He argues that mentoring is popular with policy-makers because it resonates with a number of their concerns: the moralisation of social exclusion; the drive of economic competitiveness which proclaims the need for 'upskilling' and the threat posed by an 'underclass'; the attraction of a cheap 'quick fix' to social problems; and its facile affinity with the individualistic philosophy of the 'American Dream'. This produces a 'heroic conception of social policy' (Freedman, 1999, p. 21), and exhorts the (white) American middle classes to undertake a 'crusade' towards socially excluded (often Black and Latino) young people. (It is interesting to note, in relation to these authoritarian traits of mentoring policy, that President Bush's support for BBBS is linked to the use of the armed services as a pool for potential mentors [Miller, 2002].)

As youth mentoring has come, slightly later, to develop with similar fervour in Britain, we shall see how this focus on employment-related goals has sharpened. I will argue that this is related to still broader contextual issues. Many of the social and economic imperatives described by Freedman in the USA can be recognised as familiar elements of contemporary British policy too: reductions in public spending, concern about youth rebellions and social unrest, employers' drive to cut costs in order to compete in world markets. The discursive context also plays its part in shaping the promotion of mentoring, and this is particularly true of the dominant discourses surrounding young people's transitions from school to work and the metanarrative of globalisation.

Employability and Social Inclusion

The 1998 Green Paper, *The Learning Age* (Department for Education and Employment [DfEE], 1998), is a prime example of this discourse, in which key themes include the 'changing world of work' and the end of a 'job for life'; the

shift to post-Fordist working practices which are supposed to be 'empowering' for the workforce; and the need for working people to take responsibility for their own lifelong learning in order to remain individually competitive as well as to contribute to the nation's global competitiveness.

Research has challenged this rhetoric in many ways, demonstrating that the reality for many working people has been that of greatly intensified productivity, insecurity, low skills and low pay, and the substitution of a régime of self-surveillance for direct management surveillance (Avis, 1996; Gleeson, 1996; Hyland, 1996; Colley, 2000a). There has also been a series of substantial critiques of the way in which education, training and wider welfare policies have become highly individualistic (reviewed in Colley & Hodgkinson, 2001).

However, this individualistic discourse has impacted considerably upon the way in which young people's school-to-work transitions are understood and interpreted for young people themselves by agencies guiding them through those transitions: careers services, schools, colleges and training providers. One of the most important ways in which they have done so is through the notion of 'employability'. In an era when, even at the height of the economic upturn, the youth labour market has failed to recover from its collapse in the 1980s, but where employment is heavily promoted by the Labour Government as the solution to social exclusion, the responsibility levelled at individuals is to increase their own 'employability'.

Numerous policy documents and research reports have advanced this notion (e.g. DfEE, 1996, 2000b, 2000c; Glynn & Nairne, 2000), but the report *Towards Employability* by the employers' organisation, Industry in Education (1996), offers perhaps the starkest definition. This report emphasises employers' demands for 'compromise and respect' in young workers (p. 9), that staff need to 'sign on to the values and ethos of the business and fit into its organisational structure, culture and work ethics . . . to "go with" the requirements of the job' (p. 10), and that young people need to consider and adapt 'their own values, attitudes, human interactions' (p. 10). The purpose of education, harking back to James Callaghan's 'Great Debate', is defined as 'providing employers with usable output from the education system, and providing pupils . . . with a strong chance of gaining employment' (p. 22). Despite the fact that this understanding of employability has been condemned as having 'more to do with shaping subjectivity, deference and demeanour than with skill development and citizenship' (Gleeson, 1996, p. 97), it has thoroughly permeated the content of careers education and guidance and of vocational training (Colley, 2000a). In doing so, it promotes three key themes.

Firstly, those working with young people in transition are supposed to encourage them to understand, accept and cope with working life at the periphery, without expectations of full-time or permanent employment. This includes the inevitable insecurity and stress of 'portfolio' careers (Wijers & Meijers, 1996), of daily and weekly fluctuations in the availability of work (Vandeveldt, 1998), and of part-time, temporary, subcontracted, and freelance working (Bridges, 1998).

Secondly, it promotes the view that young people need to reinvent their own identities as marketable products. The realisation of individual potential is equated with the maximisation of productivity. Young people's attitudes, values and beliefs consequently need to be transformed. Bridges, for example, has argued that career guidance should focus on transforming clients' attitudes, temperament, and *desire*. For him, employability is about 'Who wants the work the most?' (Bridges, 1998, p. 14). This transformation of personal disposition is also a central theme of the Social Exclusion Unit report, *Bridging the Gap* (1999), which forcefully promotes the idea that the attitudes, values and beliefs of the socially excluded themselves are a major cause of their (self-) exclusion (Colley & Hodkinson, 2001).

Thirdly, the role of practitioners working with young people in transition is seen as that of overcoming their reluctance to accept these demands by vigorously proselytising the transformations wrought by globalisation as inevitable (cf. Wijers & Meijers, 1996, Bayliss, 1998). The product of such practice should be young people's willingness to embrace both the rhetoric and the reality of the post-Fordist world of work.

Having outlined the social, economic and political context for the emergence of engagement mentoring, I continue by showing how it has developed in this country, and offering a more detailed explanation of the model.

The Emergence of Engagement Mentoring in Britain

Three broad types of youth mentoring have been identified in Britain (Skinner & Fleming, 1999). Industrial mentoring in schools through business-education partnerships has focused on pupils in Year 11 on the borderline of achieving the grade C pass mark in their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examinations, and has deliberately excluded the more disadvantaged or disaffected young people (Golden & Sims, 1997). Community mentoring has aimed to support young people from ethnic minorities by, on the one hand, presenting positive role models for success from within those communities, and, on the other, by offering support and advocacy for young people facing institutional discrimination and structural inequalities. In some cases, such mentoring projects have sought to change *other people's* attitudes, values and beliefs, rather than those of the young people (e.g. Forbes, 2000; Majors *et al.*, 2000; Usman, 2000).

The third model of mentoring is as an intervention responding to disaffection and social exclusion. Such projects identify targeted groups of young people 'at risk' of disengaging, or already disengaged from formal systems of education, training and employment, and seek explicitly to re-engage them with such systems in preparation for entry to the labour market. It is for this reason that I have dubbed this model 'engagement mentoring'.

Engagement mentoring emerged in 1994–95 during the rule of the previous Conservative Government. However, at that time it was not developed as an aspect of central government policies. All the schemes were funded through sources other than core funding from the DfEE or other departments. Some were funded through local, discretionary sources, but a considerable number arose through funding opportunities provided by the European Youthstart Initiative, although these origins are not acknowledged in later policy initiatives (see Brine [2002] for a fuller discussion of such ‘erasure’).

The Youthstart Initiative was one of four strands of the Employment Community Initiative which ran in two tranches from 1995 to 1999 within the European Social Fund. It was targeted at young people categorised as disaffected, specifically those who were unemployed and unqualified (Employment Support Unit [ESU], 1999a), and its key aim was to promote effective school-to-work transitions for young people, achieving social integration through integration in the labour market (European Commission [EC], 1998; ESU, 1999b).

‘Comprehensive pathways’ to overcome complex social and economic disadvantage were a distinctive aspect of the Youthstart programme, advocating coordinated interagency partnership on behalf of young people. In this way, guidance and support for young people were also seen as central elements of the programme, but were linked to employment outcomes in a way that did not necessarily fit with the traditionally impartial and person-centred ethos of particular services such as career guidance, youth work, or counselling. This ‘pathway’ was in fact defined in terms of its employment-related direction and destinations.

Even ‘soft’ outcomes such as self-confidence, which were a hallmark of the Youthstart Initiative’s move away from cruder indicators of success, still pose the need to disentangle taken-for-granted assumptions about the processes being undertaken with young people, and to question the programme’s assertion of ‘holistic’ and ‘person-centred’ approaches. (For a fuller discussion of the genealogy of the term ‘holism’ and its corruption in present UK education policy, see Colley, 2003a.) The official literature produced by the Youthstart Initiative presented a clear view of how it interpreted these processes:

Each of the stages of the pathway is associated with bringing about a *significant shift in the values and motivation* of the young people, their skills and abilities and in their interaction with the wider environment. The overall objective is to move the young person from a position of alienation and distance from social and economic reality, to a position of social integration and productive activity. (EC, 1998, p. 6, emphasis added)

It proposed ‘empowerment activities’, of which mentoring was identified as a key element. Indeed, the majority of Youthstart projects in Britain incorporated mentoring (ESU, 2000a). The Youthstart Initiative documentation argued that mentoring should use:

self-evaluation methods and feedback sessions to reinforce *the acceptance of values and attitudinal change amongst the young people*. (EC, 1998, p. 12, emphasis added)

The assumption of normative categories here leaves open to question *which* values and attitudes are to be instilled in young people, and in *whose* interests. It is particularly notable that one of the foremost obstacles to employment for young people is seen as their own negative perceptions of how they will be treated in training and work (ESU, 2000b), with the implication that a 'correct' perception of workers' and trainees' treatment would be a positive image of working conditions and social relations between employers and employees. Furthermore, it implies that the world young people inhabit outside of participation in 'mainstream' learning and employment opportunities is somehow unreal; that they do not engage in productive activities unless through such opportunities; and that alienation is not a characteristic of the lives of working people who are employed.

At the heart of European policy promoting engagement mentoring, then, we find two key assumptions, expressed in the central goals of the Youthstart programme. The first is that the solution to social exclusion lies in re-engagement with the labour market and/or formal learning routes thereto. The second (in marked contrast with the community mentoring model) is that the specific role of mentoring is to facilitate this re-engagement, by altering young people's values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour in order to engage their personal commitment to becoming employable. There is, of course, nothing new in this concept of employability shaping various education and training frameworks as instrumental (Bathmaker, 2001), but its influence upon the practice of youth mentoring has barely been questioned or investigated until now.

Twenty of the British Youthstart projects were run under the auspices of the ICG's Mentoring Action Project (MAP), and these reflect a similar ethos. The MAP evaluation report emphasises that:

the mentors' primary task of *influencing behaviours, and by implication attitudes*, is a fundamental one . . . attitudes [are] the most difficult, as attitude training needs to engage each individual, and the attitudes then become incorporated into the individual's own frame of reference and values base. MAP is seeking to tackle the most difficult area (i.e. attitudes training) first. (Ford, 1999, p. 18, citing L. Barham, personal communication, emphasis added)

The report on all the UK Youthstart projects which undertook mentoring defines and proselytises its use in this way:

Mentoring is a useful way of re-engaging disaffected young people in self-development, training and employment. Mentoring features strongly in the dissemination and mainstreaming of learning from Youthstart projects. (ESU, 2000a, p. i)

It goes on to explain that part of the mentors' role in supporting young people as they enter employment is to 'endorse the work ethic, and . . . challenge any negative perceptions the young person may have about entry to the labour market' (ESU, 2000a, p. 7).

The MAP and other Youthstart projects were funded only until 1999, but as we have seen, by then Labour policy-makers were embracing mentoring, and it moved rapidly from the margins into the mainstream. The projects funded through the Youthstart Initiative effectively functioned as pilots for the Learning Gateway, and in many cases were continued under that *aegis* when the European funding came to an end. The same underpinning goals were maintained. For example, the *Guide to Relevant Practice in the Learning Gateway* provides a summary of the tasks of personal advisers, and then emphasises the following point:

In order to achieve all of these tasks, it is important for the Personal Adviser to recognise that many of the young people entering the Learning Gateway need support *to change their attitudes and behaviours*. Until they do so, these will continue to be barriers to their reintegration. (DfEE, 1999e, p.9, emphasis added)

The outcomes sought are summarised thus:

The focus of much of the Learning Gateway activity is on developing employability, active citizenship and personal development, with a view to progression to mainstream learning. (DfEE, 1999e, p. 32)

While it could be argued that promoting issues such as personal development or active citizenship could hardly be seen as evidence of employment-dominated goals, a DfEE-sponsored evaluation of the Learning Gateway pilots illustrates the fact that outcomes such as these may indeed be dominated by employers' rather than young people's needs. 'Development of Life Skills' is defined in the early evaluation of the Learning Gateway as:

improving the *personal effectiveness of young people in the work place* by assisting them to gain skills in areas such as problem solving, confidence building, development of interpersonal skills, team working, punctuality, diagnoses of personal strengths and areas for personal development and life skills, *which employers regard as essential for applicants to have in order for them to seek employment*. (GHK Economics and Management, 2000, p. 56, emphases added)

The subsumption of the personal into the work-related is striking in this extract, and forms part of the wider context already outlined. The list could go on, as Piper and Piper's (2000) review of similar mentoring schemes demonstrates. They show how, just as in the USA, mentoring for the 'disaffected' is almost invariably tied to employment as the immediate or eventual outcome, and raise

critical questions about the way in which claims of empowerment frequently underpin these employment-related goals.

There appears, then, to be substantial evidence from policy documentation and from evaluations of practice in the UK that supports the identification of a distinctive model of engagement mentoring around three central foci: (a) the re-engagement of young people with formal learning and the labour market; (b) the transformation of their personal attitudes, values and beliefs (in short, their dispositions) in order to engage their commitment to develop 'employability'; and (c) that the role of mentors is to act as a vehicle for the demands of policy-makers and employers to transform young people through the mentoring process. With regard to this last focus, I have discussed elsewhere the way in which many depictions of the mentors' role entail a feminine stereotype of self-sacrifice and nurture (Colley, 2001a). In this respect, engagement mentoring also can be said to aim at transforming the dispositions of mentors as well.

In order to illustrate the possibilities and problems which may arise from the widespread implementation of the engagement mentoring model, I will draw on the findings from my recently completed doctoral research (for a full account, see Colley, 2001b, 2003b). I conducted an in-depth case study of a scheme anonymised as New Beginnings. (All other institutions, locations and personal names have also been anonymised here, and some minor personal details altered, to protect confidentiality.) The scheme was run by Wellshire Training and Enterprise Council (TEC) with European Youthstart Initiative funding. (TECs were local agencies responsible for youth training and for the support of businesses. In 2000, they were disbanded, and their training remit was taken over by the new Learning and Skills Councils.) It recruited 'disaffected' 16 and 17 year-olds (both male and female, but all white), and provided them with a programme of pre-vocational basic skills training and work experience placements, with the aim of progression into work-based youth training (YT) or employment. In partnership with the University of Wellshire (UoW), the scheme also offered the young people the option of being allocated a mentor for one hour a week. The mentors were volunteers, UoW undergraduate students recruited and trained by the university. Some were typical higher education entrants direct from sixth form study, while a number were non-traditional mature students. The majority were female, and all were white. The scheme aimed to enhance the employability of both mentors and mentees, since the students were expected to develop improved communication skills, and to utilise the experience in their *curricula vitae* for entry into the graduate labour market.

The fieldwork was undertaken from December 1998 to July 2000. I carried out repeated interviews with nine matched pairs of mentors and mentees from the early establishment to the final stages of their relationships, as well as with staff and other professionals associated with the scheme. I also took part in the mentor training course and in the New Beginnings steering committee as

a participant observer, undertook observations at the scheme's headquarters, and used documentary evidence such as the scheme's funding bid, the training manual provided to mentors, and the young people's personal records. The approach adopted was a critical interpretive one, focusing particularly on questions of class and gender, given my own disposition as a working-class woman with a Marxist feminist perspective.

New Beginnings: An Engagement Mentoring Scheme

In its design, New Beginnings had to fulfil the funding criteria for the Youth-start Initiative, which, as we have already seen, sought to integrate disaffected young people into the formal labour market. Most young people arrived at the scheme when they tried to claim unemployment benefits. Under welfare legislation, they were denied benefits because they could get a £45 a week training allowance by participating in New Beginnings. The scheme was also located within a TEC, which existed to meet not only the training needs of young people, but also the needs of employers in the local labour market. Because of a local combination of a buoyant labour market and high staying-on rates in school sixth forms, Wellshire employers were experiencing difficulty in filling vacancies at the bottom end of the labour market, and meeting this need was an explicit element of the scheme's rationale. Accordingly, the main occupational areas in which the young people were placed were: hairdressing, care of the elderly, retail and basic clerical work (mainly undertaken by young women); unskilled work such as cleaning, packing and labouring; and the less skilled areas of motor vehicle and building work (mainly undertaken by young men).

Although the scheme did not have any quantitative targets for young people to progress into YT or employment, this did not make such outcomes any the less important for those managing the scheme. Progression from New Beginnings to other work-based training schemes would help the TEC meet other quantitative targets it had to achieve. As the New Beginnings line manager, Brenda Mavers, often told me, 'We're in the business of training and employment'. Kath Martyn, who had senior management responsibility for all the TEC's youth programmes, outlined her definition of the role she hoped New Beginnings mentors would play:

Mentoring was about befriending, and helping us, perhaps using a different way of talking to the young person, to help that young person to see what we were trying to get . . . trying to help them with. So the focus was very clearly about getting them into employment. That was very clear, that that's what the mentoring process was about.

The training course for the mentors had an input equivalent to four full days, similar to that for a module on a degree course, well in excess of the

few hours' training provided for volunteer mentors in many such schemes (cf. Skinner & Fleming, 1999). The training manual which accompanied the course was dominated by the idea that the mentors' main goal was to help get the young people into employment. It posed the overall aims of mentoring within the scheme in this instrumentalist way:

What is the purpose of education and training? . . . Primarily education and training can lead to a particular role within the workforce.

Each section of the manual ended with a summary definition of the mentors' role in the context of employment-related goals. Mentors 'could make a difference to the [local] unemployment figures', 'your aim is to encourage and promote the worth of training', 'your role as Mentor is to encourage the minimisation of disaffection'. They were supposed to help young people develop the key skills 'that make them attractive to the workforce', and to change the attitudes of young people who 'do not wish to conform to the values and expectations that society upholds with reference to employment and training'. Conversations in their mentoring sessions were expected to focus on discussion of the training action plan, which was drawn up for the young person by the New Beginnings staff each week.

The training course itself helped to underline this key message about the requirement for mentors to focus on encouraging the young person to accept the discipline of the workplace, and work towards the training and employment outcomes that were expected of them. For all these reasons, New Beginnings can be clearly located within the model of engagement mentoring as I have defined it above. It tied mentoring to employment-related goals, sought to transform young people's dispositions in line with dominant concepts of employability, and treated the mentors as vehicles for these objectives. How did this technically rational approach to mentoring play itself out in practice?

Experiences of Engagement Mentoring

One feature of the interviews with mentors was the confusion and conflict they expressed with regard to the role expected of them. Despite the very clear definitions put forward in their training, mentors found it difficult to reconcile this with their actual experiences, and they often felt at a loss to explain their role:

Jane: Mentoring means such a lot, because it's very difficult to define.

Karen: Mentoring is difficult, because no one ever tells you exactly what it should be.

Rachel: I'm really confused about how the mentoring . . . The mentoring side of the [training] course was very sort of: 'OK, this is where you are,



this is what you're like' . . . but when you got there, you didn't know what you were doing.

Moreover, all of the mentors encountered fairly vigorous resistance on the part of their mentees to any attempts to focus the relationship on the employment-related goals promoted by the scheme (for more detailed accounts of this resistance, see Colley, 2000b). Their discussions of these issues, and how they impacted on their relationships with mentees, provide deeper insights into the nature of the scheme. I will recount just two individual examples here to illustrate the contradictions that emerged. One case study focuses on the experiences of a mentee, the other on those of a mentor.

Adrian: The Wrong Sort of Transformation

Adrian came to New Beginnings at the age of 17, having been a 'schoolphobic'. He had also suffered from depression and anxiety, agoraphobia and an eating disorder during his adolescence. He lived at home with his mother, and their relationship was often difficult. Adrian described his post-16 choice as a stark one: between coming to New Beginnings or committing suicide. He found it very difficult to relate to his peers, and had requested an older woman as a mentor. The staff therefore matched him with Patricia. In her mid-thirties, Pat had been a personnel manager in a large business, she was now a student teacher, and Adrian talked extremely warmly about the relationship he had established with her. Her support had enabled him to grow tremendously in confidence and self-esteem:

To be honest, I think anyone who's in my position, who has problems with meeting people, being around people even, I think a mentor is one of the greatest things you can have. I'd tell any young person to have a mentor . . . What Pat has done for me is, you know, it's just to turn me around and give me positive thoughts . . . If I wouldn't have had Pat, I think I'd still have the problems at home . . . You know, she's put my life in a whole different perspective.

Adrian's ambition was to train to work with computers, although he was not sure exactly what this would involve. However, he was placed in a clerical post that involved only basic duties such as filing. Only 13 weeks after he started at the scheme, the placement officer who supervised the young people told me that she had sacked him. Since New Beginnings was designed to prepare young people for employment, it had strict rules about lateness and absence, and Adrian had broken the rules at his placement. He had provided excuses such as a grandfather's funeral and a dental appointment on each occasion, but staff had waited in their cars outside the crematorium and the dental surgery to ascertain that Adrian had not in fact turned up.

Adrian told me that, although he knew he was in the wrong to take time off with fake excuses, he had become frustrated and demoralised in his placement:

The first day I went, I got filing, but the thing is, is that there's five different types of filing, and my interest was in computers, and now I understand that filing is an important job, isn't it? In an office, *someone's* got to do it, but the thing is, from nine o'clock in the morning till five, I was filing all day, and I was doing it every day, and it got to Monday night and I thought, what is the point, you know? I'm not doing anything on computers, I'm not doing what I want, I'm filing, and to be honest they were giving me the crap jobs, because there was no way that *they* would file for eight hours a day, I can tell you that. And I think it's that sort of discrimination in jobs which annoys me, quite frankly.

He felt his depression creeping on again, and some days he simply could not face going to work. He discussed the problem with Pat, who advised him to ask his placement supervisor to let him do some different tasks. Although he did so, he was told that he would have to carry on doing filing all the time.

Pat supported Adrian's modest ambitions to work with computers, and felt that this situation was unfair. But her experience as a former personnel manager and as a student teacher gave her a different perspective on the problem. She suspected that there was more to his dread of filing than plain boredom. Adrian had told her how confusing he found the alphabetical and numerical filing systems he had to use, and how he had been so afraid of making mistakes that he did the work very slowly and carefully, but had been told off for this, to his distress. Pat was concerned that unidentified learning difficulties were at the root of the problem, and she tried to advocate on his behalf with the New Beginnings staff, but to no avail.

The New Beginnings placement officer had her own perspective on the situation. She had seen how Adrian had grown in confidence, and took his breach of the attendance regulations as a further indication that he no longer needed the individual support that New Beginnings was supposed to provide. Her feeling was that he had been 'swinging the lead' and 'didn't really want to work'. Such behaviour threatened the scheme's relations with local employers, and undermined her hard work to obtain placements. She therefore sacked him. However, Adrian was not officially recorded as having been dismissed from the scheme. He was offered a place to start a month later at a mainstream 'job club' also run by the TEC. This meant that he would lose his income for a month, and would then only receive an allowance of £20 a week. In this way, he was recorded as an outcome of positive progression, with the implication that his problems had been solved by his participation in New Beginnings.

The greatest blow for Adrian was that his dismissal abruptly ended his contact with Pat in a kind of double punishment, since the scheme strictly

forbade mentors and mentees from keeping in touch. His feelings were understandably strong:

That was an unhappy time for me, you know, to be just cut off, just to be severed away from someone who you explain to and talk to and poured out your heart to, and I was very angry, to be honest.

One year later, he was still unemployed after a number of brief false starts at the job club and on other schemes. Now over 18, he was anxious about his future, and saw 'time running out' as he passed the age limit of all the transitional support available. However, he still identified the mentoring he had undertaken at New Beginnings as a very positive experience, and he had put that experience to use in his subsequent placements:

I think now I will attach to somebody, one person, you know, and I'll attach to them. You see that person, and you think, 'Yes, I'll hang around with her or him'.

Adrian's story shows how a constructive relationship with an independent adult mentor created a dramatic turning point in his life. It broadened his 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996), raised his aspirations, and motivated him to gain new skills and knowledge related to new technology. However, it was that very transformation of his attitudes, values, and beliefs that took him beyond the pale of the restrictive vocational training opportunities reserved for the young people in this scheme. His disposition was altered, but not in a way that fitted its policy-driven prescriptions. This in turn resulted in his further exclusion from the education and training system – surely an irony in a programme purportedly designed to promote social inclusion for young people like Adrian.

Yvonne: Failing to Achieve Transformation

Yvonne was a 21 year-old social sciences student, with considerable experience of caring for disabled children at home and at work. She was one of the longest-standing mentors at New Beginnings, and well regarded by the staff, especially as she travelled a long distance, including during university vacations, to keep up her weekly mentoring.

Like Patricia and most of the other mentors, Yvonne found herself mentoring a young person who was enthusiastic about having a mentor, but resisted the other goals of the scheme. Her story is typical of the ways in which most of the female mentors seemed to work upon their own dispositions in order to cope with the contradictions and frustrations that were thrown up by their experience of mentoring at New Beginnings. Her mentee was Lisa, a very

bright young woman who had refused to go school after being bullied in Year 10 because of her mother's death. Over the first year of their relationship, Lisa had been found a series of placements, but all of them failed because she found them boring or did not like them. Her real ambition was to go to college, but she feared losing the familiar and small-scale environment provided by New Beginnings, her training allowance (much-needed by her family), and her relationship with Yvonne if she left the scheme. Lisa had grown very attached to her mentor, to the extent that Yvonne feared she was becoming dependent on her.

Yvonne followed closely the guidelines mentors had been given about their role. This was reinforced by what she had seen other mentors achieve early on, as she described a 'good mentoring relationship' she had witnessed:

There was a batch of us that all started mentoring together, and one of the mentors finished a couple of months after he started. Luckily, the young person that he started with, he'd gone through the whole talking to him or whatever, and he'd gone out and got himself an apprenticeship, he's gone and got himself a job through the TEC, and he's had success in that way, and it had only taken a few weeks.

This was the ideal scenario she felt she had to emulate, but she found it difficult to absorb the frustrations and disappointments of Lisa's repeated failure:

I've still got to get back to this thing that we're there to encourage them to work, so we've got to keep talking about work and different jobs or whatever, or what they might want to do, or what's holding them back in the job.

Although she declared that she did not want to be a 'stooge' of the TEC, the notion that, as a mentor, she had to promote the employment-related goals of New Beginnings had clearly begun to influence her relationship with Lisa in important ways. By the time they had been mentoring together for 18 months, Yvonne was becoming more directive and impatient with her mentee:

I've said to Lisa, 'You've got to start pulling your socks up'. And there is someone to say, 'Stop whinging and get on with it!' sometimes . . . There has to come a point where you say, 'Well, everybody has got those sort of problems, but you've just got to get on with it'. I think that's as far as I get with what is a mentor . . . The purpose of mentoring still baffles me.

But this directive stance clashed more and more with Lisa's oblique and sometimes sullen resistance:

What is a mentor? Sometimes I think I'm just a verbal punchbag. And that's what I'm there for. She can come in and say, 'The whole world's shite and I don't want to do it', and just get it off her chest.



In the end, Yvonne felt she was not getting the rewards that the scheme had promoted for the student volunteers, but something very different instead:

It has brought me a lot of stress. . . I can't remember half the promises [*the university*] made, and I just sit there and think, 'Why did I do this?' I put it on my CV, and then I dread anyone asking me about it in an interview. I really dread it, because I think, well, what do I say, you know? . . . How could I put it in a way that it wouldn't sound like I was wasting anybody's time. . . You know, you're one of these do-gooders who does airy-fairy things and doesn't get anywhere. If Lisa had gone off and got herself a job, yes, then I can put it on my CV, 'Oh yes, I got somebody a job', but it wouldn't have been down to me, so I don't know what it's done for me really. I'm still trying to figure that one out along with everything else.

Yvonne judged herself, as well as her mentee, by the expected employment outcomes of engagement mentoring, and felt others would judge her by this criterion too. As mentoring failed to transform Lisa, their relationship seemed to be grinding to a difficult halt, but Yvonne felt trapped, and afraid of moving to end it:

At the end of the day, I've just sort of had to cope with it myself . . . I just have to switch off, otherwise I'd just crack up, you know . . . I don't want to be the one that says to Lisa, you know, 'You're doing my head in, you're not getting anywhere, go away'. I think in some ways I'm scared of bringing it up in case she thinks I'm pushing her away.

Yvonne wanted to end the relationship, but was prevented from doing so by her sense of obligation to her mentee. She took on the task of shaping her own disposition in order to absorb her intense frustrations in the hope that the relationship could continue.

It was disturbing to witness the downward spiral of this relationship, and how it became an inescapable trap for both of the young women within it. Lisa's ambitions of returning to college were frustrated by the focus of the scheme, yet she refused to capitulate and accept an undesired work placement. Yvonne, however, found that she had to work constantly on her own emotions, suppressing negative feelings and evoking caring sentiments, in order to carry on mentoring without achieving its idealised goals. In this way, caring came to incorporate a controlling effort, both over her mentee and over herself. This took its toll on her of guilt, undermined confidence, and cynicism. The effort to shape Lisa's disposition was in fact shaping Yvonne's disposition too, and possibly to a greater degree.

How can we make sense of engagement mentoring, of its possibilities and problems, in the light of such evidence? In attempting to reflect on the triple aspects of personal disposition, meso-level institutional settings and macro-level contexts, Bourdieu's notions of habitus and field (e.g. Bourdieu

& Wacquant, 1992) may provide a viable theoretical framework, particularly through feminist readings (e.g. Reay, 1998).

Engagement Mentoring: The Dual Transformation of Habitus

Engagement mentoring can be seen as a 'field' – a game with its own rules which structures the ways in which players act through the relations of power which exist between them, but is also structured by their agentic strategies and individual interpretation of the game. The players include not only mentors and mentees, but the staff who run mentoring schemes, the institutions in which those schemes are housed and through which they are funded, employers, British and European policy-makers, and so on. Power relations in engagement mentoring are therefore far wider than those which may exist within the mentoring dyad itself – something that has rarely been acknowledged in the existing literature.

I argued earlier that engagement mentoring seeks to transform the dispositions of young mentees. It aims to create in them a docility (Foucault, 1991) implicit in the notion of 'employability'. I have also argued that engagement mentoring demands a transformation of disposition in the mentors, and their development of a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. Their disposition is supposed to present an ideal role model of employability, as well as of rational action. This devotion can also be seen as a form of docility.

We could replace the word 'disposition' with 'habitus' here. Habitus, according to Bourdieu, is both structured and structuring, because it incorporates aspects of our predispositions created by factors such as social class and gender, as well as more individual aspects of disposition. It has often been used as a way of explaining behaviour, such as that of career decision-making (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996), and the ways in which behaviour is both enabled and constrained by the field. However, here we may utilise the concept of habitus in a slightly different way.

The field of engagement mentoring is aimed at transforming the habitus of those on both sides of the mentoring dyad. Its goal is to produce/reproduce habitus in a particular form – an ideal of employability – that is determined by the needs of employers and other dominant groupings, rather than by mentors or mentees themselves. Habitus is thus reified as a raw material, and mentoring becomes represented as a labour process which seeks to work on that raw material, and to reform it as a saleable commodity within the labour market – in the case of New Beginnings, the market for graduates as well as for young trainees. That commodity is labour power, the one thing that is essential to capitalists' ability to derive surplus value from any production process (Marx, 1975; Rikowski, 2001). As we have seen, the current economic context of globalisation has greatly expanded employers' demands of labour power, so that they increasingly require us to place our very dispositions at their disposition, and our habitus becomes dehumanised as human capital.

This is particularly true when the labour that is demanded is emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), where the mentor works upon her own feelings in order to re-represent the mentee as an object of caring practice, however difficult that may be. In that process, the predispositions inherent in habitus come into play. Women in particular act to reproduce the stereotypical gendered roles as self-sacrificing carers which society constructs for them from birth (Gilligan, 1995). (Men increasingly face the demand to perform emotional labour too [Lupton, 1998; Yarrow, 1992], but their socially constructed gender roles make them less vulnerable to its more oppressive and painful consequences [Hochschild, 1983].) In engagement mentoring, the greatest contradiction is that this brutal commodification of the self is cloaked in the guise of human relationships commonly assumed to be based on warmth and compassion.

Conclusion

In the above examples we have seen how the rules of the field resulted in the rupture or breakdown of mentoring relationships which had provided important support to two young people. In the case of Yvonne and Lisa, not only did the mentee suffer repeated failure and confirmed exclusion from her academic aspirations, but the mentor also lost confidence in herself, experiencing guilt, stress and fear. The gendered character of Yvonne's habitus is revealed in her determination to maintain her commitment to Lisa, whatever the bitter cost to herself, and that habitus is reinforced by the expectations of engagement mentoring.

In the cases of Adrian and Lisa, engagement mentoring failed to bring about the expected transformation of habitus. Lisa resisted the way it drove her towards work-based training. Adrian's habitus was transformed in spectacular fashion by his experience of mentoring, but in a way that he tried to determine autonomously, also in resistance to the outcomes required by the field. His case, and others evidenced in the whole study, indicate the possibilities for mentoring when young people utilise such relationships proactively to develop their own agendas. They can be truly transformatory, instigating turning points in a life history, facilitating difficult transitions to adulthood, and expanding horizons for action.

However, the ways in which a life can change direction, in which horizons can expand, and in which habitus can evolve cannot be controlled or predicted in the way that policy approaches assume engagement mentoring can do. Furthermore, habitus, although adaptive, is not easily changed. It is 'enduring' and 'durable' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Such considerations reveal the complexity of the power dynamics of engagement mentoring. Young people are not just passive recipients of such interventions. They do exercise agency and resistance. Mentors are not the most powerful actors in the process of

mentoring. They too are subject to the wider regulation of the field, as well as to structural mechanisms of oppression and exploitation. Even the staff who designed and ran the scheme were subject to the way in which mentoring was constructed through European policy, and the way in which that construction was enforced through the requirements imposed by the funding régime of the Youthstart Initiative.

New Beginnings came to the end of its funding, but lived on as the *Learning Gateway* in that locality, and will doubtless have an important relationship to the *Connexions* service as it is introduced there. Similar developments have happened across this country. The findings of my study cannot be generalised in the statistical sense, but they present important evidence of flaws in the conception and in its underpinning assumptions that may be inherent in the model of engagement mentoring. Employment-related goals, or even re-engagement with formal education, are not appropriate for all young people who have become disengaged from these systems (Ford, 1999; ICG, n.d.; Watts, 2001).

While young people such as Adrian (and those who took part in the MAP) may respond enthusiastically to the opportunity for a mentoring relationship, his experience may be seen as a classic example of the traditional ambivalence of the working class towards education. They are caught in a double bind between the desire to 'get on' and 'get out', alongside the alienation of failure and of being 'found out' (Reay, 2001). In less happy relationships, like that of Yvonne and Lisa, one-to-one individual support may reinforce the young person's sense of alienation, and certainly may not help them understand the social, economic and political roots of social exclusion, which tend to be represented as either deviance or deficit in the individual (Colley & Hodgkinson, 2001). Expectations of transforming young people's dispositions through engagement mentoring are thus not only unrealistic, but raise questions about the social justice of such an aim (Gulam & Zulfiqar, 1998; Piper & Piper, 1999, 2000). As Whitty has pointed out:

the uncritical use of the language of 'opportunity' in a deeply inegalitarian society can actually serve to legitimate rather than challenge existing relations of domination . . . [E]ducation reforms couched in the rhetoric of choice, difference and diversity often turn out to be sophisticated ways of reproducing existing hierarchies of class and race. The detail is often more complicated than it used to be, but the underlying patterns remain disturbingly similar. (2001, p. 289)

We might add that those hierarchies also include gender, and that the 'complexity of detail' includes inequalities visited upon those who do the mentoring as well as those who are mentored. Ecclestone argues that the Government's emphasis on the problem of social exclusion as one of non-participation in lifelong learning is an authoritarian approach which represents the

moralisation of risk: 'Importantly, "risk" becomes redefined to mean almost any transgressional behaviour, including autonomy itself' (1999, p. 338). Compulsion to participate and controlling models of care are being imposed as a result. I would argue not only that engagement mentoring represents just such a moralisation of risk with regard to young people. Its prescription of the mentor's role and its emphasis on feelings may also represent a 'flip side' of the same controlling process towards those who act as mentors, a parallel tendency towards the moralisation of care. Where the provision of welfare services used to be perceived as an expression of the collective moral good, now increasingly the responsibility for displaying moral goodness has been shifted onto individuals working within the welfare system.

If the practice of mentoring vulnerable young people is to avoid these 'underlying patterns', more research is needed into the processes within such mentoring relationships, whether they be with professional or volunteer mentors. This research cannot be limited to narrow measures of prescribed outcomes determined by policy-makers, but needs to engage in in-depth qualitative investigation, which can allow mentors and mentees to tell their own stories of how engagement mentoring is for them. We need critical analyses, and the appropriate application of theory to practice, in ways that can reveal the limitations as well as the strengths of mentoring. Not least of all, such research might serve to mitigate the climate of blame that may well follow when engagement mentoring fails to deliver policy-makers' expectations.

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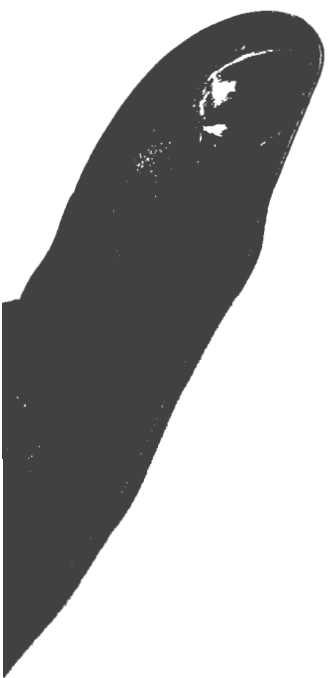
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The Effects of Mentoring on Academic Careers over Time: Testing Performance and Political Perspectives

Catherine Kirchmeyer

Introduction

The mentor/protégé relationship has received much attention lately. Mentors typically are described as senior members of organizations who commit to facilitating protégés' careers. Most proclaimed is the association of mentors with protégé success, as measured by promotion rates (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1989; Koberg et al., 1994; Wallace, 2001) and income levels (Chao, 1997; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Wallace, 2001). Mentoring functions also can be performed by developers other than senior members of the same organization, such as experienced co-workers and outsider associates (Higgins & Thomas, 2001; Raabe & Beehr, 2003). Hence, examining constellations of developers who perform mentoring functions may be more informative than examining only traditional mentors (Higgins & Kram, 2001).

To call mentoring 'fashionable' may not be an exaggeration. From a count in the social science and education databases, Colley (2001) found the literature on mentoring increased exponentially over the last 20 years exceeding 1500 articles. Surveys show that managers believe strongly in the organizational benefits of mentoring (Singh et al., 2002), and mentoring programs have grown in popularity and are considered to be attractive employment

features (de Janasz & Sullivan, 2004). Employers encourage mentoring in anticipation of attitudinal, performance, recruitment, and retention gains, and formal programs with dedicated coordinators, mentor/protégé matching, and participant orientations (Gaskill, 1993; Hall & Sandler, 1983; Raabe & Beehr, 2003) compete with other programs for organizational resources. Some business consultants promote mentoring as a cost-effective way to develop employees (Murray & Owen, 1991).

Whether or not organizational investments in mentoring achieve the expected returns remains an unanswered question. Critics argue that the literature is biased toward a favorable view of mentoring and lacking in healthy skepticism (Colley, 2001; Scandura, 1998). Scrutiny of the empirical evidence reveals mixed support for its assumed benefits. A recent metaanalysis of the results of 43 mentoring studies (Allen et al., 2004) found mentoring to be associated with objective and subjective measures of career success. The effect sizes, however, were small for income and promotion and the authors cautioned that focusing on mentoring as a way to achieve objective success may not be warranted. Furthermore, evaluations of actual mentoring programs in the scholarly literature concluded that the effects are not as extensive as previously thought and that resources for employee development would be better spent (Raabe & Beehr, 2003; Seibert, 1999).

Despite only mixed support for the benefits of mentoring, and an emerging literature on the dysfunctional side of mentoring (Ragins et al., 2000; Scandura, 1998), the likelihood that employers will continue to encourage mentoring and implement formal programs seems high (Seibert, 1999). Social scientists can make important contributions to employer decision-making by better explaining the process of mentoring and providing a realistic picture of what outcomes can be expected. To this end, the author conducted the current study of the means by which mentoring affects careers.

A decade ago, Green and Bauer (1995) in a study of doctoral students raised concerns about how mentors advance careers. They proposed that mentors may be contributing in ways employers do not expect, or possibly even desire, by enhancing not the job performance of protégés but rather political and other social skills. If mentoring indeed fails to develop task-specific skills, then employers must be cautious about replacing traditional training and job-rotation programs with mentoring efforts. The alternative mechanisms of mentoring to which Green and Bauer (1995) alluded are consistent with two distinct perspectives on mentoring, a performance perspective and a political perspective. Each is developed further below. The purpose of this study was to compare the abilities of the two perspectives to account for the effects of mentoring on careers over time.

In addition, this study was designed to overcome several methodological shortcomings common to mentoring research. First, mentoring was examined during a specific time period and at the same career stage for all subjects. Earlier studies largely were concerned with mentoring at any point in the



career (e.g. Dreher & Ash, 1990; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Wallace, 2001). However, mentoring and its effects appear to vary by career stage (Metz & Tharenou, 2001; Peluchette & Jeanquart, 2000) and failure to make distinctions among the various stages could distort research findings. Second, outcomes were measured in this study approximately two and ten years after mentoring experiences. With these intervals, others' attributions for nonsignificant effects to short time intervals (Green & Bauer, 1995; Raabe & Beehr, 2003; Seibert, 1999) could be tested. Career outcomes of mentoring may not be detected for years. Third, objective measures were employed in this study to gauge performance and career advancement. In a study of business start-ups, for example, Waters et al. (2002) found mentors' and protégés' perceptions following mentoring to be poor indicators of actual performance. Thus, separating genuine changes from the positive feelings that arise simply from being mentored (Fagenson, 1989) is advisable.

Perspectives on Mentoring and Career Success

In her seminal work on mentoring, Kram (1985) proposed two types of functions that explain how mentoring aids development. Career functions help the protégé learn the ropes and prepare for advancement, and include sponsorship, exposure and visibility, coaching, protecting, and providing learning opportunities. On the other hand, psychosocial functions raise the protégé's sense of competence, clarity of identity, and professional effectiveness, and include role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship. Although the functions explain how mentoring develops protégés, the precise means by which careers are advanced remain open to interpretation. Identifying such means is necessary to account for the nature of mentoring effects and whether or not they include attitude, performance, promotion, or compensation outcomes.

The performance perspective assumes that mentoring affects career advancement indirectly through performance. Mentoring enhances a protégé's ability to perform by aiding the acquisition of task-specific skills and job-relevant knowledge and by providing access to information and resources that facilitate task accomplishment. Achieving high levels of performance then leads to promotion and financial rewards, commonly used indicators of advancement. This perspective follows the traditional thinking of human-capital economists (Becker, 1975). That is, organizational and personal investments in developmental relationships pay off in terms of productivity to the organization and the individual receives rewards consistent with his or her added value.

A major assumption of this perspective that mentoring benefits performance is implied in the mentoring literature. Management guides for mentoring programs usually promise performance improvements (e.g. Hall & Sandler,

1983; Murray & Owen, 1991; Wilson & Elman, 1990) with some, such as Stone's (1999) *Coaching, counseling and mentoring: How to choose and use the right technique to boost employee performance*, promoting such gains in the title. Likewise, corporate mentoring programs commonly include performance improvement among the stated goals (Raabe & Beehr, 2003; Waters et al., 2002). In scholarly work on mentoring, performance benefits are discussed alongside other benefits related to socialization, retention, and career opportunities (Green & Bauer, 1995; Scandura, 1998; Waters et al., 2002). Research models that specify pathways among mentoring, performance, and advancement, however, have been neither articulated nor tested. One can only assume that performance would mediate the mentoring-to-advancement relationship.

An alternative possibility is that mentoring affects advancement directly and need not operate through performance. In this case, the protégé's understanding of social systems and his or her ability to negotiate them become the foci. Pfeffer (1981) argued that job performance is not a sufficient condition for career advancement, and that the individual's contacts, social background, and political skills also contribute. Studies of performance appraisal support the idea that the allocation of rewards in organizations is not based simply on performance, but rather is influenced by personal interests and political nature (Longenecker et al., 1987). Accordingly, mentors affect the advancement of protégés by developing their social skills, serving as contacts within the social system, and sending signals of ability, reputation, and organizational fit (Ferris & Judge, 1991).

This second perspective is called political because advancement is dependent on resources of power. Although the relevance of politics for understanding careers has been recognized, careers remain under-investigated from this perspective (Judge & Bretz, 1994), possibly because political is considered to be a pejorative term. The suggestion that mentoring belongs in the realm of politics should not imply that it is any less important to personal success or organizational functioning than it is from the performance perspective. Politics is not merely self-serving for political players, but can serve to facilitate operations in social systems that ultimately benefits organizational productivity as well (Pfeffer, 1981). Mentoring, for example, can signal that a protégé is a good fit with the organization and that promoting him or her ensures smooth interpersonal relations (Ferris & Judge, 1991).

In the mentoring literature, the political perspective is not unknown. Auster (1984) in his early publication, 'Mentors and proteges: Power-dependent dyads', conceptualized the mentoring relationship as a power exchange serving the interests of both parties. Later, Ragins (1997) applied a 'power perspective' to examine mentoring among diversified pairs stating 'the primary focus of the relationship is on the development of inter- and intra-organizational power for proteges' (p. 493). The importance of power as a factor in mentor and protégé selection has been acknowledged widely (e.g. Allen et al., 2000; Dreher &

Cox, 1996; Ensher et al., 2001), and the need for power has been shown to be stronger among protégés than nonprotégés (Fagenson, 1992). Theorists have used social exchange theory to develop arguments about the benefits of mentoring (Auster, 1984; Ensher et al., 2001; Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994; Wallace, 2001) with the stated gains more related to succeeding in social systems than to performing tasks at hand. Overall common references to the use of power in the mentoring relationship to influence others and manage meaning when paired with conditions of uncertainty, scarcity, and diverse interests, all existing in advancement decisions, place mentoring in the realm of politics.

The two perspectives on mentoring represent a construct distinct from Kram's (1985) mentoring functions. Career and psychosocial functions are consistent with both perspectives, although their relative degrees of importance could vary. Career support, such as sponsoring the protégé to take on added responsibility and providing challenging assignments, and psychosocial support of acceptance and confirmation that encourages risk taking and experimentation, are important to performing. At the same time, both functions are important for preparing the protégé to succeed in social systems that are inherently political. Career support, such as exposure and visibility allow the protégé to learn about the organization, meet contacts, and build a power base, and psychosocial support involving role modeling and counseling help him or her learn appropriate social behavior.

The performance and political perspectives are not mutually exclusive. It is conceivable that mentoring affects advancement both directly and indirectly through performance. However, whether the two routes to career outcomes are operating, or only one or even none is operating, remains unknown. Identifying how mentoring advances careers, and characteristics of mentoring relationships that may influence the precise route to advancement, has important implications for career management for both individuals and organizations.

Research Context and Hypotheses

The effects of mentoring on the academic careers of American doctoral graduates were examined in this study. Academics provide a unique population for comparing the two perspectives on mentoring because publishing in scholarly journals, a major component of academic performance, occurs outside of the employing institution. Internal evaluations of performance are themselves subject to political interests (Longenecker et al., 1987). Publication productivity also has been shown to predict rank and salary across academic disciplines (Broder, 1993; Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1992; Long et al., 1993; Park & Gordon, 1996; Sonnett & Holton, 1995), unlike other indicators of academic performance such as teaching evaluations (Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1992). Furthermore, the same ranks for gauging progression are found in most

American academic institutions. Hence, in academia, levels of performance, rank, and salary are quantifiable and allow for comparisons of individuals across institutions.

In this study, performance and career advancement were examined at both early and middle stages of the career. In American institutions, academics typically begin their careers as assistant professors. The early career comprises the first six or seven years leading to review for tenure and promotion to associate professor and the middle career comprises the following years to full professor that occurs usually between 12 to 14 years after graduation (Valian, 1998). Researchers of academic careers argue that early-career experience and affiliations have long-term effects on career outcomes and that the effects may amplify over time (Ahern & Scott, 1981; Sonnert & Holton, 1995). Consequently examining careers over long periods is strongly advocated.

Number of Mentoring Relationships

Because mentoring functions can be performed by developers other than traditional mentors who comprise high-ranking members of organizations and professions dedicated to helping protégés (Higgins & Kram, 2001), the effects of entire mentoring constellations on careers were examined in this study. Earlier studies found that the more developers a protégé has, the more benefits he or she reaps (Higgins & Thomas, 2001; Seibert et al., 2001). Hence, a simple count of developers appears to reflect the amount of mentoring performed. Other indicators of mentoring, such as perceptions of mentoring quality, have been shown to be relatively poor determinants of objective career outcomes (Allen et al., 2004).

With regard to the effect of developer number on advancement in academia, the performance perspective implies that it operates through publication productivity. That is, more mentoring would mean more publications, and would not affect rank and salary once the publications variable is controlled. In contrast, the political perspective implies that number of developers affects advancement directly. More mentoring would mean higher rank or higher salary or both even while controlling for publications. To test for these alternative routes for mentoring to affect advancement, two competing hypotheses were derived. Although separate hypotheses for traditional mentors and other developers were not derived, distinctions were made in the analysis to explore for possible differences stemming from the two sources of mentoring.

Hypothesis 1a: Drawing upon the performance perspective, more developers will be associated with the achievement of higher rank and higher salary but the relationships will be mediated fully by the number of publications.

Hypothesis 1b: Drawing upon the political perspective, more developers will be associated with the achievement of higher rank and higher salary even when controlling for the number of publications.

Characteristics of the Mentoring Relationship

Certain characteristics of the mentoring relationship may influence the precise means by which careers are advanced. Identifying such characteristics is important for distinguishing the two perspectives on mentoring. The location of the developer, for example, may determine whether the effects on advancement are direct or indirect. Developers who are located outside protégés' organizations broaden the range of relationships (Higgins & Kram, 2001) and have been shown to contribute to advancement (Seibert et al., 2001). Among academics in a cross-sectional study, Peluchette and Jeanquart (2000) found that only mentors currently located outside the protégé's department correlated with research productivity. In his theory of social capital, Burt (1997) explained how having contacts with diverse sources of information prevents redundancy within developmental networks.

In accordance with the aforementioned reasoning, outside developers could enhance academics' scholarly performance by providing professional guidance and job-relevant knowledge beyond that available from insiders. At the same time, because outsiders are more removed from internal politics than are insiders (Ragins, 1997), they would be less able to advise academics on negotiating their social settings and to provide access to inside contacts. Thus, outside developers may benefit academics' advancement by helping them publish. Note that it was the presence of a mentoring relationship with the characteristic that was tested because of the possibility few academics would have more than one outside developer.

Hypothesis 2: Having an outside developer will be associated with the achievement of higher rank and higher salary but the relationships will be mediated fully by the number of publications.

Another characteristic for distinguishing the two perspectives on mentoring may be the emotional intensity of the relationship. Kram (1985) recognized that mentoring relationships vary in emotional intensity and those characterized by intimacy and a strong interpersonal bond are best able to perform psychosocial functions, such as acceptance and confirmation. Such emotional closeness may be particularly important for advancing careers from the political perspective where advancement depends on the protégé learning social skills and establishing contacts. In comparison, task-specific skills and access to job-relevant knowledge that are central to the logic of the performance perspective may be acquired adequately without the developer and protégé being emotionally close. Among academics, for example, solid collegial relationships based on shared professional interests, but lacking intimacy, may benefit publication productivity as much as emotionally-close relationships. Again it was the presence of a relationship with the characteristic that was tested.

Hypothesis 3: Having an emotionally-close developer will be associated with the achievement of higher rank and higher salary even when controlling for number of publications.

Control Variables

Academic careers have been studied widely and several determinants of performance and advancement established. First, the quality of an academic's graduate program has been shown to predict both publication productivity and progression throughout the career (Broder, 1993; Helmreich et al., 1980; Long et al., 1998). Program quality often is based on ability to produce successful scholars. Second, the prestige of an academic's department, typically reflecting scholarly achievements, represents a strong predictor of career outcomes (Broder, 1993; Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1992; Helmreich et al., 1980; Long et al., 1998), with the first department following graduation being particularly influential (Long & McGinnis, 1981). Prestigious departments are associated with high productivity and high salaries. Department prestige appears to be antecedent of publication productivity rather than new graduates being allocated to departments based on scholarly contributions (Long & McGinnis, 1981). Prestige also has been associated with long time to promotion because of high research expectations in prestigious departments (Broder, 1993). In this study, both graduate school quality and prestige of the first department were used as control variables. In addition, it was necessary to control for year of graduation and gender. The passage of time affects career outcomes (Ervin et al., 1984) and women continue to achieve less success in academia than men (Bradburn et al., 2002).

Method

Sample and Procedure

The subjects were 143 (71 men and 72 women) American academics who earned PhD and DBA degrees in accounting between 1984 and 1987. Both business schools and accreditation bodies consider the two degrees to be equivalent. Accounting academics were targeted because relevant information on them has been published annually in the *Accounting faculty directory* since 1974. Selecting graduates from the mid-1980s meant enough time had elapsed to assess career outcomes at early and middle career. Initially each of the 170 women who earned a doctoral degree in accounting in the USA and began an academic career was matched randomly to a male graduate who earned the same degree in the same year. The sample was reduced for purposes of this analysis to 124 men and 123 women and excluded those who were at ranks above assistant professor immediately following graduation, were employed

at non-American institutions, or left academia before 2001. A total of 20 men and 28 women had left. Comparisons of sample means with those of the entire graduating cohort revealed no difference in graduation year, program quality, or the presence of a PhD program in the employing department.

In the spring of 2001, the current affiliations of the academics were established by consulting the latest edition of the *Accounting faculty directory* (Hasselback, 2000). Over the next 10 months, they were telephoned at their offices to solicit their participation and schedule telephone interviews. One hundred and fifty-six academics were contacted of which 11 declined to be interviewed and two withdrew their participation during the interview.

The telephone interviews were conducted by the author and lasted anywhere from 15 to 40 minutes depending on the academic's responses to open-ended questions. Questions pertaining to the measures of this study were contained in a research guide and read verbatim to each interviewee. Other questions that could be important to the interpretation of the results were open-ended and proceeded in a less structured manner. Much of the interview focused on the five years following graduation. For academics, this five-year period represents a critical time for development and precedes tenure and promotion decisions typically made in the sixth or seventh year following graduation. None of the interviewees expressed difficulty recalling developmental relationships during the five years. Other researchers have noted that people tend to recall accurately important relationships in the past (Seibert et al., 2001). Information on school affiliations and publication records were gathered from available databases and not from the academics themselves.

Measures

Female

This variable was dichotomous with 0 = male and 1 = female.

Graduation Year

The measure comprised the last two digits of the year that the doctorate was earned. For example, 1984 became 84.

Graduate School Quality

Hasselback and Reinstein's (1995) ranking of 73 American schools that grant doctoral degrees in accounting was consulted. Rank order was based on the quantity of publications for school graduates from 1978 to 1992 and adjusted for journal quality and number of graduates per school. For this study, ranks were scored in reverse with the top school receiving a score of 73.

The graduate school of each academic was extracted from the *Accounting faculty directory*.

Department Prestige

Trieschmann et al. (2000) produced a ranking of top American business schools based on number of publications in 20 premier journals. Through personal correspondence with them, a ranking of only top accounting departments was obtained. The ranking contained 181 departments. Ranks again were reverse scored for purposes of this study, with the top school receiving a score of 181 and unranked departments receiving scores of zero. The academics' first departments and departmental data were extracted from the *Accounting faculty directory*.

Academic departments provide the resources and social contexts for conducting research (Long & McGinnis, 1981) and Trieschmann et al.'s (2000) ranking of accounting departments captured aspects of support that help academics succeed. Correlation analysis revealed the prestige scores to be associated with the presence of a doctoral program ($r = .70, p < .001$), teaching load ($r = -.67, p < .001$), and the average years of tenure for departmental members ($r = .40, p < .001$). Although 63 percent of the academics had left their first departments by 2001, the relative ranking of prestige scores for 2001 departments remained fairly constant with that of the first department scores ($r = .71, p < .001$).

Publications

Databases of the Science Citation and Social Science Citation Indices were consulted. They contain publication information on hundreds of business journals. The publication records of the academics were retrieved and two measures derived: number of publications from graduation until 1993 and number from graduation until 2001. These years corresponded to the seven years after graduation during which most academics achieve tenure and promotion and the 15 years during which most achieve the rank of full professor (Valian, 1998). Quantity of publications has been found to be a far stronger predictor of career advancement than measures of research quality (Long et al., 1993). In an earlier study of the entire matched sample (Kirchmeyer et al., 2000), correlation coefficients for measures of publication quantity adjusted for co-authors and journal quality with an unadjusted measure were above .90.

Rank

The academics identified their academic ranks, and if applicable, when they had achieved associate and full ranks. After the interviews, their ranks in 1993 and in 2001 were determined. For the 1993 measure, ranks were coded as

follows: 1 = assistant, 2 = associate, and 3 = full professor. By 2001, because the assistant rank would be uncommon for academics 15 years after graduation, and many would have progressed to full professor, the 2001 variable was dichotomous with 0 = not full professor and 1 = full professor.

Salary

Academics were asked in which of five salary ranges their basic salaries fell in 2001. They were not to include monies from external sources, summer research grants, or out-of-load teaching. The ranges were in \$25,000 increments beginning with '\$50,000 up to \$75,000' and ending with 'over \$150,000', and coded 1 through 5, respectively. Because academics could have trouble accurately recalling their salaries eight years earlier, there was no attempt to measure 1993 salaries.

Number of Developers

At the time of the initial telephone contact, the academic was told that the focus of the study concerned mentors and other developers, and he or she was given the central question to think about prior to the actual interview. The question read 'during the five-year period following your graduation was there one or possibly more than one colleague at any rank or location who acted to help your career?'. In addition, the academic was provided with examples of acts of support typical in the profession (Hall & Sandler, 1983; Perna et al., 1995), such as 'providing advice and strategizing with you on how to earn tenure and promotion' and 'providing direction or working alongside you on a research project'. The importance of distinguishing genuine developers 'who took an active interest in and concerted action to advance careers' (p. 232) from passive supporters was stressed by Higgins and Thomas (2001).

During the discussion of each developer who had been identified, the academic was asked whether or not that developer would be considered a mentor. A mentor was defined at the time as 'a high ranking member of the profession who is committed to facilitating the career of a less experienced person by providing support and guidance and serving as a role model'. This definition is based on those used in studies of traditional mentors (e.g. Fagenson, 1989; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). The variable called 'mentors' was created by summing the developers said to be mentors and the variable called 'other developers' was created by summing those said to be non-mentors. A recent meta-analysis of mentoring found simple measures of the presence of mentors to explain more variance in income and promotions than complex measures of mentor quality or functions (Allen et al., 2004).

Outside Developer

Academics identified where each developer was located. Having no developer outside the academic's institution during the five-year period was coded as 0 and having at least one developer outside was coded as 1. In this case, the variable represented the presence of an outsider, and not the number of outsiders, because of restricted range. That is, academics with more than one outside developer were rare.

Emotionally-Close Developer

A dichotomous variable also was created to represent the presence of an emotionally-intense relationship. Academics were asked to indicate how close emotionally they felt to each developer on a three-point scale used earlier by Seibert et al. (2001): 1) 'especially close': 2) 'close but not especially so for a collegial relationship': and 3) 'distant'. Some clarification was provided by further describing the especially-close alternative as 'someone with whom you would discuss personal problems and consider a close friend'. Because so few relationships were seen as distant, the variable was coded 0 for no emotionally-close developer and 1 for at least one emotionally-close developer.

Data Analysis

The research hypotheses were tested with a series of regression equations. The procedure followed Baron and Kenny's (1986) test for mediation, with performance representing a mediator between mentoring and advancement. According to them, 'To test for mediation, one should estimate the following three regression equations' (p. 1177): first, by regressing performance on the mentoring variables; second, by regressing salary or rank on the mentoring variables; and third, by regressing salary or rank on both the mentoring variables and performance. Support for the performance perspective would mean mentoring affects performance in the first equation and rank or salary in the second equation, and performance affects rank or salary in the third equation. Full mediation by performance holds when mentoring has no effect in the third equation. In comparison, support for the political perspective would mean mentoring only affects rank or salary, with the effect in the third equation being no less than that in the second. The equations were estimated at both early and middle-career stages, and the variables gender, graduation year, graduate school quality, and department prestige, included for control purposes.

Results

Basic statistics of the variables and a correlation matrix are presented in Table 1. The 143 academics identified 232 developers who acted to help their

Table 1: Basic statistics and correlation matrix

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Female	.50	.50												
2. Graduation year	85.84	1.00	.06											
3. Graduate school quality	36.80	20.34	-.06	-.02										
4. Department prestige	81.17	67.43	-.06	-.10	.45***									
5. Publications 1993	1.89	2.25	-.12	.00	.39***	.55***								
6. Publications 2001	2.91	3.80	-.17*	.04	.40***	.56***	.94***							
7. Rank 1993	1.80	.57	-.05	-.31***	.04	-.08	.20**	.18*						
8. Rank 2001	.48	.50	.02	-.07	-.08	-.08	.25***	.27***	.50***					
9. Salary	2.33	.98	-.14*	-.06	.41***	.52***	.59***	.68***	.18*	.34***				
10. Mentors	.93	.85	.01	-.10	-.03	-.01	-.02	-.02	.21**	.16*	.08			
11. Other developers	.70	1.06	-.09	-.02	.07	-.02	.01	.01	.09	-.07	.03	-.21**		
12. Outside developer	.40	.49	.11	-.03	.02	-.06	.10	.08	.10	.10	.10	.25**	.21**	
13. Emotionally-close developer	.57	.50	.07	-.03	-.13	-.09	-.06	-.07	.02	.07	.08	.34***	.37***	.32***

N = 143. **p* < .05; ***p* < .01; ****p* < .001.

careers over the five-year period. On average each had 1.63 developers (SD = 1.19), with a range of 0 to 5. Eighteen percent reported having no developer. Overall 38 developers were assistant professors, 72 were associates, and 12 were full professors. Of them, 132 were considered to be traditional mentors and 100 not to be traditional. The ranks of the developers supported these distinctions, with 73 percent of traditional mentors reported to be full professors and only 26 percent of other developers to be at this rank. Thirty-five percent of the academics reported having no traditional mentor, 43 percent had one, and 22 percent had two or three. In addition, 40 percent had a developer located outside of the employing institution, including 12 percent at the individual's graduate school, and 57 percent reported being emotionally close to a developer.

On average, each academic had 1.89 (SD = 2.25) publications listed in the databases by 1993 approximately seven years after graduation. Eight years later the number had risen to 2.91 (SD = 3.80). Thirty-three percent had zero publications over the time period. Those who failed to publish prior to 1993 continued to do so throughout the middle career, with the exception of one individual. Note that the databases do not include many practitioner-oriented journals that serve as outlets for some accounting research. Nonetheless, a substantial proportion of academics with zero publications in scholarly journals is consistent with other samples (e.g. Helmreich et al., 1980; Long et al., 1998). Natural log transformations of the publication scores were used for the hypothesis testing; an approach taken by others to normalize publication productivity (e.g. Helmreich et al., 1980).

By 1993, 63 percent of the academics had progressed to the associate rank and 9 percent to the full rank. Promotions over the next eight years resulted in five assistants, 70 associates, and 68 full professors by 2001. Thirty percent of the first departments were not in Trieschmann et al.'s (2000) ranking of

Table 2: Regression coefficients from analysis of early career outcomes in 1993

Variable	Publications	Rank	
	Equation 1	Equation 2	Equation 3
Female	-.03	-.02	-.01
Graduation year	.07	-.17***	-.18***
Graduate school quality	.01***	.00	.00
Department prestige	.15***	-.02	-.05*
Mentors	.00	.18**	.18**
Other developers	.01	.09*	.09*
Outside developer	.38*	.04	-.04
Emotionally-close developer	-.13	-.18	-.16
Publications			.19***
R ²	.35	.16	.23

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

top accounting departments and received prestige scores of zero. To normalize the distribution for hypothesis testing, natural log transformations were performed on the department scores.

To test the research hypotheses, a series of regression equations were estimated for outcomes at early and middle-career stages. The results at early career are presented in Table 2. Three of the control variables contributed significantly at this stage. The associations of recent graduation year with lower rank, of high program quality with more publications, and of high department prestige department with more publications and lower rank, were not unexpected based on earlier findings. Numbers of mentors and of other developers failed to contribute significantly to publications in the first equation of the test for mediation. These mentoring variables, however, contributed to rank significantly and identically in the second and third equations. Hence, the effects of more mentoring on advancement did not satisfy the test for mediation by performance and Hypothesis 1a derived from the performance perspective was not supported. It was Hypothesis 1b derived from the political perspective that was supported. Noteworthy is that the unstandardized coefficient for mentors was twice that for other developers, indicating twice the impact on rank with each added developer.

At early career, the presence of an outside developer contributed only to publications in the first equation of the test for mediation. Even though outside mentoring appeared to help academics perform, it did not serve as a predictor of advancement as specified by Hypothesis 2. The final hypothesis concerned the direct effect of emotional intensity on rank and it received no support. Having an emotionally-close developer failed to contribute to any equation at this time.

The second set of equations represented career outcomes at middle career, including salary, and the results are presented in Table 3. The control variables, graduate school quality and department prestige, again contributed significantly. High quality and high prestige were associated with high publication productivity, low rank, and high salary. Numbers of mentors and of other developers failed to contribute significantly to any equation. Hence, approximately 10 years after the mentoring experiences, amount of mentoring was no longer associated with career outcomes, and neither Hypothesis 1a nor 1b was supported.

At middle career, the presence of an outside developer contributed significantly to publications in the first equation of the test for mediation and not to rank or salary in the second and third equations. Hence, outsiders meant not only publishing more at early career, but continuing to do so many years later as well, and at neither stage, did they predict advancement as specified by Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 3 did receive support from the analysis of the salary outcome. The presence of an emotionally-close developer contributed only to salary and the effect in the third equation was not less than that in the second equation. In accordance with the political perspective, the effect

Table 3: Regression coefficients from analysis of middle-career outcomes in 2001

Variable	Publications	Rank		Salary	
	Equation 1	Equation 2	Equation 3	Equation 2	Equation 3
Female	-.09	.00	.02	-.26	-.22
Graduation year	.09	-.04	-.05	.00	-.03
Graduate school quality	.01***	-.01	-.01*	.01***	.01*
Department prestige	.19***	-.01	-.05**	.13***	.05
Mentors	-.02	.06	.06	-.01	.00
Other developers	.02	-.04	-.04	-.08	-.08
Outside developer	.44*	.07	-.01	.17	-.01
Emotionally-close developer	-.12	.03	.05	.31*	.36*
Publications			.22***		.41***
R ²	.37	.04	.20	.31	.44

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

of having an emotionally-close developer on advancement was direct and did not operate through performance.

Discussion

This study of accounting academics contributes to understanding how mentoring advances careers. Common thinking about mentoring and its effects were separated into two distinct perspectives and assumptions about the means for advancement made explicit. Prior to this study, such means had been only implied in the literature. A rigorous test of the alternative perspectives was provided by improving upon the methodology of earlier research, that is, by focusing on mentoring during a specific time period and at a single career stage, and by measuring career outcomes objectively several years after the mentoring experiences.

On average, each academic had less than two mentoring relationships, or more precisely .9 traditional mentors and .7 other developers, over a five-year period. Although these numbers seem low at first glance, they are not inconsistent with other findings once the design features of this study are considered. Among lawyers, for example, Higgins and Thomas (2001) found 2.4 developers on average. However, lawyers who could not identify at least one developer, an unreported but seemingly sizeable proportion of the original sample, were excluded from the analysis, and mentoring was not limited to a specific time period. The present analysis included the 18 percent with no developer and mentoring was limited to five years following graduation. Because mentoring relationships are especially demanding during the early career, others have speculated that their number may be small at this time (Baugh & Scandura, 1999).

Furthermore, 35 percent had no developer who was considered a traditional mentor. This proportion is consistent with other findings as well. From a

review of surveys on mentoring in a wide range of professions, Seibert (1999) found from one-third to two-thirds of respondents with no mentor. In samples of managers, from 40 to 50 percent reported no mentor at any point in the career (Dreher & Cox, 1996; Eby & Allen, 2002; Kirchmeyer, 1998). At the same time, another 22 percent of the academics had more than one mentor and no one reported more than three. The time and emotional energy needed to initiate and maintain traditional mentoring relationships are believed to limit the number for any one person (Baugh & Scandura, 1999; de Janasz & Sullivan, 2004). It seems that many academics like many other professionals do not receive the support of traditional mentors, and when they do, the number of relationships remains small.

With regard to the impact of mentoring in academia, the findings supported the political perspective on how mentoring advances careers and suggested that certain kinds of developers help academics either perform or earn higher salaries. That mentoring appears to benefit both career advancement and performance represents an important contribution to understanding its role in career success. Particularly revealing is that performance and financial rewards were associated with different characteristics of the mentoring relationship. This understanding can help employers better manage the development of employees and set realistic goals for mentoring programs.

Findings concerning the numbers of traditional mentors and of other developers, indicators of the amount of mentoring received by academics, provided support for the political perspective. The numbers had no effect on publications, but they contributed to rank at early career. Although the contributions to rank at middle career failed to achieve significance, to conclude that the benefits of early mentoring were only short term in nature may not be accurate. Effects likely continued to operate through advancement achieved earlier. Early progression to associate rank increased the likelihood of achieving full professor by mid-career. Furthermore, to conclude that the amount of mentoring had no impact on academic performance is premature. The possibility exists that performance of academic tasks other than conducting research, such as teaching and serving the institution, benefited from mentoring. Unfortunately, such performance cannot be evaluated as precisely or objectively as publications and appears to play a smaller role in salary decisions (Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1992).

Although both traditional mentors and other developers were associated with academic advancement, the effect of traditional mentors on rank was twice that of other developers. This finding extends Higgins et al.'s theory (Higgins & Kram, 2001) about the entire constellation of developers performing functions important for protégé advancement. Some developers appear to be more valuable for advancing careers than others. From a political standpoint, developers who were at lower ranks than traditional mentors simply lacked the power and experience to influence promotion decisions to the same extent. Recently, based on a study of the effects of mentoring on job attitudes in two companies, Raabe and Beehr (2003) concluded that mentoring functions were

better performed by direct supervisors and coworkers than by mentors at high levels. This may be so when the goal is attitude improvement, but the findings of the present study suggest that when the goal is promotion traditional mentors are most effective.

Support for the political perspective also was provided by the direct effect of an emotionally-close developer on salary. Emotional intensity had no effect on publications. Incidences of psychosocial functioning, such as demonstrating acceptance and confirmation, are most evident when mentors and protégés share a close bond (Kram, 1985), and psychosocial functions may be critical for helping protégés learn social skills and meet other contacts. As suggested by the findings, personal resources and power bases that are built early in the career may continue to influence salary decisions many years later. In addition, financial gains made early in the career would accrue over time. At the same time, emotional intensity was not associated with rank. Promotions for academics result from only two decisions made over the course of the career, one for associate rank and another for full rank, whereas decisions concerning salary changes occur annually at most academic institutions. The frequency and the nature of advancement decisions may determine the extent a developer can influence such decisions. Perhaps the findings of this study would be different in an occupation where the range of ranks is less restricted.

Support for the political perspective need not imply that mentoring is counterproductive to organizational functioning or simply gamesmanship on the part of protégés and developers. Organizations are social systems comprising diverse sets of interests, dependent on smooth interpersonal relations to function, and whose reality is socially constructed to a large extent (Ferris & Judge, 1991). Given such conditions, mentoring as a means to advance by influencing others and managing meaning seems highly rational for individuals. For employers mentoring as a means to socialize and retain members and establish organizational fit represents genuine value.

Although performance was not shown to mediate the mentoring-to-advancement relationship, a major assumption of the performance perspective that mentoring benefits performance gained support from the findings concerning outside developers. Having a developer located outside of the institution meant more publications for academics at early and middle-career stages. Outsiders are said to broaden the range of developmental networks (Burt, 1997), and for academics, they may hold knowledge relevant to publishing and provide professional guidance beyond that available from insiders. Moreover, academics who seek out and welcome mentoring relationships with outsiders may be more externally focused and have stronger scholarly orientations, than those who do not. Somewhat surprising was that only 12 percent of the academics reported developers located at their graduate schools; challenging the common belief that academics form strong bonds with their advisors who help them succeed (de Janasz & Sullivan, 2004). In any event, employers would be advised to encourage mentoring relationships that broaden protégé networks when performance gains are sought.



One limitation of this study that must be addressed is the potential for sample bias. Graduates who did not remain in academia were excluded. Hence, the sample did not include those who failed to succeed in academia and for whom the lack of developers may have contributed to this outcome. However, with only 14 percent of the original matched sample having left academia, the potential for serious bias seems low. Of greater concern are the academics who did not participate in the study because they could not be contacted by telephone. They represented 38 percent of the original sample. These academics who were on leave, worked regularly out of the office, or simply did not answer their telephones, could be different from those who were interviewed in ways important to the results of this study. At the same time, the majority of those who met the sample criteria did participate and provided a fair representation of the graduating cohort based on graduation year, graduate school, and department.

Recall bias could have operated here as well. Academics may have distorted their early relationships in order to rationalize career outcomes. For example, those who perceived themselves as unsuccessful because of few publications or low salaries in 2001 may somehow blame others and failed to recall how helpful colleagues actually were many years earlier. Some research suggests retrospective accounts can serve as an acceptable alternative to contemporaneous data (Lee et al., 1999), but caution about recall accuracy still seems prudent. Only longitudinal research that questions subjects at the time of mentoring and then measures career outcomes later can overcome this potential bias. Such research also could allow for more comprehensive testing of the characteristics of mentoring relationships and the eventual development of profiles of developers who are especially helpful to career advancement.

In conclusion, the findings of this study have important implications for career management. Understanding the means by which mentoring advances careers, how the benefits of traditional mentors compare to those of other developers, and the characteristics of mentoring relationships that make them effective, should improve employer decisions concerning employee development. Through development efforts and the allocation of resources to mentoring programs, employers are making investments in human resources. Protégés and developers too are investing their time, energy, and emotions in mentoring relationships. All parties gain a more realistic picture of what returns can be expected by better understanding how mentoring works.

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Sexual Dynamics in Mentoring Relationships – A Critical Review

Lynn M. Morgan and Marilyn J. Davidson

Introduction

In the last 30 years there has been a great deal of research on the subject of mentoring; however, whilst there has been some research which specifically covers interpersonal dynamics in mentoring relationships, there has been very little that looks into the sexual dynamics of these relationships, and even less looking at sexuality from anything other than a heteronormative approach. This suggests that the whole area of sexuality in mentoring relationships is an area which merits further investigation, particularly given that there is now a greater recognition of the workplace as a sexualized environment (Anderson and Hunsaker, 1985; Bleske and Buss, 2000; Bordwin, 1994; Eyler and Baridon, 1992; Gruber and Morgan, 2005; Hearn and Parkin, 1987, 1995; Hearn *et al.*, 1989; Kakabadse and Kakabadse, 2004; Skidmore, 2004; Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger, 1999). We are currently undertaking research into interpersonal dynamics, including issues around sexuality, in mentoring relationships, and this is drawn on in the later discussion.

When considering sexuality in the workplace it is of course important to consider it from more than a heterosexual perspective. Skidmore (2004) in his study of sexuality and organization in relation to lesbian women and gay men suggests:

The workplace has become recognized as an important locus in organizational and spatial terms for sexualized performances by individual subjects. This approach argues that 'work' – here taken to be labour, usually paid and outside the household, whether in terms of task to be performed or the function of workers in the production process – can be better understood when sexuality is taken into account, a perspective which additionally opens up new insights into the power relation of gender. (Skidmore, 2004, p. 229)

Recognition of the workplace as a sexual environment, from the heterosexual perspective, has long been recognized and Spruel as far back as 1985 was urging that the situation be actively managed:

Sexual attraction can't be stopped and it can enhance the organization. It should be managed so it has a positive, not negative effect on the organization and its people. (Spruel, 1985, p. 22)

In the range of relationships that occur within an organization, mentoring relationships in particular tend, by their nature, to be very personal and have a power dynamic. We believe that by understanding the dynamics, it is possible to plan to avoid potential pitfalls such as the risks of relationships developing in the workplace in a way which is over familiar and possibly even sexualized.

It would be pertinent at this point to define what is meant by mentoring. For the purposes of this review we adopt the following definition of a mentor:

A mentor is a senior person who has an emotional investment in the development of a junior person. Interpersonal trust and emotional attachment exists on both sides. The mentor may or may not be able to effect much instrumental help for the protégé in the organization but the mentor holds the protégé's interests at heart and provides socioemotional support to the protégé. (Murrell, Crosby and Ely, 1999, p. 15)

The aim of this paper is therefore to present a critical review of the largely unexplored topic of the sexual dynamics inherent in mentoring relationships in the workplace. First, it is important to review the literature relating to the workplace as a sexualized environment. This is followed by a discussion of the sexual/romantic dynamics in heterosexual cross-gender mentoring and the criteria needed for an effective mentoring relationship. The next section emphasizes the negative effects of sexual relationships in heterosexual cross-gender mentoring and finally we then explore the sexual dynamic in gay and lesbian mentoring relationships. Based on the findings of this review, our conclusion proposes that organizations, mentees and mentors should be made aware of the highlighted potential risks associated with a sexualized dynamic before embarking on a mentoring relationship, and suggest this is an area which clearly needs more research.

The Workplace as a Sexualized Environment

According to Quinn and Lees (1984):

Sexual feelings are a natural phenomenon and at least an implicit issue in human groups. When people walk through the office door, their sexual feelings are not extinguished. (Quinn and Lees, 1984, p. 35)

To what degree this is generally true is perhaps debatable. Most people would probably say that regardless of whether they perceived themselves to be a sexual being, their understanding of what is acceptable in the work environment would act as a constraint in terms of how they behave in the workplace. There has been little research specifically about romance or sexuality in the mentoring relationship and therefore it is useful to look at the broader context. Numerous authors have stated that as a subject of academic research little had been done until relatively recently (Hearn *et al.*, 1989; Kakabadse and Kakabadse, 2004; Mainiero, 1986; Powell and Foley, 1999; Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger, 1999). Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger (1999) suggested that, of the research that had been done, much of it had numerous shortcomings because most of the research had focused on purely heterosexual relationships, and in many of the research studies the evidence is from a third party. However, there do appear to have been more surveys on this subject in recent years that have produced some interesting statistics. For example, WorldWIT (women in technology), an online community for professional women, polled 35,000 members and found 61% had been romantically involved with a colleague and 20% claimed to have been intimate in the office (Gurchiek, 2005).

If the incidence of office romance is so high, it begs the question – what impact is this having on the working environment? Mainiero (2003) clearly thought the impact to have been judged as a negative one:

Office romances are here to stay, but love, lust and labour have long been strange bedfellows. It has long been accepted that personal relationships may compromise otherwise objective business decisions. (Mainiero, 2003, p. 2)

Perhaps not surprisingly, given that the workplace has traditionally been dominated by men in senior positions, research has suggested that the career risks associated with sexual relationships in the workplace have been greater for women than they have for men – in that women have tended to be more negatively evaluated regarding their competence and motivations than men (Anderson and Hunsaker, 1985; Collins, 1983; Mainiero, 1986; Quinn, 1977).

It would also seem that the degree to which a relationship is accepted, or not, is likely to be linked to the culture of the organization. Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger (1999) found that US organizations varied widely in

their acceptance of office romance. At one end of the spectrum they found organizations that prohibited and monitored all intimate involvement among employees – this category might include, for example, religious organizations. At the other end of the spectrum were organizations which were very tolerant, almost encouraging workplace romances – this category included high tech companies (Apple, Microsoft, Xerox, Oracle and Borland Computers) and natural food companies (Ben and Jerry's and Odwalla) (Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger, 1999).

Whilst the sexualized culture of an organization may increase the incidence of social sexual behaviour in the workplace, other factors may be relevant too. For instance, some studies have revealed that employees who are closer in rank and status are likely to be higher in functional proximity and are therefore more likely to be attracted to each other (Dillard and Whiteman, 1985); and physical proximity has been shown to be an important factor in the likelihood of a romance developing (Anderson and Hunsaker, 1985; Mainiero, 1986; Quinn, 1977). It is suggested that the intensity of the work relationship – e.g. when workers are both very focused on completing a complex project – is a significant contributory factor in terms of the likelihood of a romantic attachment developing (Clawson and Kram, 1984; Mainiero, 1986; Quinn, 1977). Byrne (1971) and later Byrne and Neuman (1992) defined the 'similarity-attraction paradigm', i.e. individuals who are more similar in attitude to each other will like each other more.

In the next section we explore the similarity between the circumstances which have been referred to here as being possible factors in romantic or sexual attraction in the workplace and the criteria needed for an effective mentoring relationship.

Sexual and Romantic Relationships in Heterosexual Cross-Gender Mentoring

People choose a mentor for different reasons as we shall discuss, but Gilbert (1985) found that women tended to care more about the lifestyle and values of their role models than men. Whatever the catalyst, two people being paired together for mentoring, either formally or informally, enter into a relationship which falls within a range in terms of intensity and attachment. The continuum would start in non-sexual, psychologically intimate relationships but end at something that could be sexual harassment (Hurley and Fagenson-Eland, 1996). This model has also been used to define cross-gender relationships in the office (Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger, 1999). Lobel *et al.* (1994) in a study of cross-gender relationships in the workplace found that 968 of 1044 respondents reported non-sexual, psychologically intimate relationships with opposite gender co-workers. A cynic might remember Oscar Wilde's assertion in *Lady Windermere's Fan* that 'Between men and women there is no friendship



possible. There is passion, enmity, worship, love but no friendship.¹ Because the perception of the 'office romance' has historically been between male and female, much of the research is based on heterosexual relationships, but there is an interesting dimension to be explored as to how, if at all, this differs for nonheterosexual workers.

With the potential risk to individuals and the wider organization, examination of the scope for the mentoring relationship to develop in this way is quite an important consideration for both participants and organizations. In many studies on the subject, the personality of the mentor and the way the mentee relates to the mentor have been found to be a key factor in the success of the mentoring relationships (Bozionelos, 2004; Chao, 1997; Kram, 1985; Rogers, 1951). Byrne (1971) asserted that comfort zones are based on the 'similarity-attraction paradigm' (as mentioned earlier), which essentially holds that people we are attracted to, and tend to like, are people like ourselves. Clutterbuck (2002) developed this line of thought further, whilst also referring to the 'similarity-attraction paradigm'. He suggested two other theories: the 'social comparison theory' which asserts that successful relationships tend to be where people share a common perspective and understanding of cultural issues, and the 'reinforcement-effect model of attraction', which proposes that people like those who have similar attitudes to their own (Clutterbuck, 2002, p. 116). Other elements found to be crucial in an effective mentoring relationship are trust, focus, empathy, congruence and empowerment (Rogers, 1951).

With all these theories it is interesting to consider how similar the criteria are to the elements in the development of sexual or romantic relationships in general. Given this potential risk it is perhaps not surprising that getting the nature of a mentoring relationship right can be a real dilemma; whilst clearly a relationship that is too close is inappropriate, there is evidence to suggest that the mentor who does get close to their mentee is likely to create a much more effective mentoring relationship (Clawson and Kram, 1984). However, power can be sexy. Quinn and Lees (1984) reported that in 74% of romantic relationships which occur at work, the male is in a more senior position to the female.

In cross-gender mentoring relationships, the dearth of women in senior positions means that the most likely scenario is a male mentor and female mentee (Burke and McKeen, 1990, 1997). There is of course scope for the relationship to be female mentor-male mentee, but to date this combination tends to be less common² (Burke and McKeen, 1990; Davidson and Burke, 2000; Kram, 1985; Ragins and Cotton, 1996; Woolnough *et al.*, 2006). Unfortunately there is little published research indicating the incidence or consequences of the development of sexual relationships in this scenario, although our own ongoing qualitative interview research has revealed a number of female mentor-male mentee relationships which have resulted in sexual relationships.

Our article therefore proposes that it is important to find a way of managing mentoring relationships by limiting the number of opportunities for them to go wrong. It has also been suggested that men may think, when they become a mentor to a female mentee, that they are 'acting gender blind' (Ragins, 2002) but in fact this may not necessarily be beneficial to the woman – a male mentor may need to acknowledge the differences in the situation of a female employee and the differences in approach between men and women.

Despite concerted efforts by women to achieve career parity with men, the reality is that there are still substantially fewer women in positions of power than there are men. Fewer women in senior management positions and in the boardroom means that it can be harder for women to find appropriate role models (Woolnough, Davidson and Pederit, 2007). Unfortunately, in the absence of appropriate role models other less satisfactory approaches may be used, e.g. the tendency for there to be 'sex-role spillover'. As early as 1981, Nieva and Gutek (1981) defined the sex-role spillover model as carrying into the workplace assumptions about gender which are irrelevant to the workplace. Gutek (1985, 1989) described how men may ascribe to women behaviours or roles which, from their personal lives, they feel familiar with. So for example they may view women as sex object, lover, wife, daughter or mother. Three decades later, there is still evidence that this type of 'sex-role spillover' continues, particularly in traditionally male-dominated occupations and industries (Clawson and Kram, 1984; Powell and Graves, 2003; Scandura and Baugh, 2002). Thus a female mentee may slip into one of these designated roles or may choose to exploit the situation, but Kram suggested that both careers suffer from this approach:

The woman who colludes in playing a helpless and dependent role forfeits the opportunity to demonstrate her skills and competence. The male mentor who maintains the role of tough, invulnerable expert forfeits the opportunity to ask for help when it would be useful. (Kram, 1985, p. 109)

A relationship based on these outdated stereotypes is likely to give neither party satisfaction and is limiting in the opportunities it gives both the mentee and the mentor to grow.

The Negative Effects of Sexual Relationships in Heterosexual Cross-Gender Mentoring

It is perhaps not surprising, given the research findings cited in the previous sections of this paper, that mentoring relationships do, sometimes, become romantic attachments or take on a sexual dimension. Kakabadse and Kakabadse (2004, p. 33) suggest that more and more workplaces encourage employees to feel themselves to be part of a unit. They refer to this as the 'we-ness' that

is promoted in many workplaces and increasingly team members are encouraged to bond and consider each other's welfare rather than being focused on their own self-satisfaction (Bowes-Sperry and Tata, 1999). This should be considered in the context of the research referred to earlier which suggests that proximity is a potential catalyst for a relationship. Given that it has also been found that pursuit of similar workplace goals, performing similar tasks and the feeling of excitement when a project is successful can be contributory factors it is perhaps not surprising that romantic or sexualized relationships develop from time to time.

When relationships do develop in this way there may often be regret at a later stage. In one study carried out by Collins (1983) the results showed that 25% of the female participants had had a sexual relationship with their mentors, but looking back at their situation many of the women felt that the sexual liaisons had been harmful to them, and none of them felt that those relationships had been helpful. When relationships develop between a couple where one participant occupies a more powerful position in the organization or the business relationship, other people within the organization are likely to question the judgement and objectivity of the senior participant (Anderson and Hunsaker, 1985; Clawson and Kram, 1984; Collins, 1983; Kram, 1985; Mainiero, 1986; Quinn, 1977).

A cross-gender mentoring relationship is not just a risk in terms of a relationship developing between the participants, but also a risk that the relationship will be perceived as romantic or sexual by others. Fitt and Newton (1981) found that close relationships with members of the opposite sex were often regarded suspiciously by colleagues or partners. Furthermore, if a woman has a male mentor who is at a higher level within the organization, she may be unfairly charged with 'sleeping her way to the top' (Quinn and Lees, 1984). Clawson and Kram (1984) refer to these two dimensions as the 'internal relationship', the relationship between the two individuals, and the 'external relationship', the relationship between the mentoring pair, the public and the wider organization. The nature of the mentoring relationship – whether actual or the way it is perceived by others – will affect the outcome of the overall relationship (Bennetts, 1994; Clawson and Kram, 1984; Devine and Markiewicz, 1990; Fitt and Newton, 1981; Kakabadse and Kakabadse, 2004; Kram, 1985; Quinn and Lees, 1984; Ragins, 1989; Ragins and Cotton, 1991).

The possibility of negative perceptions of the mentoring relationship can cause mentor and mentee to keep their distance and perhaps avoid further mentoring opportunities or not use the mentoring opportunity as usefully as they could (Chao and O'Leary, 1990; Clawson and Kram, 1984; Hurley and Fagenson-Eland, 1996). It is interesting to note that recent US research has highlighted obstacles to cross-sex friendships at work as being 'the glass partition' (Elsesser and Peplau, 2006). Specifically, both male and female professionals were worried that cross-sex friends in the workplace may misinterpret friendliness for a romantic or sexual interest, or indeed sexual harassment.

The authors emphasized the potential impact that this glass partition may be placing on both men's and women's career development (Elsesser and Peplau, 2006).

Some workplaces discourage socializing between male mentors and female mentees because of the potential problems of sexuality in the workplace (O'Neill, 2002). Employers may well fear the repercussions of mentoring relationships that develop beyond a professional relationship. Certainly sexual liaisons can create problems for the organization (O'Neill, 2002). Incidence of sexual harassment is not uncommon – the Equal Opportunities Commission published a report in 2002 which suggested that 50% of women and 14% of men had been sexually harassed in some way at work (EOC, 2002).

Research in progress on the interpersonal dynamic in mentoring relationships that we have carried out, to date, has included over 50 interviews with UK professional men and women who have had a mentor. A common finding has been for respondents to openly acknowledge that they used flirting with a powerful senior to gain advice, promotions and sponsorship. One heterosexual respondent spoke frankly about how she benefited from her male mentor's affection for her:

Our relationship was always very flirty, I acted very girly and he was very macho. I was aware that he held me in high esteem and not just because of my capabilities. I think he felt something like love for me and I think the relationship was also about his ego. In the short to medium term it had a positive effect [on my career]. I was convinced and assured of his desire to make me happy and help me constructively with my career. When I achieved the next step I broke away, I felt that the relationship would have hindered my longer term career and it was beginning to affect my personal relationships. (Morgan and Davidson, 2007)

It is interesting to note that Clawson and Kram (1984) found in their research that, whilst extreme intimacy or distance in developmental relationships may be dysfunctional, a balance of intimacy and distance is needed for the relationship to be more productive and those partners who have appropriate boundaries in their personal and organizational roles in the workplace may be less likely to suffer dysfunctional effects. Whilst considering these issues, it is important to remember that neither romantic nor sexual relationships nor even sexual harassment is confined to heterosexual employees.

The Impact of Gay and Lesbian Sexual Orientation on the Workplace Experience and the Mentoring Relationship

Whilst it is evident that there has been very little academic research into the field of heterosexual mentoring relationships in this context (also see Hearn and Parkin, 1987, 1995; Hearn *et al.*, 1989), it is also true to say there has



been even less on gay, lesbian or bisexual sexual relationships within organizations. According to one source, lesbian women and gay men probably make up between 5% and 7% of the UK population, representing a total of approximately 3 million (totaljobs.com 2004). Despite various initiatives both in the USA and the UK to create more diverse and equitable workforces, inequality still exists (Creed, 2005). However, research findings on the impact of sexual orientation on career success show that the situation is quite complex. Whilst discrimination may flourish in some quarters (Outright, 2006), according to some research gay men and women's earnings outstrip heterosexual earnings by up to £10,000 a year (*Diva and Gay Times*, November 2005).

In 2000 the EU issued an Employment Equality Directive requiring EU member states to protect employees from discrimination based on their sexual orientation. This was followed in December 2003 by a change in UK law also making it illegal to discriminate against someone on the grounds of their sexual orientation. It is a given that the introduction of legislation outlawing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is clearly to be welcomed, but it is too early to say that this will significantly change the workplace experience for people who are gay, lesbian or transsexual (Skidmore, 2004).

Studies have shown that being gay, lesbian or bisexual can have a negative impact on career advancement because development resources, such as mentoring or networking opportunities, may be fewer for this group of people (Creed, 2005; Croteau and von Destimon, 1994; Croteau and Lark, 1995; Friskopp and Silverstein, 1996; Powers, 1996; Ragins and Cornwell, 2001; Ward and Winstanley, 2006; Woods, 1994). It is not necessarily the case, of course, to say that for everyone sexual orientation will be the most important aspect of their identity; people may belong to many different social groupings, i.e. Afro-Caribbean, female and lesbian, and their ethnicity or gender may be of more importance to them. However, Clutterbuck and Ragins (2002) suggest a hypothesis that identification in mentoring relationships will be optimized when parties share stigmatized social identity, in other words the greater the stigmatization of the protégé's social identity, the greater the role modelling involved when having a mentor who shares that social identity. Bech (1997) summarizes the key points about the role of gay friendship:

Being together with other homosexuals allows one to mirror oneself in them and find self-affirmation. It allows one to share and interpret one's experiences. It allows one to learn in more detail what it means to be homosexual: how to act, what to think, thus lending substance to one's proclaimed identity, as well as assimilating certain techniques that may help bridge the gap between the identity and one's actual experiences and conduct. (Bech, 1997, p. 116)

For gay and lesbian employees the workplace is potentially hostile and therefore the tendency may well be not to disclose non-heterosexual identity (Day and Schoenrade, 2000; Konrad, Prasad and Pringle, 2005; Ward

and Winstanley, 2006); thus the opportunities to mentor or be mentored by someone of the same sexual orientation will be limited. Trust and acceptance are critical criteria in a mentoring relationship and the concealing of sexual orientation may set up hidden barriers. Furthermore, if the true situation is revealed later, in a same sex mentoring relationship, there may be concerns or questions raised around ulterior motives. According to Clutterbuck and Ragins (2002) many gay and lesbian mentees are uncomfortable coming out to heterosexual mentors, and many heterosexual mentors are not comfortable with having a gay or lesbian protégé.

Nardi (1999) maintains that given the absence of comfort and of mechanisms for identity maintenance that many gay men find in a predominantly heterosexual workplace, for them the workplace rarely becomes a source of friends that are more than acquaintances. Nardi also reports that 'Gay men in my study regularly emphasized how similar they were to their friends and how important this homophily of shared values, status, and interests was for their identity and self-esteem' (Nardi, 1999, p. 27).

Powell and Foley (1999) remarked in their review of literature about romantic relationships in organizations:

Silence on same-sex romances is exhibited in the literature on workplace romances in general. All of the theoretical and empirical treatments of workplace romances in the scholarly literature which were identified for our review have been restricted to opposite-sex romances. (Powell and Foley, 1999, p. 302)

Almost a decade has elapsed since Powell and Foley's comments on the dearth of literature on same-sex romances in the workplace; yet today, there is still very little literature or research to be found on this subject.

Conclusion

There is no question that mentoring relationships can be of great benefit to individuals, but the range of factors that can affect the relationship – either positively or negatively – is vast. In addition to this, the relationship is usually developed in a workplace environment and evidence would suggest that the office environment is often sexually charged (Human and Legal Resources, 2004; Kakabadse and Kakabadse, 2004; Mainiero, 2003). This review has sought to provide a broad context of issues that can arise and then examine the existing research on how the sexual dynamic can impact on a mentoring relationship. A mentoring relationship which results in the mentor and the mentee having a sexual relationship is not a healthy one. Issues ranging from exploitation, sexual harassment, job loss and demotivated colleagues are just some of the potential negative consequences, and whilst these are risks for

all concerned, the evidence would suggest that the career risks associated with sexual or romantic relationships in the workplace are greater for women than they are for men, in that women tend to be more negatively evaluated regarding their competence and motivations than men (Anderson and Hunsaker, 1985; Collins, 1983; Mainiero, 1986; Quinn, 1977). Nevertheless, the line between a positive, empathetic and dynamic mentoring relationship and a relationship which is, or is at risk of, developing into a sexual or romantic relationship is a fine one. Without doubt, it has to be worth the effort to try to ensure that appropriate parameters and boundaries are established at an early stage in the mentoring relationship and continuously monitored in order to reduce the likelihood of the mentoring relationship being compromised in this way. The other end of the spectrum is a mentoring relationship which is disengaged and typified by the absence of genuine care or concern for the mentee – at best this type of relationship is likely to be ineffectual, at worst it could be very damaging for the mentee who may perceive themselves as being not worth the effort.

In reviewing the research to date, the criteria considered important in the development of a good mentoring relationship are often perilously close to the circumstances in which romantic or sexualized relationships flourish (Anderson and Hunsaker, 1985; Mainiero, 1986; Quinn, 1977).

When it comes to choosing a mentor, there is agreement that people tend to choose a mentor with whom they can identify (Bozionelos, 2004; Chao, 1997; Kram, 1985). And where do we find 'people like us'? Eyder and Baridon (1992) pointed out that the workplace flourishes as a source of romantic pairings because the players have to some extent been pre-selected, i.e. it is quite likely that they will have a range of similarities in terms of age, academic background, interests and values which will have led them to be working in their present organization. To date there is little research on how this impacts on gay, lesbian and bisexual workers although undoubtedly in some sectors such as the fashion industry there is a higher concentration of workers with these sexual orientations and therefore a degree of self-selection is occurring. Rogers (1961) found that the essential elements of a good mentoring relationship are trust, focus, empathy, congruence and empowerment. Kakabadse and Kakabadse (2004) defined this as the promotion of 'we-ness' in organizations and Waring *et al.* (1980) suggested it is just this sense of nurturing and being nurtured which engenders intimate relationships. Given this context, we would suggest that it is good practice for participants in a mentoring relationship to be made aware of the risks of attachment, and mentors need to be guarded against the possibilities.

The prevalence of unhelpful sexual or romantic feelings in cross-gender relationships has prompted some scholars and activists to advocate relationships which differ from the traditional ones (O'Neill, 2002). This has resulted in mentoring circles or action learning sets being advocated in some organizations. We would not dispute the value of mentoring circles or action learning

sets, but they do provide a different form of development support and it would be unfortunate to lose the potential benefits that mentoring can bring. With appropriate preparation the issues discussed in this article could be avoided but, whilst this review is intended to highlight some of the potential issues, we would urge against ill-considered solutions. The approach adopted by individuals, in terms of whether they treat subordinates differently because of their gender or sexual orientation, needs to be very carefully thought through in the light of equality of opportunity legislation and good practice.

It is true to say that many male mentors feel concerned about the situation – they are unclear as to what is acceptable, they worry that something they say will be misconstrued (Elsesser and Peplau, 2006; Hurley and Fagenson-Eland, 1996) – and it is unlikely that it is only heterosexual men who feel this concern.

We believe that clearly the whole subject of the sexual dynamics in mentoring relationships is one that requires further research. In particular, research questions could be centred around

- a longitudinal study evaluating whether effective preparatory training of mentors and mentees affects the way that the mentoring relationships develop in terms of the level of intimacy established;
- a longitudinal study evaluating the impact of clear and well-publicized relationship policies;
- gay/lesbian/bisexual mentoring relationships – both the degree to which such opportunities are available and to what extent the relationship issues reflect those of heterosexual pairings;
- the sexual dynamics and risks associated with the female mentor/male mentee pairing.

In addition, organizations would benefit from developing and communicating good policies on romantic involvement in the workplace and raising awareness, particularly for mentors, as to some of the problems that may arise. Studies have shown that intimate relationships are more likely to develop in workplace environments that are to some degree 'sexualized' or certainly more tolerant of these situations (Gutek, 1985; Williams, Giuffre and Dellinger, 1999). With this in mind, organizations may be well advised to consider the culture of their organization. Indeed our ongoing research has revealed that less than 10% of interviewee respondents were aware of a policy within their own organization dealing with romantic or sexual relationships between staff. In the final analysis, companies may be reluctant to become involved in establishing such policies or raising the subject because of the sensitivity of these issues but, in the light of the potential damage to business, this should be progressed in just the same way that they would carry out risk analysis on all other aspects of their business.



Notes

1. In the same vein Shere Hite wrote that men and women have traditionally been taught to 'meet and mate' and she advocated a creating of new 'workable relationships' (Hite, 2000, p. 11).
2. In fact one of the earliest references to mentoring is in Homer's *Odyssey* – where he wrote about Athena, the goddess of wisdom, taking on the form of a man named Mentor, in order to give Odysseus advice. Clearly the fact that Athena had to disguise her gender suggests that the gender issue around mentors is not a new thing!

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Part 2: Coaching

Colleagues Helping Colleagues: Mentoring and Coaching

Peggy A. Hopkins-Thompson

The business of schooling has become increasingly more complex over the last decade and will certainly continue as the millennium progresses. These higher expectations come in the midst of teacher and administrator shortages; unprecedented competition in the workplace for future professionals; and the diverse learning, social, and emotional needs of today's children. This focus has applied unrealistic pressure on those who choose to lead.

How can school leaders be cultivated and readied for the challenges they will face? How can learning be accelerated and made more meaningful? How can prospective principals and others learn from their experiences and tap collegial frameworks? Mentoring and coaching processes can serve to augment the succession planning and professional development of districts. They can model a culture of collaboration and collegiality in which best thinking occurs through collective judgment. In short, they are the low-cost answer to the best way adults learn.

This article seeks to clarify what mentoring and coaching are; their uses in succession planning, new principalships, and job changers; and the benefits to principals. Survey responses from principals representing urban and rural districts in North Carolina and Mississippi are used to provide commentary on the practice of mentoring and coaching administrators.

What Does It Mean?

Mentoring is an intense relationship in which a senior person oversees the career development and psychosocial development of a less-experienced person (Douglas 1997). Mentors impart wisdom about the norms, values, and mores that are specific to the organization (Craig 1996). They support the being of their protégés, providing advocacy, counseling, support, and protection – feedback and information that they would otherwise not have. Coaching is a form of mentoring, but is more focused and usually shorter in duration.

Coaching relies on job-related tasks or skills and is accomplished through instruction, demonstration, and high-impact feedback (Gray 1988). Coaches have a high level of knowledge about specific skills and can teach those skills by breaking them down into behaviors, modeling them, observing them, and then providing feedback. Both mentoring and coaching are important components of leadership development.

Why Do It?

The process of mentoring and coaching can “provide a compass . . . a right direction” for protégés. As one principal surveyed stated, “Mentoring can lead one to a greater understanding of who they are as an administrator.” Another administrator talked about the accelerated rate of learning that mentoring provides, indicating “there is no time to waste nor time for principals to gain knowledge at a slow rate – urgency to improve for the sake of children and teachers [is critical].”

What are the advantages for the person who mentors? Principals from Mississippi and North Carolina indicated that the benefits were great. One administrator wrote, “An experienced mentor can improve their own performance by working with new principals.” Others commented that among many benefits, mentoring “caused me to reflect on my own skills” and “sharpened my skills.” Some even reflected that the process “increased my status and self-esteem” by citing that it is rewarding “to help others . . . it makes me push harder in reaching my goals for teachers and students in my own school.”

How Do You Get Started?

Developing a formal mentoring and coaching program requires careful planning and consideration around the organization’s and the protégé’s needs. The program must have organizational commitment, a clear purpose with behaviors to be developed, feedback as a baseline for development, and a defined and communicated role for those who manage protégés on site.

The literature is replete with examples of how successful mentoring programs are established. Such programs include the following common denominators:

Organizational Support

The superintendent is critical for ensuring the success of a mentoring program; he or she sets the tone for all to follow. Mentors are more likely to schedule time with their protégés if they know this is valued in the organization. Resources will accompany such commitment. As common sense as this seems, far too many programs are given less attention because the superintendent does not commit to the process and does not ensure that those around him or her know about that commitment. Discussing the program in open forums such as principals' meetings or rewarding those who commit time to mentor or coach are among some of the important organizational tasks.

Clearly Defined Outcomes

The program goal must be clearly specified and include details of knowledge and skill to be attained. If the program is designed to support prospective administrative candidates, then certain standards and learner outcomes can be defined, the best pool of mentors can be identified, and a timeline established accordingly. Likewise, the program may be focused on supporting new principals or those who need skills in specific areas. Defining the goal allows districts' needs to be more clearly aligned with learner outcomes.

Screening, Selection, and Pairing

The selection and screening process for both mentors and protégés is a critical component. Mentors must be highly skilled in communicating, listening, analyzing, providing feedback, and negotiating. They have to be respected administrators, committed to the process, and trustworthy to be able to establish the level of candor needed for such work. They need to believe in personal and professional development and be adept at adjusting their expectations of the protégés. Determining those who serve in such roles is not an exercise in deciding who has longevity. Rather, careful consideration must be given to those who have the disposition and the skills to do the job. These components must be clearly defined in a list of criteria for selection. One respondent to the survey wrote, "Some people are more suited to mentoring than others . . . great principals aren't necessarily great mentors."

Protégés are the focus of this experience and as such, must also be carefully screened and identified. Specific selection criteria are essential in ensuring commitment to personal and professional growth and development. Motivation to the task is the foundation for achieving the goal.

Most mentor-protégé pairing is done through self-selection. More than half of the principals surveyed indicated that their mentoring process had been an informal one in which they selected their mentor or were selected by a protégé to be a mentor. Many formal programs use personality profiles

such as the Myers-Briggs, Keirsey-Bates, or True Colors to identify styles and preferences, and thus create best matches. Other programs use simple interest inventories to create pairs according to responses on identified indicators. Still others consider proximity or issues of time as determinants. Principals agreed that no matter what the process, flexibility must be built into the program to enable changing matches that are not working. As one principal commented, "There must be a good match between the mentor and protégé" for the process to be successful.

Training Mentors and Protégés

Training for mentors and protégés should be based on program needs and skills. The NASSP mentoring and coaching module is an excellent example of a skill-based comprehensive program for training and mentoring. For mentors, skills should include communication, needs analysis, and feedback. The training should include the tools used in the process such as evaluation instruments, developmental analysis strategies, growth plans, and reflection. It should highlight observation, communication, listening, and feedback skills. Program needs should focus on organizational norms, values, and expectations. This provides the mentors with a common language about the process of mentoring. Training for protégés should center on program expectations in addition to the specific strategies of needs analysis, self-development using an individual growth plan, and reflection.

A Learner-Centered Focus

Mentoring should center on the protégé's learning. The process should include determining strengths and improvement needs, setting goals and objectives, identifying job opportunities or places where learning can occur, providing targeted feedback, and encouraging reflection. Developmental planning requires an ongoing commitment to meet and discuss growth, milestones, and improvement needs. Without follow up, the developmental process is nothing more than a bureaucratic exercise. For feedback to be effective, five conditions must be present: (a) the mentor or coach must be credible and qualified to comment on performance; (b) the feedback must have meaning to the protégé; (c) the feedback must address the potential for change by addressing that which the protégé can control and change; (d) the feedback must be confidential; and (e) the feedback must be timely (Dalton and Hollenbeck 1996).

At the heart of the learning experience is the need for feedback focused on reflection. Reflection requires more than just self-analysis of specific situations that are occurring or have occurred. Fullan and Hargreaves (1996) warn that effective reflection requires many data sources, the perspectives of others, and purpose and context. Although protégés need developmental plans to focus

their learning, situations to provide context, and multisource data to support their growth and refine or improve their skills, they also need the support of an external, objective source to add perspective and enhance meaning of things that are occurring in their world. Principals mentoring prospective principals or their colleagues can be a powerful catalyst for learning how to learn from experience.

Continual Monitoring and Evaluation

The key components of a successful program are not linear, but cyclical. Each component is essential in maximizing the success of the next step; yet monitoring and evaluation feeds the entire model. Putting a formal evaluation process in place prior to the program implementation ensures baseline data for benchmarking progress. Attitudinal as well as behavioral evaluation is critical in revising or further developing the process.

Colleagues Support Their Own

Data support the need for “growing your own” pool of talent to fill administrative vacancies in the future. Many districts around the country have initiated “Future Leader” or “Aspiring Leader” programs by screening potential candidates who are currently in the classroom or in central offices. Over the last decade, Wake County has successfully implemented a Future Leader program as a one-year process of identifying and developing talent among classroom teachers. The recently proposed Aspiring Leaders program will be two years, rather than one year, in length and will link to a university program for purposes of credentialing. This program will identify talent through a four-tiered screening process that includes

- A rigorous application process with written responses to questions related to instructional leadership
- A formal feedback process from the supervisor and colleagues
- A Gallup Perceiver interview to identify talents
- An interview process by trained practitioners.

Once identified, candidates will participate in monthly meetings that link university training to job-specific experiences, and they will participate in summer internships. The process should include assigning a trained mentor to a three- to six-member protégé group for purposes of development planning and targeted feedback. Mentors will provide learning experiences by suggesting additional readings, by focusing protégés on specific skill training available through the Business-Industry Partnership program, or by identifying successful principals who would model specific skills. Protégés will share

their reflections monthly within their learner group, thus maximizing their growth by learning from each other. Those who need one-on-one time with the mentor could schedule that time based on mutual convenience.

Mentors further support their group by analyzing needs and redesigning the development plan annually. Mentors focus the learning of each protégé on strengths and a limited number of improvements. They assist in clarifying opportunities for these skills to be reinforced on site.

Even Champions Need Coaches

New principals should have a network of protégés and a mentor/coach who both supports their learning and ensures their understanding of the culture of the organization. Surveyed principals indicated that this process has most often been informal, if at all. Although an informal network is helpful, it does not ensure that all who need support will seek the support they need. Within the Wake County Public School System, monthly principals' meeting days are convenient times for mentors to meet with new principals. These sessions address policy, procedures, and timely information for this audience. Mentors can listen to the issues that are confronting others, offer insight, and support reflection.

Job changers or incoming principals may also need colleague support. One principal who had moved from a principalship of seven years in an alternative school to a high school principalship within the same district stated

Even [seven years] was insufficient to prepare me for the things I'd encounter at the high school. I don't know how a brand new person to the principalship can step into a high school and survive. I believe principals could benefit greatly from a formal mentorship program lasting two years. Had [my mentors] not been so accessible and such great principals themselves, I honestly wonder if I'd made it this far.

Even with knowledge of law, policy, and procedure, and with skills in teaming, collaboration, and leadership, those who move from one level to another or who are new to a district need a mentor and a support system to ensure their success. The protégé group can brainstorm and troubleshoot issues that are specific to a school. A colleague mentor can support both the analysis of specific situations and the reflection on best practices.

Overcoming Obstacles and Barriers

With time demands so great, principals often express difficulty in committing to a mentoring process. Almost all the survey respondents identified time as a major barrier to the mentoring process. One high school principal wrote,

"For the past three weeks I have been at school every night except one Monday, and I've been here on Saturday to catch up on paperwork . . . when I get home at 10:00 p.m., I usually work on my computer at home to do letters, reports, and so forth. I get to bed sometime after 12:00 and get up at 5:30 to return here at 6:30." What strategies are available for better using time and available personnel?

- Assign a mentor to a group of protégés. Kaye and Jacobsen (1995) suggest that mentoring programs can be established with "learner leaders" or mentors assigned to groups of three to six protégés. In this relationship, group mentoring assists protégés in developing interpersonal and team skills as well as learning from their own and the experiences of others. This model affords districts the opportunity to use fewer mentors to support the learning process. Other principals can participate by supporting and coaching specific on-the-job skills of protégés.
- Meet less often and augment the dialogue with reflection logs. Use these logs as a focus of the mentor meeting. Mentors could meet their protégés via phone or e-mail. Although not as effective as face-to-face contact, some support is better than no support.
- Use technology to enhance and augment the mentoring process. Use e-mail to communicate with mentors or within the protégé group. Establish a list serve, discussion forum, or chat room and have those avenues monitored by an experienced principal. Discussion forums allow new principals a place to talk about issues and get feedback from others. Make sure that the forum is secure and has password protection. Also caution principals about using this venue for sensitive matters. Another use of technology is video conferencing, which can provide a mechanism for mentors and protégés to meet when distance is a problem.
- Use available meeting days that are already in the district's calendar for mentoring. A regularly scheduled principals' meeting day is a convenient time to add a meeting with new or new to the district principals. Work days or early release times can also be used for mentor-protégé meetings. District celebrations, curriculum meetings, level-specific meetings (i.e., elementary, middle, and high school), or other regular training/meeting dates can provide mentors with opportunities to collaborate.
- Expand the pool of mentors so principals have opportunities to do on-the-job coaching. Other personnel are available and usually supportive of the process, but careful screening and ongoing orientations are essential.

Retired administrators have the luxury of time and have the knowledge of past experiences. If using retired administrators, a few words of caution are needed. Enlist retired principals who have recently left the ranks, especially when mentoring new or experienced practitioners. Changes in policy, law, procedure, and even the context of the principalship can outdate former

principals and reduce their effectiveness. Retired principals should receive regular briefings, updates, and training to ensure that this does not occur.

Associate and assistant superintendents and directors can provide targeted feedback in key areas of budgeting and resource planning, collaboration and team-building, data analysis, evaluation and research, curriculum and instruction innovations, and so forth. Make sure that the mentor is not also the evaluator. Both protégé, who may be reluctant to ask for help in weak areas, and mentor, who has to use information in the evaluative process, share the difficulty in a situation like this.

State department consultants or university professors can provide mentoring experiences. In some cases, these personnel can be assigned to protégé groups and can facilitate meetings across district lines.

A mentoring program can provide great benefits to organizations, to mentors, and to protégés. Whether the program focuses on prospective candidates or practicing administrators, the power of such a program is evident in the results it yields. Wake County Public School System was able to place almost all of its Future Leader candidates in assistant principal or principalships throughout the last decade. The Nash-Rocky Mount Public School System has also used a Future Leader program to identify, develop, and place candidates in key administrative roles. But not to be overlooked is the power of such programs to support new principals and those who are changing levels in the principalship.

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Coaching Expatriate Managers for Success: Adding Value beyond Training and Mentoring

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This paper explores the potential of evidence-based executive coaching (Grant 2003; Grant and Stober 2006) as an intervention to assist expatriate managers in undertaking successful sojourns. Expatriate managers are key players in the global economy, acting as the 'human link in international trade' (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001, 168). Based on an examination of the relationships between the theoretical underpinning of both coaching and expatriate cross-cultural contact, we propose that coaching can offer value beyond that offered by mentoring and training, methods that have commonly been employed to assist expatriate managers. Coaching is proposed as an 'as well as' rather than 'instead of' intervention. The coaching process we examine is a professional, evidence-based approach where a skilled professional works in a collaborative relationship with an expatriate manager throughout some or all of the assignment.

Professional coaching may be effective with expatriate managers because – in theory – it shares essential features with a successful expatriate experience. Both processes operate interactively across the individual's affective, behavioural and cognitive domains. As such, they both have an impact on the whole person. We look at two practical issues for the coaching of expatriates. The first is the importance of coach selection in the context of the expatriate

environment, particularly the need for the coach to be informed by cross-cultural theory and experience. The second is the role of the organization in the triad of coach, expatriate manager and the sponsoring organization. We explore examples of how coaching might connect theory to the expatriate experience, in particular examining the application of theory and research on acculturation and cultural dimensions. We then look at some limitations that need to be considered by organizations in judging the benefits of coaching for their expatriate managers. Our conclusion is that coaching can lead to better professional performance and greater personal satisfaction, two criteria which are commonly the broad measures of success for both expatriate assignments (Mendenhall, Kuhlmann, Stahl and Osland 2002) and for executive coaching interventions (Kilburg 2000). The principal limitation of having coaching services available to expatriate managers systematically and on a global scale seems to be the availability and deployment of suitably qualified and experienced coaches, particularly in hardship posts where the need might be greatest. However, we suggest that the worldwide growth in the profession is already addressing this limitation.

The Problem Remains: How to Reduce the Rate of Expatriate Failure

The termination rate of expatriate assignments is generally seen as high, though figures vary. Black, Mendenhall, and Oddou (1991) claim that 16 to 40 percent of American expatriate managers return early, at a cost of US\$100k each. Early termination is a common but imperfect measure of sojourn failure. Termination is a reflection of either a failure of work performance (i.e. professional ineffectiveness), or a lack of personal satisfaction on behalf of the expatriate or family member(s); or both since research indicates they are related (Thomas 1998). The termination measure does not of course take into account the potentially higher cost, in terms of key relationships and financial outcomes, of a manager who is performing poorly and is highly dissatisfied with his or her lot in expatriate life. As a recent comprehensive review of the literature (Mendenhall et al. 2002) has affirmed, there exists a considerable body of research on expatriate selection, training and development. Yet, despite that attention, the challenge of finding effective methods of improving expatriate performance and satisfaction remains (Earley and Peterson 2004). Failure by the expatriate manager (and/or his or her family) to acculturate is agreed to be the main reason for failure. Mendenhall et al. (2002, 167) conclude that, 'acculturation may not automatically lead to effectiveness, but it is assumed by most scholars working in the field that it appears to be a prerequisite in the way for effectiveness to occur'. As observed by Thomas (1998), there is considerable overlap and lack of distinction between some of the common outcome variables, such as acculturation, adjustment, effectiveness, and

satisfaction. Berry (1997) refers to the concept of acculturation at the group level as the cultural changes resulting from cross-cultural group encounters. We use acculturation in this article to refer to what Berry terms 'individual level psychological acculturation', i.e. the changes and outcomes that occur as the individual experiences the process of interacting in a different cultural environment. We take the term to be synonymous to the cultural 'adaptation' of the individual.

Assisting expatriate managers in achieving a smoother acculturation which will facilitate better work performance and personal satisfaction is no easy matter, mainly because the acculturation process is complex and multidimensional (Thomas 1998). Also, it is an ongoing process that has no identifiable end point where one could consider to be 'acculturated'. New experiences and more time in the sojourn simply bring new developments and challenges. Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) observe that the sojourn experience has affective, behavioural and cognitive domains, and that there is interaction among these domains. It is a complex experience which has many paradoxes and contradictions, as Osland (1995), Thomas (1998) and others have noted and the following observations illustrate:

- a direct positive relationship exists between expatriate adjustment and effectiveness – but the same characteristics that make an expatriate effective can also make it more difficult to adjust;
- married executives adjust better – but the main reason for expatriate failure is the failure of the spouse to adjust;
- cultural differences between home and host cultures result in adjustment difficulties – but cultural novelty may facilitate certain types of adjustment;
- support from the expatriate's homeland can assist adjustment – but too much contact with home can hinder adjustment;
- host-country language skills are positively related to adjustment – but over-proficiency can lead to suspicion; and
- prior expatriate experience assists adjustment – but not always. It has to be positive and of a similar kind.

These paradoxes add to the difficulty of making sound selections and designing interventions to address issues facing expatriate managers.

Traditional Responses: Selection, Training and Mentoring

Organizations have generally attempted to increase the likelihood of a successful sojourn by trying to select the right people and providing them with appropriate training opportunities. Formal and informal mentoring arrangements have also been viewed as ways of assisting expatriate managers to cope with the challenges of a sojourn.

With the best of intentions, organizations frequently place expatriate managers into high pressure postings without a rigorous examination of their personal qualities and preparedness for the expatriate experience. There is an abundance of information about the qualities and characteristics that are likely to make for a successful sojourner (e.g. Harris and Brewster 1999). Various instruments are available for screening and assessment for suitability, such as the Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale (ICAPS) (Matsumoto et al. 2003) and the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) (Van Oudenhoven and Van der Zee 2002). The ICAPS measures emotion regulation, openness, flexibility, and critical thinking. These are the psychological skills that are theoretically considered to be important in managing the intercultural conflict and stress that are inevitable during a sojourn. The MPQ measures cultural empathy, open mindedness, social initiative, emotional stability, and flexibility. Both measures are based on solid research on what makes for a successful cross-cultural experience.

Regardless of the vast knowledge base from research and experience, however, very often selections are made on the basis primarily of professional expertise. Even worse, when timing is tight and there is pressure to get someone on the ground, selections are frequently made on the basis of recommendations from senior managers close to the decision-making process, with little consideration of the cultural context of the assignment or the real suitability of the candidate (Harris and Brewster 1999).

Once a selection is made – good, bad, or indifferent – the practical challenges of providing effective training are immense. A growing body of research has shown that training, particularly cross-cultural skills training, can be effective in facilitating adjustment to a foreign culture and in improving work performance abroad (Mendenhall et al. 2002). However, there are serious practical difficulties in getting results from training. It is costly and difficult to: locate or develop sophisticated and comprehensive cross-cultural training programs; ensure that the programs are appropriate to the backgrounds and circumstances of attendees; and deliver the programs to the right people at the right time. Training methods have frequently concentrated on the cognitive and behavioural aspects of the expatriate experience, but have given very little attention to the crucial affective aspects of acculturation. Cross-cultural training has generally been regarded as something that is usually conducted at the beginning of an assignment, whereas acculturation is something that is not confined to the early months of interaction but, rather, is an ongoing process of adjustment. Too often operational priorities put training on the back burner, or individuals judge pre-packaged training programs to be irrelevant to their particular circumstances. The net result of these factors is that the rigor of training varies. Most training programs are not sufficiently comprehensive in content and implementation, and simply do not hit the mark (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001). They are generally limited to the cognitive and behavioural elements of the sojourner experience. Role play,

simulations, and experiential approaches are also used which sometimes target the affective domain. Not surprisingly, results of studies of the impact of training have been mixed, and complicated by the fact that outcome variables differ (Mendenhall et al. 2002).

Earley and Peterson (2004) have proposed that training programs should aim to increase the 'cultural intelligence' of managers. Cultural intelligence is a recent term that describes the ability to effectively work across the affective, behavioural, and cognitive domains to adapt to and flourish in a new environment (Earley and Ang 2003; Thomas and Inkson 2004). Such training would focus on broad meta-cognitive skills, motivation and behavioural skills. However, their suggested approaches for increasing managers' cultural intelligence carry some of the limitations of the training approaches noted above.

Many expatriate managers have mentors within the organization, through either their initiative or formal mentoring programs. Mentors, by definition, pass on their personal and professional skills, life experience and knowledge to their protégées (Clutterbuck and Megginson 1999). There are clear strengths in being guided by someone who has his or her own personal experience to share, and senior company executives have an important role to play as mentors in acculturation (Harvey, Buckley, Novicevic and Weise 1999). However, what worked well for the mentor might not always be appropriate for the protégée. A mentor may have been a successful sojourner but have gained the experiences in a cultural context completely different from the contexts of the protégée. The mentor's personal qualities and leadership style might be quite different from those of the protégée and what was effective for the mentor might fall flat. In most cases, the mentor is not on-the-ground with the sojourner and can provide support only at a distance. Also, formal mentoring programs may lead to inappropriate matches between mentor and protégée. In short, the mentor support role has a high degree of 'hit and miss'.

Little wonder that organizations sometimes despair. If they don't put resources into improving the acculturation of their expatriates they may suffer the costly consequences of failure. However, there are often legitimate doubts about how to put such resources to best use. As the old advertising adage goes, 'we know that 50 percent of what we spend is wasted, but we don't know which 50 percent'!

Evidence-based Executive Coaching

We suggest that evidence-based executive coaching (Grant 2003; Grant and Stober 2006) warrants serious consideration by both theoreticians and practitioners as a form of preventive medicine for the ills we know afflict expatriates in acculturating. Coaching is already being used in cross-cultural contexts. For example, Rosinski (2003) has developed a coaching process that places the emphasis on leveraging cultural differences at the national, corporate,

and individual level. However, we are not aware of professional coaching having been proposed as a systematic intervention for the acculturation of expatriate managers.

Adapted from its use in the medical context (Sackett et al. 1996), the term 'evidence-based' in the context of coaching refers to the intelligent and conscientious use of best current knowledge in making decisions about how to deliver coaching to coaching clients, and in designing interventions for coaching clients. Best current knowledge is up-to-date information from relevant, valid research, theory and practice, found in the established literature in related fields in addition to coach-specific literature. The four key knowledge bases for evidence-based coaching are: the behavioural sciences; business and economic science; adult learning; and philosophy (Grant 2003). Evidence-based coaching fits within the broader field of professional coaching. Professional coaching is a cross-disciplinary approach to the enhancement of well-being, professional development and performance enhancement, and the facilitation of individual and organizational change (Grant and Cavanagh 2004). The field is well-established in many countries, and is developing an international profile. For example, the International Coach Federation (ICF), an international association for professional coaching, reported in 2005 that it had 132 chapters in 34 countries. The core constructs of professional coaching include a helping, collaborative and egalitarian – rather than authoritarian – relationship between coach and client, and a focus on the development of the client through an individualized, client-centred process (Grant 2003). Over the past five years, organizational use of professional coaches has grown considerably (Wales 2003). Although the coach-specific peer-reviewed literature base attesting to its effectiveness is as yet limited (Kampa-Kokesch and Anderson 2001), there are clear signs that coaching may be an effective means of facilitating individual and organizational development (Grant 2003; Waslyshyn 2003).

Executive coaching encompasses a wide range of services and specialties including coaching for enhanced strategic planning; presentation skills; anger and stress management; team building and leadership development. Executive coaching has been defined as a 'helping relationship formed between a client who has managerial authority and responsibility in an organization and a consultant who uses a wide variety of behavioural techniques and methods to assist the client to achieve a mutually identified set of goals' (Kilburg 2000, 142). Client-generated goal-setting, which has a rigorously researched theoretical framework (Latham 2003; Locke and Latham 2002; Wood, Atkins, and Bright 1999), lies at the core of evidence-based executive coaching. The coach's role is to facilitate and guide the executive in a collaborative partnership. Coaches tend to work with their clients on an ongoing basis, with coaching partnerships spanning between three months and several years, with coaching sessions on a fortnightly or monthly basis, and with the client completing specific action learning tasks between each coaching session. In

short, the coaching process is a systematic goal-directed process, which aims to facilitate sustained change, by fostering the ongoing self-directed learning and personal growth of the executive (Grant 2003).

Coaching Compared with Training and Mentoring

Training and Coaching

Executive coaching can be distinguished from training, in that the training process tends to follow a predetermined agenda, is often a one-off event, and is frequently focused on the acquisition of knowledge or a specific behavioural skill (Burrow and Berardinelli 2003). Executive coaching is a far more individualized process, in which the client has a much greater say in the agenda and direction of the process, and coaching tends to be far more holistic than training. For example, if the expatriate experiences a personal crisis (such as marital problems), the client can raise the issue in the trusting environment of the coaching relationship. The client and coach can explore what is happening within the broader context of the expatriate sojourn, including the impact of the crisis across the client's affective, behavioural and cognitive domains. The coaching conversations themselves may help the client through the crisis, or actions decided as a result of coaching may provide strategies and solutions. Training programs cannot deal with the affective domain of expatriate acculturation with the same immediacy and individual attention.

Training does not always result in enhanced performance, with low transfer from the training environment to the workplace all too commonplace (Hesketh 1997). Training often occurs as a self-contained event with limited follow up. However, research indicates that training supported by follow-up one-to-one coaching sessions significantly increases transfer of training (Olivero, Bane and Kopelman 1997; Flint 2003), and it appears that coaching may be a key factor in contextualizing new knowledge and embedding new skills. Coaching runs as a simultaneous and connected process with acculturation and can be an invaluable in assisting clients to identify the training they need (rather than being passive recipients of training that others think they need!). Coaches may even deliver training as part of the coaching process. This happens if a particular skill has been agreed as a training need through the coaching conversations; and the coach is qualified to deliver the training.

Mentoring and Coaching

Mentors will have expertise in the business of the expatriate manager. Professional coaches usually have different skills and experiences and in most cases are not providing direct advice based on their own work experiences. The

professional coach's expertise lies in facilitating the executive's learning and development using a range of validated techniques. The coach's experience can, of course, be relevant, particularly where there is strong overlap with the challenges facing the executive client. Accordingly, the coach's role can, in part, be that of a mentor, providing that the focus remains on the finding what works for the client in the context of the client. A coach who has extensive experience as expatriate could well play a mentoring role in the acculturation process itself. However, consistent with the role of a professional coach, the coach will work with the expatriate to establish strategies that are likely to lead to successful acculturation such as building local contacts, learning the language, etc. If the client has or takes on a mentor (whether a host national, or from the homeland), a coach can be useful in contextualizing and exploring the application of advice received from the mentor.

The relative strengths of the three approaches – coaching, training and mentoring – are summarized in table 1.

The Fit: Working across Domains

We believe that evidence-based executive coaching is an approach to acculturation of potentially great value to expatriate managers. The most powerful connection we see between the executive coaching process and the expatriate acculturation process is the way that both include the interaction of affective, behavioural and cognitive domains. The coaching model put forward by Grant (2002) and Grant and Greene (2001) views change as an interaction of situational, behavioural, affective and cognitive influences. Through the interaction of these factors, clients develop their professional and personal goals and from those goals they develop actions. The client is the central player in the coaching process. This model of evidence-based coaching links neatly with Ward et al.'s (2001) ABC (affective, behavioural, cognitive) model of acculturation, and with Earley and Ang's (2003) concept of cultural intelligence. The affective domain is the foundation of coaching, where values and motivation fuel cognitive processes, which in turn can generate behavioural change. In theory, the results are improved performance and personal satisfaction. The coaching connection of affective elements to cognitive and behavioural elements is a perfect fit for acculturation, and even more so when expatriate managers are not receiving support from their companies that is appropriate to the pressures they are experiencing.

The Affective Component

The affective component of the ABC model is partly captured in executive coaching through the goal-setting process. Latham (2003) has identified the power of 'super-ordinate' goals that capture the heart because they focus

Table 1: Relative strengths of coaching, training and mentoring for facilitating expatriate manager success

<i>Characteristic:</i>	<i>Coaching</i>	<i>Method: Training</i>	<i>Mentoring</i>
Works in the affective (A) domain	Yes. Deals with the emotional 'here and now' of the client. Works from the values and aspirations of the client.	Not usually – mainly limited to role plays, simulations. Limited evidence of effective cross over into reality.	Yes. If relationship is strong, expatriate can discuss feelings and get strategies for coping.
Works in the behavioural (B) domain	Yes. Clients can set specific goals or behaviour change and experiment in workplace. Coach can deliver behaviourally based training in areas of expertise. Coach can directly observe behaviour.	Sometimes. Some training programs are specifically designed for skill acquisition and behaviour change.	Sometimes. Depends on how the relationship works. Mentoree likely to make behaviour changes in direct response to advice from experienced mentor.
Works in the cognitive (C) domain	Yes. Reflective thinking and cognitive reframing are strengths of coaching to promote situational awareness and client learning.	Yes. Often a focus of training courses in giving attendees a cognitive appreciation of facing the challenges of expatriate assignment.	Sometimes – depends on mentor. Mentors may give advice for action based on experience rather than encourage mentoree reflection and learning in context.
Works interactively across A, B and C	Yes. Works directly with feelings, thoughts, and behaviours of the client in context.	Rarely. Very hard to achieve within the boundaries of training courses. Role plays, simulations can go some way towards this.	Depends on mentor.
Helps build relationships	Yes – though not directly. Coach–client relationship can be modelled by client with others. Coaching goals often include relationship building.	Not usually.	Sometimes – depends on mentor.
Sensitive to context of expatriate	Yes – coach works in context.	Not necessarily – often delivered pre-departure.	Sometimes – depends on location of mentor.
Works over time through the assignment	Yes – regular sessions through sojourn if company is prepared to invest.	Not usually – though can be spaced before, during, and after assignment.	Yes – though sometimes by distance.
Assists with initial adjustment difficulties	Not usually – can assist expatriate in anticipating issues, but time for reflective thinking in the early phase is likely to be limited.	Not usually – pre-departure training can assist in anticipating issues. Early-assignment training programs for individual not usually possible.	Yes – can be very helpful in giving expatriate a trusting, experienced ear.
Tailored to the individual	Yes.	Not usually – group needs considered.	Sometimes – depends on mentor.
Culturally appropriate to expatriate situation	Yes – though depends on coach. Ideally coach will be experienced in relevant cultures, and integrate a cultural perspective to promote client cross-cultural competence.	Sometimes. Courses on cross-cultural management have some impact in cognitive level.	Sometimes – depends on mentor. Can be counterproductive if mentor is home-based and lacks relevant cultural experience.

(Continued)

Table 1: (*Continued*)

<i>Characteristic:</i>	<i>Coaching</i>	<i>Method: Training</i>	<i>Mentoring</i>
Facilitates an integrationist approach	Most likely as coaching promotes an 'and' rather than 'either/or' approach.	Possibly, but not if training is anchored in home culture.	Possible if mentor has achieved success through integration.
Directed to needs of company	Usually – requires agreement between the coach, company, manager. Usually more directed to sustainable change rather than short-term business goals.	Yes – usually. Often courses are geared to specific needs of company at the time.	Yes – assuming mentor is or was in company.
Considers needs of family	Yes – if coaching approach is broad.	Not usually – though can include spouse and family. Spouses not usually a part of training.	Sometimes – depending on nature of the relationship. If mentor becomes a family friend, can be very effective.
Can apply knowledge from research and other sources	Evidence-based coaching is very strong here. Coaches can integrate experiences of other clients.	Yes, but limited in range and selection.	Possibly – but hit and miss depending on the individual mentor.

primarily on affect by appealing to emotion. Super-ordinate goals relate to individual values that strongly motivate behaviour (Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 1992, 1999; Schwartz and Bardi 2001). From these high-level goals can flow lower level action-focused goals and objectives. Expatriate managers are often required to assess their core beliefs and values as they interact with individuals and organizations in new cultures that may be driven by unfamiliar and conflicting value sets. Coaching can provide a forum for expatriate managers to explore their personal values and motivations as a way of anchoring and driving change and development through their sojourns.

Executive coaching connects with the underlying affective motivations of executives as part of the goal-setting process. This occurs through the articulation and clarification of values, translated into high-level goals and then into actions. Rosinski (2003, 4) defines coaching as the art of facilitating the unleashing of people's potential to reach meaningful, important objectives. It is an inspirational process that takes clients back to fundamental questions of meaning and purpose, something we rarely do unless prompted (Grant and Greene 2001). Cognitive processes (mainly reflective thinking) are the primary means through which coaching reaches the affective domain. Without such affective anchoring, it is easy for the goal-setting process to generate unimportant activities, particularly in the stressed and cluttered environment of most corporate executives.

The expatriate experience has often been described as transformational (see, for example, Osland 1995). Coaching gives individuals the opportunity to consider their identities and values 'in the moment' as they move through

the process of acculturation, and to have meaningful conversations around what might happen next once they conclude the assignment.

The Cognitive and Behavioural Domains

Coaching challenges and encourages clients to reflect on alternative perspectives and try new approaches. These are the cognitive and behavioural domains of Ward et al.'s (2001) ABC model. Reflective thinking followed by planning and action is an essential feature of coaching models. Evidence-based executive coaching encourages clients to step outside of their pressured work environments to examine their thinking styles and the effectiveness of those styles within their specific contexts. Meta-cognition – thinking about thinking – gives the cognitive perspective a central role in coaching and is particularly crucial in the expatriate environment where the client is surrounded by people whose cognitive patterns are likely to be very different.

In coaching there is a considerable emphasis on collaborative goal-setting and action, and the coach frequently works in a fast-paced, highly challenging (albeit client-friendly) manner, encouraging and supporting the client to extend existing skills and competencies and highlighting blind spots. The approach is akin to Lewinian models of action research where the client, in partnership with the researcher (in this case the coach), develops goals and actions, monitors feedback, then develops new actions and revises goals where appropriate (Lewin 1946, 1947). The process is a form of action learning and has its roots in the pragmatist philosophy, such as the ideas of John Dewey (1910) and William James (1907). The pragmatist position tends towards selecting approaches that work rather than relying on grand principles or theories that work across all situations. Clients reflect on the consequences of their actions. They take actions, then review progress and plan new actions based on what works in relation to what goals they have set. Research into the expatriate experience shows that the generation of action is likely to overcome some of the difficulties of adjustment. A pragmatic approach is adopted in coaching as coach and manager test different options. In the expatriate environment this is essential because often there is no established pathway or approach to follow and new managers have to 'make do' with what they have.

The life of the expatriate can move quickly with assignments typically less than three years. Much is expected in that time. The work assignment is usually tough, and the pressure is enhanced by the cultural unfamiliarity. Distance from family and friends means that normal life events (such as a death in the family) put even more pressure on the individual than would be the case in his or her home environment. Coaching is also intense as clients set themselves stretching goals over a period of months. The coach works with the whole person in 'real time'. Learning can take place across affective, behavioural and cognitive domains to achieve sustainable positive effects on management style, performance and satisfaction.

A general similarity between executive coaching and expatriate experience is that each is a highly individual activity. Executive coaches do not have a set program, though the process is structured. They work with issues presented by the client, which are rarely the same from client to client. Similarly, expatriate experiences are never 'typical', though they may follow similar patterns. Issues are specific to the context, work across professional, social, and family boundaries, as well as across the affective, behavioural and cognitive domains.

Coaching for Expatriates in Practice

The Central Role of the Coach

We have outlined the features of evidenced-based coaching and also discussed why, in theory, a coaching process should be effective with expatriates. However, the effectiveness of any coaching intervention depends on the personal qualities and professional skills of the coach (Kampa-Kokesch and Anderson 2001). This is even more crucial in the expatriate situation where cultural influences and the dynamics of cross-cultural communication provide such a powerful challenge. Both coach and client are making professional decisions in a highly complex environment. The choice of coach therefore is vital. Coaches clearly need a high level of skill in order to be effective. Chapman, Best and Casteren (2003, 272) provide a description of the necessary attributes for a 'capable coach', including: self-management, communication skills, coaching craft (for example, goal-setting, action planning, capacity to support, exploring options), interpersonal skills, breadth of experience, and technical skills. These attributes are certainly appropriate for the coach who is working with expatriates. However, they could be supplemented with these additional traits:

- a sound appreciation of the cultures of the client and the host country;
- self-awareness in terms of the coach's own cultural background;
- some personal experience in cultural adaptation and acculturation; and
- thorough familiarity with theory and research in cross-cultural psychology and management.

Given that the acculturation and effectiveness of expatriates is determined not only by where they go but also by where they come from (Stening and Hammer 1992), an understanding of the national background of the manager/client is very important in sorting through that person's 'cultural baggage'. The coach, too, may carry cultural baggage which needs to be examined and understood. There are three possibilities in respect of the nationality of the coach – same cultural background as the client, host-country national or third-country national – each carrying advantages and disadvantages as far as the coaching is concerned. Like age and gender, nationality might be a factor best

considered when deciding the ideal coaching fit for a particular individual. Personal experience in adapting to foreign environments might be considered a prerequisite for someone coaching others in a crosscultural situation. Familiarity with the theory and research of cross-cultural psychology is an additional and essential base for the professional coach working in this area. Rosinski's (2003) *Coaching across cultures* or Adler's (2002) *International dimensions of organizational behaviour* are examples of relevant source material.

We suggest that organizations and individuals use rigorous criteria, addressing the issues above, to select coaches. In the current unregulated market, where anyone can call themselves a coach, there is considerable variety in the qualifications and quality of individuals offering themselves as executive coaches. Recommendations can be very useful, but tend to be somewhat idiosyncratic. Organizations should screen carefully. Good coaches should be able to articulate their underpinning theoretical framework and use a flexible but structured evidence-based approach. These days many organizations require at least master's level education and evidence-based coach-specific training, and a background in the behavioural sciences is often preferred. Organizations should also be aware that many coaching 'certifications' are no guarantee of competence. Coaches themselves should be forthcoming about any deficiencies in their skill set or perceived lack of fit with the client, and should be prepared to decline an assignment if the coach-executive 'fit' is not appropriate. From a cultural perspective, an executive coach who is highly effective in the homeland culture might not be the best person to work in an expatriate environment. In this regard, the danger of selecting someone for an expatriate assignment solely on the basis of technical skills is paralleled in respect of the choice of the coach. The context of the assignment must be considered.

The Role of the Organization

Executive coaches typically sit outside the executive's organization (though there seems to be a trend towards multinational companies hiring internal coaches). This independence provides the executive with a level of freedom when discussing sensitive issues where the organization may be the subject of criticism. The independence also assists in creating an environment of high confidentiality and trust. In some cases, executives hire coaches directly. More typically, the organization engages a coach or a series of coaches to work with executives. This is the likely model in the expatriate environment. The organization in effect becomes the sponsor. The main work is between the individual manager and the coach. The coach would normally not report in detail to senior management about the work being done in sessions. At the start of the assignment, the coach, the executive, and the executive's manager would usually agree on some goals of the coaching. The content of the sessions would be related to the goals. However, the coaching process has a life

of its own and will move between specific organizational issues and personal and professional issues facing the manager. If too much direction is given by the organizational sponsor, the capacity for the executive to engage in reflective thinking and to connect his or her personal values and identity to the process could be limited. In other words, too much direction can remove the core affective component from the process. The organization must trust the coach and the executive to achieve the broad coaching goals of increased professional performance and personal satisfaction.

An Integrationist Approach

An example of relevant evidence that a coach working with expatriates might use to inform the coaching process is theory and research from the area of expatriate success. As noted earlier, most research indicates that expatriate success in terms of performance and personal satisfaction follows successful acculturation. A powerful theoretical model of acculturation proposed by Berry (1997) suggests that the best way of achieving smooth acculturation is through an integrationist approach, in contrast to assimilation, separation, or marginalization. Integration occurs when there is an interest by the expatriate in both maintaining his or her original culture and being in daily interactions with other groups. Thus, some degree of cultural integrity is maintained, while participation as an integral part of the larger social network is also sought. This is in contrast to assimilation, when the individual seeks interaction with the host culture but lets go of his or her own cultural identity. With expatriates, assimilation is sometimes referred to as 'going native' and is treated with considerable suspicion by the home office! Separation occurs when an individual seeks to hold on to his or her original culture and avoids interaction with the host culture. This stance is quite common with expatriate managers who may form enclaves (particularly in hardship posts). The strategy of marginalization is when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss) and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination). Expatriate managers rarely take this last approach.

The theory would suggest that interventions for promoting successful acculturation would give every encouragement to expatriates to take an integrationist approach – that is, to retain their own culture but at the same time become familiar and connected to the host-country society. Theory on identity and perception suggests that the way we perceive the world is a product of the cultural groups within which we interact (Singer 1998). Therefore, an integrationist stance is likely to result in an altered identity in an expatriate executive, and mean that the expatriate experience would indeed be transformative in shaping how the executive sees the world. Developmental theories such as the constructive-developmental position of Kegan (1982, 1994)

would also suggest that progression through stages of human development can be accelerated through challenging interactions such as those experienced during expatriate sojourns. A coach working from an evidence base informed by such knowledge would be well placed to facilitate the search for meaning and development with the expatriate manager, thereby assisting them to gain full professional and personal benefit from the experience. The expatriate experience itself is an opportunity for growth. Coaching interventions aim to accelerate this growth.

An Evidence-based Approach: Leveraging Cultural Differences

Fundamental to the acculturation process is a consideration of cross-cultural issues. For example, it is critical that the expatriate understands the dimensions on which the host culture is different from his or her home culture and, especially, how people in the two places may think differently. A great deal of work has been done identifying the dimensions along which cultures differ. Coaches can use this evidence to inform coaching discussions. The best-known contemporary writers on this subject are people such as Hofstede (2001), and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), though a massive amount of important 'mapping' work has been done by others (for example, Inglehart and Baker 2000; Schwartz 1999; Smith, Peterson, and Schwartz 2002). Though there has been fierce debate among some of these writers about the validity of the maps (for example, see Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars 1997; McSweeney 2002; Hofstede 1996, 2002), there is little doubt that they have had a considerable impact on management practice, including orientation and training of expatriates (Bing 2004).

It is important not to overgeneralize the results from such measurement across cultural dimensions, or to stereotype (Tayeb 2001). Osland, Bird, Delano, and Jacob (2000) warn of the dangers of 'sophisticated stereotyping'. Instead, they promote knowledge of cultural dimensions as a starting point or base from which managers can explore inevitable cultural paradoxes and develop intelligently complex explanations of the behaviours they observe (and display) in the new cultures. Coaches with a good understanding of the cultural maps that have emerged from the empirical work can assist judiciously by generating discussion of the client's cultural contexts (home and host) in ways that improve the perceptions of issues, relationships and events.

Nisbett (2003) has provided powerful evidence of how different ways of thinking in ancient Greek and Chinese societies have translated into fundamental differences in the way that modern westerners and easterners view the world. He has drawn on experimental studies, cultural values research, historical records and anecdotal evidence to elaborate on the nature of those differences. When working with expatriates from western cultures in countries

where non-western cultural customs and practices prevail, coaches who are aware of these differences can assist their clients to better understand their environment and the nature of their interactions with host-country nationals.

Research evidence from the study of intuition in the workplace could also be highly relevant to the expatriate manager. Klein's (1999, 2003) recognition-primed decision model highlights the importance of tacit pattern recognition derived from extensive experience in a particular domain. Our intuitions are the result of experience distilled into unconscious patterns that manifest in the form of 'gut-feelings' that, if attended to, can be used to guide behaviour. Klein (2003) claimed that intuition is particularly important when dealing with uncertainty. He identified five sources of uncertainty, all present in the environment of a new expatriate manager: missing information; unreliable information; conflicting information; noisy information; and confusing information.

A coach working from this evidence base can raise awareness with expatriate managers of the risk that following their intuitions may result in culturally inappropriate behaviour and ineffective work practices. Expatriates typically have considerable technical, management and company expertise, as well as extensive experience in their home culture (and probably in other cultures). However, they are likely to be limited in their ability to recognize patterns in the new culture and therefore be unable to develop appropriate action plans to respond to those patterns. Further, there is a risk of falling back on existing patterns appropriate for their home culture but inappropriate for the new culture. As with the development of expertise in any domain, expatriates require more appropriate and explicit rules and heuristics to aid with the development of cultural expertise until they have developed their own automatic recognition and response patterns. Coaching conversations help assess the extent to which the manager is making use of inappropriate cultural assumptions and situational cues. The coaching emphasis on situational awareness may help expatriates notice situational cues that are different from their home environment and allow them to reframe their schemas to take account of the new conditions. Importantly, the coaching process can then produce specific goals and actions that translate cognitive reframing into productive changes in behaviour.

As these examples indicate, the challenge of working – and coaching – across cultures is to manage difference, paradox, and complexity. Rosinski (2003) has drawn together research from cross-cultural theory, psychology and management to introduce the concept of leveraging differences to the coaching profession. A cultural perspective in coaching can bring to the surface powerful issues and assumptions related to culture and mobilize them to unleash client potential and facilitate sustainable and positive change (Rosinski and Abbott 2006). The approach is to value and explore differences rather seek the 'right' answer. The aim is to adopt an *and* approach, in preference to an *either/or* approach, and to seek creative synthesis. Leveraging cultural difference is an impulse of working from an evidence-based framework.

There is considerable potential for a coach working from a solid foundation of evidence to assist expatriate managers in fulfilling a satisfying and productive sojourn experience. The challenge for the coach is to pragmatically explore with the client how to identify which theories are relevant and how they are best applied in the context of the client. It is not always the coach who will introduce a theory or idea. Clients will of, course, have their own access to professional knowledge through education, experience, training, and mentoring. The coaching sessions become a forum for exploring and testing ideas from diverse sources.

The Limitations of Coaching

Executive coaching is not a cure-all which will ensure expatriate success. There are several limitations that need be considered.

Some managers don't want or don't respond to coaching. We are not suggesting that coaching is appropriate for all expatriate managers. Some individuals do not respond to coaching – for a variety of reasons. Laske (1999) believes that the developmental stage of the manager (and also the coach) is a key determinant in whether or not coaching is appropriate. Experienced expatriate managers who are highly confident and competent may not feel the need for an independent coach. They may already have mentors or colleagues who already play a similar role. At the other extreme, less competent managers who are not interested in acculturation as a process of change are unlikely to embrace coaching.

There is a risk of a dependent relationship that may inhibit acculturation. A risk of coaching in the expatriate situation is that the client may become dependent on the coach, paradoxically inhibiting the manager's acculturation, particularly if coach and client come from a similar cultural background. This is where the coach's knowledge of the acculturation process is crucial, as well as the ability to assess affective issues, in addition to the cognitive and behavioural nitty-gritty of the coaching process. If dependency looked to be developing, an evidence-based coaching approach may draw on Berry's well-researched theory concerning the benefits of adopting an integrationist approach to acculturation. The coach would introduce in the coaching sessions the issue of possible dependence, and explore the possibilities of the expatriate seeking interactions with people from the host nation.

The time when the expatriate is under most stress – early in the sojourn – may not be a time when they are receptive to using the reflective space provided by coaching. One aspect of the 'typical' expatriate experience that is not necessarily conducive to the use of a coaching intervention is that the time of greatest

stress is sometimes in the first few weeks when the practicalities of the move can overwhelm the executive. While having a coach during this time might, on the face of it, appear to be of value, in practice it seems unlikely that the expatriate manager would have either the time or emotional or cognitive space to engage in in-depth reflective coaching conversations. Once again, a flexible approach to individual circumstances would help ensure that coaching is delivered at an appropriate time and in an appropriate way. Early on, short sessions with a focus on practical issues would typically make good sense. Preassignment coaching sessions would also assist in preparing executives for the early challenges, although experienced sojourners usually understand and accept the reality of initial chaos!

Appropriately skilled coaches may not be available where they are needed. Executive coaching is a relatively new profession. It is well established in North America, Europe and Australia, and indeed in most developed countries. However, many expatriate assignments are in developing countries and there is no guarantee that appropriately qualified coaches will be readily available in the host country. However, as executive coaching becomes more established worldwide, this is likely to be less of a problem. Also, larger companies could give consideration to bringing in coaches from another country, providing the individuals meet the criteria we have suggested earlier.

Coaching can be expensive. A final issue for consideration is cost. High-quality executive coaching can be expensive. The decision for organizations must be based on a balance of the cost of services against the cost of expatriate failure rate. Costs can also be offset by increased performance by expatriate managers who might already be operating efficiently. Training is also expensive, particularly if it involves a trip back to the homeland or flying in a qualified trainer. The value of coaching might also be assessed in how it helps clients select from and make best use of other training (and mentoring) programs that the organization may be sponsoring.

Conclusions

Expatriate acculturation is an active, dynamic and holistic process that interactively impacts on an individual's affective, behavioural and cognitive domains and is often transformative. Evidence-based executive coaching interventions work interactively across the three domains and have transformative and developmental outcomes. Smooth acculturation seems to lead to successful sojourns. In turn, an active and integrationist approach, when individuals seek to retain their own cultural identity but at the same time become part of the new community, apparently offers the most effective approach to acculturation. Coaching from a cultural perspective encourages synthesis between alternative

cultural orientations, with an emphasis on 'and' rather than 'either/or' approaches to potentially contradictory or opposing perspectives. Professional coaching is highly action-focused in assisting clients to reach meaningful goals. In theory, then, professional coaches who have knowledge and experience in cross-cultural psychology and management should be able to make a strong contribution towards enhancing the performance and personal satisfaction of expatriate managers.

Evidence-based coaching provides a way for expatriate managers to tap into and apply theory and research to their specific contexts. In particular, it can help them to navigate the uncertainty and complexity that makes up their new cultural environments. Executive coaching can build on other organizational interventions. It can assist executives to take advantage of training courses by examining how they can be best applied to the executive's context. Coaching can also assist executives make best use of mentors by helping them reflect on the applicability of the mentor's advice to their own situation.

Each manager arriving to take up an overseas assignment comes with their own professional and personal resources. These managers are generally skilled and productive operators and they are expected to hit the ground running. Whenever an executive takes on a new position, some of the individual's skills and approaches may need to be enhanced and new resources added. For the expatriate manager there is the additional reality that things that worked well at home may not be quite right for the new context. As Osland (1995) points out, it can be a very testing time in which expatriates often question their basic assumptions about themselves, their culture, their interpersonal relationships and their management style. Change occurs simultaneously in virtually every aspect of life. In order for the experience to be positive, expatriates need reflect on their experiences and at times to engage in quite radical behavioural change. Coaching can assist in enhancing meaning through reflective dialogue while at the same time encouraging new behaviours that are appropriate in the new context. The result should be enhanced cultural intelligence and a more successful sojourn.

There are potential limitations in respect of the implementation of executive coaching on a wide scale for expatriate managers. Identifying and assigning coaches with skills in cross-cultural environments is one major challenge, particularly in developing countries where executive coaches are currently few and far between. The incredible growth in the coaching profession worldwide, demonstrated by the growth of the ICF, is likely to make this a temporary limitation. Executive coaches working globally need to think and operate innovatively. For example, there are complex issues about how best to coach managers whose responsibilities are truly global (Adler and Bartholomew 1992), and in coaching virtual global teams (Marquardt and Horvath 2001). While good executive coaches with the ability to meet the various challenges are expensive, the potential financial benefits of success are considerable.

Multinational and government organizations that send expatriates on assignments have responsibilities. Expatriate managers establish and grow significant businesses, and administer vital overseas aid programs that aim to achieve social and economic change. Expatriate managers are on the frontier of cross-cultural interaction. They impact upon the host cultures, and the host cultures impact upon them. Choosing the right manager is one challenge. After that, ensuring appropriate support for the manager is vital. A failure to provide such support can lead to a very ineffective and dissatisfying sojourn experience. This can have negative effects on the organizations, relations between countries, on the host nation, and of course on the individual manager. We suggest that executive coaching can play a role in bringing together the various pieces in the challenge of the expatriate sojourn experience.

Individually, expatriate managers go through an extended and interactive process of acculturation which is different for each individual, but which commonly involves personal transformation and cycles of change and transition. Like acculturation, coaching is a process. Executive coaches specialize in working with individuals over time to achieve sustainable professional and personal change and transition. The potential for a fruitful meld is considerable. It is a future opportunity for organizations, practitioners, and researchers to test the reality of coaching in the expatriate field.

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An Analysis of the Impact of SME Organisational Culture on Coaching and Mentoring

Dave Peel

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between small and medium sized enterprise (SME) organisational culture and its impact on coaching and mentoring through the use of a case study methodology. Both the impact of culture as a phenomenon and the significance of SMEs themselves will be significant. The significance of SMEs has been previously discussed by this author (Peel, 2004), where it was noted that organisations employing less than 250 people making up 99.8% of UK companies, and accounting for 52% of turnover and 55.6% of employment in the private sector (DTI, 2003). Further, Zimmer and Scarborough (1994) stated that this century would dawn with the greatest number of small businesses ever and over the last two decades, new SMEs have been identified by most western governments as significant components of economic growth in terms of job and wealth creation. This contention is strongly supported by the work of Holmund and Kock (1998), Kuratko and Hodgetts (1995), Hodgetts and Kuratko (1995) and Birley and Westhead (1989).

The impact of organisational culture will be evidenced in a review of the literature, which initially aims to paint a picture of the complexity of characteristics that any definition would need to incorporate if an understanding of this phenomenon is to be achieved. The existing literature is then used

to focus the correlation between organisational cultures and performance, culture change and strategy development and deployment in an attempt to argue that this phenomenon is omnipresent and impacts on every aspect of an organisation's existence. The research undertaken here also tries to identify these links by firstly collecting data that seeks to test the existence of organisational culture within SMEs. Then the research will examine how respondents within SME organisations can identify and articulate the impact of that culture. Finally this study will provide the opportunity for respondents to identify any correlation between organisational culture and coaching/mentoring that they are aware of.

The methodology adopted is examined in some detail in order to provide an opportunity to understand the rationale underpinning the decisions made and also increase the potential for the generalisability or 'application of these findings to other situations and other populations' (Robson 2002, p. 547). The methodological decision to use a case study approach is firmly located in the advantages of this approach for studying an area without a wealth of extant research. It will also be argued that this is an appropriate methodological decision because of the way in which it helps to develop inductive theory, i.e. developing conclusions from specific and concrete into the general and abstract.

The analysis will then outline other methodological decisions relating to the selection of the type of cases to be used in this case study, namely selection based, not on random representativeness, but on the opportunity to provide a 'rich' sources of data. The methodological decision relating to the number of cases to be used was determined by Yin's (1993) contention that several cases should be used in order to facilitate cross-case analysis and thereby develop richer theory building. Consequently a comparative approach was adopted, using more than one organisation to increase the 'richness' and validity of the research data being generated. The use of semi-structured interviews was made as a primary source of data collection because, I will argue, it mirrors the informality of the organisational context of the SMEs used in this research. To support the use of this method and increase its generalisability I also adopted other forms of triangulation or the use of "different kinds of data (or different sources) bearing on the same issue" (Gillham 2000, p.29). These included the use of a second interviewer, a number of different organisations, any available archival documentation and observation where appropriate. The last decisions involved ethical issues thrown up by the case study itself and involved areas like respondent anonymity and overcoming a respondent stated reluctance about using taping interviews. I will now move on to review the existing literature in the categories detailed above.

Literature Review

Organisational culture is defined in the research of Deal and Kennedy (1982), Jones (1983), Schein (1992), Kotter and Heskett (1992), Van der Post et al (1998) and Deshpande and Farley (1999) as a set of values, beliefs and

behaviour patterns that form the core identity of all organisations. Jones (1983) further contends that organisational culture acts as a cognitive map that influences the way in which the context is defined because it provides the selection mechanisms or norms and values through which people enact events. Significantly, Pheysey (1993) suggests that organisational culture is much more intricate and complex and therefore must also include patterns of beliefs, symbols, rituals, myths and practices that have evolved over time in an organisation. Supporting this more complex and all embracing view Schein (1999) argues that organisational culture is the sum total of all the shared, taken for granted assumptions that a group has learned throughout its history which shapes the structure and control system to generate behavioural standards.

There is also a substantial amount of research that seeks to establish the impact of organisational culture on a number of different dimensions of any organisation. Firstly studies that identify the determining impact of organisational culture on business performance, for example Denison (1990), Denison and Mishra (1995), Gordon (1985) and Ouchi (1981). The above analysis of the impact of organisational culture is supported by research findings that suggest that there is a strong correlation between cultural change and organisational culture as evidenced in the work of Harrison and Carrol (1991), Ogbonna and Harris (1998) and Silvester and Anderson (1999). This is further supported by the work of Choe (1993) and Schwartz and Davis (1981) who identified the clear and determining links between organisational culture and business strategy. Finally organisational culture has been argued to have an impact on the development and deployment of organisational change as suggested by the work of Ahmed (1998), DeLisi (1990), Lorenzo (1998) and Pool (2000). The significance of all this material is that it serves to establish the importance and impact that organisational culture has on almost every aspect of organisational life and this should surely include coaching and mentoring.

The research that seeks to identify the relationship between an organisation's culture and its use of coaching/mentoring methods is less readily available. However the determinant and visible effects of culture on mentoring have been clearly identified in the work of Barham and Conway (1998). The significance of their argument revolves around the contention that all the other issues that need to be addressed within a coaching and mentoring strategy emanate from the prevalence of the culture of the company. Additional support for the pivotal role of culture when assessing the relationship between an organisation and its use of coaching/mentoring is provided by Hay (1999). She contends that the strategies, structures and ways in which people are treated are all representations of the culture. Further Megginson and Clutterbuck (1995) and Caplan (2003) contend that their research strongly suggests that coaching/mentoring needs to be in line with and supportive of the existing culture of an organisation if it is to be successful.

Methodology

Bonoma (1985) and Romano (1989) contend that there are two major approaches to theory development: deductive theory testing and inductive theory building. The difference between these two approaches can be viewed in terms of scientific paradigms, with the deductive approach representing the positivist paradigm and the inductive approach representing the phenomenological paradigm (Easterby-Smith et al, 1991). Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest that the phenomenological paradigm itself can be further divided up into critical theory, constructivism and realism. Perry (1998) then posits that realism is the preferred paradigm for case study research because in this type of research area there are usually little or no accepted constructs or principles. Those that do exist are clearly inadequate, therefore inductive theory building is required to address these gaps in knowledge. Additionally Hunt (1991) suggests that realism is often characterised by some researcher objectivity, holding that there is an external reality which although limited by the researcher's mental capacity to comprehend its complexity, can be made less fallible by the triangulation of multi-sourced data.

Specifically supporting the use of a case study methodology Eisenhardt (1989) postulates that it is particularly well suited to new or inadequately researched areas of study. This is certainly the case in terms of existing research that addresses the issues of the impact of SME organisational culture on coaching and mentoring.

Simon (1994) suggests that a review of the existing literature is an integral component of case study data collection and certainly evidence from the review enabled the identification of the type of case studies to be undertaken. This would be crucial for later analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994 p.27). In terms of the type of case selection to be undertaken the inappropriateness of random sampling is highlighted by Stake (1994), who contends that representativeness should not be the criteria for selection. Supporting this position Eisenhardt (1989) states that the 'random selection of cases is neither necessary, nor even preferable' (Eisenhardt (1989), p537). Instead the determining factor for selection should be the information richness of the cases themselves rather than the application of a scientific sampling protocol, which owes more to quantitative reductionism than to the appropriateness of the information gathered (Patton, 1990). Supporting this criticism of quantitative research Wright and Crimp (2000) argue that such research only scratches the surface of people's attitudes and feelings, the complexity of the human soul being lost through a reliance on the counting of numbers.

The next methodological issue concerned the number of cases to be researched. Yin (1993) argues for the use of several case studies because they allow cross-case analysis to be used for richer theory building. Eisenhardt (1989) supports this position and further suggests that an appropriate number of cases for selection is between four and ten. Hedges (1985), also advocates

the use of between four and six groups in relation to establishing a reasonable minimum for predictable replication of the research being undertaken. This contention is supported by the work of Perry (1998 p.791) who suggests that "with fewer than four cases it is difficult to generate theory with much complexity, and its empirical grounding is likely to be unconvincing". Consequently this research follows these guidelines and has chosen 5 SMEs based in Wales from a diverse range of commercial markets and geographical locations.

The use of semi-structured interviews was then decided upon because, as Bailey (1982) has argued, they provide a high degree of flexibility linked to a high response rate. In my experience, both of these aspects are important when working with an SME, which by its organisational nature, has very limited resources, thus necessitating the adoption of an approach which minimised this potential impact. Further support for the use of this type of interview has been provided by Layder (1995) who has argued that interviews allow the individual the opportunity to informally surface their own interpretation and meaning to the questions being asked. This informality also mirrored the organisational context of the SME (Curran, 1999).

The intention of these semi-structured interviews is to test the respondents' understanding and perceptions of the impact of their respective organisational cultures and the correlation with coaching and mentoring. The data in each interview was gathered through note taking and, as Strauss (1987) recommends, the coding of this data was done early and frequently within the research timeframe. The analysis of the data generated by this technique was undertaken by using content analysis as outlined by Gillham (2000) in order to identify patterns or trends which were either complimentary or dissonant, thus providing the opportunity to highlight the necessity for further more extensive research.

To support the above methods and provide another form of triangulation according to Perry (1998), I decided to have two respondents from each of the 5 selected SMEs, thereby improving the reliability and generalisability of the data being collected. This is supported as an approach by Robson (2002, p. 370), who argues that reducing the possibility of the 'deluded' researcher believing they have found the right answer is a real benefit to adopting multiple methods. An additional form of triangulation was also incorporated into this research by using a second interviewer, who followed the same interview protocols. This had the additional advantage of ameliorating the possibility of interviewer bias creeping in to the data collection phase of this research.

This approach was further bolstered by the use of observation because as Sarantakos (1994) has postulated, it provides a wide range of first hand information, which essentially overcomes the limitations of respondents not being able or willing to provide information by the other research methods being used. The final source of triangulation data was any archival documentation produced by the SMEs, this was the least used method because as Hill and Wright (2001) have highlighted SMEs keep scant documentation in respect of all areas of their business.

Mentoring and Coaching

In relation to the ethical issues involved in this research foremost was need to secure anonymity for the respondents. Firstly because they had requested it – a number of them had concerns about their bosses finding out what they had said. Secondly when asking respondents to comment on their company I believe, as does Robson (2002) that anonymity should be secured in order to ascertain real data without prejudice or fear of possible reprisal. This was achieved by allotting each respondent a number only known to myself and removing all specific data that would make identification possible. All transcripts were annotated using this number and no other form of identification. For similar reasons taped interviews, which are viewed as essential to this type of methodology (Oppenheim, 1992), were ruled out at an early stage, again respecting the expressed wishes of respondents. Supporting my decision not to tape record the interviews, Dick (1990) and Lincoln and Guba (1995) have raised concerns about the general advisability of their use because of the impact they may have on distorting the collection of evidence. It should also be noted that in terms of personal values and biases I had previously worked with 3 out of the five companies involved in this research and therefore had purposefully decided to include two companies I had no previous knowledge of. This was supported by, as previously described, the use of a neutral interviewer to try to minimise the impact of any bias I might have as well as providing the opportunity to randomly allocate interviewees to each

Initial Research Findings and Discussion

The Existence of Organisational Culture

Findings of this case study strongly indicate that respondents believe that it is possible not only to identify a unique organisational culture (Choueke and Strong, 2000), within their respective organisation but also the commonality of its manifestations. For example, a number of respondents talked about how different their experiences of working in SMEs had been, even if they had the same type of industry, location and role. Respondents identified the difference: “the way things are looked at and undertaken in this organisation are specific to here – they don’t happen like this anywhere else”, “the way we do things around here is special and we want to keep it that way”. These findings are supported in the research of Deal and Kennedy who have developed a simplified definition of culture as “The way we do things around here” (Deal and Kennedy, 1983, p. 501). Respondents believed that they had the capacity to clearly identify their values and beliefs that held sway in their organisations. For example as reported: “we all know and understand what is important here and we try to share the same way of thinking even though we have never

been told what that is". Other respondents suggested "it's like osmosis working here, we all know what's expected and we get on with it" and "it's quite subtle really, things just seem to continue to happen the way they always have – even when new people join". Support for the significance of this finding can be found in Schein's (1999) contention that organisational culture is determined by shared assumptions and taken for granted values and behaviours, just like the ones respondents described in this case study.

The Impact of Organisational Culture

The findings of this case study also suggest that respondents believed that they could identify the tangible effects that their organisational culture had on almost every aspect of how the business was run. For example respondents claimed "the way we work and make decisions here determines our buying and selling strategy as well as the overall performance of the company". Other respondents talked of "the way we recruit and promote people here is a consequence of how they fit in – those decisions just seem to happen" and "the owner influences everything here – common sense really she did start the business". One of the most significant statements by a respondent summed it up as "the culture is the cement that binds everything together – the way the business is run and the decisions that are made to support this by the owner". This finding is supported by Gersick et al's (1997) contention that owner-managers are at the heart of the company through laying the foundations of the business. This also can explain why the respondents in this case study believed they could clearly identify the effects of their culture because of their proximity to the founders of that culture.

Additional support for this argument can be found in Schein's (1990) suggestion that the culture of an organisation is grounded in the founders' basic beliefs, values and assumptions and embedded in the organisation through various mechanisms over time. The small scale operation of these SMEs also serves to heighten the visibility of the effects of the culture and its correlation with the owner-managers impact which is often obscured in larger organisations because the owners are insulated from the workforce by complex structures and tiers of management.

The Correlation between Organisational Culture and Coaching and Mentoring

The findings of this case study also support the suggestion that there is a strong relationship between the pervasiveness of the organisational culture and opportunities to undertake coaching and mentoring activity. Firstly, respondents were in no doubt that coaching and mentoring was taking place in their organisations: "we're getting coaching all the time especially when the

boss has been on a chamber of commerce do". Respondents also believed that coaching and mentoring would not take place unless there was an "atmosphere which supports such activity" and "there's nothing happening here that the boss doesn't know about – he encourages the managers to help us learn how to do our jobs better". Supporting this finding is the work of Murray and Owen (1991), who clearly identify the necessity for senior management commitment to encourage the effective deployment of coaching/mentoring within an organisation. It is also not unreasonable to suggest that managers would not be encouraged to take part in such activity without the express permission of the 'cultural norms' of the organisation.

Further, respondents talked about "how we learn things around here is part of everyday life" and "learningyes we spend a lot of time talking about how we are going to use the new machinery with the employees – coaching them through the experience and also getting them involved". The process of learning within an SME context is an informal one – as one respondent described it "the informality of learning" is prevalent within all the organisations in this case study. This is significant because it mirrors the general informality of the culture of SMEs as found in the research of Curran (1999), and suggests another way in which the correlation between culture and coaching/mentoring is mutually reinforcing. Additional support for this finding is also provided by the Centre for Enterprise (2001) which found that only a minority of SMEs take up formal learning opportunities, concentrating instead on informal experiential and practical learning.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this analysis has aimed to address the current research chasm relating to the possibility of a relationship existing between SME organisational culture and coaching and mentoring. The study, although limited by its size, has provided indicative evidence that such a link does indeed exist. This was achieved by firstly analysing the existing literature in order to immerse myself in current thinking and enhance my understanding of the concepts that needed to be tested within the research. This was then supported by developing a case study approach which tried to address a number of methodological issues. These issues included the type and size of sample to be used in the research, in order to increase the possibility of the generalisability of the findings. The primary data collection method, semi-structured interviews, was decided upon based on its acceptability within the SME context and this was further bolstered by the use of data triangulation. Several ethical issues also had to be incorporated within the research design in order to facilitate its successful completion.

The data collected has provided indicative evidence supporting the existence of an identifiable organisational culture within the SME environment supporting the original findings of Choueke and Armstrong (2000). This

research data also indicates that respondents believed that their organisational cultures had a significant impact on every aspect of their working lives and this specifically included the use, and encouragement to use, coaching and mentoring. However much more research is needed to be able to increase the generalisability of these research findings thereby supporting Storey's (1994) original call for more SME specific research to be undertaken. This future research would certainly need to focus on establishing a universally acceptable definition of organisational culture within the SME context, thus providing a more robust foundation for comparative analysis. Additionally a much larger sample of SMEs might also provide a more informed analysis of the existence of the correlation between organisational culture and coaching and mentoring. Until these issues are addressed then this research can only be viewed as an attempt to shine an analytical torch into a theoretical dark place.

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Innovations in Coaching and Mentoring: Implications for Nurse Leadership Development

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Introduction

In UK health services, people, not capital, are the business' most vital assets.¹ To meet demand and the accelerated pace of change, health services must innovate and, as its key workers, nurses need to develop the skills that serve as the basis of innovation. It is acknowledged that career development and the development of leadership skills and qualities are essential to the delivery of change in health services and the improvement of patient care.² According to the Modernisation Board's Annual Report (2000–2001),³ leadership in nursing is essential to the improvement of service delivery and the development and training of all nurses is vital in achieving effective change. It also acknowledges that senior management in the health services must increase their contact with frontline staff as part of this process.

Coaching and mentoring have been identified as the keys to developing the leaders of tomorrow.⁴ Such tools could meet the acknowledged training and development needs of nurses, while expanding the role of senior management and their links with those who deliver patient service. According to the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD),⁵ the difference between coaching and mentoring is that mentoring gives advice and teaches, whereas coaching facilitates learning. However, a review of the literature indicates that

there is a lack of clarity and understanding surrounding these concepts and a CIPD survey (2004)⁶ reported that 81% of respondents agreed that there is a great deal of confusion around what is meant by the term coaching, and the fact that Europe and the USA interpret the words differently adds to the confusion. Furthermore, the majority of research is cross-sectional in design and there is a growing need to investigate the efficacy of coaching and mentoring programmes over time.⁷⁻⁹

The aim of this longitudinal study is address this gap by assessing the impact of coaching and mentoring delivered through a development programme within the UK National Health Service Nurse Leadership, 'Innovations in Coaching and Mentoring', to evaluate the differences and similarities between those coaching and mentoring relationships, and to evaluate the impact of the programme on the career and professional development of coachees and mentees.

Background

Coaching

Coaching has been defined as the provision of support and guidance for people to use their existing knowledge and skills more effectively¹⁰ and is concerned with the immediate improvement of performance and development of skills by a form of tutoring or instruction.^{11,12} Traditionally, coaching has been undertaken in a business context as a remedial process, now usually referred to as performance coaching and is an acknowledged approach to the development of human capital resources. Much is written to extol the virtues of coaching, but rarely is the business effectiveness of this concept clearly demonstrated as a tool for the development of leaders.^{13,14} Buck¹⁵ provides research evidence to suggest that a coaching training programme for managers can be successful in changing behaviour and improving employee perceptions about how they are managed. Empirical evidence is lacking about the role and effectiveness of coaching for excellence in the development of potential leaders, yet this information is essential if we are to identify and promote an optimal model of coaching.

It is also suggested by Kopelman¹⁶ that coaching may be used to overcome the problems associated with the transfer of the learning process. That is, coaches can provide problem-focused training and encouragement for coachees to be proactive. It is a goal-focused process wherein action is required so the coachee can move forward.¹⁷ A coachee can be helped to focus on personal skills (e.g. goal setting, planning and initiation), interpersonal skills (e.g. communication, conflict resolution and team development), and needed system changes necessary for leadership development. Essentially, it is about providing a structure and time for reflection to help the individual gain awareness, with

the aim of continuous improvement.¹⁸ Coaching provides the opportunity to reflect upon what works well, to identify the ways to sustain excellence, and to be creative and embrace change in a positive and innovative manner.¹³ Coaching activities can be used for people at all experience levels, but there must be shared commitment and enthusiasm and it is vital that the coachee takes responsibility for actions and is motivated to learn. The purposes of coaching may be diverse, but can include: (1) transitions from one role or state to another; shifts in role or career; (2) dealing with organizational changes; (3) resolution of issues and problems; and (4) skills development.¹⁴

Coaching aims at organizational excellence through the effective use of abilities and potential in a way that allows growth in knowledge and experience.¹⁹⁻²¹ This wide breadth of description is the essence of what we mean by transformational coaching. The coaching process involves the development of rapport, relationship building, gathering of information through assessment and review, negotiation of carefully defined goals and implementing problem solving. However, coaching is not simply telling people what you think they should do or how to do it. It is not interfering or occasionally overseeing what a coachee is doing and advising them how to do it better,^{22,23} neither is it a parental approach to the passing on of hard gained experienced. Through an effective coaching process, an individual should be able to identify an action plan and implement it. Indeed, research evidence indicates that learning gained through coaching is far more effective than that of learning gained from telling or showing.²⁴

Mentoring

The mentoring relationship is also regarded as a valuable development tool and can play a crucial role in early career and business success. According to Clutterbuck and Ragins,²⁵ it is 'support, assistance, advocacy or guidance given by one person to another in order to achieve an objective or several objectives over a period of time'. It is also viewed as an integrated approach to advising, coaching and nurturing, focused on creating a viable relationship to enhance individual career, personal, professional growth and development.²⁶ These definitions illustrate the apparent confusion that exists in distinguishing differences between the concepts of mentoring and coaching. Some writers appear to use the terms interchangeably, whereas others embrace coaching as a category of mentoring.²⁷ We suggest that coaching is defined as directly concerned with the immediate improvement of performance and skills by a form of tutoring or instruction.¹² Mentoring is one step removed and is concerned with the longer-term acquisition of skills in a developing career.²⁸

Although many writers describe a good mentor as counsellor and coach, mentoring should not be confused with counselling or coaching *per se*. Counselling and coaching are focused on emotions and behaviours whereas mentoring

focuses on thinking. Effective mentoring enhances the link between thinking, feeling and action.²⁹ Change in behaviour comes through focused dialogue. Furthermore, mentoring is a developmental, empowering and nurturing relationship extending over time in which mutual sharing, learning and growth occur. In this sense, it is a two-way process with learning for both parties.³⁰ Thus, it is acknowledged that mentoring is likely to be reciprocal in that wisdom is not handed down in a one-way transaction, rather both mentor and mentee share knowledge, insight and skills.^{31,32}

To be successful, it is suggested that mentoring must progress through four distinct stages of evolution: initiation, cultivation, separation and redefinition,²⁷ and the period of time required to develop a fully effective mentoring relationship can be lengthy.³³ The behaviour and expectations of both mentor and mentee is likely to change at each of these stages. Mentoring may not be beneficial if offered as a short-term option in a leadership development programme. However, unlike informal mentoring relationships, this constraint might not be evident in a formal mentoring relationship where both mentor and mentee understand that the programme has a relatively short and defined time-span, and so will accelerate through these stages. Due to organizational restraints within health services, protracted mentoring relationships may not be viable.

Mentoring is not about telling, giving solutions, criticizing mistakes, giving advice or jumping in to handle solutions without being asked; a mentor is the person who guides another to success.³⁴ Murray³⁵ suggests that mentors can act as both role model and sponsor but their main involvement in the career development of the mentee is the most crucial feature of the relationship. Mentoring offers many benefits to the organization directly or indirectly,^{25,36,37} including: increased productivity, improved recruitment, induction and training, staff retention and increased motivation, better communication, enhanced succession planning and leadership development, the strengthening of the nursing profession, a smoother transfer of company culture, and ultimately a more stable corporate climate.

The Study

Innovations in Coaching and Mentoring – Programme Evaluation

A longitudinal study was conducted to measure differences and similarities between the mentoring and coaching process as a result of a six-month coaching/mentoring programme. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected from coachees ($n = 15$) and mentees ($n = 15$) at three time points (T1 = baseline, T2 = 4 months; T3 = 9 months). This study was not intended to measure the direct benefits of coaching or mentoring, but to assess the relative benefits over time of each method of professional and personal development.

Six UK Health Care Trusts took part in the programme: two Acute Trusts, two Primary Trusts and two Mental Health Trusts. The Trusts were recruited by the Department of Health based on the level of commitment expressed by the senior management teams, as a high level of buy-in from senior management is essential for any development programme of this kind. Final selection of Trusts was through a matching process based on function, size and location. These participating Trusts were split into two groups, a coaching group and a mentoring group, each comprising of one Acute Trust, one Primary Trust and one Mental Health Trust. Coaches and mentors were recruited from each Trust based on a range of matched criteria, including experience of coaching/mentoring, seniority in Trust, professional background and responsibilities. Five nurses from each of the three Trusts in the coaching group ($n = 15$) were coached or mentored by a member of the senior directorate from their own Trust. Similarly, five nurses from each of the three Trusts in the mentoring group ($n = 15$) were mentored by a member of the senior directorate from their own Trust. All participants involved in the programme were volunteers. Ethical approval was not required as this study was considered to be an audit rather than primary research.

In total 22 women (coachees = 10; mentees = 12) and eight men (coachees = 5; mentees = 3) took part in the programme. The majority were married (coachees = 13; mentees = 13) and ranged in age from 31–51 years. On average, participants had been in nursing for 20 years and had been employed in their current organization for approximately 12 years (range 1–25 years). A similar pattern was seen for the coaches/mentors, with 23 women (coaches = 12; mentors = 11) and six men (coaches = 3; mentors = 3) taking part in the programme. Again the majority were married (coaches = 13; mentors = 11) and ranged in age from 34–56 years. Both senior managers and directors accounted for eight coaches and seven mentors, respectively.

The overall aim of the 'Innovations in Coaching and Mentoring' programme was to provide leadership and career development for nurses in health services. The programme consisted of two separate three-day professional development workshop for coaches and mentees. A half-day workshop was undertaken separately by coaches and mentors, this was designed to ensure that all coaches and mentors had the same knowledge of models, techniques and process. Finally, coaches/coachees and mentors/mentees attended separate joint half-day workshop to establish the goals of their relationships, format of meeting, boundaries and process. Formal coaching and mentoring relationships lasted for a period of eight months. In this programme, coaching dealt with specific developmental issues, the immediate improvement of performance and skill development, whereas mentoring revolved around the long-term organization of skills in career development.³⁸ Sessions took a formal, structured approach that included the undertaking and assessment of tasks such as shadowing (of coach/mentor and line-manager) and a patient walk-through (i.e. an investigation into an area of service delivery). The coaching process involved

the development of rapport, relationship building, gathering of information through assessment and review, negotiation of carefully defined goals and implementing problem solving. In contrast, a mentors role was to provide career-related behaviours that included protecting, providing challenging work assignments, enhancing visibility, sharing information and wisdom, coaching, making suggestions without imposing decisions or solutions, and challenging the protégé to think. Plus psychosocial support behaviours include activities such as counselling, acceptance and role modelling.³⁵

Participants were also supported through action learning sets, which is based on the 'relationship between reflection and action . . . where the focus is on the issues and problems that individuals bring and planning future action with the structured attention and support of the group'.³⁹ A final event was held at the six-month stage to formally complete the programme and terminate coaching/mentoring relationships. The programme was hosted by a UK University and ran from January 2004 to November 2004.

Evaluation is a concept about differences over time, i.e. a difference in the before and after situations associated with a programme.^{40,41} It is important to evaluate by monitoring progress against stated aims and objectives by eliciting feedback from participants and tracking the careers and personal and professional development of those involved.^{25,28,42} Specifically, the aims of the evaluation were:

- (1) To identify how coaching and mentoring relationships impacted on careers, leadership and management, and service delivery/patient care for coachees and mentees;
- (2) To assess the impact of coaching and mentoring on coaches and mentors;
- (3) To evaluate the differences and similarities between coaching and mentoring relationships.

The evaluation process employed a longitudinal design, using face-to-face or telephone interview with coachees and mentees and questionnaire methods, with repeat measures at three time points (T1 = baseline, T2 = 4 months and T3 = 9 months). In-depth one hour interviews used a semi-structured format of open-ended questions to explore participant's expectations and experiences of the coaching/mentoring relationship;⁴³ the impact of that relationship on their career and professional development; the impact of their development on patient care and service delivery; and the implications for the organization in terms of working relationships and organizational commitment. Questionnaires were formulated based on the content analysis of the interviews,⁴⁴ adapting themes in conjunction with the literature review, and employed a five-point Likert scale for questions investigating the impact of the programme on:

- Career progression (23 questions) – exploring career prospects, goals, ambition, career development strategies and networking skills;

- Leadership and management development (20 questions) – investigating political skills, negotiation skills, leadership ability, problem solving, management style and self-perception;
- Organizational impact (6 questions) – in terms of organizational understanding, patient care and service delivery.

A four-point bi-polar scale was used for questions investigating:

- Career support (6 questions) – exploring the impact of guidance, feedback and information;
- Career assets (8 questions) – investigating perceptions of skills/abilities, opportunities and control;
- Organizational support (6 questions) – looking at perceptions of support, relationships and role models.

Questionnaires were administered by the researcher in order to gain a natural response, rather than a considered one. Results are based on the content analysis of qualitative interview data at the baseline and final measure points;⁴⁴ and on the statistical analysis of quantitative data utilizing *t*-tests from questionnaires.⁴⁵

Results

The data were analysed using mean comparisons (*t*-tests) even though the sample numbers are small. Due to the tendency for the occurrence of type errors, trends are reported up to the 10% probability level.⁴⁵ Qualitative data, analysed using a thematic approach, are provided where appropriate to provide additional insight into the qualitative data.

Coachees/Mentees

Career Progression

About 27% ($n = 4$) of coachees and 40% ($n = 6$) of mentees experienced positive impact on their career progression. Twenty percent ($n = 7$) of both cohorts were promoted by the end of the programme. Table 1 gives a summary of the key findings.

There was a trend for both cohorts to be more ambitious by the end of the programme. In addition, satisfaction with 'career prospects' increased significantly for both cohorts. There was also a trend for both cohorts to feel more able to achieve career goals. This effect was stronger among the mentee group and a very strong improvement in perceived career planning ability for both groups.

Table 1: Career progression

	<i>Mean T1</i>	<i>Mean T2</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
More ambitious					
Coaches	3.71	4.36	13	-2.5	0.02
Mentees	3.75	4.08	10		NS
Career prospects					
Coaches	3.29	3.93	13	-2.09	0.057
Mentees	3.18	4.09	10	-2.32	0.043
More able to achieve career goals					
Coaches	3.83	4.33	13		NS
Mentees	3.64	4.46	10	-2.32	0.043
Perceived career planning ability					
Coaches	3.07	4.14	13	-3.51	0.004
Mentees	2.80	3.80	10	-3.00	0.015
Political awareness					
Coaches	4.57	4.93	13	-2.11	0.055
Mentees	4.50	5.00	11	-3.32	0.007
Individual political awareness					
Coaches	3.36	4.07	13	-2.91	0.012
Mentees	3.08	3.58	11	-2.17	0.053
Networking skills as a career development strategy					
Coaches	3.07	3.79	13	-2.69	0.019
Mentees	3.00	3.93	13	-2.74	0.017
Motivation to fulfil career potential					
Coaches	3.86	4.07	13		NS
Mentees	3.79	4.29	13	-2.46	0.029
More empowered to achieve career goals					
Coaches	3.43	4.07	13	2.33	0.045
Mentees	3.57	3.86	13		NS
Knowledge/use of career development strategies					
Coaches	2.86	3.79	13	-7.32	0.0004
Mentees	2.77	4.29	12	-6.06	0.0004
Visibility/credibility in organization					
Coaches	3.86	3.79	13		NS
Mentees	2.54	3.46	12	-3.86	0.002
Understanding working of organization					
Coaches	3.36	3.93	13	-2.51	0.026
Mentees	3.31	3.85	12		NS

Both mentee and coachee perceived political awareness as very important for career advancement in the UK Heath Care organizations, and this perception increased significantly over the duration of the programme. Furthermore, perceptions of individual political awareness increased during the programme for both groups. There was also a significant improvement in the perception of, 'networking skills as a career development strategy' for both cohorts. Plus, levels of motivation to fulfil career potential increased for both cohorts, but the difference was significant only for the mentees. Coachees also reported a significant improvement in feeling more empowered to achieve career goals.

Both cohorts reported a significant increase in 'knowledge and use of career development strategies'. However, perceptions of visibility and credibility in

the organization increased more for the mentees. While this did not appear to be the situation for the coachees, it should be noted that they reported feeling highly visible and credible at the baseline measure point (significantly more than the mentee group, $P = 0.008$) and thus reported only minor improvements during the programme. Further, coachees reported a significantly greater level of understanding of the working of the organization, but levels did not improve significantly for the mentees. Finally, while both mentees and coachees reported a wide variety of improvements to aspects of career and organizational factors, the results indicate that this improvement did not extend to perceptions of personal/life satisfaction.

Leadership and Management Development

Both coaches and mentees reported opportunities for leadership and management skills from the coaching and mentoring process. Table 2 gives a summary of the key findings.

Both cohorts perceived a significant improvement with respect to 'insight on the effectiveness of my management style'. It should be noted this trend was also observed at the Time 1 measure for both cohorts, meaning that this improvement was a rapid change. Although there was a trend for perceived improvement in negotiation skills, this result was significant for only the mentee group. Again there was a trend in the perceived improvement of 'network of professional contacts'; this was significant for the mentee group only.

Both cohorts perceived a greater insight on performance effectiveness. However, while levels of self-esteem increased for both cohorts, but significantly so for only the mentees. The same was observed for reported levels of self-confidence, which increased for both cohorts, but significantly so for only the mentees. There was also a trend for improvement in the perception of leadership skills and capabilities, but the difference reaches significance for only the mentees. Again a trend for improvement was observed in the ability to be open and direct in discussion with others but this change was also significant for mentees only. Perceptions of 'insight and ability to problem solve' improved for both cohorts, but significantly so for mentees only. A trend was also found for improvement in perceived leadership ability for both cohorts, but again it was significant for mentees only. In contrast, the ability to negotiate was perceived to have greatly improved for both mentees and coachees.

Organizational Impact

In terms of service delivery, 47% ($n = 7$) of coachees and 87% ($n = 13$) of mentees reported that their participation in the programme had had a direct impact on patient care. In addition, 53% ($n = 8$) of coachees and 40% ($n = 6$) of mentees reported job or role enrichment resulting from participation in the programme; for example, invitation to lead on high-profile projects or restructuring initiatives.

Table 2: Leadership and management development

	<i>Mean T1</i>	<i>Mean T2</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Effectiveness of management style					
Coaches	2.71	3.93	13	-6.50	0.0004
Mentees	2.85	3.62	12	-3.83	0.002
Negotiation skills					
Coaches	3.64	3.93	13		NS
Mentees	3.14	3.71	13	-2.51	0.026
Network of professional contacts					
Coaches	3.29	3.71	13		NS
Mentees	3.29	3.86	13	-2.83	0.014
Insight on performance effectiveness					
Coaches	3.29	3.71	13		NS
Mentees	3.29	3.86	13	-2.83	0.014
Self-esteem					
Coaches	3.50	3.93	13		NS
Mentees	2.71	3.57	13	-4.6	0.001
Self-confidence					
Coaches	3.43	3.86	13		NS
Mentees	3.29	3.86	13	-2.28	0.04
Leadership skills and capabilities					
Coaches	3.54	3.85	13		NS
Mentees	3.54	4.15	13	-3.41	0.005
Ability to open and direct					
Coaches	3.71	4.14	13		NS
Mentees	3.50	4.07	13	-2.83	0.014
Insight and ability to problem solve					
Coaches	3.64	3.93	13		NS
Mentees	3.69	4.08	12	-2.74	0.018
Perceived leadership ability					
Coaches	3.57	3.93	13		NS
Mentees	3.58	4.00	11	-2.80	0.017
Ability to negotiate					
Coaches	3.43	4.43	13	-3.89	0.002
Mentees	3.08	4.33	11	-5.75	0.0004

One-third of coachees and just over half of the mentees were actively engaged in the training and development of staff. Increased motivation and the vigour required to do this was a reported outcome of participation in the programme. The desire and motivation to cascade their new skills and abilities down through the business and empower others was evident:

I have put forward a pilot for a course to make practice safer and improve care. (Coachee)

I'm training nurses on this new programme . . . and I'm empowering them to deliver (Mentee)

Engaging and enrolling in further study and the subsequent personal and professional development of staff, and potential for impact on patient care, were also acknowledged as organizational outcomes of participation in the

programme. Further, 40% ($n = 6$) of coachees and 53% ($n = 8$) of mentees had registered or were in the process of registering for further study. This included higher degree qualifications (e.g. Masters and MBA); RMN Higher, ECP-Masters, plus a variety of leadership and management specialist courses.

Career Support, Career Assets and Organizational Support

Perceptions of 'career support' increased significantly for both groups during the programme (coachee: $x = 3.24$ and 3.93 ; 13 df; $t = -4.00$; $P = 0.002$ and mentee: $x = 2.85$ and 3.68 ; 12 df; $t = -3.618$; $P = 0.004$). That is, the participants perceive positive changes with respect to:

Having someone to guide career aspirations and provide effective career guidance; the provision of regular, constructive feedback and good communication at work to guide career development and prospects; feeling informed about career opportunities; and having informal communication networks to help career development.

Perceptions about 'career assets' also increased significantly for both groups (coaches: $x = 3.35$ and 3.88 ; 12 df; $t = -3.40$; $P = 0.005$ and mentees: $x = 3.07$ and 3.68 ; 11 df; $t = -3.64$; $P = 0.004$). They felt that they had:

The skills required for the next career move; satisfaction with opportunities to use my skills/abilities, and development opportunities; satisfaction with opportunities for continuous performance assessment; setting realistic performance targets and working to achieve them is part of the routine; feeling in control of career development; my management and leadership style is an asset to career advancement; and active career planning is part of a development strategy.

It should be noted that no significant differences were observed between coachees and mentees on the measures of 'career support' or 'career assets', at baseline, time 1 or Final measure points.

Measures of organizational support showed a slight, but not significant increase, although levels of organizational support were higher among coachees. This was associated with:

Social support; good relationships with line manager, colleagues and coach; ability to identify with a good role model, and feeling informed about organizational changes.

Perception of help received from a line manager increased during the programme for both cohorts, although this was significant for the mentee group only. The coachee group reported high levels of help from a line manager at all three measures point. Perceptions of help received from 'Trust Management' were very low at the baseline measure point for the mentee cohort, but

improved over the duration of the programme. Coachee measures remained stable.

Coachees/Mentees – Careers Impact

Thirteen percent ($n = 2$) of coaches and 20% ($n = 3$) of mentors experienced positive impact on their career progression. Both mentors and coaches described learning experiences associated with competences in their role of mentor or coach. Many common themes emerged with respect to initial anxieties, finding that competence existed beyond expectations, and that the structured process worked. Ultimately, the experiences of coaching and mentoring seem to have been beneficial, although the greatest impact of the programme appears to be on mentors' approach to service delivery and patient (note: no coaches commented on this aspect):

I am much more aware what is happening on units and how patients feel. I am planning to make changes.

I'm using the same skills on my staff; the mentoring structure has helped me do this; it has made me think differently; I have gained as a Manager from the process.

Being grounded back in clinical practice again and seeing reality and the implications.

We are currently developing a strategy for the Trust. It has been useful to realize how this programme fits our strategy.

It has had an effect on the way I engage with different services – the patient walk-through will lead to changes and benefits for service delivery.

I'm seeing gaps in nurse development and asking if we are training Ward Managers to be good mentors and supervisors.

Increased job and personal satisfaction from seeing the mentees achievement is a career achievement for me. Ultimately this will have positive impact for our clients and the delivery of care.

Difference and Similarities in Coaching and Mentoring

The importance of the quality of the relationship in mentoring appeared to be much more significant than for the coaching process. Half of the mentees were described as the 'drivers' of the process compared with 33% ($n = 5$) of coachees. Indeed, two-thirds of the coaching cohort was more likely to describe the process as 'jointly driven'. There was also less agreement within the mentee cohort about what makes it potent as a tool of development, plus the coaching cohort focused far more on expectations and less on barriers.

While mentoring was perceived to be 'support' and coaching was described as 'action', descriptions of the actual process and content were quite similar. In fact, 66% ($n = 20$) of both the coaches and mentors reported some overlap

between mentoring and coaching concepts. It should not be a surprise that a positive impact from both coaching and mentoring was observed in all aspects of development, although overall opportunities appeared to be greater for the mentees. This is further reflected in the achievement of objectives, with 80% ($n = 12$) of coaches and 66% ($n = 10$) of coaches compared with 87% ($n = 13$) of mentees and 80% ($n = 12$) of mentors reporting that that had met their goals.

Discussion

The results demonstrated that, when it comes to the leadership development of nurses, coaching and mentoring undertaken in a structured programme can have significant benefits in terms of professional and personal development. The findings show that both coaching and mentoring are useful and effective techniques for the development of nurses, in terms of leadership and management, career and service delivery, which concurs with previous literature in both of these areas.^{24,29} However, although coachees made significant progress in many aspects of these elements of development, mentees progressed much further. Indeed, this was most evident in relation to the positive impact for the mentees in terms of Leadership Management skills compared with the coaches. Of the 11 Leadership and Management skills, mentees scored significantly higher ratings compared with the coachee cohort on eight items, i.e. 'improvement in negotiations skills', 'network of professional contacts', 'levels of self-esteem', 'levels of self-confidence', 'leadership skills and capabilities', 'the ability to be open and direct in discussion with others', 'insight and ability to problem solve', 'improvement in perceived ability', and 'ability to negotiate'. There may be several reasons for these differences. Firstly, coaching has traditionally been used in a business context,¹⁵ which may explain why the three areas in which coachees improved in significantly more than mentees were more business orientated than leadership orientated, i.e. being more ambitious, feeling more empowered to achieve and understanding the organization. Secondly, coaching is a goal-focused process¹⁷ which may be more compatible with certain elements of the 'Innovations in Coaching and Mentoring' programme, such as the patient walk-through, which are task focused. General leadership development may not be action orientated enough for this form of intervention, especially if the nurses involved do not have access to leadership opportunities in their current job role. Thus, for nurses coaching may be most effective at the beginning of a cycle of career progression (e.g. promotion), rather than as means to further career progression.

Further, while the overlap between coaching and mentoring in practice is probably responsible for the high degree of similarity found in many areas of development, it appears that mentoring may include aspects of coaching more than coaching incorporates aspects of mentoring.^{12,26} This would explain

why mentees increased significantly more than coachees in three aspects of career impact, including motivation to fulfil career potential, more able to achieve career goals, and increased visibility/credibility in the organization. It may also offer some explanation as to why more mentees achieved their objectives than coachees and why mentees reported a higher positive impact on their career than coachees. The fact that mentoring combines facets of both approaches more than coaching²⁸ may mean that mentoring of early career nurses is a much more effective form of leadership development than coaching. This combination also makes the approach more flexible in meeting the individual needs of each nurse. By enhancing the links between thinking, feeling and action,²⁹ mentoring can deal with specific issues from a variety of standpoints.

Limitations and Future Research

To date, most programme evaluation has been limited and certainly no comparative work has been undertaken. Thus, while the study is based on a small sample size, which inevitably restricts the generalizability of its findings, it does provide a unique insight into the comparative benefits of mentoring and coaching. This is an area that clearly requires further research in order to establish exactly which elements of the coaching and mentoring process are responsible for individual development. For example, these findings may be an artefact of organizations in which the participants are employed, rather than a reflection on coaching or mentoring. Further, it was not possible to analyse the effects of gender on the coaching/mentoring relationship due to the sample size. The literature around this particular variable has produced mixed results²⁵ and future research is required to understand the influence of demographic variables on coaching and mentoring relationships. The impact of other variables, such as ethnicity, sexuality and disability should also be fully explored.

Conclusions

Nurses are essential in the delivery of change in health services,² yet their development in terms of leadership skills and capabilities has largely been down to 'stand alone' training courses, rather than on-going, one-to-one support and advice. The formalized nature of the programme meant that coaches/mentors and coachees/mentees could progress through all of the four distinct stages of mentoring evolution that are essential to a successful relationship²⁷ in a relatively short time period. This means that health services can develop the leadership skills and capabilities of their nursing staff in a fixed, manageable time frame, with tangible positive outcomes for service provision and patient care.

Although mentoring appears to have the greatest impact across all relevant aspects this may be a reflection of the relatively junior level of the nurses (i.e. early career) in their respective organizations, a lack of opportunities to exercise leadership skills in their current position or a lack of previously effective leadership development. Indeed, for higher level nurses who are working in leadership roles, coaching may be more appropriate than mentoring, especially at the start of those career roles where a focus on problem-solving behaviours may be more appropriate.

Coaching and mentoring offer a real opportunity to health service organizations to develop their key workers by increasing the interaction between nurses and senior management. Senior management, acting as coaches and mentors, also benefit substantially from a greater exposure to the practical issues around service delivery and patient care from a nursing perspective. Indeed the greatest impact on coaches and mentors appears to be their increased understanding of front-line issues and their reassessment of organizational policy and strategy to reflect that knowledge.

The programmes use of a multi-method approach to the process of coaching and mentoring does mean that it can provide nurses with problem and emotional focused approaches to leadership development, meeting the needs of the individual rather than trying to be a 'one-size-fits-all' approach. Although this programme has been evaluated using a relatively small sample, it does illustrate the power of coaching and mentoring in the development of leadership skills and capacities for nurses. Further work is required to establish at which specific career stages nurses would gain most from each approach, but what is important is that both approaches do benefit nurses, health service organizations and, perhaps most importantly, patients.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF COACHING AND MENTORING

VOLUME III

Researching Coaching and Mentoring

Edited by

Bob Garvey



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Contents

Volume III: Researching Coaching and Mentoring

Part 1: Mentoring

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 52. Evaluating Mentoring
<i>Stephen Gibb</i> | 3 |
| 53. The Problem with Research in Mentoring
<i>David Clutterbuck</i> | 17 |
| 54. An Examination of Organizational Predictors of Mentoring Functions
<i>Regina M. O'Neill</i> | 21 |
| 55. Construct Equivalence across Groups: An Unexplored Issue in Mentoring Research
<i>Ekin K. Pellegrini and Terri A. Scandura</i> | 43 |
| 56. Mentoring and Human Resource Development: Where We Are and Where We Need to Go
<i>Sarah A. Hezlett and Sharon K. Gibson</i> | 55 |
| 57. Demystifying Gender Differences in Mentoring: Theoretical Perspectives and Challenges for Future Research on Gender and Mentoring
<i>Angela M. Young, Steven Cady and Marguerite J. Foxon</i> | 77 |
| 58. Toward a Useful Theory of Mentoring: A Conceptual Analysis and Critique
<i>Barry Bozeman and Mary K. Feeney</i> | 107 |
| 59. Meeting the Challenge of Doing an RCT Evaluation of Youth Mentoring in Ireland: A Journey in Mixed Methods
<i>Bernadine Brady and Connie O'Regan</i> | 125 |
| 60. Who Is a Mentor? A Review of Evolving Definitions and Implications for Research
<i>Dana L. Haggard, Thomas W. Dougherty, Daniel B. Turban and James E. Wilbanks</i> | 143 |
| 61. Seeing the Forest and the Trees: A Complex Adaptive Systems Lens for Mentoring
<i>Rachel Jones and James Corner</i> | 171 |

Part 2: Coaching

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 62. Maximizing the Impact of Executive Coaching: Behavioral Change, Organizational Outcomes, and Return on Investment
<i>Joy McGovern, Michael Lindemann, Monica Vergara, Stacey Murphy, Linda Barker and Rodney Warrenfeltz</i> | 195 |
|---|-----|

63. Principles and Processes in Coaching Evaluation <i>D.E. Gray</i>	209
64. Trudging toward Dodoville: Conceptual Approaches and Case Studies in Executive Coaching <i>Richard R. Kilburg</i>	225
65. Executive Coaching: The Road to Dodoville Needs Paving with More Than Good Assumptions <i>Rodney L. Lowman</i>	239
66. Executive Coaching: A Review and Agenda for Future Research <i>Daniel C. Feldman and Melenie J. Lankau</i>	249
67. Business Impact of Executive Coaching: Demonstrating Monetary Value <i>Vernita Parker-Wilkins</i>	271
68. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Executive Coaching: Beyond ROI? <i>Kenneth P. De Meuse, Guangrong Dai and Robert J. Lee</i>	279
69. Toward a Profession of Coaching: Sixty-Five Years of Progress and Challenges for the Future <i>Anthony M. Grant and Michael J. Cavanagh</i>	299
70. Researching Coaching: An Eclectic Mix or Common Ground? A Critical Perspective <i>Bob Garvey</i>	317
71. ROI Is a Poor Measure of Coaching Success: Towards a More Holistic Approach Using a Well-being and Engagement Framework <i>Anthony M. Grant</i>	329

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

72. Researching Coaching and Mentoring <i>Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson</i>	345
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Part 1: Mentoring

Evaluating Mentoring

Stephen Gibb

The definition of mentoring followed in this article is based on the view of a mentor as an accomplished and experienced performer who takes a special, personal interest in helping to guide and develop a junior or more inexperienced person. This seems to me to sum up the core insights of most recent analyses of mentoring[1–3] which build on the early studies of mentoring that initiated much of the current interest[4–6]. In the context of mentoring for young people, the other major characteristic of a mentor is that they come from the world of work.

This interest in mentoring reflects a perception of the work-based mentor as a distinctive role, albeit within a constellation of relationships which most young people will have. Young people will have access to other accomplished performers (for example, teachers or instructors), and will have others who take a special, personal interest in them (peers, friends, family). They will also have relationships with others who may help and guide them (for example, career guidance specialists). The mentor, however, is the only person who bridges all these areas. If a young person has a lack of support from some of the other relationships identified above, mentoring should still be seen as a distinctive relationship – not just a “substitute” for what is lacking.

To evaluate mentoring in general, then, is to consider the overall value of making such a person a part of the systems or circumstances in which young people find themselves while making the transition from education to work. The development and management of formal mentoring schemes also depends on evaluations which can identify the particular issues that particular schemes

face. Mentoring schemes should not be thought of as standard systems, with universal problems and universal solutions. They are as individual as the circumstances which create a need for mentoring and the people who come to make the mentoring schemes work.

Given this focus for evaluation, the following different aspects of mentoring for young people in formal schemes need to be considered:

- (1) *Mentoring outcomes.* Identifying the nature and achievement of mentoring outcomes. What is the value of mentoring in terms of changing the knowledge, skills or attitudes of young people?
- (2) *The contribution of mentoring to the broader initiative.* Defining the contribution mentoring makes to the success of the broader initiatives of which it is normally a part. Mentoring is not usually taken as an initiative in itself. It is not a “stand-alone” system. Is mentoring helping to achieve the core objectives of the broader initiatives? Examples would be: “partnership” in the case of Compacts; promoting good practice in the provision of work-based learning in higher education degree programmes; helping learners who are undertaking competence-based qualifications. The question here is whether mentoring fits with the long-term direction of the broader initiative.
- (3) *Mentoring costs.* Determining the costs of mentoring as a method of helping young people.

The purpose of this framework for evaluation is to obtain a clear and valid account of the practicalities of mentoring as a method of helping young people; this stresses the developmental role of evaluating mentoring. When explaining the role of evaluation to mentors and learners it is important to highlight this.

It is also necessary to provide a critical perspective on the growth and use of mentoring. As mentoring for young people emerges as a theme in many different contexts, it is important to establish both the potential and the limitations of mentoring, and to question its overall role[7–9]. This requires a more critical analysis of the concept of mentoring, and the theories which can be used to explain its effects. This aspect of evaluation is briefly touched on in the conclusion.

The Experience of Evaluating Mentoring Schemes in the UK

In the UK there is considerable experience of formal mentoring schemes being developed as part of management development initiatives[10], and an increasing interest in mentoring as a feature of professional development[11,12]. From this area of experience, it is possible to identify three problems with the evaluation of mentoring which follow on from the areas of evaluation identified

above: identifying the outcomes of mentoring, evaluating the effects of mentoring, and evaluating the costs of mentoring. These problems will be discussed in relation to mentoring for young people.

What Is Mentoring?

First, there is still no clear agreement about what is the focus or range of mentoring outcomes. The definition of mentoring I gave at the start of this article is a convenient starting-point, but it is difficult to relate particular outcomes to it – i.e. the particular changes in knowledge, skills or attitudes expected from mentoring. There is no generally accepted definition which could supply a better base from which to identify outcomes, as there is still debate about the nature of mentoring. This is not an arid, academic point. It is the source of a central problem which makes the evaluation of mentoring difficult; the problem of identifying what should and what should not be called “mentoring”.

One aspect of this problem is that many other roles can be given the name “mentor”, when it appears that other titles are more appropriate. For example, in a distance learning system I recently reviewed, tutors have been renamed “mentors”. Their role has not altered, merely their title. The phenomenon of “retitling” other roles as mentoring may mean that the simplest evaluation will be that the role being evaluated is not “mentoring” at all. In the higher education context, for example, it may be that some of those currently involved in work experience activities (either in the work setting or the academic setting) may find themselves being described as mentors, when it may be that there is no significant change in their role.

Another aspect of this problem is that there is an increasing use of the idea that there are different “types” of mentoring[2,3,13,14]. While this may be a valid approach to analysing mentoring, it does not remove the need to identify the “core” elements which any variation would have to incorporate as a necessary part of its claim to be a form of mentoring. In trying to establish mentoring schemes for young people, it is probably necessary both to emphasize the core, distinctive elements of mentoring, and to highlight the possibility that people may negotiate their own particular relationships to suit their own needs.

Evaluating the Effects of Mentoring

The second problem is that related to achieving the objectives of the broader initiatives of which mentoring is normally a part. These can be either “learning”-centred[15–17] or career-centred[18–20]; on occasions, both sets of concerns are explicitly related to mentoring. But there is no clearly established relationship between mentoring and learning, or mentoring and

career development. This is partly to do with the inherent problems of evaluating employee development within organizations, and partly to do with the specific problems of analysing mentoring. In contexts where young people are experiencing mentoring, this duality of learning and career concerns, in the transition from education to work, complicates the evaluation of the effects of mentoring.

The studies which have been carried out tend to emphasize the problems of making clear links between mentoring and particular effects, rather than making a clear case for mentoring. Mentoring may be popular with learners[21], but the strategic value of mentoring, its value for organizations as well as individuals, remains open to question.

Evaluating the “Costs” of Mentoring

Finally, while the financial costs of mentoring are not significant, there is debate about the overall “costs” of depending on a system which uses “non-expert” people (in the sense of not being experts in the development of people) to fulfil important functions through roles like mentoring. Mentors may be experts, or certainly accomplished performers, in their own fields; they are generally “non-experts” in the field of employee development. For example, in the corporate environment, managers rather than employee development specialists act as mentors. There are issues about seeing managers rather than employee development specialists as the prime developers of people. In the context of mentoring for young people, these issues may be interpreted as being about the implications for those who currently have a direct, professional interest in the ways young people make the transition from education to work.

The Focus of Evaluation

There are few good instances of the evaluation of mentoring schemes which address these problems. A recent survey found that evaluation usually consisted of asking mentors to assess the usefulness of the mentoring relationship[10]. In many other studies, the focus is on asking the learners (or protégés) to assess the value of mentoring for themselves. While this will provide some useful information, it does not amount to an evaluation which identifies the overall value of mentoring.

Consequently, there are no “ready-made” models for evaluating mentoring. In considering mentoring for young people the following issues, based on the three areas highlighted in the introduction, will be relevant:

- (1) *Mentoring outcomes.* Are there particular outcomes which young people and their mentors should be expected to achieve? What is the right balance between different areas (skills, knowledge, attitudes) where outcomes can be expected?

- (2) *The contribution of mentoring.* How can the contribution of mentoring to the achievement of the objectives of broader initiatives be distinguished and analysed? How, for example, does mentoring fit with the development of partnerships between schools and industry?
- (3) *Mentoring costs.* What sort of investment, of time and other resources, is required to achieve effective mentoring? Is it viable to have “group” mentoring in order to make the best use of limited resources? In some contexts this seems to be a key issue; for example, in the Compact system, where many schemes seem to use group mentoring.

In the remainder of the article these issues are considered in turn, providing points for discussion. Methods appropriate to a full evaluation of mentoring are then identified.

Evaluating Mentoring Outcomes

Mentoring outcomes for learners can be expected to manifest themselves as changes in skills, knowledge and attitudes. Such changes are conventionally related to concerns with “learning”, “psychosocial” and “career” benefits. That is mentoring can have outcomes related to learning, the development of the person, and the development of their career. The relationship between potential outcomes and these areas of concern is given in Table I.

An immediate problem arises from considering any matrix such as that given in Table I. The credibility of mentoring depends on being able to help achieve set outcomes. That is its perceived function. Yet the nature of mentoring means that it operates at a very “individual” level. Different people will get different things out of mentoring. Some young people, for example, may have concerns which relate primarily to learning about a particular organization, where they may see their career developing; this type of person would not be needing benefits which relate to “attitude outcomes”. Other young people may not be so focused; and the value of a work-based mentor may mainly lie in the areas of skill/attitude changes. The value of Table I is its suggestiveness, not its potential as a blueprint for each and every mentoring relationship.

Table I: Outcomes and concerns

Outcomes	Psychosocial concerns	Career concerns	Learning concerns
Knowledge	Self-analysis in the context of employment	Clarity about the nature of (the) employment	Knowing an organization and its culture
Skills	Working with accomplished performers	Developing their own strategies; not just receiving advice	Using different “learning” relationships
Attitudes	Being positive about relating to accomplished performers	A belief in the value of their own potential	Motivated to achieve in related learning systems (schools, training, higher education)

As well as the problems of evaluating individual outcomes, two other elements of evaluating outcomes are problematic. First, determining the relevant “horizon” of evaluation may not be clear-cut. Evaluation will normally be undertaken at the end of the formal mentoring experience, but benefits which are perceived at that point may not tell the whole story. It may be that it is only later that the learner, or the mentor, reflects fully on the benefits that the mentoring relationship has brought to them.

Second, information with which to evaluate outcomes may not be readily accessible. The effects of mentoring on knowledge, skill or attitude cannot be “tested”. In addition, to one degree or another, mentoring is meant to be a “confidential” relationship. One of the distinguishing characteristics of mentoring is that it is a “safe” environment in which to raise and discuss particular issues. Part of that safety is to do with perceiving the mentor as a credible figure. Another part of the safety is knowing that the mentor is not in a position to, or concerned with, using the knowledge gained about the learner in any way that relates to assessment or “judgement”.

Clearly, there are limits to the relevant degree of confidentiality, and to over-emphasize this aspect of mentoring can be misleading. Mentoring is not a “confessional” relationship, though this is an element of the relationship which needs to be honoured in evaluation. A relevant point here can be made regarding “group” mentoring as this cannot, by its nature, be “confidential”. This might suggest that group-based activities, where a work-based person facilitates activities or discussions, is not mentoring.

Finally, it is important when evaluating mentoring outcomes that the value for mentors themselves is identified and understood as part of the evaluation. No scheme will succeed unless the benefits for mentors and their organizations are clarified. These benefits will centre on the employee development value of the activity, to the mentors and their organizations. Mentors, for example:

- participate in the achievement of objectives associated with the broader initiative;
- learn how to have and develop mentoring relationships with young people;
- act as a person within a network, or constellation – providing support and/or challenge to the young person which complements the work of others in the network.

Contributing to Broader Objectives: The Strategic Value of Mentoring

Determining the contribution of mentoring to achieving the objectives of broader initiatives is a problem[22]. Some examples of broader initiatives for young people would be:

- *Compacts*: the targets for individual students, and the building of partnerships between schools and industry.
- *Higher education*: improving education through the more effective use of work-based learning.
- *NVQs/SVQs*: obtaining qualifications through competence routes.

Determining and distinguishing the effects of mentoring, as described above, is in itself difficult. Then to link these effects to the achievement of specific objectives in a broader context is even more difficult. This is simply because there will be many factors other than mentoring which will be influencing progress towards objectives. Though a strong and direct link cannot be made, it is possible to clarify the expected links between mentoring and the achievement of objectives within the broader initiative. This can be done by relating the areas of mentoring outcomes which have been identified to the broader initiative, and by relating the mentoring relationship to the strategic aims of the initiative; for example:

- (1) *Compacts*. Compact students may need the motivation which contact with a mentor can provide, to apply themselves to achieving the targets required within the Compact system. The strategic aim of building more general partnerships between institutions or organizations is apparently well met by the building of such interpersonal partnerships.
- (2) *Higher education*. The development of good practice guidelines to improve work-based learning may involve clarifying the roles and responsibilities of people in the work setting. Clarifying the role of mentors is clearly a part of this.
- (3) *Competence qualifications*. While the system developed to deliver competence pathways requires assessors and verifiers at its heart, it also needs to cater for the developmental needs of people pursuing the competence route. Work-based mentors are a key option.

Whatever the specific objectives are, the perceived value of mentoring will depend on its contribution to meeting those objectives. As it is difficult to “measure” the ideal or actual contribution of mentoring to the achievement of objectives, the general perception of mentoring becomes more of a factor.

The general perception of mentoring, summed up as its “reputation” among those who are using it, or who may use it, will depend on a number of factors. These will include:

- (1) the extent to which mentoring is clearly explained;
- (2) the extent to which mentoring is seen as practical, interesting and relevant;
- (3) the quality of the actual experience;
- (4) the extent to which any formal scheme operates fairly and effectively.

Mentoring Costs

A narrow focus on costs would emphasize that mentoring does not involve much financial investment. The time of the mentor is given “free”. The actual time committed to mentoring will depend on the scheme, but will vary from some periods of fairly intensive meetings to, perhaps, a meeting of an hour once a month. If the mentor is someone with whom the young person normally has contact, these contacts will probably occur within the normal course of events.

No special equipment or premises are required. Training may be given to mentors, but this is usually brief and therefore not costly. It may involve being briefed by a scheme organizer, or reading mentoring guidelines. At the most it will involve attending a short course (probably lasting about a day). The greatest cost is likely to be the cost of the scheme organizer.

One criticism of mentoring is that it substitutes the low-cost participation of “ordinary” people (managers, employees) rather than using the skills of specialists, whose services need to be paid for.

Mentoring should not be seen as a low-cost option for avoiding commitment to the use of specialists. It is harnessing people with the potential to help others; it is not about displacing specialist functions. It does challenge specialists, however, to reorient some of their skills on developing mentors rather than doing all the direct work themselves.

If specialists have, in the past, done all the work themselves, they are generally comfortable with evaluating the results of their efforts. They may use tests, or other instruments, to determine the extent to which they have reached the objectives they have set. When others such as mentors become responsible for helping to develop young people, the specialists become “advisers”; and then need to use different methods of evaluation to track and assess what is actually going on. Evaluation, then, needs to be based on methods suited to discovery rather than testing.

So the nature of appropriate methods for evaluating mentoring not only needs to deal with the problems I have been highlighting throughout the article, but also needs to suit the fact that evaluators will, by and large, be evaluating from “outside” the mentoring relationship.

Methods of Evaluation

Evaluation should be carried out in a way which aims to consider mentoring outcomes, the contribution of mentoring to achieving broader objectives, and the costs of mentoring. This will involve using a number of different methods, to obtain different types of information. The uses which can be made of this information are also considered, with an emphasis on the developmental rather than judgemental role of evaluation.

An overview of the methods which can be used is given in Table II.

Table II: Methods of evaluation

<i>Methods</i>	<i>Strengths</i>	<i>Weaknesses</i>
Interview participants	Obtain stories	Time-consuming and intensive
Survey participants	Scheme-wide information	Superficial description
Analyse cases		
Analyse successes	Highlights the value	Not generalizable
Analyse problems	Highlights areas for review	Not generalizable

Interviewing Participants

Interviews are the best way to collect information about individuals’ mentoring experience. When considering the use of interviews with scheme participants to obtain information the following points should be considered:

- (1) Consider the experiences of both the mentor and the learner. Many schemes depend on obtaining information from mentors. This clearly gives only half the story.
- (2) Obtaining information from individual interviews or from talking with groups of learners/mentors can both provide valuable information. Individual interviews may allow the person to discuss elements of the value of mentoring which they would not discuss in a group. Group discussions can spark off insights for others which might not emerge in an individual discussion.
- (3) When questioning people about their experience of mentoring, questions should be directed at the following areas:
 - *Factual*. What has the mentoring relationship involved? For example, the frequency and duration of mentoring meetings.
 - *Processes*. How do the participants describe their experience of mentoring. What is the balance of “psychosocial” outcomes, career outcomes, and learning outcomes?
 - *Affective*. What are participants’ feelings about the mentoring relationship? Has it been worthwhile? How do they describe the other person? Has mentoring helped them to meet the objectives of the wider initiative? What examples can be given?

The style of interviewing adopted will also be important. A useful distinction can be made between structured interviewing and reflexive interviewing:

- *Structured*. Asking the same set of questions of all participants can help to build up an evaluation of the whole scheme. But this may not allow the participants to explain their particular experiences fully.
- *Reflexive*. The questions asked depend on the issues which interviewees are raising rather than using predetermined questions to structure the interview.

This can help to access people's individual experiences. The disadvantage is that such interviews do not yield information which is easily generalizable.

There are no rules, but it would seem appropriate to obtain both structured information common to all participants, and to build in room for reflexive questioning to explore individuals' experiences.

Surveys

Surveys can provide systematic descriptive evidence about the operation of mentoring schemes. They can help to identify whether the expected benefits of mentoring are linked to achieving the objectives of the broader initiative. Questions aimed at eliciting information, which can illustrate the link of mentoring to the achievement of broader objectives, can be designed; for example, participants can be given a list of expected benefits and asked to indicate which of the benefits have actually been realized.

Surveys are relatively easy to administer. They can also provide information which is easier to analyse than information from interviews. For the purposes of evaluating mentoring, a survey may entail anything, from simple forms completed by the participants at the end of their mentoring relationship, to more extensive surveys which may be completed by a small number of participants.

One "substitute" for a survey could be a record of mentoring experiences. This would be a structured form that the participants could complete following each meeting. Its purpose would be to record the individual's account of the meeting, in terms of the discussions, achievements, agreed plans, and feelings. Such form filling, however, may be more of a problem than it is worth, as completing such a form may appear to be onerous, bureaucratic and potentially intrusive on the relationship.

Analyse Cases

Rather than attempt to monitor and assess all, or most, mentoring relationships to the same degree, a different strategy would be to identify key relationships and analyse them in more detail. Key relationships would be those where significant positive effects or problems were identifiable. Such relationships may be identifiable from low-level monitoring of the mentoring scheme, or from observations that may be made about individuals.

Such an analysis of cases can provide information which both accesses individuals' experiences, and gives some grounds for relating the role of mentoring to the objectives of the broader initiative.

Using Evaluations

Evaluations have a number of potential roles. The overriding one is to account for the overall value of mentoring. But this is not to produce an audit of the past. It should inform the future strategy of the scheme; it is developmental rather than judgemental. Apart from the scheme organizer adopting that viewpoint, this can mean:

- Giving feedback to mentors, and discussing with them the future of the scheme.
- Giving feedback to the different stakeholders (schools, organizations, others) and including them in discussions about the future.

Conclusion

Evaluating mentoring can both identify the overall value of mentoring, and provide a critical perspective on the use of mentoring and its potential. This article has focused on evaluation as a means of considering the overall value of mentoring. In conclusion, it is important to make a number of points which evaluate mentoring from a critical perspective.

Mentoring is sometimes seen as a "threat" to others in the protégé's role system. In organizations, these can be managers or peers. Managers can feel that their responsibilities are being challenged. Peers may feel that a person being mentored is receiving unfair attention. For young people, a different role system will be in operation, but similar issues may matter.

The literature on mentoring identifies problems with cross-gender[23,24] or cross-race mentoring[25]. These are to do with either the effectiveness of mentoring, or the potential difficulties and complications involved. Awareness of such issues is needed and, where necessary, appropriate policies and guidelines should be developed. These should aim to ensure equality of opportunity, and take account of potential problems.

Many potential or actual mentors may feel burdened by "myths" about what mentoring is; for example that mentors need to be all-wise and wonderfully patient individuals. These myths may be reinforced by both the definition of mentoring which is adopted, and any evaluation of mentoring that is undertaken. It may be appropriate to build in some elements of "negotiation" to the formation of mentoring partnerships, so that both the learner and the mentor are clear on what the relationship is all about for them.

This last issue also returns us to a central argument; can effective mentoring ever be formally created? Some definitions of mentoring, and what it is all about, would emphasize factors that stress the strong interpersonal chemistry and commitment which are involved in effective mentoring relationships[5]. The popularity of formal mentoring schemes, despite the lack of effective

evaluation, would seem to indicate that formal mentoring can be as effective as “natural” mentoring. Others would argue that formal schemes are not a good option in any event[26]. It is possible to create effective mentoring only by creating the right “conditions” for mentoring to emerge, rather than by artificially prescribing mentoring relationships.

In the case of mentoring within work organizations, that may be a valid point. When mentoring is essentially about a relationship between organizations (Compacts, with schools and industry) or focused on brief periods (such as work-based learning in higher education), then there would appear to be no substitute for formal schemes. Perhaps the more important issue is not formalizing mentoring as such, but retaining some of the core elements of informal mentoring: a one-to-one relationship, where personal (or individual) and professional issues are both dealt with.

Note

Throughout this article the author uses the term “learner” rather than “protégé” or “mentee” to describe the other half of the mentoring relationship. This reflects a desire to avoid using terms which people find problematic, rather than any particular connotations that the term “learner” has.

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The Problem with Research in Mentoring

David Clutterbuck

One of the remarkable aspects of mentoring is how extensively researched the topic has been. However, extensively-researched isn't the same as well-researched. Having had to trawl through hundreds of papers and a fair pile of dissertations for my own current doctoral research, I soon came to echo the thoughts of an anonymous business school faculty member who said; "When I was a journalist, I thought journalism was just badly-done academic research; now I'm an academic, I realise that research is often just badly-done journalism!"

Over recent months, I have been trying to establish what valid research in this area would entail. I have been less interested in issues such as sample size (though this clearly is an issue – the original research by Kathy Kram, on which so much subsequent research has been based, had a sample size of just 28 pairs¹) or the accuracy of the mathematical analysis, as in the overall logic and structure of the research. I've also been concerned with that critical, but so often neglected question, how relevant and useful is this to the practitioner? What follows is to a large extent a summary of my own (painful) learning about research method in this field.

In a review (which we have yet to finish and publish) of formality and informality in mentoring, David Megginson and I found an almost totally divergence between the conclusions of academic papers and actual experience in the field. We concluded that this divergence was at least partially the result of failings in the structure and definition of much of the research.

Source: *The International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching*, 1(1) (2003): 42–45.

So how does one test the quality and value of research in this field? Like the UK's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, in his approach to joining the Euro, I have been using five tests. These are:

1. **Definition** Is it clear what kind of relationship is being measured? Some research mixes participants in structured programmes with those in informal relationships and some even with relationships, where one party does not realise they are part of a mentoring duo. Some papers mix in-line relationships with off-line (leaving aside the argument as to whether it is possible to be a mentor in a boss-subordinate relationship).

There are, of course, dozens of definitions of mentoring, yet many studies fail to be precise about which definition they are following. Many, mainly US-originated definitions, emphasises sponsorship and hands-on help by the mentor; others, mostly European and Australian in origin, see such behaviours as unacceptable within the mentor role. Unless it is clear, which model is being followed in a particular piece of research, it is often impossible to draw conclusions with confidence, or to make comparisons with other studies. Meta-studies and literature reviews may compound the problem, because they tend to begin from the (false) assumption that everyone is measuring the same phenomenon.

The issue is made even more complex by the recognition by some researchers in the area that multiple, simultaneous mentoring relationships are also a common factor. Clearly, the dynamics of one relationship within a web of others may be different from those of a single, intensive mentoring dyad.

To increase the validity of research in mentoring, it is necessary in my view to provide a precise definition of exactly what kind of relationship is being measured and to ensure that all the samples lie within that definition. Some research has attempted to get round this problem by asking people about broad helping relationships, but then the data is too general to apply meaningfully to specific types of mentoring relationship. Recognising that mentoring is a class of phenomena and that each phenomenon needs to be investigated in its own right, would be a major step forward in research quality in this field. (An interesting analogy is in the field of medical research, specifically into the origins of autism. Almost no progress towards an understanding of this condition had been made until recently, when researchers began to recognise it as a number of related and interacting sub-conditions.)

2. **Context** A wide variety of contextual actors can affect the relationship and the scheme. At a minimum, these will impact upon the intent (their own or that of third parties, such as the organisation) mentor and mentee bring to the relationship.

Other contextual variables include the level of training participants receive, the way in which they are matched (with or without an element of choice) and whether the relationship is supported as it develops (for example, by additional sources of learning and/or advice). Other contextual factors might include differences in race, age or gender.

Trying to account for all the contextual variables that might apply, especially when a research sample is drawn from many organisations or schemes would be very difficult to do without vast sample sizes. This suggests the need for relatively narrow selection criteria – for example, senior managers, in company-sponsored mentoring relationships of at least six months duration with a paid external, professional mentor; or young males 12–15 from deprived backgrounds at risk, paired with male role models between 10 and 20 years older. The more variables subsequently introduced (eg gender variation), the larger the sample size will need to be to draw conclusions with confidence.

3. **Process** provides another set of variables. It is clear, for example, that e-mentoring differs in some fundamental aspects from traditional face-to-face mentoring. Simple process factors, such as frequency of meeting, can have a major impact on outcomes. At the very least, studies need to allow for or try to eliminate such variables. Studies attempting to link personality to success of mentoring relationships, for example, would be better grounded if they also investigated the degree, to which personality factors resulted in specific behaviours, perceived as helpful or unhelpful to the maintenance of the relationship and to the achievement of its goals. (This classification into maintenance and achievement oriented behaviours appears to be very relevant across the whole area of mentoring relationship dynamics.)
4. **Outcomes** Much of the research literature uses Kram's functions of a mentor (or the subsequent recasting of the functions by Noe²) as measures of outcomes. Yet the functions are a mixture of behaviours, enablers and outcomes and so for the most part unsuitable for this use. (Kram herself did not intend them to be used in this way, I am sure.) Moreover, outcomes are almost never related back to goals/intent. The reality is that different types of mentoring relationship have different expectations of outcomes; and even different dyads within the same scheme. Failure to recognise these means that the purpose of the relationship is ignored – which suggests the research fails the fifth test, that of relevance.

It is also remarkable how few studies attempt to measure outcomes for both parties. Yet mentoring is an interaction between two partners, with the outcomes highly dependent on the motivation of both.

5. **Relevance** The so-what test is a standard element in guidance on research design, but it seems often to be honoured mostly in the breach. My own experience has been that I struggled to get co-operation from companies until I was able to articulate very clearly the practical value both of the

expected research outcomes and of participating in the research process itself. Even then, maintaining commitment for a longitudinal study has proven very difficult. I recommend anyone designing future studies to convene at any early stage of research design a panel of practitioners – those, who the research is intended to inform and benefit – to help shape and ground the project.

There are many other failings in the general literature on mentoring – for example, the paucity of longitudinal studies, with a few exceptions³ (I sometimes despair of ever completing mine!). However, these many holes provide many opportunities for useful research and it is possible – with care – to mine the literature for useful indicators that can be tested in well-defined contexts. In the future, I am convinced that our understanding of mentoring will be enhanced by making the same shift of emphasis as the autism researchers, focusing on specific definitions and contexts to begin with and gradually building a richer, more complex model than currently exists.

Notes

1. Kram herself makes the valuable point that sample size has to be relevant to the issue being investigated. So for a small sample, qualitative study may be appropriate to initial investigations of a topic, but less appropriate when there is already a body of accepted theory and practice. In addition, small samples investigated in depth may be more revealing in multiple complex relationship dynamics.
2. For example, see Noe, R.A (1988), 'An investigation of the determinants of successful assigned mentoring relationships', *Personnel Psychology*, 41, pp.457–479.
3. See, for example, Hunt, D, 'A longitudinal study of mentor outcomes', *Mentoring International*, volume 6, no's 2/3, Spring 1992, and Seinert, S. 'The effectiveness of facilitated mentoring: a longitudinal quasi-experiment' *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, no. 54, pp.483–502, 1999.

An Examination of Organizational Predictors of Mentoring Functions

Regina M. O'Neill

Both organizational researchers and practitioners alike consider mentoring an increasingly important topic in today's complex organizations. As organizations undergo major change, encountering global competition and environmental turbulence, they are faced with increasing pressure to develop and maintain leaders. Organizations in this new millennium will continue to face difficult corporate challenges that arise from changing demographics, downsizing, mergers, increasing competition, and rapid changes in technology. In response, many organizations establish mentoring programs because they serve a business purpose as well as help meet the developmental needs of employees (Catalyst, 1993).

Mentoring relationships are important because they have the potential to offer both organizations and their members a wealth of benefits. Recent studies have shown that *protégés* can benefit from mentoring with career recognition and success, as well as increased compensation and career satisfaction (Chao *et al.*, 1992; Dreher and Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1992; Koberg *et al.*, 1994; Ragins and Cotton, 1999; Ragins *et al.*, 2000; Turban and Dougherty, 1994). In addition, mentors can benefit from rejuvenation, increased promotion rates, an increased power base, and access to work-related information (Allen *et al.*, 1997; Aryee *et al.*, 1996; Burke *et al.*, 1994, 1991; Ragins and Scandura, 1999). Moreover, organizations can benefit from opportunities for enhanced organizational learning, competitive advantage, strategic functioning, employee motivation, better job performance, and executive development

and retention (Kram and Hall, 1989; Mullen and Noe, 1999; Viator and Scandura, 1991; Wilson and Elman, 1990).

Given its potential benefits, organizations are increasingly interested in establishing mentoring programs (e.g., Armstrong *et al.*, 2002; Raabe and Beehr, 2003; Viator and Scandura, 1991). As organizations continue to encourage and support mentoring at work, it is increasingly important to understand the role of different organizational factors in the establishment and success of these relationships. Previous research has shown that organizational characteristics influence individual attitudes and behaviors (Berger and Cummings, 1979; Mowday and Sutton, 1993; Rousseau, 1978). Thus, organizational characteristics may affect the extent to which mentoring is valued and provided.

Researchers have long agreed that organizational characteristics can influence the frequency, quality and outcomes of mentoring (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kanter, 1977; Kram, 1985). Moreover, scholars have called for research that considers how individuals are influenced by the organization context in which they act (Cappelli and Sherer, 1991). Nevertheless, there have been surprisingly few studies that have considered the effects of organizational factors on mentoring. Whitely, Dougherty and Dreher (1992) examined the effects of organizational position and hierarchical level on mentoring, and Roberg *et al.* (1994) examined the effects of organizational tenure and organizational rank on mentoring. In addition, Allen *et al.* (1997) and Aryee *et al.* (1996) examined the effects of organizational factors on people's motivation to mentor. Clearly there is a need for more research because, as Kram suggests, "features of an organization can either create or interfere with conditions that support mentoring" (1985: 60). Some of the organizational variables that are likely to have an important influence on mentoring include position, context (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985), and type (Kanter, 1977). These variables are important because they represent a broad organizational perspective that can provide insights into the ways organizational settings can influence mentoring.

Existing studies typically have examined either overall mentoring or broad categories of mentoring established in early research (e.g., Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1992). While research has examined two or three broad categories of mentoring, these categories encompass a rich and complex set of helping behaviors that are related, yet distinct (Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988a; Zey, 1984). In addition, the degree to which each of these specific mentoring functions is provided, as well as their range or comprehensiveness, is an important factor in these relationships (Clawson, 1980; Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988a, 1988b). Interestingly, however, there are no studies that examine the details of mentoring behaviors. Therefore, research that examines specific mentoring functions has the potential to expand our understanding of the richness of mentoring.

In sum, while researchers agree that organizational factors are important in understanding mentoring, to date, few empirical studies have examined that

relationship. Moreover, existing research on mentoring has typically examined the broad categories of mentoring rather than specific mentoring functions. This study extends existing research by examining the influence of three organizational predictors—organizational position, organizational context, and organizational type—on specific mentoring functions. To accomplish this, the article first provides an overview of mentoring. Next, it discusses the ways that organizational position, organizational context, and organizational type can influence specific mentoring functions. It then presents the methods, analyses, and results. The paper concludes with a discussion of the limitations of this study, as well as future research directions and implications for practice.

Overview of Mentoring

A mentoring relationship is one in which a more experienced person helps a less experienced organization member develop and advance at work (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985; Levinson *et al.*, 1978). There are many different mentoring relationships that can occur at various stages of a person's life (Levinson *et al.*, 1978; Zey, 1984). Research suggests that mentoring relationships are critical at work, where individuals must develop solid technical, interpersonal, and political skills within their occupation (Kram, 1983), as well as balance the demands of both a professional and personal life (Kanter, 1977). Researchers have described a mentoring relationship in its simplest terms as consisting of a mentor and a *protégé* (e.g., Hunt and Michael, 1983). Typically, a mentor is an experienced, high ranking, influential, senior organizational member who is committed to providing upward mobility and support to a *protégé's* personal and professional development (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988a). A *protégé* is typically in the early stages of his or her career and has high career aspirations (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kanter, 1977; Kram, 1985).

Mentoring relationships can be either informally established or formally mandated by the organization (Ragins and Cotton, 1999; Ragins *et al.*, 2000). An informal relationship develops when two people are interested in establishing a relationship. Either the mentor or the *protégé* might initiate an informal mentoring relationship. The *protégé* will often attract the attention of the mentor through outstanding job performance or similar interests (Noe, 1988a). Likewise, a *protégé* may seek out a more experienced organizational member to answer work-related questions or explain the ropes of the organization (Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988a). A formal relationship arises when the organization assigns *protégés* to mentors (Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988b). While many mentorships are informally established, organizations have recognized the importance of the relationship and have created formal mentoring programs (Armstrong *et al.*, 2002; Noe, 1988b; Ragins and Cotton, 1999).

Kram's (1985) influential research on mentoring provided the basis for identifying the developmental help these relationships provide within two

general categories: career and psychosocial. In addition, subsequent research identified three categories of mentoring: career, psychosocial, and role modeling (e.g., Scandura, 1992). Within these broad categories, mentoring relationships are characterized by a rich and complex set of helping behaviors that are related yet distinct (Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988a, 1988b; Zey, 1984). Kram (1985) identified nine specific career and psychosocial mentoring functions that have been used in dozens of studies.

Career functions enhance career success and include exposure and visibility, coaching, sponsorship, protection, and challenging assignments. *Exposure and visibility* involves creating opportunities for important decision makers to see and appreciate a person's competence, abilities, and special talents. *Coaching* is sharing ideas, providing feedback, and suggesting strategies for accomplishing work objectives. *Sponsorship* is supporting, acknowledging, and advocating for a person. *Protection* minimizes the likelihood of being involved in controversial situations and reduces unnecessary risks. *Challenging assignments* involves designing or assigning work tasks that are difficult and challenging.

Psychosocial functions enhance *protégés* sense of competence, confidence, effectiveness, and esteem and include role modeling, counseling, acceptance and confirmation, and friendship. *Role modeling* is behaving and acting in a way to emulate; a role model displays appropriate attitudes, values, and behaviors to learn and follow. *Counseling* involves listening to and discussing personal and professional problems, concerns, and fears that the person may have and offering advice, showing empathy, and caring. *Acceptance and confirmation* involves conveying positive regard and respect and by demonstrating faith in someone. *Friendship* is provided by interacting informally at work, and by a willingness to discuss a variety of topics.

Organizational Predictors of Mentoring

Organizational Position

One contextual predictor that has been given attention in mentoring research is the *protégé's* position within the organization (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988a; Ragins, 1989; Whitely *et al.*, 1992). While scholars agree that organizational position may be a critical factor in affecting the likelihood of mentoring, there has been little research that empirically examines this relationship. In one study of business school graduates, Whitely *et al.* (1992) found that people in managerial positions reported receiving more career mentoring than those in professional positions; however, their study did not examine psychosocial support. In addition, Koeborg *et al.*'s (1994) study found that *protégés* in upper-level management positions reported receiving more mentoring than those in professional positions.

Existing research on positional predictors of mentoring has contrasted managerial versus professional positions (Whitely *et al.*, 1992). Managerial positions such as a vice president or a supervisor focus more on vertical relationships while professional positions such as loan officers or consultants focus more on lateral workflow (Child and Ellis, 1973; Whitely, 1984). Because career functions have a stronger effect on career advancement than psychosocial functions (e.g., Chao *et al.*, 1992). Managers may receive more career mentoring than their professional counterparts. Moreover, because *protégés* in managerial positions are more likely to have access to people at higher organizational levels than *protégés* in professional positions, they have more opportunity to interact with them (Whitely *et al.*, 1992; Zey, 1984) and, thus, they may have higher level mentors who can provide career mentoring.

In contrast, professionals may prefer to contribute within their specialties rather than move into managerial positions (Hunt and Michael, 1983). Because professionals may see professional contributions as a more important indicator of success than upward movement, they may look to a mentor to help build their confidence around their level of professional influence (Hunt and Michael, 1983). In fact, scholars agree that a mentor can help a *protégé* bolster his or her self-esteem and self-confidence (Levinson *et al.*, 1978; Noe, 1988a; Whitely *et al.*, 1991). Moreover, research has suggested that a sense of confidence is primarily psychological in nature, and emotional support helps mobilize psychological resources (e.g., Caplan and Killilea, 1974). As a result, a professional's sense of confidence will most likely be influenced most by emotional support. Consequently, professionals may be more likely to receive higher levels of psychosocial mentoring than their managerial counterparts.

Hypothesis 1a: *Protégés* in managerial positions will report more career functions (exposure and visibility, coaching, championing, protection, challenging) than *protégés* professional positions.

Hypothesis 1b: *Protégés* in professional positions will report more psychosocial functions (role modeling, counseling acceptance and confirmation, friendship) than *protégés* in managerial positions.

Organizational Context

Organizational scholars have theorized that different organizational contexts will affect the frequency of mentoring (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kanter, 1977; Kram, 1985) – some will encourage the existence of mentoring while others will not. Organizational context is considered important because in an organization that is conducive to mentoring, individuals tend to be more satisfied with their jobs and are thus less likely to leave their employment (Kram, 1985; Levinson *et al.*, 1978). While mentoring scholars agree on the importance of organizational context, to date, no empirical studies have been conducted.

A cooperative and a competitive organization are two types of context that will affect mentoring. Organizational culture is a large concept that encompasses varied perspectives (e.g., Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Cooke and Rousseau, 1988; Martin and Siehl, 1983; Quinn, 1988); cooperation and competition can be viewed as two different pieces of an organization's culture (Cooke and Rousseau, 1988). Early work by Deutsch (1949) proposed a useful way to distinguish these two types of contexts. In a cooperative context, people believe that their goal attainment helps others reach their goals. In a competitive context, people believe that individuals can achieve their goals only to the extent that others fail to achieve theirs.

A cooperative context is characterized as one in which people place a high priority on constructive relationships; members are expected to be cohesive, friendly, open, and sensitive to the satisfaction of their work group, dealing with others in a friendly way and sharing feelings and thoughts (Cooke and Rousseau, 1988; Deutsch, 1949, 1973; Tjosvold, 1984). In a cooperative context, there is an emphasis on shared values, cohesiveness, participativeness, and employee development (Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Quinn, 1988).

Scholars have suggested that the more positive and conducive an organization's systems and processes are to mentoring, the more pervasive and effective these relationships will be (Chao *et al.*, 1992; Kram, 1985). While there is no empirical research that explicitly examines the effect of a cooperative organizational context on mentoring, Koberg *et al.* (1994) found a relationship between mentoring and intragroup trust. In addition, Allen *et al.* (1997) presented results that organizations with a culture that was supportive of developmental activity created a positive environment for mentoring. Finally, other studies have found that in a cooperative context, there are higher expectations of assistance, more assistance, greater support, and more trusting and friendly attitudes between superiors and subordinates than are found in a competitive context (Tjosvold, 1981, 1985; Tjosvold *et al.*, 1983). In fact, Kram (1985) describes a context in which mentoring is most likely to develop as one in which openness and trust are valued by the members.

In contrast, in a competitive context, people operate in a "win-lose" framework and believe they must work against (rather than with) their peers to succeed. In a competitive context, winning is valued and members are rewarded for outperforming one another. People in such organizations are encouraged to turn the job into a contest and never appear to lose (Cooke and Rousseau, 1988; Deutsch, 1949, 1973; Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Tjosvold, 1984). This environment is characterized as tough and demanding, with an emphasis on winning (Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Quinn, 1988).

In a competitive context, mentoring is not likely to exist. In fact, scholars suggest that mentoring is more likely to exist in organizations that emphasize work groups, group decision making, and sharing of problems and responsibilities (Ragins, 1989). None of these characteristics describe a competitive context. While there are no studies in the mentoring literature that explicitly

examine the effect of competitive context on mentoring, research in other arenas has identified an important finding about competitive contexts. For example, a study of power and goal interdependence by Tjosvold (1985) found that supervisors in a competitive environment had the ability but were not motivated to assist their subordinates.

Hypothesis 2a: *Protégés* in cooperative organizational contexts will report a positive relationship with each mentoring function (exposure and visibility, coaching, championing, protection, challenging assignment, role modeling, counseling, acceptance and confirmation, friendship).

Hypothesis 2b: *Protégés* in competitive organizational context will report a negative relationship with each mentoring function (exposure and visibility, coaching, championing, protection, challenging assignments, role modeling, counseling, acceptance and confirmation, friendship).

Organizational Type

Organizations can be characterized as having either organic or mechanistic structures (Burns and Stalker, 1961). Previous research has addressed the influence of mechanistic and organic systems on worker outcomes. For example, scholars suggest that a bureaucratic or hierarchical organization will negatively affect workers (Berger and Cummings, 1979; Dalton *et al.*, 1980; Marx, 1961). A limited amount of research has extended this logic, and has linked organization type to mentoring. For example, in her influential book on corporations and corporate structure, Kanter (1977) identifies the importance of mentoring, and suggests that an organization with enthusiasm for innovation is more likely to encourage mentoring than one with conservative resistance. While these scholars point to the importance of organizational type, to date, no empirical studies have specifically examined the relationship between organizational type and mentoring.

An organic-type organization has a low level of centralization and an emphasis on organizational flexibility, adaptability and innovation (Likert, 1967; Mintzberg, 1983). These systems emphasize participation by organizational members (Courtright *et al.*, 1989). An organic system emphasizes adaptability, flexibility, and creativity where organizational members are encouraged to be innovative and take risks; in this environment, uncertainty and ambiguity are typical (Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Quinn, 1988). These conditions of uncertainty are likely to foster "garbage can" decisions, which encourage flexibility in communication, negotiation, and action in the organization (Cohen *et al.*, 1976). An organization is associated with people who are highly dependent on each other and are encouraged to communicate; the high level of interdependence requires a high level of interpersonal trust to maintain coordination (Boon and Holmes, 1991; Creed and Miles, 1996). Thus, mentoring is likely to take place in an organic-type organization.

In contrast, a mechanistic system emphasizes rules and procedures and the predictability of organizational members' behavior (Clegg, 1981). The mechanistic organization emphasizes centralized authority, many rules and procedures, precise role specialization, and narrow spans of control (Likert, 1967). This system is characterized by a predictable, efficient and stable environment (Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Quinn, 1988). A mechanistic system such as a bureaucracy or hierarchy often produces worker alienation and job dissatisfaction (Marx, 1961). The mechanistic environment will likely discourage people from active involvement and participation with other organizational members because it emphasizes high goal definition, precise lines of authority, high task definition, and routine solutions to problems. Thus, a mechanistic type of organization is unlikely to be conducive to mentoring. Indeed, Kram (1985) recognizes that a very hierarchical organization may stifle mentoring. Mechanistic systems are appropriate for stable, predictable conditions (Mintzberg, 1983). And trust is not highly valued (Powell, 1990). In a mechanistic environment, people are alienated and uninvolved with other organizational members and are therefore unlikely to provide any type of mentoring.

Hypothesis 3a: *Protégés* in an organic organizational type will report a positive relationship with each mentoring function (exposure and visibility, coaching, championing, protection, challenging assignments, role modeling, counseling, acceptance and confirmation, friendship).

Hypothesis 3b: *Protégés* in a mechanistic organizational type will report a negative relationship with each mentoring function (exposure and visibility, coaching, championing, protection, challenging assignments, role modeling, counseling, acceptance and confirmation, friendship).

Methods

Sample and Procedure

Survey data were collected from graduates of a top-tier MBA program in the Northeastern part of the United States as part of a larger study of career development among managers. To help create as rich a sample as possible, a total of 2,514 surveys were mailed to MBA graduates representing fifteen previous years' graduating classes. These graduates represented a wide range of various professions, titles, and years of experience. Of the 2,514 potential respondents, 250 indicated that they were not employed (e.g., between jobs, raising children full-time, attending school full-time) and 105 surveys were returned as undeliverable, leaving a potential sample of 2,159. After two reminders, a total of 783 surveys were returned, yielding a 36% response rate, well within the acceptable range for survey data (Dillman, 1978).

In the survey, respondents were asked to identify a person they considered a mentor. A general definition of a mentor was provided as follows: "someone of greater experience who has taken an active interest in your personal and

professional development." Those respondents who indicated they had no mentor were instructed to go to the next section and complete the remainder of the survey, while those that reported they did have a mentor provided demographic information on their mentor and answered questions about the mentoring functions that the mentor provides. Of the 743 completed surveys that were returned, 479 respondents indicated they have a mentor, representing the sample for the analyses.

The final sample reporting a mentor was predominantly male (70%), ranged in age from 25 to 55, and averaged 34 years. Just over 89% were Caucasian, 7% were Asian, and the remaining 4% were distributed among African American, Hispanic, and other ethnicities. Respondents indicated an average of 4.32 years of work experience with their current employer (range = 6 months to 21 years), and were employed in finance (27%), marketing (26%), consulting (21%), and operations (5%), with the remaining 21% distributed among general management, accounting, human resource management, sales management, and other specific job types. There were no significant differences in the demographic characteristics of the 479 respondents who reported having a mentor compared with the 264 respondents who reported not having a mentor.

Measures

Mentoring Activities. Thirty-six items were used to measure the nine specific mentoring functions. Because measures have not been consistently used in the literature, and because many mentoring scales have looked at career and psychosocial mentoring functions in aggregate, a scale was developed to measure mentoring activities that are representative of all nine mentoring functions. First, some specific questions were explicitly taken from or adapted from previously developed and used scales (Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988b; Ragins and Cotton, 1999; Whitely *et al.*, 1992). In addition, for some functions, new items were created to supplement existing scales, resulting in four items for each of the nine mentoring functions. For example, for the friendship mentoring function the item "I consider my mentor to be a friend" was taken from the scale used by Scandura and Ragins (1993). In addition, a new item – "My mentor and I discuss our non-work interests" – was developed for the friendship mentoring function. Similarly, for the exposure and visibility mentoring function, the item "My mentor gives me the chance to impress important people" was adapted from the scale used by Ragins and McFarlin (1990). In addition, a new item – "I rely on my mentor for professional visibility" – was developed for the exposure and visibility mentoring function. For all items, respondents indicated the extent to which they receive each mentoring function using a Likert scale of 1 to 7.

The measures of the nine mentoring functions show good reliability. Specifically, the Cronbach alpha reliability estimates for all mentoring functions were acceptably high, ranging from .79 to .91, as reported in Table 1. In addition,

Table 1: Correlations of mentoring functions and organizational predictors

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 Exp. & Visibil.	4.58	1.31	(.79)													
2 Coaching	4.64	1.31	.29**	(.84)												
3 Championing	5.22	1.22	.63**	.39**	(.86)											
4 Protection	3.96	1.36	.57**	.32**	.52**	(.88)										
5 Chall. Assign.	4.49	1.67	.56**	.24**	.37**	.45**	(.91)									
6 Role Model	4.74	1.33	.27**	.34**	.37**	.23**	.10	(.89)								
7 Counseling	4.82	1.40	.08	.39**	.25**	.15**	-.04	.47**	(.87)							
8 Acc. & Conf.	5.64	.98	.31**	.34**	.49**	.26**	.11*	.55**	.52**	(.88)						
9 Friendship	4.08	1.33	.24**	.32**	.29**	.24**	.04	.36**	.56**	.56**	(.83)					
10 Org. Position	2.50	.85	.04	-.07	-.01	.04	-.04	.02	-.03	.08	.00	-				
11 Cooperative	4.68	1.77	.07*	.08	.09	.01	.09	.15**	.19**	.11*	.11*	.19**	(.85)			
12 Competitive	4.54	1.11	.12*	.19**	.19**	.11*	.14**	.10*	-.03	.08	-.07	.02	.11*	(.70)		
13 Organic	4.83	1.25	.13**	.09	.13*	.06	.15**	.19**	.14**	.12**	.06	.16**	.58**	.35**	(.81)	
14 Mechanistic	3.33	1.04	.01	-.08	.02	.03	.01	.09	.06	-.03	.02	.08	.54**	.06	.29**	(.79)

*p < .05, **p < .01.

a series of exploratory factor analyses were conducted to provide preliminary support for the nine distinct mentoring functions. For all analyses, principal factor analysis with varimax rotation was used. First, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted on all 36 of the mentoring items without specifying any particular number of factors. While this solution generated eight factors rather than nine, there was a clear distinction in the factor loadings on the two combined functions of *exposure and visibility* and *championing*, indicating that these two functions may indeed be distinct. All other items loaded onto the expected factors, with the exception of one item in the *friendship* function. Based on these results, a second factor analysis was conducted on all 36 of the mentoring items, specifying a nine-factor solution. Again, with the exception of one *friendship* item, all items loaded on the expected factor. These analyses provide preliminary support for the nine distinct mentoring functions examined in this study.¹

Organizational Position. One item was used to measure organizational position. The question was an open-ended one and was worded "What is your current position title?" Responses were coded so they each fell into one of four categories along a continuum ranging from professional to top management. The first level was the professional level and included position titles such as loan officer, stock broker, and consultant. The second level was lower managerial and included job titles such as manager, associate, and director. The third level was middle managerial and included job titles such as vice president and director. The fourth level was the highest management level, and included job titles such as CEO, president, and partner.

Organizational Context. Items from the Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (Cameron and Quinn, 1999) were used to assess organizational context. Variations of these measures have been used in the past, and have been shown to be reliable and have good validity (Quinn and Spreitzer, 1991). This instrument words questions at the departmental or unit level; for this study questions were reworded slightly so that they are reflective of the organizational context as a whole. All items were rated on a seven-point scale.

Organizational Type. Items from the Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (Cameron and Quinn, 1999) were also used to assess organizational type. Variations of the measures have been used in other studies, and have shown good reliability and validity (Quinn and Spreitzer, 1991). Again, for this study, questions were reworded slightly to reflect the organizational context as a whole. All items were rated on a seven-point scale.

Analyses and Results

Correlations, means, standard deviations, and reliabilities were examined for all scales used in this study (see Table 1). All data were normally distributed and appeared free of problems. The reliability estimates as measured by

Cronbach's alpha ranged from .70 to .90, and are within the range of estimates considered acceptable and interpretable.

The hypotheses were tested using a series of multiple regression analyses. For Hypothesis 1, each of the nine mentoring functions was regressed on organizational position. For Hypothesis 2, each of the nine mentoring functions was regressed on cooperative and competitive contexts. For Hypothesis 3, each of the nine mentoring functions was regressed on organic and mechanistic type.

Table 2 shows the results of the regression analyses of the nine mentoring functions on organizational position. No significant relationships were found between organizational position and each of the nine mentoring functions.

Table 3 shows the results of the regression analyses of the nine mentoring functions on organizational context. In terms of the nine mentoring functions, *role modeling*, *counseling*, *acceptance and confirmation*, and *friendship* were each positively related to a cooperative context, while *exposure and visibility*, *coaching championing*, *protection*, *challenging assignments*, and *role modeling* were each positively related to a competitive context.

Table 4 shows the results of the regression analyses of the nine mentoring functions on organizational type. In terms of the nine mentoring functions, *coaching* was negatively related to mechanistic type, while *exposure and visibility*, *coaching*, *championing*, *challenging assignment*, *role modeling*, *counseling*, and *acceptance and confirmation* were each positively related to organic context

Discussion

Contrary to my hypothesis, there were no significant relationships between organizational position and mentoring. These non-findings may be explained by different sources of mentoring for managers versus professionals. In particular, because managerial positions typically involve extensive verbal interaction with superiors (Whitely, 1984), those in managerial positions may have greater access to mentoring from people in senior positions. In contrast, professional positions focus more on lateral work flow than on vertical relationships (Child and Ellis, 1973). While professionals may not have as much access to support from superiors as managers, the nature of professional positions may foster peer relationships that provide support (Kram, 1985). Thus, because the analyses do not account for the respondents' source of support, additional research should be conducted before strong conclusions can be drawn.

The lack of any significant individual relationships for organizational position might also be explained by other more important predictors of mentoring. For example, Payne (1980) reports that higher-educated and higher-paid people receive more support. Note, however, the educational level is virtually identical for all respondents and that the majority of them are highly paid

Table 2: Regression analysis of mentoring functions on organizational position

Dependent variables	Exposure & visibility	Coaching	Championing	Protection	Challenging assignments	Role modelling	Counseling	Acceptance & confirmation	Friendship
Independent Variable									
Organizational Position	.040	-.070	-.006	.040	-.040	.020	-.490	.080	.070
R ²	.001	.004	.000	.001	.001	.001	.001	.006	.000
Overall F	.550	1.600	.010	.550	.530	.195	.241	2.230	.005

Note: One-tailed tests are reported. Regression coefficients are standardized.

Note: No relationships between mentoring functions and organizational position were found to be significant at $p < .10$, $p < .05$, $p < .01$, or $p < .001$.

Table 3: Regression analysis of mentoring functions on organizational context

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Exposure & visibility</i>	<i>Coaching</i>	<i>Championing</i>	<i>Protection</i>	<i>Challenging assignments</i>	<i>Role modeling</i>	<i>Counseling</i>	<i>Acceptance & confirmation</i>	<i>Friendship</i>
Independent Variables									
Cooperative Context	.05	.06	.06	.004	.07	.14**	.19***	.10*	.12*
Competitive Context	.17*	.18***	.20***	.120*	.14**	.10*	-.04	.08	-.07
R ²	.02	.04	.05	.01	.03	.03	.04	.02	.02
Overall F	3.45*	7.40**	9.09***	2.78*	5.18**	6.35**	7.49***	3.74*	3.69*

Note: One-tailed tests are reported. Regression coefficients are standardized.

*p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01, ****p < .001.

Table 4: Regression analysis of mentoring functions on organizational type

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Exposure & visibility</i>	<i>Coaching</i>	<i>Championing</i>	<i>Protection</i>	<i>Challenging assignments</i>	<i>Role modeling</i>	<i>Counseling</i>	<i>Acceptance & confirmation</i>	<i>Friendship</i>
Independent Variables									
Organic Type	.14**	.12*	.13*	.05	.17***	.17***	.12*	.13*	.610
Mechanistic Type	-.03	-.12*	-.01	.01	-.04	.04	.03	-.07	.003
R ²	.02	.02	.02	.003	.03	.04	.02	.02	.006
Overall F	3.41*	3.95*	2.93*	.660	5.23**	7.00***	3.49*	3.41*	.050

Note: One-tailed tests are reported. Regression coefficients are standardized.

*p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01, ****p < .001

(47.3% reported compensation of \$100,000 or above). Thus, while the effects of education and salary may be more important than the effects of organizational position, there is not enough variance in this sample to examine this possibility in a meaningful way. Future research with different samples will provide insights into this possibility.

As expected, there was support for a positive relationship between cooperative context and four of the nine mentoring functions: *role modeling*, *counseling*, *acceptance and confirmation*, and *friendship*. Interestingly, all are psychosocial types of mentoring. However, there were no significant relationships between cooperative context and any of the career-related mentoring functions. One possible explanation is that because a cooperative context places high priority on assistance (Tjosvold, 1981; Tjosvold *et al.*, 1983), career-related mentoring functions are not needed. Moreover, mentors may provide psychosocial functions that are encouraged in a trusting and friendly cooperative context. As Kram (1985) noted, psychosocial functions are more personal than career functions.

Surprisingly, contrary to my hypothesis, a major finding from this study is the **positive** and significant relationships between competitive context and six of the nine mentoring functions: *exposure and visibility*, *coaching*, *championing*, *protection*, *challenging assignments*, and *role modeling*. While researchers have suggested that mentors are likely to refrain from helping younger professionals in a competitive environment (Hunt and Michael, 1983), this study indicates that certain types of mentoring – primarily career-related functions – are provided in a competitive context. One explanation for these findings could be that career-related mentoring is provided in a competitive context where it is needed more than in a cooperative environment. In addition, these findings may be partially influenced by respondents who indicated they have mentors outside of their organization. For example, some respondents may actively seek mentors outside of their organization to help them manage the competitive context of where they work. Finally, because some respondents' mentor did not work in the same organization, the level of competitiveness may vary across the sample. Future research should examine this possibility more closely.

As expected, there was support for a positive relationship between organic organizational type and seven of the nine mentoring functions: *exposure and visibility*, *coaching*, *championing*, *challenging assignments*, *role modeling*, *counseling*, and *acceptance and confirmation*. These findings point to the beneficial effects of an organic-type organization including member participation (Courtright *et al.*, 1989), communication, and interdependence (Boon and Holmes, 1991; Creed and Miles, 1996). The results also highlight the different effects of organic type on different types of mentoring. Because the findings indicate that some mentoring functions are affected more significantly than others, they underscore the importance of examining mentoring functions individually as all are not impacted in the same way.

Another finding of this study is the expected negative relationship between mechanistic organizational type and *coaching*. Perhaps because mechanistic type organizations are appropriate for stable, predictable conditions (Mintzberg, 1983), *coaching* may be considered unnecessary in this consistently enduring environment, and is therefore not provided. However, there were no other significant relationships between mechanistic type and the other mentoring functions, perhaps because mechanistic systems emphasize rules, procedures, and the predictability of organizational members' behavior (Clegg, 1981; Likert, 1967). As Wilson and Elman (1990) warn, obsolete values may continue through mentoring relationships; thus, these findings highlight the importance of recognizing that a mechanistic type of organization remains stable from generation to generation. In addition, the non-significant relationships may result from organizational members' lack of emotional involvement and communication with each other. Because many types of mentoring cannot be organizationally mandated (e.g., *friendship* or *championing*) and because relationships with others are not likely to be valued in this system, it is unlikely that any relationship will exist. Kram's (1985) observation that mechanistic organizations can stifle mentoring in general is particularly salient in light of these findings because they highlight the importance of a suitable type of organization that wishes to effectively encourage mentoring relationships.

Conclusion, Limitations, Future Research Directions and Implications for Practice

This study takes a step in extending research on mentoring by examining the influence of organizational position, organizational context, and organizational type on nine specific mentoring functions. The findings suggest some interesting directions for future research and point to some practical implications.

While this study provides valuable insights on the effects of organizational position, context, and type on mentoring, future research should extend this work by considering other antecedents of mentoring. First, research should consider other organizational predictors of mentoring. For example, Kanter (1977) suggests that an organization with enthusiasm for innovation is more likely to encourage mentoring relationships than one with conservative resistance. Moreover, contextual factors such as the organization's hierarchy, the performance appraisal system, the reward structure, and the nature of task design will also affect the likelihood of mentoring (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Kanter, 1977; Kram, 1985). Second, research should consider the role of individual predictors of mentoring. For example, a *protégé's* past performance, personality profile, and expectations can either help or hinder the chances of attracting a mentor and having a successful mentoring relationship (Armstrong *et al.*, 2002; Turban and Dougherty, 1994; Young and Perrewé, 2004). Expanding on these studies, one interesting avenue for future research, for example,

is to consider individual characteristics such as *protégé* personality in terms of their moderating effects on the relationship between organizational factors and mentoring. Future research that examines both individual and organizational predictors of mentoring will enhance this study's findings.

This study provides interesting insights into the relationship between organizational factors and mentoring as reported from *protégés'* perspective. Future research should extend this research with a focus on the mentor. For example, building on the research stream that indicates careers cross organizational boundaries (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), future research should examine the relationship between organizational factors and mentors compared with internal versus external mentors. Similarly, because mentor characteristics influence these relationships (e.g., Armstrong *et al.*, 2002), future research should consider various mentor characteristics as well as demographics. Finally, this study asked respondents to identify a single mentor. Because recent research (e.g., Higgins and Kram, 2001) has pointed to the importance of understanding networks of mentors, future research should extend this study by examining the effects of organizational position, context, and type on mentoring networks.

While most research has considered the benefits of mentoring, recent research has begun to examine its negative side (Eby and Allen, 2002; Eby *et al.*, 2000; Feldman, 1999; O'Neill and Sankowsky, 2001; Scandura, 1998). Though most mentoring relationships are in fact positive ones, this stream of research has provided illuminating insights into how some mentoring can have a dysfunctional aspect to it. Investigation into the ways that organizational characteristics can influence positive as well as negative mentoring relationships will provide insights into these relationships and the organizations in which they exist.

At a practical level, this study is valuable given that current organizational and environmental conditions have heightened the interest in implementing policies designed to encourage and support mentoring. More exactly, many companies, recognizing the strategic value in educating, developing, motivating, and retaining employees, have established mentoring programs to facilitate the learning and growth of their members. However, many of these programs have met with mixed success, perhaps in part because it is unclear how different organizational factors influence the likelihood of specific mentoring functions. This study is of value to practitioners in two ways because it identifies both positive and negative predictors of specific mentoring functions. First, if we can understand both the positive and negative predictors of mentoring, formal policies can be designed to encourage relationships that are meaningful and enriching for organizations and their members. Second, as companies learn more about each of the nine specific mentoring functions, they can understand what functions are most valuable to their organizations and members. This information will help organizations allocate limited resources by encouraging the most appropriate and effective mentoring behaviors for

their specific organization. Future research must consider these issues as it continues to refine and extend this work.

While this study provides some noteworthy findings that contribute to existing research on mentoring, it is not without its limitations. For example, single-source data bias may limit the generalizability of this study. In addition, because respondents were graduates of one MBA program, its generalizability to other populations may be limited. Future research using comparative data from specific organizations should expand on the present study to examine the effects of organizational predictors on mentoring with other samples.

As organizations continue to establish formal mentoring programs (e.g., Armstrong *et al.*, 2002; Raabe and Beehr, 2003; Viator and Scandura, 1991), it will become increasingly important to understand the role of different organizational factors in both informal as well as formal mentoring relationships. While this study takes a step in understanding the influence of organizational factors on mentoring, it did not distinguish the effects of formal versus informal relationships. Thus, future research should expand this work by considering what differences might exist in how organizational factors influence formal versus informal mentoring relationships. In doing so, research insights will be gained and formally supported organizational mentoring initiatives can be best designed to reflect the organization in which these relationships will exist.

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Construct Equivalence across Groups: An Unexplored Issue in Mentoring Research

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A mentor is defined as an influential individual with advanced knowledge who is committed to providing upward support to the protégé's career (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). Research on mentoring in organizations has indicated an array of positive outcomes, such as increased job performance, promotions, salary, job satisfaction, and reduced stress and turnover (Baugh, Lankau, & Scandura, 1996; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Lankau & Scandura, 2002; Scandura, 1992). The benefits of mentoring relationships to protégés are also studied in academic settings, and many colleges and universities have implemented mentoring programs (Johnson, 1989; Young & Perrewé, 2000). The extent to which the mentor fulfills mentoring functions is also important within an educational setting. Students report psychosocial support as the most important mentoring function, including offering encouragement and increasing self-confidence (Ugbah & Williams, 1989). Also, mentors who serve as role models encourage students to become more involved in learning (Allen, Russell, & Maetzke, 1997). Educational research suggests that the more invested the students are in the learning process, the greater their satisfaction will be with their educational experiences (Astin, 1984).

Kram (1983) suggested that mentoring relationships provide particular forms of support to the protégé, which have been labeled "mentoring functions."

These functions have been conceptualized as vocational support (career coaching), psychosocial support, and role modeling (Burke, 1984; Kram, 1983; Scandura, 1992). Vocational support provides career advancement to the protégé through functions such as providing visibility, coaching, and protection (Kram, 1985). Through these career support functions, the mentor provides exposure to challenging work assignments, provides coaching to learn the ropes of the organization, and nominates the protégé for promotions. Psychosocial functions include friendship and counseling, which are more related to the individual's advancement on a personal level, and this benefit may carry over to other spheres of life (Kram, 1985). These functions enhance the protégé's sense of competence and effectiveness and may alleviate work-related stress (Baugh et al., 1996). Role modeling refers to the processes where the protégé respects and emulates the mentor. The mentor serves as an object of admiration and sets a desirable example with which the protégé identifies. Kram (1985) suggested that the more functions provided by the mentor, the more beneficial the relationship will be to the protégé. Indeed, the degree of mentoring functions served by the mentor is related to protégé's satisfaction with the mentoring relationship (Allen et al., 1997).

Mentoring research has been rapidly developing over the past two decades. Much of this research largely focused on the benefits that accrue to protégés by having a mentor support their career (Kram, 1985). Until recently, the potential negative aspects of mentoring relations have not been thoroughly investigated (Eby, Lockwood, Butts, & Simon, 2002; Scandura, 1998; Williams, Scandura, & Hamilton, 2001). Therefore, more research is needed to understand mentoring relationships in which protégés report negative experiences.

Recently, Ragins, Cotton, and Miller (2000) found that the attitudes of protégés who reported marginal satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their mentor were equivalent to or even sometimes worse than those of individuals without mentors. However, observed differences in this important finding may also reflect the fact that the same mentoring instrument might be measuring different constructs in different groups rather than suggesting that the groups vary on the same constructs (Cheung & Rensvold, 2000; Whiteside-Mansell & Corwyn, 2003).

When there are differences in mentoring experiences, appropriate instruments should be used to capture the dynamics in each type of relationship. It is necessary to confirm that researchers are still measuring the same mentoring construct when the protégé reports dissatisfaction. Therefore, ensuring construct comparability when testing for cross-group differences is of paramount importance in building a nomological network for mentoring research (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955; Little, 2000). Consequently, a major issue in testing and assessment is the applicability of instruments across different groups. Differential appropriateness of an instrument may indicate lack of equivalence, meaning that the test scores do not have the same meaning across groups.

Thus, before interpreting scale score differences across groups, researchers should demonstrate that the members of these groups share a common understanding of the scale indicators (Rensvold, 2002).

Research on mentoring implies that the presence of a mentor may not lead to positive outcomes unless the mentoring relationship is one with which the protégé is satisfied (Allen et al., 1997; Ragins et al., 2000). However, this conclusion assumes measurement invariance across relationships of varying quality. Research testing for factorial invariance is needed for the construct validation of mentoring. An important assumption in testing for mean differences is equivalence of measurement across groups; however, in substantive research, this assumption is rarely tested directly (Byrne, 1989). After almost two decades of research, the question of measurement invariance of mentoring still remains relatively unexplored.

The purpose of this article is to assess whether the mentoring construct is comparable across satisfied and unsatisfied protégés. Researchers should no longer treat the stability of measurement as a "given" in cross-group comparisons (Riordan & Vandenberg, 1994). Yet there are no studies investigating the factorial stability of mentoring across satisfying and dissatisfying relationships.

A multiple group confirmatory factor analysis will be employed to assess factorial invariance across two groups: protégés in satisfying relationships and protégés in marginal and dissatisfying relationships. Marginal relationships occur when mentors disappoint protégés or do not meet their developmental needs. These mentors fall midway on a continuum anchored with highly satisfying relationships on one end and highly dissatisfying relationships on the other (Ragins et al., 2000). If factorial invariance is plausible, then the second goal of this article is to assess whether the indicators measure the factors in comparable ways across groups. Thus, this article investigates the three dimensions of mentoring (vocational support, psychosocial support, and role modeling) using confirmatory factor analysis to validate and test the invariance of this structure across satisfied and unsatisfied protégés.

Testing for Measurement Invariance

This study will use the Mentoring Functions Questionnaire (MFQ), given evidence supporting the three dimensional factor structure of its scores (Scandura & Ragins, 1993; Scandura & Williams, 2001), the concurrent validity of MFQ scores (Baugh et al., 1996; Nielson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001), and convergent and discriminant validity of MFQ scores (Castro & Scandura, 2004). The MFQ was developed by Scandura (1992) as a 20-item scale. Scandura and Ragins (1993) refined the measure and reduced it to 15 items. Recently, Castro and Scandura (2004) reduced the measure to 9 items using multiple samples and

analyses. The most recent version, referred to as MFQ-9, has 3 items for each dimension of mentoring (vocational, psychosocial, and role modeling) (see the appendix).

Method

Participants

The participants included 377 employed undergraduate and MBA students at a private southeastern university (49% of respondents), a state southwestern university (15% of respondents), and a state midwestern university (36% of the respondents). All respondents reported having a mentor at some point in their career. Following listwise deletion of missing data, the final sample had 374 respondents who answered the questions about their current or most recent mentoring relationship. The average age of respondents (protégés) was 28.1 years with an average work experience of 4.3 years. Respondents were 50.8% male, 64.6% Caucasian, and 18.3% Hispanic.

Measures

Protégé satisfaction with the mentoring relationship was measured by a four-item scale developed by Ragins and Cotton (1999). A sample item is "My mentor has been effective in his/her role." A 7-point response scale was employed ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*, where higher scores represent greater satisfaction with the mentoring relationship. The coefficient alpha for scale scores was .79, the mean was 5.28 (SD = 1.36), and the median was 5.62. The data were also screened for nonnormality, and no problematic trend was detected. To ensure univariate normality, Kline (1998) suggested cutoff of absolute values of 3.0 and 8.0 for skewness and kurtosis, respectively. Univariate skewness ranged from -1.41 to -0.74, and univariate kurtosis ranged from -0.80 to 1.67, indicating that the responses were relatively normally distributed. In addition, relative multivariate kurtosis as reported by the output from LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993) equaled 1.94. Whereas there is no standard cutoff for this index, Bentler (1998) recommended that multivariate normality can be assumed if this value is less than 3. In the present study, consistent with Ragins et al. (2000), the mean and median were relatively high and therefore the categories were created splitting scale scores. (We also conducted the analysis with mean and median [i.e., percentile] split and results were not affected. We ran an additional set of analyses with the cut points at 4.90, 4.70, 4.50, and 4.25, and results were not affected. Beyond the cut point of 4.25, the sample size for the dissatisfied group becomes so low [less than 94] that the results might not be reliable.) Specifically, 223 respondents who reported slight satisfaction, satisfaction

Table 1: Intercorrelations between the scales

Variable name	1	2	3
1. Vocational support	—	.48*	.51*
2. Psychosocial support	.65*	—	.64*
3. Role modeling	.60*	.78*	—

Note: Correlations for satisfied protégés ($N = 223$) are listed above the diagonal, and correlations for dissatisfied protégés ($N = 151$) are listed below the diagonal.

* $p < .01$.

or high satisfaction were classified as *satisfied*, and 151 respondents who reported slight dissatisfaction, dissatisfaction, or high dissatisfaction were classified as *dissatisfied*.

Mentoring functions were measured using the MFQ-9 (Castro & Scandura, 2004). A 5-point response scale was employed ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. The items were designed to tap vocational support (e.g., "My mentor takes a personal interest in my career"), psychosocial support (e.g., "I consider my mentor to be a friend"), and role modeling (e.g., "I try to model my behavior after my mentor"). Table 1 shows the intercorrelations between the scales separately for satisfied and dissatisfied protégés. The coefficient alphas for vocational, psychosocial, and role modeling scale scores were, respectively, .84, .88, and .83 for dissatisfied protégés and .74, .80, and .71 for satisfied protégés. The data were also screened for nonnormality, and no problematic trend was detected. Univariate skewness ranged from -1.23 to -0.15, and univariate kurtosis ranged from -1.13 to 1.54. Relative multivariate kurtosis was 1.22. The data were also screened separately for the two groups. Again, no indications of nonnormality were detected. Univariate skewness values ranged from -1.14 to -0.20 for the satisfied protégés and from -0.70 to -0.03 for the dissatisfied group. Univariate kurtosis ranged from -1.11 to 2.23 for the satisfied group and from -1.22 to -0.10 for the dissatisfied protégés. Relative multivariate kurtosis was 1.29 for the satisfied and 1.08 for the dissatisfied group.

Results

Model Fit

Invariance testing across groups assumes well-fitting single group models (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989). Consequently, the data were analyzed in two stages. First, confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) were conducted separately for satisfying and dissatisfying relationships to establish baseline models. Then item responses were tested for invariance across groups.

The CFA model in the present study hypothesized a priori that mentoring could be explained by three intercorrelated factors (vocational, psychosocial,

Table 2: Steps in fitting baseline model

Competing models	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	RMSEA	SRMR	CFI
Satisfied protégés							
1. Basic three-factor model	56.71	24	—	—	.07	.05	.96
2. Model 1 with λ_{63} free	37.89	23	18.82**	1	.05	.04	.98
Dissatisfied protégés							
1. Basic three-factor model	46.88	24	—	—	.08	.04	.97
2. Model 1 with λ_{63} free	34.69	23	12.19**	1	.06	.03	.99

Note: RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CFI = comparative fit index.

** $p < .001$.

and role modeling). CFAs were conducted separately for satisfied and unsatisfied protégés using LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993). Assessment of overall fit was based on minimum fit function χ^2 , root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and the comparative fit index (CFI). As shown in Table 2, the unconstrained three-factor model fit the data adequately (satisfied group, $\chi^2_{24} = 56.71$; dissatisfied group, $\chi^2_{24} = 46.88$); this model was therefore a reasonable representation in both groups. However, relatively large standardized residuals were observed in both groups between the indicators of psychosocial support and role modeling (ranging from -3.06 to 3.87 in the satisfied group and from -3.11 to 3.60 in the dissatisfied group). Also, the highest modification indices (MIs) for each group represented a path from role modeling to an indicator of psychosocial support (λ_{63}). A substantial decrease in χ^2 was found in both groups (satisfied group, $\Delta\chi^2_1 = 18.82$; dissatisfied group, $\Delta\chi^2_1 = 12.19$) when this indicator ("I consider my mentor to be a friend") was allowed to load on multiple factors, meaning that both psychosocial and role modeling functions were tapping perceptions of friendship with the mentor. This is not unexpected given the high correlation between the psychosocial and role modeling functions (satisfied group, $r_{23} = .64$; dissatisfied group, $r_{23} = .78$). As seen in Table 2, the resulting model statistically significantly improved fit, and Model 2 was considered to be the most plausible baseline model for both groups.

Testing for Factorial Invariance

Simultaneous estimation of parameters for both groups was based on the covariance matrices. As shown in Table 3, the simultaneous a priori three-factor solution fit the data adequately ($\chi^2_{48} = 103.47$). Large and positive standardized residuals (ranging from 3.21 to 3.87 in the satisfied group and from 1.22 to 3.60 in the dissatisfied group) were observed between an indicator of psychosocial support and all role modeling indicators. These

Table 3: Simultaneous tests of invariance

Competing three-factor models	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	RMSEA	SRMR	CFI
1. Different pattern coefficients, covariances, and error variances	103.47	48	—	—	.08	.04	.97
2. Add λ_{63} to Model 1	72.52	46	30.95**	2	.05	.03	.98
3. Add an error covariance (θ_{89}) to Model 2	56.85	44	15.67**	2	.03	.03	.99
4. Model 3 with all pattern coefficients invariant	120.87	54	64.02**	10	.08	.28	.96
5. Model 3 with unconstrained λ_{63} , λ_{62} , λ_{11} , λ_{31} , and λ_{83} , all others invariant	62.36	49	10.67*	1	.03	.10	.99

Note: RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CFI = comparative fit index.

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

residuals indicate that the three-factor model underestimates the covariance among these indicators and suggest a path from role modeling to this item of psychosocial support (λ_{63}) (this is the same item that was allowed to load on both psychosocial support and role modeling in the baseline models for both groups). A substantial decrease in χ^2 was found ($\Delta\chi^2_2 = 30.95$) when this indicator ("I consider my mentor to be a friend") cross-loaded, meaning that both psychosocial and role modeling functions were tapping perceptions of friendship with the mentor. This is not unexpected as both role modeling and psychosocial support functions are related to the protégé's advancement on a personal level. As seen in Table 3, the resulting model statistically significantly improved fit. An assessment of the standardized residuals and modification indices suggested freeing the error covariance between the two indicators of role modeling: "I admire my mentor's ability to motivate others" and "I respect my mentor's ability to teach others." Further inspection of these items revealed that they both share common framing. All remaining seven items ask about whether certain activities or behaviors are observed between the mentor and protégé, including sharing personal problems and exchanging confidences. These two items, however, refer to protégés' feelings and perceptions rather than the actual behaviors. Furthermore, these two items refer to the relationship between the mentor and others, as opposed to the remaining items asking about the relation between mentor and the protégé. A substantial decrease in χ^2 was found ($\Delta\chi^2_2 = 15.67$) with this modification, and Model 3 was considered to be the most plausible baseline model ($\chi^2_{44} = 56.85$, RMSEA = .03, SRMR = .03, CFI = .99). Table 4 presents the common metric completely standardized solution and the structure coefficients for this baseline model in both groups.

Next, the hypothesis of an invariant pattern of factor loadings was tested by constraining all lambda parameters (pattern coefficients) to be equal across groups (Model 4). This model was then compared to Model 3, in which the

Table 4: Common metric completely standardized solution

Item	Pattern coefficient	Error variance	Structure coefficient	Error variance
Satisfied protégés				
Vocational				
1	0.63	0.60	0.46	0.32
2	0.71	0.49	0.64	0.39
3	0.75	0.43	0.65	0.32
Psychosocial				
4	0.75	0.44	0.97	0.73
5	0.92	0.14	1.11	0.21
6	0.39	0.52	0.32	0.36
Role modeling				
7	0.71	0.50	0.79	0.64
8	0.79	0.38	0.69	0.29
9	0.51	0.74	0.32	0.30
Dissatisfied protégés				
Vocational				
1	0.75	0.44	0.86	0.57
2	0.75	0.43	0.81	0.50
3	0.90	0.20	1.09	0.29
Psychosocial				
4	0.81	0.34	1.08	0.60
5	0.94	0.13	1.28	0.23
6	0.48	0.29	0.59	0.43
Role modeling				
7	0.72	0.48	0.90	0.73
8	0.83	0.31	1.08	0.53
9	0.74	0.45	0.86	0.62

number of factors and pattern coefficients were held invariant but not constrained to be equal. The difference in χ^2 was statistically significant ($\Delta\chi^2_{10} = 64.02$), and therefore the hypothesis of an invariant pattern of factor loadings was untenable. Next, we examined the modification indices and the pattern coefficients in both groups in a sequential model-fitting procedure. Model 5 in Table 3 demonstrates that with the exception of five item-pairs, all other items were invariant across the two groups. The noninvariant item-pair measurements consisted of Item 2 in vocational mentoring ("My mentor helps me coordinate professional goals"), Items 4 and 5 in psychosocial mentoring ("I share personal problems with my mentor" and "I exchange confidences with my mentor"), and Item 7 in role modeling ("I try to model my behavior after my mentor").

Discussion

The goal of this study was to explore the extent of measurement invariance of the MFQ-9 to justify using the same instrument across satisfying and dissatisfying mentoring relationships. The results demonstrated a well-defined factor

structure yielding three factors. Tests of invariance revealed nonequivalence for five item-pair measurements, demonstrating partial measurement invariance. Reliabilities and pattern coefficients for these five noninvariant items were found to be higher in the dissatisfied group. However, this finding does not necessarily suggest that MFQ-9 scores are more reliable in dissatisfying relationships for two reasons. First, relative item variances were examined, and all five items were found to have larger variances in the dissatisfied group. This greater variability among dissatisfied protégés may account for higher reliability. Second, the ability to differentiate among satisfied protégés may be more difficult as they may report similar reactions. However, the dissatisfied group may be more dispersed in their experience of a dissatisfying mentoring relationship, and this might be another explanation for why we can study them more reliably.

Five items being noninvariant is an important finding for the validation of inferences from the MFQ-9 scores. The resulting partial measurement invariance indicates that the mentoring relationship might be fundamentally different across satisfying and dissatisfying relationships, and this may affect the way the items are interpreted. When relationships differ in quality, we need to develop appropriate instruments to capture the meaning of mentoring in both groups. Overall, in light of these findings, the MFQ-9 has demonstrated excellent psychometric properties when used in dissatisfying relationships. However, results of this study also show that measuring the mentoring construct with adequate validity may require more items in satisfying relationships. By identifying items that are invariant, and improving those that are nonequivalent, research on mentoring should be improved.

Appendix: Mentoring functions questionnaire (MFQ-9)

Vocational Support

1. My mentor takes a personal interest in my career.
2. My mentor helps me coordinate professional goals.
3. My mentor has devoted special time and consideration to my career.

Psychosocial Support

4. I share personal problems with my mentor.
5. I exchange confidences with my mentor.
6. I consider my mentor to be a friend.

Role Modeling

7. I try to model my behavior after my mentor.
8. I admire my mentor's ability to motivate others.
9. I respect my mentor's ability to teach others.

Source: Castro and Scandura (2004).

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Mentoring and Human Resource Development: Where We Are and Where We Need to Go

Sarah A. Hezlett and Sharon K. Gibson

A growing body of academic and practitioner literature supports the popular perception that mentoring has considerable value to both individuals and organizations. Mentoring involves an intense, one-on-one relationship in which an experienced, senior person (i.e., a mentor) provides assistance to a less experienced, more junior colleague (i.e., a protégé or mentee) in order to enhance the latter's professional and personal development (Noe, Greenberger, & Wang, 2002; Russell & Adams, 1997). Books and articles on mentoring began appearing in the scholarly and practitioner press in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978; Missirian, 1982; Shapiro, Haseltine, & Rowe, 1978; Roche, 1979). Subsequently, interest in mentoring has steadily increased. Informal mentoring relationships, which evolve naturally between two people, have been identified and studied in diverse settings, including a variety of industries, occupations, educational institutions, and public agencies. Formal mentoring relationships, which are arranged or facilitated by parties other than the mentor and protégé, have been implemented by organizations (Russell & Adams, 1997) to promote a number of important goals, including employee and student socialization, retention, and success. About one third of large companies in the United States are estimated to have formal mentoring programs (Axel, 1999). Twice that many report that informal mentoring is a development opportunity available to managers (Axel, 1999).

Given current trends in the workplace, such as placing greater responsibility on employees for managing their own careers, increasing need for continuous learning, and greater reliance on on-the-job development, it seems unlikely that mentoring will wane in significance soon. Moreover, the role of mentoring in fostering the development of adults is discussed as a component of a number of adult development theories (Bee & Bjorklund, 2004) and is noted to be an important means of facilitating learning in our society (Merriam & Cafarella, 1999). It is, therefore, not surprising that mentoring has been recommended as an essential tool for human resource development.

The recent publication of several reviews of research on mentoring (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Noe et al., 2002; Wanberg, Welsh, & Hezlett, 2003) highlight that our knowledge of mentoring is maturing. Noteworthy advances have been made in understanding the nature, process, and outcomes of mentoring relationships. However, the literature on mentoring is still fairly young (Allen, Eby, Poteet, et al., 2004; Wanberg et al., 2003); many questions about mentoring remain poorly answered or have yet to be thoroughly investigated.

The purpose of this article is to examine what is currently known about mentoring and suggest directions for future theory, research, and practice on mentoring from the perspective of the discipline of human resource development (HRD). Although there are some exceptions (see, for examples, D'Abate, Eddy, & Tannenbaum, 2003; Hegstad, 1999; Hegstad & Wentling, 2004; Mullen, 1998), relatively few articles on mentoring have appeared in the HRD literature (Hegstad, 1999). By considering past and future theory, research, and practice on mentoring through the lens of HRD, we seek to identify gaps in what is known about mentoring that are relevant to HRD professionals.

Although many alternative definitions of HRD have been proposed (Swanson & Holton, 2001), we will use the domains of HRD defined by McLagan (1989) as our framework for this review. McLagan defined HRD as "the integrated use of training and development, career development and organization development to improve individual and organizational effectiveness" (p. 7). We believe these three domains – career development, organization development, and training and development – effectively address the major application areas of HRD and are, therefore, an appropriate organizing schema for this review. However, we recognize that there may be overlap in these domains and have, in this review, attempted to identify those areas where the application of mentoring spans their boundaries. McLagan's definition also identifies the improvement of individual and organizational effectiveness as the outcome of HRD. Consistent with this definition and with the broad contexts in which mentoring has been studied and practiced, we view HRD as being applied to a diverse array of organizational contexts including business, government, education, and community.

In this article, we begin with a discussion of the core aspects of mentoring relevant to all aspects of HRD and then review research and practice on

mentoring for the HRD domains of career development, organization development, and training and development. We conclude by suggesting an agenda for future mentoring research that would benefit HRD professionals and discuss how the subsequent articles in this issue begin to address some of the gaps in what is known about mentoring within the context of HRD.

Core Aspects of Mentoring

Four core issues relevant to research and practice on mentoring, regardless of which aspect of HRD one is contemplating, are (a) the definition and measurement of mentoring, (b) the dynamics involved in mentoring relationships, (c) understanding different types of mentoring relationships (e.g., formal vs. informal), and (d) the differentiation of mentoring from other workplace relationships. The current state of knowledge about each of these issues will be discussed next.

In her groundbreaking qualitative research, Kram (1985) identified two kinds of assistance mentors provide to their protégés. Career functions directly aid protégés' career advancement and include challenging assignments, coaching, exposure, protection, and sponsorship. Psychosocial functions – which include acceptance and confirmation, counseling, friendship, and role modeling – enhance protégés' sense of competence and identity. These mentoring functions have been a prominent method used by many researchers to define and assess mentoring.

Three well-known measures of multiple mentoring functions (Ragins, 1999) have been used in a number of studies and have well-established psychometric properties: the Mentoring Role Instrument (Ragins & Cotton, 1999; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990), the Mentoring Functions Scale (Noe, 1988), and the Mentoring Functions Questionnaire (Scandura, 1992; Scandura & Ragins, 1993). Differences across the instruments highlight two areas of continued uncertainty regarding mentoring functions (Wanberg et al., 2003). First, because of mixed evidence (Scandura & Williams, 2001; Tepper, Shaffer, & Tepper, 1996), it is unclear how many distinct mentoring functions there are. Some research suggests that Kram's (1985) original two mentoring functions are the appropriate way to characterize the assistance mentors provide (Noe, 1988). Other research supports the idea that role modeling, initially conceptualized as a facet of psychosocial mentoring, should be viewed as a third, separate mentoring function (Scandura, 1992; Scandura & Ragins, 1993). Second, debate continues over which of the narrower mentoring functions are facets of psychosocial mentoring and which are facets of career mentoring. For example, coaching was initially identified by Kram as a facet of career mentoring. Consistent with diverging empirical evidence, this classification has been maintained in the development of some instruments (e.g., Ragins & McFarlin, 1990) but not others (Noe, 1988). Overall, there is widespread

agreement that mentoring functions are an important component of mentoring relationships and that there are at least two distinct mentoring functions (Wanberg et al., 2003). HRD professionals should consider the subtle differences across measures of mentoring when selecting instruments to use and interpreting their results.

A recently proposed model of formal mentoring suggests that mentoring functions are a necessary, but insufficient, representation of mentoring received by protégés. Wanberg and her colleagues (2003) proposed that mentoring functions are one aspect of the scope, or breadth, of mentoring provided. The number of subjects, or topics, that are discussed by mentors and protégés may be another important aspect of scope. Additional variables related to mentoring received include the frequency with which a mentor and protégé interact and the strength of influence the mentor has on the protégé. Further research is needed to determine to what extent the concepts of frequency, breadth of topics, and strength of influence aid our understanding of mentoring above and beyond mentoring functions.

Another emerging area of inquiry focuses on the dark side of mentoring. Although it has long been recognized that some mentoring relationships could be dysfunctional, only recently have the negative aspects of mentoring begun to be systematically studied. Through content analysis of experiences reported by 84 protégés in negative mentoring relationships, Eby, McManus, Simon and Russell (2000) identified 15 types of negative mentoring experiences. Subsequent research confirmed the grouping of these experiences into five metathemes: *mismatch within dyad*, *distancing behavior*, *manipulative behavior*, *lack of mentor expertise*, and *general dysfunctionality* (Eby, Butts, Lockwood, & Simon, 2004). Initial findings indicate that these dimensions of negative mentoring have moderate to large (negative) associations with the positive, supportive aspects of mentoring (i.e., mentoring functions) but account for additional variance in protégé outcomes, including intentions to leave the relationship, depressed mood, and job withdrawal (Eby et al., 2004). Some evidence suggests that certain negative experiences may be more prevalent or have greater impact in formal mentoring relationships than informal ones (Eby & Allen, 2002; Eby et al., 2004). Additional research on negative mentoring experiences, particularly on their antecedents and consequences, would help inform HRD professionals' efforts to maximize the benefits of mentoring.

A limited amount of research has examined the dynamics of mentoring relationships, including the "micro" processes through which mentors and protégés interact and the "macro" processes through which mentoring relationships evolve over time (Wanberg et al., 2003). For example, studies of "micro" processes have examined how protégés' use of ingratiation and influence tactics (Aryee, Wyatt, & Stone, 1996; Tepper, Brown, & Hunt, 1993) relate to mentoring functions. Mentoring functions also have been linked to mentor-protégé reciprocity (Ensher, Thomas, & Murphy, 2001), met expectations (Young & Perrewé, 2000), relationship closeness (Mullen & Noe, 1999), and

interpersonal comfort (Allen, Day, & Lentz, 2005). One important implication of this research is that protégés actively shape their relationships with mentors; they are not simply passive recipients of mentors' aid (Wanberg et al., 2003). A second key implication is that gaining a better understanding of the interpersonal processes involved in mentoring relationships will help clarify the conditions under which mentoring relationships are maximally supportive and satisfying. This knowledge is likely to enhance HRD professionals' ability to help individuals and organizations improve mentoring relationships. Therefore, further research on interpersonal processes in mentoring relationships is encouraged. Attachment theory (Noe et al., 2002) and the dynamic process model of mentoring (Wanberg et al., 2003) have been suggested as useful theoretical foundations for guiding such research.

With regard to the "macro" dynamics of mentoring, several models of the phases of informal mentoring relationships have been derived from interviews with mentors and/or protégés (Kram, 1985; Missirian, 1982). Although the models differ in some ways, they all suggest that mentoring relationships begin with an initiation phase during which few mentoring functions are provided, progress to more active phases where more mentoring functions are given, and end in a redefinition phase where fewer mentoring functions are offered (Wanberg et al., 2003). Two quantitative studies found support for the idea that mentoring functions are lower at the start of mentoring relationships and increase over time but found no evidence for a later diminishment of mentoring functions (Chao, 1997; Pollock, 1995). However, both studies suffered from methodological limitations that undermined the possibility of observing such decreases (Wanberg et al., 2003). Thus, although the exact phases of mentoring relationships remain poorly documented, it appears clear that mentoring functions change as such relationships unfold, at a minimum increasing from the early to middle phases. Several studies have found relationship duration is a key moderator affecting the relationships between mentoring antecedents and outcomes (Allen & Eby, 2003; Turban, Dougherty, & Lee, 2002). These dynamics make it critical for HRD professionals to consider the impact of relationship duration on their work and, ideally, to conduct longitudinal research (Wanberg et al., 2003). It also is important to note that these "macro" studies of the dynamics of mentoring relationships have focused on informal mentoring.

In general, relatively little research has been directed specifically toward understanding formal mentoring relationships. The majority of research on mentoring has not identified the origins of the mentoring relationships being examined (Wanberg et al., 2003). A number of scholars and practitioners have argued that formal and informal mentoring relationships differ in meaningful ways. For example, they may differ in terms of the structure surrounding them (e.g., having guidelines for how often to meet and topics to discuss), the motivation and skills of the mentors, and the willingness of mentors to visibly support their protégés (Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Some, but not all (Allen &

Eby, 2004), research has suggested that protégés in informal relationships receive more support and accrue more favorable career-related outcomes than their counterparts in formal relationships (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Fagenson-Eland, Marks, & Amendola, 1997; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). However, when protégés who are equally satisfied with their mentoring relationships are compared, protégés in informal and formal mentoring relationships do not differ in terms of important career-related outcomes they experience, including career commitment, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, organizational self-esteem, promotion satisfaction, intentions to quit, and procedural justice (Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000). These findings suggest that formal mentoring relationships have the potential to be as beneficial as informal relationships in terms of protégé outcomes, but they may not always deliver.

Developing and implementing a formal mentoring program involves making decisions about program objectives, policies, guidelines, and activities. Although a number of authors have offered advice or shared their experiences about running formal mentoring programs, very little research has evaluated how different program characteristics affect program effectiveness (Wanberg et al., 2003). Preliminary research has explored the role of voluntary versus mandatory participation, participants' input in the matching process, different program objectives, goal-setting, meeting frequency guidelines, and recognition for mentors (Wanberg et al., 2003). Initial findings suggest protégé choice of participation is unrelated to the perceived effectiveness of the program, but programs may be marginally more effective when mentors participate voluntarily. Goal-setting and meeting frequency are associated with greater protégé satisfaction. Results regarding the matching process have been mixed, with some studies suggesting protégé input enhances protégé perceptions of the mentor and the relationship and others finding no relationship between participation and program success. Program objectives and mentor recognition have not been linked to perceived program effectiveness or protégé outcomes. These conclusions are quite tentative (Wanberg et al., 2003). To improve HRD practices, additional research is needed to determine what program characteristics and factors make for successful formal mentoring relationships. In executing this research, program effectiveness must be carefully conceptualized. Research to date has focused on the protégés' perspective, using measures of protégé satisfaction and outcomes. However, other indices of program effectiveness may be more appropriate, particularly if the objectives of the program are broader than enhancing individual career development.

Finally, there is a growing body of research that has focused on differentiating mentoring from other workplace relationships. Early work in this area described the dimensions on which mentoring differed from other supportive workplace relationships (Missirian, 1982; Shapiro et al., 1978). Later researchers examined the similarities and differences between leadership and mentoring (Scandura & Schreishiem, 1994; Sosik & Godshalk, 2000). Most recently, researchers have proposed that protégés hold multiple developmental

relationships simultaneously and have called for research exploring a protégé's entire developmental network, which will likely include alternative forms of mentoring (Higgins & Kram, 2001). Questions remain as to the nature of and distinction between those relationships that are viewed as mentoring and those that serve other developmental purposes (D'Abate et al., 2003). Understanding this distinction is important to HRD's effective use and implementation of mentoring in organizations.

Mentoring and Career Development

To date, more research on mentoring has been on issues related to career development than on the other major domains comprising HRD. One recent review of the business and psychological literature on mentoring employees identified more than 90 studies examining the relationship between mentoring and work- or career-related outcomes (Wanberg et al., 2003). More than 95% of these studies examined outcomes for protégés; only 13% investigated mentors' outcomes. Current understanding of the influence of mentoring on career development can be characterized as follows.

First, having a mentor and receiving more mentoring functions is associated with more favorable objective (e.g., compensation, promotions) and subjective outcomes (e.g., career satisfaction, job satisfaction) for protégés. A recent meta-analysis concluded, "The findings were generally supportive of the benefits associated with mentoring, but effect sizes associated with objective outcomes were small" (Allen, Eby, Poteet, et al., 2004, p. 127). Second, despite the total amount of research that has been directed toward understanding the outcomes of mentoring for protégés, the number of studies examining a particular measure of mentoring (e.g., having a mentor, career mentoring functions) and a specific career outcome remains fairly small, often less than ten (Allen, Eby, Poteet, et al., 2004). An important implication of this fact is that relatively little is known about individual or situational factors that consistently moderate the relationship between mentoring and protégé outcomes (Allen, Eby, Poteet, et al., 2004). Third, firm causal conclusions about mentoring and protégés' career outcomes cannot be drawn (Allen, Eby, Poteet, et al., 2004; Wanberg et al., 2003). The majority of studies of mentoring have relied on cross-sectional, correlation designs. Although a number of these have attempted to statistically control for variables that offer alternate explanations for observed career outcomes (e.g., education, experience, gender), some of the potentially most powerful confounds (e.g., motivation, skills and abilities, work performance) have rarely been simultaneously included in such analyses (Wanberg et al., 2003). Few studies of mentoring have used experimental designs or even longitudinal designs (Allen, Eby, Poteet, et al., 2004; Wanberg et al., 2003). Finally, although much more limited in scope, research on the benefits of mentoring for mentors has yielded encouraging findings. Potential

positive career-related outcomes associated with being a mentor may include developing a personal support network, receiving information and feedback from protégés, gaining satisfaction and pride from helping others, attaining recognition for developing others, increasing one's career satisfaction, and accelerating promotion rates (Allen, Poteet & Burroughs, 1997; Bozionelos, 2004; Johnson, Yust, & Fritchie, 2001; Mullen & Noe, 1999).

A related line of research has studied the role of individual characteristics in mentoring. Models of mentoring have incorporated both protégé and mentor characteristics as key antecedents of mentoring relationships as well as factors that may affect the outcomes of mentoring relationships (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Wanberg et al., 2003). In addition, the combination of protégés' and mentors' attributes – or dyad characteristics – are increasingly recognized as a potentially important influence on mentoring (Wanberg et al., 2003).

Seeking to explain the glass ceiling, a number of researchers have studied how gender and race affect mentoring. From the protégé's perspective, key questions that have been investigated include (a) are women (or minorities) less likely than men (or Caucasians) to have a mentor? (b) do women (or minorities) receive the same kind and amount of mentoring functions as others? and (c) do women (or minorities) gain the same favorable outcomes from mentoring as men (or Caucasians) (Wanberg et al., 2003)? The majority of research suggests that women and minorities are as likely as men and Caucasians to have mentors (Ragins, 1999; Wanberg et al., 2003), but inconsistent findings make it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about relationships between protégés' gender or race and mentoring functions (Wanberg et al., 2003). Similarly, it is unclear whether female and minority protégés achieve the same career outcomes as their counterparts. There is some evidence that mentors' race and gender may be associated with differences in protégés' compensation (Wanberg et al., 2003). These findings underscore the importance of considering both the characteristics of mentors and protégés. Note that research on diversity and mentoring falls at the intersection of two domains of HRD: career development and organization development. An improved understanding of how diversity affects mentoring and the career-related benefits arising from mentoring would enable HRD professionals to more effectively use mentoring as a career development tool for all individuals, as well as more successfully deploy mentoring as an organization development initiative to achieve diversity-related objectives.

A number of other protégé and mentor attributes have received modest attention in the literature. Researchers have attempted to relate protégé attributes to their motivation to seek mentors, having a mentor, mentoring functions received, and the extent to which they are viewed as appealing candidates for potential mentors to work with (Wanberg et al., 2003). Research on mentors' attributes has examined the characteristics protégés look for in mentors, variables that relate to experienced employees' decision to serve as mentors, and the qualities associated with providing mentoring (Wanberg

et al., 2003). Protégé and mentor attributes that have been examined include individual difference variables (e.g., personality traits, attitudes, and goal orientation), demographics (e.g., age, education), and career history variables (e.g., organizational tenure, management level) (Wanberg et al., 2003). Although a thorough review of the findings of this research is beyond the scope of this article, it is important for HRD professionals to be aware of this small but important body of research. Knowledge of how protégé and mentor attributes relate to mentoring will not only help in theory-building but enhance our ability to prepare individuals to be protégés. Similarly, an understanding of the role of mentors' attributes has the potential to help protégés find effective mentors, enable experienced employees to self-diagnose their readiness to serve as mentors, and permit HRD professionals to identify and train successful mentors (Wanberg et al., 2003).

It is interesting that the examination of the role of individual characteristics in mentoring relationships brings us to the question: How does career development affect mentoring? In essence, research linking individuals' past work or career experiences to their current or future mentoring experiences addresses this question. Preliminary findings from the modest number of studies on this topic indicate past experience in mentoring relationships may be one of the key career experiences that helps individuals prepare to be a mentor (Wanberg et al., 2003). Some, but not all, studies have found that individuals who have been a protégé, a mentor, or both have more optimistic perceptions of the costs of being a mentor and greater intentions to mentor others (Allen, Poteet, Russell, & Dobbins, 1997; Olian, Carroll, & Giannantonio, 1993; Ragins & Cotton, 1993; Ragins & Scandura, 1999). In addition, employees who have been protégés are more likely to serve as a mentor (Broadbridge, 1999; Fagan & Walter, 1982) and may provide more career mentoring functions (Fagenson-Eland et al., 1997) than those who have not. Additional research scrutinizing what specific experiences as a protégé or mentor, as well as other career experiences, are associated with being a successful mentor will be of considerable value to HRD professionals responsible for identifying employees likely to excel as informal or formal mentors.

Mentoring and Organization Development

Although, as noted earlier, there have been a substantial number of studies on mentoring outcomes, most have focused on protégé outcomes versus those that might accrue to mentors or the organization. Studies examining organizational outcomes have mostly been at the individual level of analysis and have been derived from the research on protégé and mentor outcomes. There has been relatively little attention paid to mentoring outcomes at the organizational or aggregate level of analysis (Wanberg et al., 2003). Three major kinds of possible organizational outcomes of mentoring that have been

suggested include developing human resources (e.g., improved motivation, job performance, retention, and succession planning), managing organizational culture (e.g., strengthening or changing culture), and improving organizational communication (Wilson & Elman, 1990; Singh, Bains, & Vinnicombe, 2002; Wanberg et al., 2003).

The integration of mentoring with other organizational initiatives is of importance to HRD professionals, in terms of ensuring strategic alignment of programs and practices. A recent study in the HRD literature on formal mentoring in *Fortune* 500 companies found that the majority of mentoring programs reviewed, although rolled-out as individual programs, were designed to support other HRD initiatives such as career development or management training (Hegstad & Wentling, 2004). These authors recommended that mentoring be "considered a process (vs. a program) and built into organizational culture" (p. 442). Furthermore, interviews with executives suggest that mentoring networks can assist protégés in adapting to and succeeding in a rapidly changing workplace that is characterized by frequently changing organizational structures and boundary-less careers (de Janasz, Sullivan, & Whiting, 2003). Simply put, "mentoring has become an effective means for coping with organizational change" (de Janasz, Sullivan, & Whiting, p. 81).

However, measuring the impact of mentoring programs is increasingly difficult, especially those that have such goals as fostering emotional intelligence and the transfer of corporate culture. Even when retention, which was the most frequently cited purpose of formal mentoring programs could be tracked (for example, by reviewing turnover rates), this often was not accomplished (Hegstad & Wentling, 2004). The integration of evaluation strategies as part of action research and other organization development practices of HRD professionals would significantly enhance our understanding of the effectiveness of mentoring initiatives in organizations. As the impact of development on organizational outcomes is an area of major concern to HRD, it would be advisable for HRD professionals to turn their attention to the measurement of these organizational outcomes in future mentoring research.

In addition, Gibson (2004a, 2004b) has suggested that mentoring for women in the higher education context should be considered as a critical component of campus climate initiatives to assist women in gaining access to information networks and the organizational systems that are required for success and from which they may be excluded. Issues of access to mentoring for women and persons of color noted earlier (see previous section on Mentoring and Career Development) need to be addressed by HRD professionals who are concerned with equity or affirmative action issues in organizations. In this context, mentoring could be used as a means to support organizational cultural initiatives that are designed to address systemic issues of diversity in a variety of organizations, including private corporations, public agencies, and nonprofit groups. Mentoring programs for faculty and students may be particularly valuable in promoting the diversity of academic institutions and of occupations requiring higher education for entry.

There is some indication that the source of the mentoring relationship may influence organizational outcomes. In one study comparing protégé outcomes, supervisor and coworkers relationships were found to be related to organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and turnover intent, whereas formal mentoring relationships were not (Raabe & Beehr, 2003). If affecting organizational outcomes is the goal, then choosing supervisors or coworkers as mentors may be desirable as they are likely to be in close contact with the protégé and invest more time in the relationship.

It is useful to reverse the relationship between mentoring and organization development and ask, "How can organization development support or enhance the provision of mentoring in organizations?" Noe et al. (2002) asserted that the effectiveness of mentoring should be viewed within the broader context of various organizational factors such as structure and culture; however, they noted that the influence of these contextual factors has seldom been addressed in the mentoring research. Wanberg and colleagues (2003) identified that organizational context, which is comprised of such characteristics as organizational culture, the support for or value placed on the mentoring program, and access to broader developmental networks and opportunities, is likely to have an impact on mentoring program outcomes. In a survey of organizational practices with respect to formal developmental relationships, Douglas and McCauley (1999) found that the use of formal developmental relationships as a management development strategy was more prevalent among those organizations that employed more individuals and had larger sales volumes. This may suggest that the size of the organization may have an impact on whether mentoring is available to employees as a developmental option in organizations. Similarly, we would posit that those work environments that view themselves as learning organizations (Senge, 1990) and espouse strong values and beliefs about the importance of ongoing learning and development as organizational objectives would be more likely to sponsor mentoring to support this developmental orientation. Performance review criteria and reward systems that include HRD objectives, such as learning and development, may help promote participation in mentoring relationships (Hegstad, 1999). These and other areas of organizational research are needed to more fully explore the relationship between mentoring and organizational outcomes important to HRD professionals such as performance, learning organizations, and retention, as well as the corresponding impact of cultural variables on the provision of mentoring.

Mentoring and Training and Development

Relatively little research has focused on how mentoring is related to learning in organizations (Allen & Eby, 2003). Given that mentoring relationships are primarily directed toward professional development and that dictionary

definitions of *mentor* often include the term *teacher*, this lack of attention is surprising. Recent research and theory-building efforts highlight the potential importance of the role of learning in mentoring relationships. The preliminary evidence suggests that mentors and protégés see learning as an important objective and outcome of their relationships (Singh et al., 2002). Protégé learning has been linked positively with receiving support from a mentor (Eby et al., 2004) and appears to mediate subsequent positive, work-related outcomes experienced by protégés (Lankau & Scandura, 2002). In contrast, decreased protégé learning appears to be associated with having negative experiences in mentoring relationships (Eby et al., 2004). In proposing a model of formal mentoring, Wanberg and colleagues (2003) incorporated a taxonomy of learning outcomes (Kraiger, Ford, & Salas, 1993). They proposed that the relationship between mentoring received and more distal career outcomes (e.g., career satisfaction, promotions) would be partially mediated by cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning. Although this model needs to be tested, it seems probable that examining the relationships among training and mentoring are likely to be fruitful areas of future research. Key questions to address are (a) What do protégés learn from their mentors? (b) What do mentors learn from their protégés? and (c) How do protégés and mentors learn from each other?

Relatively little research related to these questions has been completed. Careful review of studies investigating the benefits of mentoring, along with research on the socialization of new hires, reveals some information about what protégés learn from their relationships with mentors. Consistent with the model proposed by Wanberg et al. (2003), initial evidence suggests protégés acquire knowledge (technical information, organizational knowledge), develop skills (technical, interpersonal, time management, self-organization), and engage in affective learning (self-confidence, attitude changes) (Hezlett, 2005). Developing a more concrete and precise understanding of what protégés learn from their mentors is a research priority. A well-supported taxonomy of the content of protégé learning is needed both to test theories of mentoring and to enable practitioners to make informed decisions about using mentoring as a developmental tool.

Somewhat less attention has been devoted to understanding mentors' learning experiences than protégés'. However, several studies suggest that learning is part of the experience of being a mentor. In interviews, 27 mentors from diverse organizations gave increasing their own learning as one of 13 reasons individuals chose to serve as mentors (Allen, Poteet, & Borroughs, 1997). In a quantitative study, Mullen and Noe (1999) obtained some support for the idea that mentors seek information from their protégés. Mentors participating in formal mentoring programs at two organizations in the United Kingdom reported that mentoring helped them gain insight into their development needs, refresh their skills, understand how others perceived them at work, and develop their management style (Hale, 2000). Finally, a survey of members of

two professional organizations in the United States found that mentors who perceived themselves as more similar to their protégés' reported learning more from their relationships. Unexpectedly, multiple regression analyses revealed mentor-protégé gender similarity and type of relationship (formal vs. informal) were not significantly related to learning after other variables were controlled (Allen & Eby, 2003). These preliminary findings encourage future research on what mentors learn from their roles. Additional insights into the nature of mentors' learning may prove valuable for HRD professionals responsible for recruiting and fostering the development of potential mentors.

How mentors and protégés learn from each other has not been formally studied. One of the mentoring functions, role modeling, suggests that learning through observation may be a key part of mentoring relationships. Consistent with this, social learning theory has been proposed as the theoretical rationale for the positive outcomes observed in mentoring relationships (Zagumny, 1993). However, given the dynamic nature of mentoring relationship and the complexity of mentoring functions provided, it seems unlikely that observation is the only method by which mentors and protégés learn from each other. Given the richness of existing theories of learning and HRD professionals' expertise in this area, theory-building related to the process of learning in mentoring relationships seems to be a promising area for HRD.

Another direction for future work is examining how mentoring can be used to support or facilitate training and development practices. Prior research on transfer of training and participation in development activities has found that support from supervisors may be a critical success factor. Trainees who receive more supervisor support are more likely to apply what they have learned in training on the job. Similarly, supervisor support has consistently been associated with greater participation in on- and off-the-job developmental activities. Because many protégés identify their supervisors as their mentors, it seems probable that mentoring also will be positively correlated with transfer of training and participation in development activities.

Reversing the directionality of the relationship between training and mentoring yields another important question for HRD professionals to consider: How can training and development be used to support mentoring? Implementation plans for formal mentoring programs call for orientation sessions to help mentors understand expectations, goals, and roles. Protégé orientation is also recommended (Murray, 2001). However, the quite limited number of studies evaluating mentoring training have yielded ambiguous results. On the positive side, one quantitative study found new teachers whose assigned mentors participated in a 4-day orientation workshop focusing on how to mentor were better able to organize classroom routines, manage instruction, and control student behavior than a group of protégés whose mentors received no orientation or a shorter orientation covering policies and resources relevant to new teachers (Evertson & Smithey, 2000). Less favorable findings, suggesting that longer orientations are not always welcomed by mentors and protégés,

were reported in a qualitative study of a mentoring program for new staff in the United Kingdom (Bard & Moore, 2000). A 1/2 day of training, rather than the original day-long workshop, was thought to be enough for mentors; an hour or 2 (instead of a 1/2 day) of training was recommended for protégés. Concerns were raised, particularly by protégés, that it was condescending to suggest that training is needed to participate in mentoring. Clearly, additional research on the format and content of training for mentors and protégés is needed. Theory and research on training provide critical guidance for HRD professionals responsible for implementing formal mentoring programs, but more specific information from evaluations of mentoring training sessions would be valuable.

Summary: Future Directions

In this introductory article, we have reviewed current perspectives on mentoring and HRD and identified directions for future research, theory, and practice from the perspective of the HRD domains of career development, organization development, and training and development. This review suggests we are at an exciting phase of work on mentoring. Noteworthy strides have been made on mentoring research, theory, and practice providing a solid foundation on which to build the additional work that is needed to fully understand and maximize the effective use of mentoring. A summary of “where we are” with respect to mentoring and HRD is provided in Table 1.

A research agenda on mentoring that would benefit HRD professionals includes topics related to the core aspects of mentoring, career development, organization development, and training and development. With regard to core aspects of mentoring, it would be helpful to test propositions that have expanded on mentoring functions as a means of evaluating mentoring provided (Wanberg et al., 2003), develop a better understanding of the day-to-day interpersonal processes involved in mentoring, and continue to study the impact of the duration of a mentoring relationship on its processes and outcomes. Specific to the form or type of relationship, further research is needed to identify program characteristics that enhance the quality and effectiveness of formal-mentoring programs, compare the benefits of formal and informal mentoring programs, and further differentiate mentoring from other work relationships. Addressing these issues would contribute to theory-building and help improve HRD practices related to mentoring. Some of the most critical issues that remain to be addressed regarding mentoring and career development include more rigorously testing the causal impact of mentoring on protégés’ career outcomes, expanding on what is known about the outcomes of mentoring for mentors, and identifying factors that moderate the relationship between mentoring and career outcomes (e.g., gender, program characteristics). In general, examining the different ways in which

Table 1: Mentoring and HRD – Where we are

HRD domain	Current knowledge and research gaps
Core aspects of mentoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The kinds of assistance mentors provide (i.e., mentoring functions) are widely used to define and assess mentoring relationships. • There are at least two distinct major mentoring functions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • career • psychosocial • Debate continues over: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • whether there are more distinct mentoring functions. • the nature of the sub-facets comprising the major mentoring functions. • There are several regularly used measures of mentoring functions. • A small body of research suggests negative mentoring experiences can be described by five themes. • Additional ways of characterizing mentoring relationships have been proposed (e.g., frequency of meeting, scope of topics discussed, strength of influence) but need additional testing. • Several promising studies suggest additional research on mentor-protégé interactions and the evolution of mentoring relationships would be valuable. • Limited research on formal mentoring suggests: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it can, but does not always, lead to the same protégé outcomes as informal mentoring. • some program characteristics have been linked to program effectiveness, but others have not; more research is needed. • Mentoring has not yet been thoroughly distinguished from other supportive workplace relationships.
Career development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More research on mentoring has focused on career development than on other areas of HRD. • For protégés, mentoring is associated with small objective career outcomes and small to moderate subjective outcomes. • Evidence regarding the causal direction of these relationships is lacking; more experimental and longitudinal studies are recommended. • Research suggests that mentors also benefit from mentoring. • Women and minorities appear as likely as their male or Caucasian counterparts to have mentors; the impact of diversity on mentoring functions and protégé outcomes is less clear. • There is a small body of literature examining how protégé characteristics, mentor characteristics and dyad characteristics relate to mentoring. • Past experience in mentoring relationships tends to be related to being a mentor and providing mentoring.
Organization development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There has been little attention paid to mentoring outcomes at the organizational level of analysis. • Three organizational outcomes of mentoring have been suggested: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing human resources • Managing organizational culture • Improving organizational communication • Limited research suggests that mentoring can assist protégés in adapting to organizational change. • Measurement of the impact of formal mentoring programs on organizational outcomes such as retention is lacking. • Research findings support that mentoring can be a means to promote equity and diversity in organizations. • Preliminary evidence indicates that the source of the relationship may influence organizational outcomes. • Contextual factors influencing mentoring effectiveness have been identified but empirical research is lacking. • Additional research is needed to examine the relationship between organizational culture factors and the provision of mentoring.

(Continued)

Table 1: (Continued)

HRD domain	Current knowledge and research gaps
Training and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little research has focused on mentoring and learning. • Preliminary findings and recent theory-building suggest protégé learning may be a key construct mediating the relationship between mentoring functions and protégé outcomes. • Theory and past research suggest protégés may gain cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning from mentoring. • Initial research suggests mentors also learn from their protégés. • More conceptual and empirical work on how learning occurs in mentoring relationships is needed. • Additional research is needed to determine how the content and format of training for mentors and protégés influences the success of mentoring relationships.

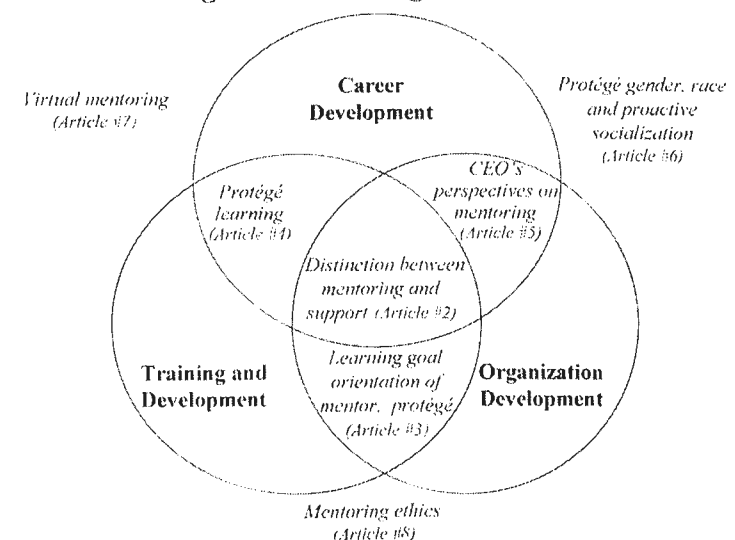
individual and situational characteristics directly and indirectly affect the processes and outcomes of mentoring relationships will be extremely valuable in helping HRD professionals prepare individuals and programs so that mentoring flourishes. Turning to organization development, more research evaluating the impact of mentoring on organizational-level outcomes – such as organizational culture, communication, and change – would help clarify the possible objectives mentoring could be used to support. Similarly, research on what and how protégés and mentors learn would make it possible to more precisely deploy mentoring as a tool for learning in organizations. Finally, HRD practice related to mentoring would benefit from further examination of how career development, organization development, and training efforts can be used to enhance mentoring.

The remaining articles in this issue are a first step toward implementing this research agenda. They offer new research on mentoring as related to core aspects of mentoring, career development, organization development, and training and development and provide insight into the contextual factors that affect mentoring relationships in HRD. These articles and topics were specifically selected for their potential to lend new knowledge to assist in closing the gaps identified in this review or to provide an expanded perspective on mentoring as it applies to the discipline of HRD. To begin, Gibson's (2005) article addresses HRD's need to understand how the experience of mentoring is distinct from other supportive relationships in which protégés are engaged in order to foster effective developmental relationships in organizations. Her article falls at the interface between the domains of career development, organization development, and training and development as the distinction between mentoring and support is relevant to all three domains. Hezlett (2005) addresses the gap in the literature on what and how protégés learn from their mentors. This study on learning in mentoring relationship primarily spans the career development and training and development domains. Egan's (2005) research lends insight into the factors that are associated with successful formal mentoring programs, focusing on the impact of the similarity of protégés' and mentors' learning goal orientation on mentoring support and protégé outcomes.

Implications of this research reside primarily in the training and development and organization development domains. Rosser's (2005) investigation of CEO's perspectives on mentoring relationships is most closely connected to the career development and organization development domains. Her study addresses a gap in the literature regarding the mentoring roles of those at the senior levels of an organization who are likely to participate over the course of their careers in developmental relationships as both mentor and protégé. The remaining three articles address the individual and contextual factors of protégé gender and race, virtual mentoring, and the ethics of mentoring that affect the field of HRD broadly in terms of application. Thomas, Hu, Gewin, Bingham, and Yanchus (2005) help close the gap in the research on access to mentoring through examining the roles of protégé race and gender in mentors' willingness to serve as a peer mentor. Bierema and Hill (2005) and McDonald and Hite (2005) provide much-needed insight into the contextual issues associated with virtual mentoring and ethics, which are important to our understanding of mentoring practices in HRD. The primary relationships between the various articles and the domains of HRD are depicted in Figure 1.

In combination, these articles well illustrate the important contributions that quantitative and qualitative research and integrative conceptual articles, specifically focused to the concerns and interests of HRD professionals, make to our understanding of mentoring in HRD. In addition, each article includes a discussion of implications for HRD, providing the link between what we know and what we still need to know, in terms of effectively applying our knowledge of mentoring to improve HRD practice.

Mentoring and HRD: Organization of Issue

**Figure 1:** Mentoring article topics and the HRD domains

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Demystifying Gender Differences in Mentoring: Theoretical Perspectives and Challenges for Future Research on Gender and Mentoring

Angela M. Young, Steven Cady and Marguerite J. Foxon

Researchers have only touched the tip of the iceberg in terms of understanding gender differences in mentoring. Organizations are increasingly reliant on mentoring as a tool to enhance socialization, training, and career development (Hezlett & Gibson, 2005; Russell & Adams, 1997; Wanberg, Welsh, & Hezlett, 2003), but gender differences related to perceptions of competence, work outcomes, and work roles exist (Bierema, 1999; Reciniello, 1999). Mentoring can yield important and positive benefits to individuals such as higher compensation and increased promotion opportunities (Allen, Poteet, Eby, Lentz, & Lima, 2004), but differences in outcomes for men and women in terms of receiving mentoring and mentoring outcomes have been evidenced in research (Burke, McKeen, & McKenna, 1990; Burke & McKeen, 1996; Ragins, 1997; Ragins & Cotton, 1991, 1999). Thus, it is imperative that gender issues related to mentoring be addressed (Noe, 1988b; Ragins, 1989, 1999).

Reviews of mentoring have focused on career-related benefits of participating in mentoring (Allen et al., 2004), mentoring as a human resource development tool (Hezlett & Gibson, 2005), mentoring processes and relationship development (Noe, Greenberger, & Wang, 2002), and mentoring processes, outcomes, and partner characteristics (Wanberg et al., 2003), but gender issues and mentoring have not been the focus of recent research (Ragins, 1989, 1999).

In addition, theoretical foundations for mentoring have not been developed to keep pace with empirical investigation. Theory related to mentoring has recently progressed to include theoretical relationships among antecedent factors, mentoring behaviors, and outcomes (Young & Perrewé, 2000a), but most mentoring studies have been based on Kram's (1983, 1985) categories of mentoring behavior and outcomes. Exploring deeper psychological explanations about relationship dynamics, success, and failure will add richness to existing research and focusing on gender will address the many differences in how men and women in business are perceived (Noe, 1988b; Reciniello, 1999).

The purpose of this article is to provide a more comprehensive view of mentoring from a gender-based perspective that examines issues presented in past mentoring research and to frame the research within relevant theoretical perspectives so that research propositions and directions for further research can be developed.

Mentoring Research

As the body of mentoring research evolves, there have been advances both in theoretical development and empirical investigation. Typically, empirical investigation focuses on mentor behavior based on Kram's (1985) qualitative research on mentoring dyads. According to Kram, support provided by a more experienced person, the mentor, to a less experienced person, the protégé, is the basis of defining mentoring. Two forms of support have been the mainstay of most research. Career support includes mentoring behaviors related to the career advancement of a protégé including giving advice, making the protégé visible to influential others, and protecting the protégé from political situations. Psychosocial or social support represents the more emotional side of mentoring and includes listening to a protégé's concerns and befriending and counseling a protégé. Further, traditional mentorships take on one of two forms: formal or informal mentoring. Formal mentoring defines a mentorship in which the mentor and protégé are assigned to work together, typically for a defined period of time. Informal mentoring takes place more spontaneously and results in more positive emotional and tangible outcomes for protégés (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). The life of the relationship varies but the form of the relationship evolves or devolves through four stages: initiation, cultivation, separation, and redefinition (Kram, 1983).

Theoretical Foundations Related to Gender Issues in Mentoring

A comprehensive process model of mentoring was introduced by Young and Perrewé (2000a), who described the mentoring process as an exchange of behaviors that takes place between a mentor and protégé and is based on several antecedent factors. Outcomes of the relationship are described

in terms of the dyad, including both mentor and protégé viewpoints, and organizational outcomes. As outcomes from the relationship are realized, new attitudes and experiences influence some antecedent factors such as attitudes toward mentoring and willingness to mentor or be mentored. Thus, the model represents a cycle of exchange behaviors between the mentor and protégé, and relationship outcomes that influence future exchanges. The Young and Perrewé (2000a) model included gender as an antecedent factor; however, there was no specific focus on gender.

Specific to gender and mentoring, Kalbfleisch and Keyton (1995) presented a framework of the development of female mentorships and stated that development of female mentor-protégé relationships was similar to the development of female friendships. The authors found that emotional intimacy was higher in friendships than mentorships but still quite high in mentorships, and protégés, more than mentors, experienced relational outcomes such as equality and receptivity. Kalbfleisch and Keyton reasoned that females approach relationships and thus mentoring differently from males and suggested that traditional models of mentoring may not be as applicable to women as to men. Therefore, developing a female-based model of mentoring was necessary to fully understand gender differences in mentoring. Although the notion of a female model of mentoring is interesting, the authors focused only on female-female relationships.

Comprehensive process models such as the Young and Perrewé (2000a) model are useful in studying the overall mentoring process. Isolated frameworks such as the one presented by Kalbfleisch and Keyton (1995) are beneficial in understanding one aspect of mentoring, that is, female mentor-protégé relationships. However, no research specifically focuses on gender issues or explores deeper theoretical and psychological reasoning behind the differences in the mentoring process.

Why Gender Requires a Special Focus

Management ranks are filled predominantly by men, and organizational culture and norms are thus set by men (Lewis & Fagenson, 1995; Marujo & Kleiner, 1992; Reciniello, 1999). Bierema (1999) explained that from a historical perspective, gender differences have existed and permeated organizations in a way that creates a challenging work environment for women who seek advancement to executive levels. In fact, some researchers have described gender in the workplace as an institution in which expectations about gender-related behaviors and roles of men and women are entrenched in our thinking about work and gender (Martin, 2004; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Women are perceived much differently from and less favorably than men in the workplace in terms of competence, emotional stability, independence, and rationality (Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995), and workplace behaviors are strongly influenced by gender

and gender composition of groups (Karakowsky & Elangovan, 2001; Miller & Karakowsky, 2005; Tepper, Brown, & Hunt, 1993). Mentoring, particularly career-related support from mentors, is related to early career success (Aryee & Chay, 1994), work and career satisfaction, career advancement (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura & Ragins, 1993), and higher compensation and number of promotions received (Allen et al., 2004; Horgan & Simeon, 1990; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). However, mentoring research provides contradictory findings related to gender in that some researchers have found that men and women have equal access to mentors (Cox & Nkomo, 1991) and that men and women are equally willing to mentor others (Allen, Poteet, Russell, & Dobbins, 1997; Olian, Carroll, & Giannantonio, 1993), whereas other findings have shown that men and women experience vastly different outcomes depending on the gender of a mentor or protégé. For example, men who are mentored by male mentors receive greater benefits than women or men mentored by female mentors (Ragins & Cotton, 1999).

These contradictory findings indicate that more investigation is required to understand gender differences in the mentoring process and must be examined if researchers and managers hope to understand gender issues at work, create an environment in which men and women have similar opportunities to be mentored, and ensure that men and women reap similar benefits when participating in mentoring. Thus, gender differences should be studied, but more important, the study of gender and mentoring must be grounded in theory to provide a more thorough explanation of differences and reasons for any differences. The theory on which propositions for further research are based can greatly affect the direction of the research, in general. Therefore, it is important to examine gender and mentoring from several theoretical lenses. The following sections examine gender issues in mentoring based on similarity-attraction paradigm, power dependence, social exchange, biological, and psychological theories.

The Similarity-Attraction Paradigm

The similarity-attraction paradigm stems from a social psychology view of relationships, integrating aspects such as similarity, attractiveness, and liking (Berscheid, 1994; Byrne & Griffitt, 1973; Sprecher, 1998). Byrne and Griffitt (1973) presented the similarity-attraction paradigm to explain that human beings have a natural tendency to be attracted to, and thus feel liking for, individuals perceived to be similar in terms of physical characteristics, personality, attitudes, and behaviors. According to the authors, there is a certain perceived reward from recognizing shared attitudes between oneself and another person, whereas there is an inherent discomfort or punishing effect associated with dissimilarity. Several antecedent factors related to similarity attraction have been examined in research, including competence, attitude

similarity (Snyder & Morris, 1978), similarities in communication and behavior (Michinov & Monteil, 2002), self-esteem (Byrne & Griffitt, 1973), and prestige (Byrne, Griffitt, & Golightly, 1966).

Snyder and Morris (1978) explained that among the many difficulties associated with researching similarity attraction was the generalized nature of measures and constructs. To improve research, the situation or context must be considered and constructs must be situation-relevant. Michinov and Monteil (2002) agreed that constructs must be relevant to a social context and that affective measures of attraction are not sufficient. The authors stressed the importance of communication and behavior similarities between people in a given social context in addition to the more traditional focus on affective measures of attraction. Social context provides the relevant framework for individuals to consider which behavioral similarities are most important and indicative of further interaction with another person and influences how attractive that person becomes.

Mentoring and Similarity Attraction

Within the context of mentoring relationships, individuals must work together, communicate with one another, and possibly interact on a more social level. Although gender similarity is one factor relevant to similarity attraction and mentoring, attitude similarity and other factors have been found to be important (Kalbfleisch, 2000; Turban, Dougherty, & Lee, 2002). For example, Ensher and Murphy (1997) found that when protégés perceived themselves to be similar to their mentors in terms of perceptions and values, they had greater liking for and satisfaction with mentors and reported having more contact with mentors. Findings suggested that demographic similarities may not have as much influence on attraction, at least in terms of developing mentorships, as the similarity-attraction paradigm suggests. Turban et al. (2002) examined gender and race similarity, relationship duration, and mentoring received, finding that gender similarity influenced perceptions of mentoring received. In fact, in mixed-gender dyads, mentoring support increased with relationship duration and more mentoring support was found in mixed-gender dyads than in same-gender dyads. Similarly, Feldman, Folks, and Turnley (1999) examined diversity characteristics between assigned mentor and protégé pairs, finding that differences in nationality and gender were associated with lower levels of support.

Related to similarity, there is evidence that supports the notion that demographic and attitudinal similarity are important to mentoring, but similarity-attraction theory also emphasizes similarity in work and communication behaviors (cf. Michinov & Monteil, 2002). Given that mentoring is primarily a career development tool (Kram, 1985), attitudes related to work and career are likely to be most influential. Mentors and protégés who have similar career

interests might find meaning in collaboration, and similarity with regard to expected work habits is likely to be evaluated by mentors and protégés as the relationship develops (Michinov & Monteil, 2002). Factors such as work habits, expectations, and attitudes can be objectively measured and compared with levels of attraction between potential mentors and protégés. Thus, it could be determined whether men and women indeed can see themselves as similar to one another and become attracted to mentoring partners of the opposite sex. To explore the relationship among demographic similarity, attitude similarity, work behaviors, and communication and to identify the strength of gender as an influential factor in similarity attraction, we propose the following:

Proposition 1a: Mentors will be attracted to protégés with similar career interests, work habits, and communication behaviors regardless of the gender of the protégé.

Just as certain characteristics draw mentors to protégés, protégés are attracted to mentors based on identifiable criteria. However, far less research has been done on mentors than on protégés and how perceived similarity influences a protégé's attraction to potential mentors. Olian, Carroll, Giannantonio, and Feren (1988) examined protégé attraction to mentors using three experiments. Gender did not emerge as a significant factor influencing protégé attraction to mentors, but interpersonal skills of mentors repeatedly emerged as a relevant factor that positively influenced attraction to a potential mentor.

Mentoring others yields benefits for mentors including renewed career interests (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kram, 1985; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978), recognition from peers and managers (Kram, 1985), and personal satisfaction (Ragins & Scandura, 1994). Given the potential benefits of mentoring others, it is important to understand what makes mentors attractive to protégés. Based on similarity attraction, protégés should be attracted to mentors who have similar interests and can assist with knowledge development, experience, and career development (Kram, 1985). Moreover, similarity attraction stresses the importance of the feelings of comfort that come from developing relationships with similar others.

Focusing primarily on similarity between a mentor and protégé, and viewing mentoring as primarily a career development tool, we propose that similar career interests, work habits, and communication behaviors will play a prominent role in how attractive a mentor is to a protégé, regardless of the gender of the mentor:

Proposition 1b: Protégés will be attracted to mentors with similar career interests, work habits, and communication behaviors regardless of the gender of the mentor.

Beyond similarity between mentoring partners, there has been research focusing on specific characteristics of attraction, but findings are inconclusive.

In a study on male and female mentors, Allen, Poteet, and Russell (2000) found that female mentors tended to select protégés based on ability and potential more often than did men. Earlier, Olian et al. (1993) explored factors relevant to attracting mentors among bank managers and found that protégés perceived to be high performers with potential to succeed were attractive to mentors, regardless of gender. However, marital status in combination with gender was important and mentors were more willing to put more energy into career-enhancing behaviors for a protégé and anticipated greater rewards from the relationship when working with married male protégés and single female protégés.

The empirical evidence about mentor attraction to protégés provided by Olian et al. (1993) is useful but based on an experimental design where participants reported hypothetical behavior after reviewing a scenario. Gender was found to be an influential component of attraction of mentors to protégés only when considering marital status of protégés. Perhaps gender-related factors such as marital status or family responsibilities have more import than being male or female. For example, Kalbfleisch (2000) stated that whereas men might be perceived more positively if they have a family, the same type of responsibilities held by women gives rise to negative perceptions of commitment, potential, and productivity. Therefore, taking the tenets of similarity-attraction theory and the importance of gender-related characteristics, we propose the following:

Proposition 2a: Marital status and parenting responsibilities will have a greater and negative effect on attractiveness of female protégés than on attractiveness of male protégés.

Proposition 2b: Marital status and parenting responsibilities will have a greater and positive effect on attraction to a mentor or protégé in same-gender dyads in which the mentor and protégé hold similar marital status and parenting responsibilities.

Gender-based Attributions and Stereotypes

Early research showed that harmful stereotypes were prevalent in the workforce and may influence whether or not women are as attractive as men in the protégé or mentor role. For example, men were found to make exceptions for outstanding women, maintaining they were not representative of women in general, and men often make negative generalizations about women on the basis of a small number of women who were perceived as failing as protégés (Mertz, Welch & Henderson, 1987). Such stereotyping may lead male mentors of female protégés to adopt an overprotective role, downplay a female protégé's contribution, especially on team projects, or maintain greater social distance (Fagenson, 1989; Kram, 1985). Some women deal with the stereotyping by collusion, which, although it reduces tension for some and feigns belonging, does not change the problem of stereotyping (Kram, 1985).

Mertz et al. (1987) interviewed 20 CEOs and high-level managers identified as having previously mentored others and collected data about their perceptions of mentoring. The authors identified four distinct criteria, beyond competence and potential of a protégé, used by the executives to select a protégé: (a) fit with the organization, (b) risk associated with mentoring a protégé, (c) predictability of behavior, and (d) payoff from having mentored a protégé. Based on anecdotal reports, the authors posited that female protégés would score lower in fit, predictability, and payoff and higher in risk than male protégés with similar qualifications.

Stereotypes and attributions have been found to exist within the male management ranks also. In a study done by Morrison, White, and Van Velsor (1987), top-level insiders were asked to comment on a group of successful male and female executives' career success. The consensus was that 100% of the women had achieved their position because of assistance from above, implying assistance from males in the organization. By comparison, the figure for male protégés was 56%. The male executives' success was attributed to the fact that they were smart, despite the fact that the women were as highly educated.

Additional evidence of the differences in perceptions about career development is provided by Ragins, Townsend, and Mattis (1998), who surveyed CEOs and high-ranking female executives about career strategies and barriers to advancement. Of 13 strategies identified by women, the second highest strategy was developing a managerial style that was acceptable to men. CEOs' perceptions differed from most female executives as well. For example, CEOs reported that women have not advanced as quickly as men to corporate leadership roles because women typically lacked management or line experience and women's entrance into high-level managerial ranks is fairly recent, thus the number of women available to be promoted is lower than the number of men. Female executives taking part in the study reported that male stereotyping and exclusion from informal networking in organizations had much to do with the lack of women's advancement to high-level leadership positions in organizations. In the same study, female executives also ranked having an influential mentor and networking with colleagues as extremely important strategies for career development. Thus, women are aware of the importance of mentoring but are faced with obstacles to advancement stemming from negative stereotypes.

Gender stereotyping and attributions in the workplace are potentially detrimental to long-term career development (Martins-Crane, Beyerlein, & Johnson, 1995) and, in particular, to developing successful mentoring relationships. If the similarity-attraction paradigm holds true, then the greater the perceived similarity between mentoring partners, the greater the attraction and mentoring support. That gender does not play an important role in attracting a mentor or protégé would seem counterintuitive given the extensive notions we hold about abilities, behaviors, and aptitudes of men and women (Kalbfleisch,

2000; Reciniello, 1999). With regard to gender stereotyping from the perspective of similarity attraction, the following questions emerge:

Proposition 3a: The stronger the negative gender stereotypes held by a potential protégé, in general, the less attracted the protégé will be to potential mentors of the opposite sex.

Proposition 3b: The stronger the negative gender stereotypes held by a potential mentor, in general, the less attracted the mentor will be to potential protégés of the opposite sex.

Two points emerge in considering some of the ideas and findings from existing research. First, the early speculation of Mertz et al. (1987) was not empirically verified; however, the four categories mentioned by the authors provide useful situation-specific factors relevant to attraction and mentoring. Second, much of the extant research uses experiments or survey instruments to collect data about anticipated behaviors or attitudes (cf. Olian et al., 1988). It is important to examine actual mentoring behavior versus beliefs reported in more hypothetical settings such as experiments and surveys. Not that findings from these types of research are unimportant, but mentoring can be a risk on the part of the mentoring partners and there may be a difference between reported ideas about participating in mentoring and actual behavior once the risks and rewards become real. As gender similarity is one factor that is measured in determining attractiveness (Byrne & Griffitt, 1973) and has been linked to mentoring (Kalbfleisch, 2000), it would be beneficial to know if mentors will be attracted to male or female protégés in both experimental and nonexperimental settings:

Proposition 4: Men and women will be equally attractive to potential male and female mentors in terms of risk, payoff, commitment, and competence in experimental settings.

Proposition 5: Protégés of the same sex will be more attractive to mentors than protégés of the opposite sex in terms of risk, payoff, commitment, and competence in nonexperimental settings.

Influences of Power and Politics on Mentoring Relationships

March and Simon (1958) presented fundamental reasoning behind power and politics in organizations based on the organization's purpose and context. The authors explored several models of organizational decision making, many of which included concepts related to obtaining intended results or goals. Power dependence emphasizes power differentials inherent in relationships based on structure and not necessarily based on the individual's intent to use power or awareness of his or her power (Emerson, 1962; Thye, 2000). Often, we see competition within and between groups in organizations as they vie for

use and attainment of organizational resources. Ragins (1997) used a power perspective to develop a framework of diverse mentoring relationships and mentoring outcomes. The author defined diversified mentorships as cross-race or cross-gender relationships in which one or both members of the partnership are in a minority group in terms of power differentials in the organization. Women and minorities, according to Ragins, are likely to have less power and influence in organizations and thus will not have equal access to mentoring and may not experience the same outcomes due to their minority status and the associated differential in organizational power. Perrewé, Young, and Blass (2002) emphasized the importance of having political savvy, noting that men and women must understand both the formal and written rules of the organization as well as the informal and unspoken rules of conduct. According to the authors, having political awareness helps men and women develop mentorships, and mentorships help to develop careers.

There are two primary areas of relevance to mentoring in relation to power dependence theory. First, women have traditionally been viewed as having less power in organizations (Ragins, 1997; Reciniello, 1999). This view limits the credibility and power associated with female mentors and suggests that a female mentor may not benefit the protégé as completely as a male mentor. Second, women are reported to have less access to valuable organizational resources and to powerful others in the organization (Ragins, 1989, 1997; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990).

Gender and Power

Some researchers have suggested that men are reluctant to take on a female protégé unless they feel success is guaranteed because a high visibility failure can harm the male manager's career (Horgan, 1989; Horgan & Simeon, 1990; Hunsaker & Hunsaker, 1986). However, Noe (1988b) posited that mentoring support would be more strongly influenced by expert and referent power of a protégé than by protégé gender. From the mentor's perspective, Struthers (1995) challenged the stereotype that males have and use power more than female mentors. The author showed that use of power in mentorships was more a function of organizational rank than of gender. However, some researchers have stated that female mentors lack the organizational power and influence to be as effective as men in terms of mentoring others. An effective mentor needs a high degree of position and career security (Hunt & Michael, 1983), but females are often not as influential or as highly placed as male counterparts (Hill, Bahniuk, & Dobos, 1989). Harriman (1985) suggested that most female mentors lack the degree of organizational power available to male mentors and this limits their effectiveness because mentoring is essentially a power-based behavior. Other researchers agree that male mentors are in a somewhat higher power position in organizations and therefore can provide

the greatest benefit to both male and female protégés (Gilbert & Rossman, 1992; Kalbfleisch & Keyton, 1995). Specifically, Gilbert and Rossman (1992) contended that because men hold more power in organizations, they can offer more protection and career-enhancing support than female mentors. Yet, there has also been agreement that female mentors may be more effective as role models for female protégés by modeling behaviors needed to overcome barriers and career challenges faced by women (Freeman, 1990; Ragins, 1989).

An important focus of further research is the perception that potential protégés have of male and female mentors and also the perceptions that male and female mentors hold about themselves and their ability to mentor others. In addition, actual pairing of male and female protégés with mentors requires further investigation. Given that power is an important topic in explaining mentoring outcomes, the following propositions focus on perceptual and actual outcomes related to gender, mentoring, and power:

Proposition 6: Female mentors will perceive themselves as having less ability to influence a protégé's career than will male mentors.

Proposition 7: Men will develop mentorships with more powerful mentors than will women.

Proposition 8: Women will not be perceived by potential protégés as equally powerful to men in similar positions.

Gender Differences in Access to Mentoring

Despite a general opinion that mentors are not available to women (Gilson & Kane, 1987; Noe, 1988a; Ragins, 1989), contrary evidence suggests that access to mentors is equal for men and women. For example, Hill et al. (1989) noted that nearly 90% of the protégés in their study had more than one mentor and gender was but one variable relevant to access. Similarly, Cox and Nkomo (1991) analyzed career data of MBA students and found that females did not report having less access to mentors than did males. Ragins and Cotton (1991) noted that factors other than gender could explain levels of access to mentoring. The authors found that older protégés with more seniority felt that mentors were more accessible to them than did younger individuals or newcomers to the organization. More recently, Lee and Nolan (1998) conducted an exploratory study to determine desirable qualities of a mentor and the extent to which female administrators had received mentoring. Although only a few women reported having a mentor, the majority thought that having a mentor was important.

Mentoring can be a highly political process and having access to powerful mentors means that a potential protégé must understand the political nature of the relationship (Auster, 1984). There are potential risks to both mentors and protégés from perceived favoritism by others in the organization (Kram, 1985). True mentoring involves protecting protégés from potentially harmful

and political situations, and protégés who receive organizational rewards may be seen as receiving favors rather than being rewarded for competence and hard work. Generally speaking, there is evidence that suggests that men are more aware of organizational politics than women (Ferris et al., 1996) and this finding has emerged in mentoring research. For example, Noe (1988b) suggested that women may not be as well versed in initiating relationships with powerful others in organizations. Other researchers have suggested that women are not as likely to actively pursue and develop career-enhancing relationships (Hunsaker & Hunsaker, 1986), tend to dwell more on their shortcomings than on their assets (George & Kummerow, 1981), and have a tendency to believe that advancement is a result of hard work and talent, thereby underestimating the value of forming politically useful ties through networking (Dreher & Ash, 1990). Moreover, women's socialization, as compared with men's, has not provided the necessary skills in developing political strategies and maneuvering for power (Ragins, 1989), and women tend to rely on formal communications rather than informal, more powerful communications (Hill et al., 1989). Evidence that women tend to be less aware of influential others is alluded to in a study by Hill et al. (1989). The authors found that in female-female mentoring relationships, female mentors were relatively young and close to their protégés in organizational rank. It is unknown from the study, however, whether or not female protégés selected female mentors closer in rank to themselves because they wanted to be mentored by those women or because they had less access to other mentors with more experience. Although there is no evidence about the level of actual potential influence held by the female mentors, it is presumed that because the female mentors in the Hill et al. study were relatively young and held a similar rank to protégés, they were less influential than other potential mentors, as most researchers presume that organizational influence comes with rank (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Struthers, 1995).

Perhaps these findings support the notion that women, although aware of the importance of mentoring, are not as shrewd about the political nature of organizations, identifying influential others, or networking. Findings could also suggest women's lack of access to mentors with more rank and power in the organization. To determine potential gender differences in access to mentors and to isolate the factors that influence access, the following propositions have been developed:

Proposition 9: Male mentors and protégés will report higher levels of awareness of organizational politics and place more importance on understanding politics than female mentors and protégés.

Proposition 10: Men will be able to identify influential others in the organization more frequently than will women.

Proposition 11: Male protégés will place more importance on networking with influential others than will female protégés.

Mentorship as a Social Exchange

Theoretical perspectives such as social exchange (Homans, 1958) provide a useful framework for examining dyadic issues related to perceived costs and benefits of mentoring. Social exchange theory has been cited extensively in support of many recent mentoring studies (cf. Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994; Young & Perrewé, 2000b). The idea behind social exchange is that the mentoring relationship, like any relationship, involves costs and benefits associated with participation in the relationship. Costs to the mentor could include time, effort, and risks associated with working with a visible protégé, whereas benefits include career revitalization and learning (Kram, 1985). Similarly, costs to the protégé include time, effort, and risks associated with offending influential others (Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1998), whereas benefits include visibility, knowledge, and advice (Kram, 1985).

According to Young and Perrewé (2000a), once a relationship is initiated, an exchange of behaviors takes place. Mentors provide career and social support behaviors to protégés; however, protégés in turn reciprocate with related career and social behaviors. So, for example, when a mentor suggests that a protégé participate in a special project, the protégé can either accept or decline the project and participate enthusiastically or tentatively. The mentor is likely to react to the protégé's reciprocal behavior, which incites additional behavior from the protégé, and the cycle of exchange behaviors between a mentor and protégé continues throughout the relationship. According to exchange theory, when benefits outweigh costs, individuals will be more likely to remain in the relationship. As costs outweigh benefits, individuals are more likely to consider terminating the relationship. Perceived costs and benefits are embedded in mentoring support and the exchange that takes place throughout the relationship (Young & Perrewé, 2000a). Efforts to support a mentoring partner or reciprocate support with positive behaviors involve costs of time and energy, whereas positive tangible and intangible outcomes such as increased opportunities, compensation, feelings of friendship, and accomplishment represent benefits.

Mentoring Support Provided by Male and Female Mentors

The amount and type of support provided by a mentor is at the crux of relationship success. Whether or not gender differences exist between male and female mentors and support provided could have serious repercussions for protégés, as protégés seek mentors to propel career development. A number of researchers have reported distinct differences between men and women as mentors and the amount and type of support provided (Burke, 1984; Burke & McKeen, 1996; Luna & Cullen, 1990; Struthers, 1995). Burke (1984) presented evidence that female mentors provided more psychosocial support than did

males, but cautioned that the sample of female mentors and protégés was quite low and, thus, results were suggestive at best. Burke et al. (1990) found that female mentors offered significantly greater psychosocial and career development functions than male mentors. In a later study, Burke and McKeen (1996) found that psychosocial support was higher in relationships in which either the mentor or protégé was female. These previous studies examined mentoring support provided to a protégé, but from the perspective of the protégé. Allen and Eby (2004) examined support from the mentor's perspective and found that there were gender differences in the reported support provided by male and female mentors with female mentors providing more social support.

Other factors of influence have been found in relation to the provision of mentoring support. Luna and Cullen (1990), for example, interviewed 14 female mentors in business and academia and found that the academics focused on the psychosocial aspects of mentoring, whereas the businesswomen concentrated on the career development of their protégés. They also noted that the women in business displayed fewer nurturing or caretaking characteristics and became more like the male group in their mentoring style. Further evidence was presented by Struthers (1995), who examined organizational rank, power, and gender in mentoring relationships and found that levels of psychosocial support decreased with higher organizational rank, regardless of the mentor's gender. Based on social exchange theory, mentoring support provided has much to do with perceived costs and benefits of participating in a mentoring relationship. To determine whether or not gender is the predominant factor explaining differences in support behaviors and the embedded costs and benefits of mentoring, the following propositions are presented:

Proposition 12: Perceived costs and benefits of mentoring a protégé will be influenced more strongly by the protégé's behaviors than by the protégé's gender.

Proposition 13: Male and female mentors will hold similar expectations for protégé behavior, regardless of protégé gender.

Mentoring Support Received by Male and Female Protégés

Ragins and McFarlin (1990) stated that support, in general, was not related to the gender of either the mentor or protégé. The only exception to the finding was that female protégés with female mentors reported using mentors as role models more than other protégés. On the other hand, Koberg, Boss, Chappell, and Ringer (1994) stated that men reported receiving more mentoring support than women, and Dreher and Cox (1996) found that women reported having fewer developmental relationships, in general, than men.

Researchers have found other factors besides gender that influence levels of support received. For example, Chao et al. (1992) and Ragins and Cotton (1999) found that degree of formality of the mentorship made a difference

in types of support received. Specifically, protégés in informal relationships reported receiving more career-related support and higher salaries than protégés in formal relationships. Although Ragins and Cotton (1999) and Chao et al. (1992) did not focus on gender differences, their findings indicated that several factors must be considered in explaining why protégés receive different levels of support. One such alternative explanation was offered by Scandura and Ragins (1993), who studied mentoring in a male-dominated industry (i.e., certified public accounting) and stated that gender roles (i.e., masculine, feminine) rather than gender (i.e., male, female) predicted the level of mentoring or other developmental support received. Protégés with a more androgynous gender role orientation received more mentoring support than protégés with female or male role orientation. Further, Horgan and Simeon (1990) found that more highly compensated females had more mentors but suggested that this may indicate that mentors select as protégés the most promising women who, in turn, are more highly compensated. Turban and Dougherty (1994) indicated that male and female protégés who initiated mentorships were likely to receive more mentoring support than those protégés who did not seek mentorship.

From previous research on mentoring received by protégés, it is evident that many factors influence the amount and type of support received. Yet, gender continues to emerge in many studies (Dreher & Cox, 1996; Horgan & Simeon, 1990; Koberg et al., 1994). The role that gender plays in support received by protégés has not been precisely identified. Therefore, two propositions have been developed to examine mentoring support received by protégés from a social exchange perspective, which incorporates both costs (i.e., effort to provide reciprocal support behaviors, etc.) and benefits (i.e., receiving career and social support that results in higher compensation, etc.) of participating in a mentoring relationship. Based in social exchange theory, we propose that perceived costs and benefits of being in a relationship will be influenced by a mentor's behavior more than by a mentor's gender. Further, expectations for support behaviors will be similar for men and women:

Proposition 14: Perceived costs and benefits of being a protégé were influenced more strongly by a mentor's support behaviors than by the mentor's gender.

Proposition 15: Male and female protégés will hold similar expectations for mentors, regardless of mentor gender.

The Nature of Mentoring

Up to this point, we have focused on antecedent factors relevant to giving and receiving mentoring such as similarity attraction, power dependence, and social exchange. The remaining issues uncover the true nature of men and women and the more psychological nature of relationship development. First,

from the biological perspective, Bushardt, Fretwell, and Holdnak (1991) proposed that underlying all cross-gender mentoring relationships is a sexual theme reminiscent of mating. Thus, a cross-gender mentorship could, in many ways, encompass many underlying emotions and behaviors associated with courting, dating, or mating. Although sexual impulses are not likely to be acted upon, the authors noted that they are ever present beneath the surface of cross-gender mentorships.

Second, from the psychological perspective, Noe et al. (2002) proposed an explanation of mentoring and relationship development related to attachment theory and indicated that the more effectively we develop early and healthy childhood attachments, the more effectively we will develop and maintain relationships as adults. Although not specifically focused on gender differences in mentoring, the theory itself provides a unique and interesting perspective on mentoring relationships and incites a stream of research that is well-grounded in the psychology of mentoring.

Sexual Issues in Mentoring

Hardesty and Jacobs (1986) speculated that there is almost always a sexual undercurrent present in cross-gender relationships, even if it is repressed. Other researchers suggested that, almost by the very nature of the relationship, cross-gender mentorships have inherent problems related to sexual issues (Clawson & Kram, 1984; Merriam, 1983). Both men and women have expressed fear that mentoring relationships would develop sexual overtones or that others may infer sexual involvement even when none existed (George & Kummerow, 1981; Kram, 1983; Noe, 1988b). Suspicious coworkers and jealous spouses were cited as occupational hazards of cross-gender mentoring (Bowen, 1985), and some women expressed a fear that would-be mentors might expect sexual favors (Gilson & Kane, 1987).

Bushardt et al. (1991) proposed an extreme view that cross-gender mentoring (i.e., male mentor and female protégé) reflected the male-female mating role, implying a latent sexual theme in all relationships. Even when cross-gender mentorships occurred, the fears of perceived impropriety and sexual tension sometimes resulted in limiting interaction to work hours, avoiding meetings behind closed doors, or not lunching together. These self-imposed restrictions hindered the development of a natural friendship by keeping all interactions strictly on a business-only basis (Clawson & Kram, 1984; Kram, 1985; Mertz et al., 1987; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). Despite the problems associated with cross-gender relationships, there is also evidence that protégés in cross-gender relationships made better use of mentors than those with same-sex mentors. In fact, Noe (1988a) found that female protégés used mentoring relationships more effectively than males in terms of use of time spent with mentors.

There is nothing more than speculation to answer why females in cross-gender mentorships make more effective use of mentors. Perhaps a type of overcompensation occurs whereby members of a cross-gender relationship emphasize appropriate and work-related behaviors in an attempt to make visible the professional nature of the relationship and protect against rumors of romantic involvement. Guarding against misinterpretation of the relationship by overemphasizing its professional nature could also be a response to fears of perceived favoritism and any subsequent hostility from peers or supervisors. Perhaps, too, women are cautiously aware that they must work diligently and effectively to overcome stereotypes of incompetence, emotionality, and commitment to the job. Extant research on cross-gender mentoring typically presumes a male-mentor, female-protégé pairing (Hurley, 1996), but all combinations of cross-gender mentorships should be examined. Little is known about the perception of sexual involvement in cross-gender mentoring when the mentor is female and the protégé is male, or the perception others have of cross-gender mentoring. Therefore, perceptions of mentoring partners as well as others are addressed in the following propositions:

Proposition 16: When a mentor believes that others are likely to perceive sexual involvement in a mentorship, there will be less willingness to mentor protégés of the opposite sex.

Proposition 17: There will be more suspicion of sexual involvement in a cross-gender relationship, regardless of the gender of the mentor or protégé.

Related to sexual overtones in the relationship, perhaps potential sexual complications may also be avoided by assuming clearly defined roles. If the mentor-protégé relationship takes on overtones of father and daughter, or brother and sister, the implied incest taboos reduce the possibility of sexual attraction (Harriman, 1985). However, Broom (1986) interviewed five female protégés who had had love affairs with their mentors but who viewed the mentoring experience as a positive influence on their career. Clawson and Kram (1984) advised both mentors and protégés to decide how to best manage the complexity of the relationship and to define the boundary between appropriate intimacy and romantic involvement. Given that mentoring is typically defined as a career development tool in which a more experienced person acts as a guide and advisor to a less experienced person (Allen et al., 2004; Kram, 1985), the protégé is often in a more vulnerable position in the relationship. The point of most mentoring relationships is to enhance career opportunities for protégés, but when opportunities are viewed by others as stemming from a romantic or personal relationship, perceptions of favoritism may emerge. Thus, others may view the protégé as not earning opportunities associated with mentoring but only receiving opportunities due to a personal relationship with an influential mentor.

Some mentors and protégés may be comfortable with the sexual involvement, but for others it undermines or destroys the relationship (Levinson et al., 1978). There is more to romantic involvement than its effect on mentoring partners. Specific to mentoring, the perceptions of others in the organization may affect long-term career development. Although there is very little research on the outcomes of romantic involvement in mentorships, there is evidence that this type of intimacy in mentorships may have a negative effect on mentoring partners (Clawson & Kram, 1985; Hurley, 1996). Therefore, the following proposition has been developed:

Proposition 18a: A mentorship in which the mentoring partners become romantically involved will be perceived as a less effective mentorship by others.

Proposition 18b: In mentorships in which the mentoring partners become romantically involved, and the involvement is known by others, the protégé will be affected more strongly and negatively than the mentor and the protégé will be viewed as less competent than his or her peers.

The issue of sexual orientation of mentors and protégés has been mentioned in the literature and noted as a variable requiring consideration (Levinson et al., 1978; Ragins, 1989, 1999; Shapiro, Haseltine, & Rowe, 1977). Ragins (2004) examined sexual orientation in the workplace and explained that gay, lesbian, and bisexual employees face specific challenges in the workplace related to acceptance in workgroups and organizations. Other researchers present additional evidence that sexual orientation is influential on workplace behaviors and outcomes, showing, for example, that lesbians and gay men feel alienation at work that results in stress, often feel invisible in the workplace, experience discrimination, and try to conceal their sexual orientation to ensure acceptance (Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Kitzinger, 1991). Top management support of organizational policies and behaviors that nurture an inclusive environment influences perceived organizational commitment (Day, 2000). Mentoring opportunities may be one way that organizations can support acceptance of gay, lesbian, and bisexual employees by encouraging career-enhancing opportunities and networking with influential others in the organization. Given that mentors and protégés are more likely to develop a relationship when there is a certain comfort level between them (Kalbfleisch, 2000) and that sexual involvement is a potential outcome in work relationships (Hurley, 1996), it is imperative that sexual orientation be examined in relation to initiating mentoring and developing the relationship.

Because there is relatively little mentioned about sexual orientation, a research question has been developed to explore the effect of sexual orientation on the initiation and development of mentoring relationships:

Research Question 1: How does sexual orientation affect the initiation, development, and outcomes of mentoring relationships from the perspective of the mentoring partners and others in the organization?

Relationship Development and Attachment Theory

How we develop relationships, in general, has been the focus of some mentoring research. For example, Baum (1992) stated that mentoring takes on the form of an idealized relationship such as that of a parent or romantic partner. Thus, we form idealized perceptions about our mentor because a mentoring relationship may incite feelings reminiscent of those experienced early in life. Much of our interaction with and feelings for a mentoring partner can be explained by early relationship development, according to the author. Although a mentorship may be developed for very specific, career-related reasons, it is a relationship, and understanding relationship development from a more basic perspective could yield potentially useful ideas about mentoring relationships.

Noe et al. (2002) presented the idea that mentorships could be explained by the tenets of attachment theory. Attachment theory supports the idea that our ability to develop and maintain relationships begins at a very early age based on our attachment to a parent or primary caretaker (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Bowlby, 1969). As children, we develop feelings of security or insecurity through our relationship with parents and our experiences. Our ability to confidently develop and maintain healthy adult relationships differs depending on the extent to which we attached healthfully to our parents and developed a secure feeling about our well-being (van Ijzendoorn, 1995). Our ability to pursue relationships, to deal with interpersonal difficulties, and to fully commit to a relationship depends on early childhood attachments. If we have had successful and secure attachment as children, we may be more likely to pursue relationships and may be more confident that we can successfully develop relationships.

Related to mentoring, if we haven't developed a fully functional sense of security about relationships, in general, our ability to develop mentorships may be hindered. Thus, attachment theory may add to the explanation of why some mentors and protégés may feel more comfortable keeping a purely professional relationship whereas others develop a more personal bond. Likewise, attachment theory may provide some understanding about why some mentorships are more successful than others.

Attachment theory indicates that our general relationship skills have much to do with the success for transformations that take place in a mentorship. As mentoring relationships typically move through a succession of stages from early development and getting to know one another to a more focused work effort, and eventually toward separating from the mentor as a teacher, guide, and advisor, a mentor and protégé must deal with changing expectations of a mentoring partner (Kram, 1983). Attachment theory is relevant at all stages in a mentoring relationship. At early stages of a mentoring relationship, a mentor and protégé must share enough information about themselves and expectations for the relationship to initiate a healthy mentorship. At later stages of a mentorship, the mentoring partners are more knowledgeable about each other and how to work within the mentorship. The protégé will

become less reliant on the mentor and, over time, the mentorship transforms. Kram (1983) described this transformation and the separation phase of a mentorship as potentially leading to a healthy long-term personal friendship, or if the separation is not successful, the mentor and protégé might end the relationship in anger or resentment. The success of the separation, according to Kram, depends on the extent to which the mentor and protégé can cope with relationship changes. For example, if a mentor has difficulty accepting the protégé's independence or the protégé does not know how to connect with the mentor on a personal rather than work-focused level, the separation may be unsuccessful.

Attachment theory provides a useful framework to examine mentorships and gender in relation to mentoring, with a particular emphasis on our ability to develop, maintain, and successfully transform relationships:

Proposition 19: The more positively a mentor or protégé perceives past relationship success, in general, the more likely a personal relationship will be maintained even after mentoring concludes.

Proposition 20a: The more positively a potential mentor perceives his or her ability to develop and maintain healthy relationships, in general, the greater the willingness to mentor others and the stronger the social support provided to a protégé.

Proposition 20b: The more positively a potential protégé perceives his or her ability to develop and maintain healthy relationships, in general, the more likely it will be for a protégé to actively seek mentoring.

Directions for Further Research

Further research must address gender as a primary factor in mentoring to ensure that mentoring opportunities are available for those who seek them. In the pursuit of understanding gender and mentoring, propositions must be framed soundly in theory. Further, methods used to investigate gender issues will greatly affect attained knowledge. Current research typically focuses on mentors or protégés, separately, and relies heavily on self-perceptions of whether or not mentoring has been successful. The following section will address methods suggested for further research and levels of study that will assist in the pursuit of understanding gender differences in mentoring.

Method

Relatively few empirical studies directly address gender as a main variable of influence (e.g., Burke et al., 1990; Ragins & Scandura, 1997). More research must focus on gender as a primary factor of investigation and use that focus to drive sampling and hypothesis development. For example, few studies directly compare equal numbers of male mentors with female mentors and

male protégés with female protégés across several relevant variables to truly parse out gender differences. Along with direct comparisons between men and women in mentor and protégé roles, we must examine gender composition of the mentoring dyad and its effect on the mentoring process and outcomes. Cross-gender mentoring research, for example, must include all combinations of mentor-protégé pairs. Finally, whenever possible, it is imperative to examine mentoring from actual behaviors rather than through self-reported or hypothetical behavior.

Mentoring, as a construct, is defined loosely in terms of support behaviors provided in a formal or informal role, and how mentoring is defined influences the nature and extent of mentoring found. This may account for some of the apparent contradictory findings in existing research. Burke (1984), for example, found that 75% of his sample reported having a mentor, yet only 60% believed that their mentor would describe the relationship in mentor-protégé terms. Had Burke surveyed the mentors of these managers, he may have concluded that mentoring, by a stricter definition, was much less common than actually reported. The true extent and type of mentoring is unknown in many studies that simply ask about the number of mentoring relationships or whether or not an individual perceives that he or she participated in a mentoring relationship. In further research, it is important that researchers distinguish among mentors, helpful colleagues, and friends by asking explicit questions about behaviors and length of relationship and, when possible, obtaining objective verification that a mentorship existed by asking both mentoring partners about the relationship.

Levels of Study

Mentoring has typically been studied from the perspective of either the mentor or protégé. Whereas the protégé has been the recipient of most of the attention in extant literature, more emphasis on mentors is needed (Allen et al., 1997). In particular, attention should be focused on differences between male and female mentors and additional factors of influence such as organizational rank, organizational climate, and perceived rewards and barriers to mentoring. There has also been a call for more emphasis on the mentoring dyad (Fagenson-Eland, Marks, & Amendola, 1997). Using a dyadic perspective to focus on gender, gender composition of the dyad, and behaviors of mentors and protégés would offer insights into the dynamics of mentoring. Wanberg et al. (2003) indicated that most research focuses on a macro- or micro level of study. The macro level focuses on relationship development over time, but the micro level attempts to isolate the interaction between a mentor and protégé. The more micro level of study requires examining the perspective and experiences of both mentor and protégé and also effects that result from the combined efforts of mentoring partners.

In addition to relationship dynamics, we must focus further research on the programmatic issues relevant to mentoring. More organizations than ever before are relying on mentoring programs to enhance a variety of relevant outcomes from socialization to career plateauing (Hezlett & Gibson, 2005; Kram, 1985; Russell & Adams, 1997). Issues related to mentoring programs extend beyond the formality of the relationship and move into areas such as methods of pairing individuals, training of program administrators, potential mentors and protégés, and ensuring relationship effectiveness.

We know that mentoring is beneficial to mentors and protégés in many ways (Russell & Adams, 1997), but we know also that mentoring can become destructive and unhealthy when not managed properly (Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1998), and we have paid little attention to the possible negative outcomes of mentoring. Eby and Allen (2002) investigated mentoring experiences of a large sample of protégés and found that negative mentoring experiences varied widely across the sample with some protégés experiencing little negativity whereas others reported extremely negative mentor behavior. The authors noted that the majority of protégés reported inappropriate delegation or interpersonal incompetence from mentors and identified two primary categories of negative mentoring experiences. Distancing and manipulative behavior and poor dyadic fit emerged as primary categories of negative behaviors that affect job satisfaction, turnover, and stress.

In a later study, Eby, Butts, Lockwood, and Simon (2004) developed and validated measures of negative mentoring experiences and noted that mentoring may result in positive outcomes, but positive outcomes do not guarantee that mentoring experiences were positive. Gender was not a factor examined in this research, but further research should openly address both the positive and negative aspects of mentoring and identify potential gender differences in mentoring experiences. A focus on gender differences would also uncover differences in perceptions of men and women, in general, in terms of competence, interpersonal skills, work habits, and attitudes. These underlying differences in perceptions of men and women in the workplace and of accepted masculine and feminine behaviors at work might provide meaningful explanation about differing outcomes for men and women at work and in mentoring (Martin, 2003).

The organization plays an important role in whether or not successful and productive mentoring relationships develop (Allen, Poteet, & Burroughs, 1997; Eby, 1997). Aryee, Chay, and Chew (1996) found that mentors were more motivated to mentor others when mentoring was supported in the organization and when there were meaningful indications that the organization valued mentoring. Bierema (1998) indicated that organization culture, structure, policies, and rewards influence women's career progress, in general, and stressed the importance of formal mentoring programs as one means to support career development. Further, Bierema and D'Abundo (2004) emphasized

tangible benefits such as productivity and competitiveness resulting from effective human resource development programs. It is likely that organizations that value mentoring and communicate that value to employees will have greater, and possibly more effective, participation in mentoring programs. Organizations providing formal mentoring programs must ensure that the program standards are well-defined and outcomes for mentors, protégés, and the organization are measured. In addition, research has shown that mentoring often benefits an individual, however, positive and negative outcomes for organizations valuing and supporting informal or formal mentoring must be explored more thoroughly in further research.

Gender was the focus of this research agenda; however, gender is not the only factor that influences mentoring initiation, relationship development, or mentoring processes. Women are often viewed in terms of other defining characteristics that make them a minority member of an organization and carry some preconceived notions in the workplace (Ragins, 1997). For example, race, age, and other characteristics also make up the factors that influence mentoring. Race, ethnicity, cultural influences, and other factors of diversity such as sexual orientation, age, and disabilities have not been the primary focus of mentoring research. Moreover, gender in relation to these other factors is rarely the focus of mentoring research. Researchers have begun to explore issues of age (Noe, 1988b; Ragins, 1989; Ragins & Cotton, 1993), race (Ibarra, 1995; Kalbfleisch & Davies, 1991; Thomas, 1990), ethnicity (Atkinson, Neville, & Casas, 1991; Crawford & Smith, 2005), ethnic identity (González-Figueroa & Young, 2005), and socioeconomic background (Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991), but more must be done to clearly understand the influence of each of these factors as well as their combined effects with gender.

Factors of diversity are likely to have an effect on many aspects of the mentoring relationship including behaviors between mentors and protégés, communication, support provided by mentors and received by protégés, outcomes, and progression of relationships. However, each of these factors deserves an equally in-depth analysis and investigation, and the combined effects of these factors, including gender, must be examined. In fact, some of our very basic findings about mentoring and relationship development may be challenged, once examined across gender and other factors of diversity.

Conclusion

Mentoring has remained an important issue, and the extent to which mentoring can be used to enhance career development requires that we manage the process effectively. We cannot do so unless we understand the relationship dynamics and how gender influences those dynamics. Expanding our understanding of gender and mentoring is a necessary step in closing the gender gap in mentoring research and demystifying gender differences in mentoring.

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Toward a Useful Theory of Mentoring: A Conceptual Analysis and Critique

Barry Bozeman and Mary K. Feeney

Why is there so often so little correspondence between potential social utility of a topic and theory development for that topic? One of the answers seems clear enough – in some instances, it is the very depth and the sweep of phenomena that ties us up in knots. Such crucial but opaque topics such as freedom (Friedman, 1962; Sen, 2002), public interest (Goodin, 1996), or happiness and quality of life (Kahneman, Diener, & Schwarz, 1999; Lane, 2000) pose special problems; the very bedrock nature of these topics thwarts progress.

More puzzling is a lack of explanatory progress on topics where the phenomenon of interest, although obviously important, is more commonplace and apparently observable. We nominate *mentoring* as an outstanding illustration of limited progress in theory for a topic that is obviously important and amenable to convenient measurement. Mentoring research adds up to less than the sum of its parts; although there is incremental progress in a variety of new and relevant subject domains, there has been too little attention to core concepts and theory.

If mentoring theory disappoints, it is not for a lack of scholarly attention or a deficit of published research. By one accounting (J. Allen & Johnston, 1997), more than 500 articles on mentoring were published in management and education literatures during the 10 years leading up to 1997. To some extent, the limited progress in mentoring theory seems attributable to a focus on the

instrumental to the neglect of the explanatory. As Russell and Adams (1997) note, critics of mentoring research have lamented the absence of theory-driven research. Mentoring research tends to be based on "one off" studies based on limited samples and with a greater focus on correlations than careful causal explanation. In the rush to consider such obviously important issues as the nature of effective mentoring, the benefits of mentoring, and the impacts of mentoring on women and minority careers, there is all too often impatience with troublesome conceptual and analytical problems.

Our article reviews and criticizes mentoring theory, focusing particularly on conceptual bases of theoretical problems. We seek to demonstrate that despite the publications of hundreds of studies of mentoring, many of the findings are less useful than one might hope because fundamental, conceptual, and theoretical issues have been skirted. Findings are abundant but explanations are not. The device used to demonstrate this point is a simple thought experiment of a putative mentoring relationship. The thought experiment demonstrates the difficulty of using existing research and theory to answer fundamental questions about mentoring.

A More Useful Theory of Mentoring: What Is Missing?

From one perspective, mentoring theory could hardly be more useful. Many researchers focus explicitly on the ways in which individual careers can benefit from mentoring (T. D. Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985; Fagenson, 1989; Godshalk & Sosik, 2003; Noe, 1988), including women (Burke & McKeen, 1996, 1997; Ragins, 1989; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989; Scandura & Ragins, 1993) and minorities (Ragins, 1997a, 1997b; Thomas, 1990). Others focus on the organization and develop ideas or findings aimed at improving organizational performance (Payne & Huffman, 2005; Singh, Bains, & Vinnicombe, 2002; Wilson & Elman, 1990). Thus, mentoring research and theory are useful in the sense that they aim to provide practical findings relevant to individual and social needs.

What most philosophers of science (e.g., Hacking, 1983; Laudan, 1981) mean by a "useful" theory is one that has explanatory depth and breadth, apart from its immediate social utility. Many (e.g., Carr, 1981; Gigerenzer, 1991) assume that practical utility flows directly, if not immediately, from explanatory breadth. But regardless of the time sequence, the key to cumulative knowledge is not accumulated findings but explanation (Kitcher, 1993).

Despite its having provided a wide array of valid and useful research findings, conceptual problems have impeded the mentoring studies' ability to provide compelling middle-range or broad-range theoretical explanations. As Burke and McKeen (1997) note, "Research on mentoring has typically lacked an integrated research model or framework . . . and most research findings are merely listings of empirical results" (p. 44).

Defining Mentoring

Carl Hempel (1952) suggests that "to determine the meaning of an expression . . . one would have to ascertain the conditions under which the members of the community use – or, better, are disposed to use – the expression in question" (p. 9). Often the concepts presented are suggestive, identifying the attributes of mentoring rather than stipulating the meaning of the concept itself and, in particular, its boundary conditions. More than a few researchers fail to even provide a definition of mentoring (e.g., J. Allen & Johnston, 1997; Burke & McKeen, 1997; Chao, 1997; Collins & Scott, 1978; Green & Bauer, 1995; Tepper & Taylor, 2003).

The few formal, stipulative definitions provided in the mentoring literature sometimes do not have the coverage or plasticity required for research to move easily to new topics. We suggest that many of the current problems in conceptualizing mentoring and, consequently, developing theory, stem from an inattention to the conceptual needs of a growing field of study. Conceptual development of mentoring has for some time been stunted. Concepts and, thus, theory seem held hostage to early precedent.

Its contemporary popularity notwithstanding, serious research on mentoring began relatively recently (e.g., Kram, 1980; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). Although it is impossible to identify a single work and say categorically that it is the beginning of mentoring research, one can make a good argument that Kathy Kram's (1980) dissertation and her 1983 *Academy of Management Journal* article provided a beginning to the contemporary research tradition. The 1983 article is still the most frequently cited journal article on the topic of mentoring, and her conceptualization of mentoring has been either directly quoted or reworked only slightly in many subsequent studies. In her seminal article, Kram identified four stages of mentoring but at no point provided an exacting definition. In a subsequent book, Kram (1985) noted that mentoring involves an intense relationship whereby a senior or more experienced person (the mentor) provides two functions for a junior person (the protégé), one function being advice or modeling about career development behaviors and the second function being personal support, especially psychosocial support.

The early, relatively imprecise Kram conceptualization of mentoring has influenced subsequent work to a considerable extent. Although the early definition (or, more accurately, the early discussion) of the term was entirely suitable for the topic's 1980s level of explanatory and empirical development, subsequent application and conceptual stunting is more troubling.

Eby (1997) provides an appropriation of the Kram conceptualization that is quite typical:

Mentoring is an intense developmental relationship whereby advice, counseling, and developmental opportunities are provided to a protégé

by a mentor, which, in turn, shapes the protégé's career experiences. . . . This occurs through two types of support to protégés: (1) instrumental or career support and (2) psychological support. (p. 126)

Other researchers (Chao, 1997; Ragins, 1997b) use close variants of this definition. To be sure, there has been a great deal of refinement and articulation of mentoring concepts and measures. However, as we see in Table 1, most of the branches connect to the same conceptual taproot. For example, Eby expands the Kram (1985) conceptualization to the idea of peer mentoring, moving away from the original focus on the mentor-protégé dyad. Whitely, Dougherty, and Dreher (1991) distinguish between "primary mentoring" (i.e., more intense and longer duration) and more ephemeral "secondary mentoring" but still beginning with the Kram conceptualization. Chao, Walz, and Gardner (1992) use Kram's conceptualization in connection with both formal and informal mentoring. Ragins (1997b) examines diversity and power relations, beginning with the Kram conceptualization. Scandura (1992) examines a number of

Table 1: Mentoring definitions

"Mentoring is defined as a developmental relationship that involves organizational members of unequal status or, less frequently, peers" (Bozionelos, 2004, p. 25).
"Mentoring is an intense long-term relationship between a senior, more experienced individual (the mentor) and a more junior, less experienced individual (the protégé)" (Eby & Allen, 2002, p. 456).
"Mentors provide young adults with career-enhancing functions, such as sponsorship, coaching, facilitating exposure and visibility, and offering challenging work or protection, all of which help the younger person to establish a role in the organization, learn the ropes, and prepare for advancement" (Kram & Isabella, 1985, p. 111).
"Mentoring is a developmental relationship typically occurring between senior and junior individuals in organizations" (McManus & Russell, 1997, p. 145).
"The mentor is usually a senior, experienced employee who serves as a role model, provides support, direction, and feedback to the younger employee regarding career plans and interpersonal development, and increases the visibility of the protégé to decision-makers in the organization who may influence career opportunities" (Noe, 1988, p. 458).
"Traditionally, mentors are defined as individuals with advanced experience and knowledge who are committed to providing upward mobility and support to protégés careers" (Ragins, 1997b, p. 484).
"A mentor is generally defined as a higher-ranking, influential individual in your work environment who has advanced experience and knowledge and is committed to providing upward mobility and support to your career. Your mentor may or may not be in your organization and s/he may or may not be your immediate supervisor" (Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000, p. 1182).
"We conceptualized supervisory mentoring as a transformational activity involving a mutual commitment by mentor and protégé to the latter's long-term development, as a personal, extra organizational investment in the protégé by the mentor, and as the changing of the protégé by the mentor, accomplished by the sharing of values, knowledge, experience, and so forth" (Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994, p. 1589).
"We define mentors as 'individuals with advanced experience and knowledge who are committed to providing upward support and mobility to their protégés' careers'" (Singh, Bains, & Vinnicombe, 2002, p. 391).
"The term 'mentor' refers to a more senior person who takes an interest in sponsorship of the career of a more junior person" (Smith, Howard, & Harrington, 2005, p. 33).
"Mentoring relationships facilitate junior colleagues' (protégés) professional development and career progress" (Tepper, 1995, p. 1191).
"This study focuses on a more formal type of relationship between a senior member of an organization and a novice, in part, to address the growing emphasis organizations are placing on formal types of mentoring in the socialization and career development of many professionals" (Young & Perrewe, 2000, p. 613).
"A mentor is a person who oversees the career and development of another person, usually junior, through teaching, counseling, providing psychological support, protecting, and at times promoting or sponsoring. The mentor may perform any or all of the above functions during the mentor relationship" (Zey, 1984, p. 7).

questionnaire items, factor analyzing them and interpreting the results in terms of the dimensions initially suggested by Kram.

Perhaps one reason why early, somewhat imprecise concepts continue to hold sway is, ironically, the fragmentation of the literature. Early mentoring concepts seem to be the only glue holding together highly diverse research. Still, there have been some extensions and departures in conceptualization. For example, researchers now address the possible negative outcomes of mentoring, where barriers prevent mentors from providing guidance to protégés (Eby & Allen, 2002; Eby, McManus, Simon, & Russell, 2000; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Ragins & Cotton, 1996; Scandura, 1998). Eby and colleagues (2000) define negative mentoring "as specific incidents that occur between mentors and protégés, mentors' characteristic manner of interacting with protégés, or mentors' characteristics that limit their ability to effectively provide guidance to protégés" (p. 3).

Some researchers have extended their mentoring definitions to include alternative forms of mentoring such as peer mentoring (Bozionelos, 2004), formal and informal mentoring (Chao et al., 1992), and diversified mentoring, relationships where individuals of different racial, ethnic, or gender groups engage in mentoring (Ragins, 1997a, 1997b). Although one can perhaps argue that the core meaning for mentoring remains in wide use, it is certainly the case that multiple meanings have added complexity and in some instances ambiguity. Conceptual clarity seems to have hampered theory development. As Merriam (1983) notes, "How mentoring is defined determines the extent of mentoring found" (p. 165).

Concept as a Precursor to Theory

The most important rule for developing a useful concept is to be able to state its boundary conditions such that we know with some confidence that *X* is an instance of the phenomenon but *Y* is not (Kirshenmann, 1981; Rosenberg, 2005). Few extant concepts of mentoring satisfy the boundary rule. It is certainly easy to understand why this is the case. The term, mentoring, shares "concept space" with closely related phenomena such as coaching and apprenticeship. At its most elemental, mentoring is about the transmission of knowledge. To exemplify some of the difficulties of developing a concept of mentoring that has some explanatory relevance, we provide below a thought experiment that highlights these difficulties, focusing especially on the problem of bounding the mentoring concept.

Two Managers: A Thought Experiment

George H. has just begun working as a deputy budget analyst in the State Department of Energy and Environment. He is assigned to work under the unit's director, veteran public manager David L. During the first few weeks

of the job assignment, the two barely communicate, but George nonetheless learns a great deal from David simply by watching what David does and by reading reports that he produces. During this period George has also learned much by reading his agency training manual, attending a training session for new employees, watching others working in similar positions, picking up informal cues and “helpful hints” from peers, and developing tacit knowledge or “learning by doing.”

After 2 months, David calls George into his office and says, “you are a fast learner and doing well, I am going to take you under my wing.” David is as good as his word and during the next year or so transmits a great deal of knowledge about financial accounting, works closely with George, and reviews his work products. In addition to the ins and outs of financial accounting, David also tells George more than he really wants to know about office politics, including whom to look out for, whom to choose as an ally, and even who is involved in an office romance and who has a substance abuse problem. As the relationship develops, George learns that for all of David’s knowledge he is utterly incompetent with the organization’s management information systems and generally with computers and, so, George often gives David helpful hints about how to use the system and how to solve problems as they occur. David is appreciative and shows that he, too, is a fast learner.

After 1 year, George is so successful that he is offered a job in another agency of state government. He takes the job of chief budget analyst for the Department of Transportation, a job equivalent in rank and authority to David’s. On reflection George thinks that he has learned a great deal from David and promises to himself to stay in close touch.

Simple as it is, this thought experiment raises some fundamental questions about the nature of mentoring, questions not easily answered by consulting the mentoring literature. We explore these questions below. Many of these questions have implications not only for theory but also for research design.

Question: Is Mentoring Different When the Mentor Is the Protégé’s Boss?

Some mentoring researchers focus on “supervisory mentoring” questioning whether or not one’s boss can be a mentor and whether supervisory mentoring is preferred to nonsupervisory mentoring or vice versa (Burke, McKenna, & McKeen, 1991; Eby, 1997; Green & Bauer, 1995; Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994; Tepper, 1995; Tepper & Taylor, 2003). Eby and colleagues (2000) investigated the conditions under which protégés are most likely to report negative mentoring experiences, such as abuse, neglect, intentional exclusion, tyranny, deception, incompetence, or sexual harassment and found that having a mentor who is one’s supervisor, as compared to nonsupervisory mentor, is not related to reporting negative mentoring experiences. Burke and colleagues (1991) tested whether mentoring relationships are “special” compared to

regular supervisor–subordinate relationships and found that there were no significant differences between mentored subordinates and other subordinates, except that those mentored reported higher levels of psychosocial functions such as friendship.

We suggest, in accordance with the literature, that one’s boss should be eligible under the concept “mentor” and that a boss can be an effective mentor. Indeed, saying that one’s boss cannot be a mentor results in an unrealistic delimitation. A boss is a particular type of administrative superior, typically one who interacts more directly, often face-to-face. If we assume that mentoring requires at least some face-to-face interaction, then all those administrative superiors who do not interact directly with the employee cannot be mentors. Surely we do not wish to say that persons in formally superior positions can be mentors only if they have no supervisory connection to the employee. Moreover, employees in contemporary organizations often have several bosses and several administrative superiors with whom they have direct, interactive relationships. If all these were disqualified as mentors, the concept would take a different and less useful shape than it has to this point.

Though bosses should qualify as mentors, mentoring is not synonymous with a good relationship with one’s boss. What about mentoring is different? If a supervisor assists a subordinate, teaches the subordinate new skills, and advances her career, is that supervisor fulfilling a supervisor’s job obligation, or is that a mentor? It is important that mentoring theory and research distinguish between good supervisors and supervisors who mentor.

Question: Is Acknowledgement Required for a Mentoring Relationship?

The vignette seems to imply that David viewed himself as George’s mentor. But although George values at least a portion of the knowledge imparted by David, there is no clear indication that David views George as a mentor. Is conscious recognition required? If so, by whom? The mentor, the protégé, or both?

This question is especially important to research design. For example, if mentoring need not be acknowledged, then the most common approach to its study, questionnaires and survey research, is seriously undercut. As we see from Table 2, questionnaires almost always assume that the respondent can and will identify a mentor (or a protégé) by providing a definition and then asking respondents, “Have you ever had a mentor?” (Eby, Butts, Lockwood, & Simon, 2004; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000; Tepper, 1995) or “How many mentors have helped you?” (Chao et al., 1992, p. 624). Although providing a definition and then asking, for example, “Do you have a mentor?” is in most instances acceptable, this approach also increases the likelihood of “framing” and other response artifacts. Some studies ask a series of questions about the characteristics (Smith, Howard, & Harrington, 2005) and functions of a mentor

Table 2: Questionnaire items identifying mentoring

<p>"Please provide information regarding your experiences with mentoring relationships. Mentoring relationships are characterized by a close, professional relationship between two individuals – one usually more senior in some regard. The mentor and protégé may or may not be with the same company. . . . Mentoring is defined as a pairing of a more skilled or experienced person with a lesser skilled or experienced one, with the goal [either implicitly or explicitly stated] of having the lesser skilled person grow and develop specific career-related competencies. Your mentor may or may not be your manager" (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003, pp. 423–424).</p> <p>"One type of work relationship is a mentoring relationship. A mentor is generally defined as a higher-ranking, influential individual in your work environment who has advanced experience and knowledge and is committed to providing upward mobility and support in your career. A mentor may or may not be in your organization, and s/he may or may not be your immediate supervisor. Have you ever had a mentor?" (Eby, Butts, Lockwood, & Simon, 2004, pp. 424–425).</p> <p>"How many mentors (someone who actively assists and helps guide your professional development in some significant and ongoing way) have you had?" (Payne & Huffman, 2005, p. 162).</p> <p>"Mentorship is defined as an intense work relationship between senior (mentor) and junior (protégé) organizational members. The mentor has experience and power in the organization and personally advises, counsels, coaches, and promotes the career development of the protégé. Promotion of the protégé's career may occur directly through actual promotions or indirectly through the mentor's influence and power over other organizational members" (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992, p. 624).</p> <p>"Consider your career history since graduating from our program and the degree to which influential managers have served as your sponsor or mentor (this need not be limited to one person)" (Dreher & Ash, 1990, p. 541).</p>
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(Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994), making determinations on the basis of those responses. This seems in most instances more useful than asking the respondent to make a global decision about a multifaceted concept. Still, there is no research that investigates relationships where one member of the dyad responds as a mentor or protégé whereas the other does not.

If mentoring is viewed as a phenomenon not requiring awareness or acknowledgement by the persons involved, very different research techniques might be required, such as participant observation or unobtrusive measures. For example, Burke and McKeen (1997) do not ask respondents about mentoring but ask them "to think of a senior individual who has/had served these functions [coach, tutor, counselor and confidante] for them" (p. 46) and then discusses the findings as mentoring relationships. Do responses to questions of having a mentor differ from responses about identifying an influential person in one's life?

Question: Who Is the Mentor?

In the beginning of the vignette, David is imparting knowledge to George. But as the relationship advances, George begins to impart knowledge to David. Does this mean that the nature of the relationship has changed such that it is no longer a mentorship? Or does it mean that each is a mentor but in a different realm? Is it perhaps appropriate to think of mentoring as multidimensional, such that one member of a dyad can be the mentor in one or more realms and (for the same dyad) the protégé in other realms? Or does this multidimensional concept of mentoring simply introduce an unacceptable level of complexity?

Question: Must the Mentor and the Protégé Like One Another?

Another interesting question is that of friendship and liking. Can individuals engage in successful mentoring and career development without liking one another? Respect certainly seems necessary but is respect sufficient? Many authors identify psychosocial outcomes of mentoring such as friendship, counseling, and emotional support (Fagenson-Eland, Marks, & Amendola, 1997; Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988; Scandura, 1992, 1997; Scandura & Viator, 1994). Are these really mentoring outcomes? Or are psychosocial outcomes really just the outcomes of friendship? Does friendship between senior and junior employees constitute mentoring?

Question: What Part of Knowledge Transmission Is "Mentoring" and What Part Is Not?

Social science proceeds quite nicely by stipulation and operationalization. Using this approach, one can, with some concern for precision, furnish an answer to most of the questions raised above. Thus, one can stipulate that the boss is (or is not) eligible as mentor. One can operationalize mentoring relationships as requiring acknowledgement (or not). As long as one is clear, there is little confusion, except perhaps to metatheoreticians. But this question of the parsing of knowledge transmission gets to the nub of the problem with the mentoring concept. For this reason, it is perhaps the thorniest of the questions we raise.

Let us begin with a part of this issue that can be resolved by stipulation. In the above vignette, David imparted knowledge that was of little interest to George – knowledge about office politics and knowledge, perhaps rumors, about deviant (from the standpoint of organizational norms) behavior. We can simply stipulate (or not) that unwanted knowledge nevertheless qualifies as a basis for mentoring. We can also stipulate (or not) that the information transmitted must be true.

More problematic by far is the fact that knowledge does not place itself into discrete bins. How does one distinguish between typical training and mentoring? In many cases bosses are formally required to train subordinates. But when, if ever, does the training relationship transmute into a mentor relationship? The same might be said for socialization. Peers inevitably impart knowledge, by example and usually more directly. Under what circumstances is this "peer mentoring" and under what circumstances is it "socialization?"

Question: Can Groups Mentor Individuals?

The foregoing question raised another. Is mentoring best viewed as a relation between two people or among a group of people? Kram's (1985) early influential work was based on dyads. The preponderance of the mentoring

research focuses on dyadic relationships (Auster, 1984; Eby & Allen, 2002; Kram, 1985; Ragins & Scandura, 1997). Today, however, researchers define mentoring to include group mentoring (Dansky, 1996) and peer mentoring (Bozionelos, 2004; Kram & Isabella, 1985). More recently, Eby (1997) offered a typology that expands mentoring to include alternative forms of group mentoring such as interteam, intrateam, and professional association mentoring. Team mentoring occurs when teams help individuals develop within or across teams. Professional association group mentoring occurs when an entire professional association mentors a protégé by, for example, building social networks (Dansky, 1996). Group mentoring is unique because the mentoring “emerges from the dynamics of the group as a whole, rather than the relationships with any one person” (Dansky, 1996, p. 7). Should a useful mentoring concept be limited to dyads or should it include groups?

Question: When Does the Mentoring Begin and End?

One is tempted to say that the mentoring relationship begins when David sits George down in his office and, essentially, declares himself as George’s new mentor. But is it the declaration or the acceptance of the declaration by George? Or, aside from role acceptance, does the mentoring begin only when knowledge is transmitted? Related, is David a mentor to George even before the declaration? We see that George, who was not communicating directly with David, was nonetheless learning from his example and from his work products.

George leaves the organization. By some usages, the mentor and the protégé are not required to be in the same organization (Eby, 1997; Eby et al., 2004). But what about the fact that George and David are now peers in the sense of authority, rank, and perhaps even knowledge? Does this mitigate the relationship’s qualification as a mentor relationship? Or are they now “peer mentors,” and how is this different from simply a collegial relationship? Furthermore, how does mentoring that advances a protégé to a position in another organization speak to the research on the organizational benefits of mentoring (Eby, 1997; Payne & Huffman, 2005; Russell & Adams, 1997; Tepper & Taylor, 2003; Wilson & Elman, 1990)? Are there term limits on mentoring? Is there a frequency requirement – how often does one or both need to transmit knowledge to sustain a mentoring relationship?

Implications

The purpose of this thought experiment was to highlight the difficulties in developing a useful and usable concept of mentoring. The analysis perhaps also shows, less directly, some of the reasons why research on mentoring is so scattered and why the development of a cumulative, empirically based theory of mentoring still seems daunting even after decades of hard work.

It is worth noting that we have not even begun to attend to the question “what is effective mentoring?” despite the fact that this is the single question that dominates the mentoring literature. It is difficult to gauge the effectiveness of a social technology absent some clarity about its meaning. In the next section, we seek to lend some clarity to the concept of mentoring by providing a provisional definition and some boundary rules.

The Mentoring Concept: A Reformulation

As we suggested above, relatively few scholars actually provide a stipulative definition of mentoring. Most researchers cite Kram’s usage or neglect to provide a definition at all. As we provide ours, it will be apparent why conceptual and definitional issues are so often skirted – any definition that has a hope of distinguishing mentoring from other types of learning will necessarily be a complex one.

In developing our definition, we employ standard criteria (Balzer, 1986; Parsons, 1971). First, the definition should reflect ordinary language usage of the term. The definition need not (and in this instance cannot) be identical to ordinary language use, but it should not be so far removed from reality as to be unrecognizable. Second, the definition should be useful in providing boundaries for mentoring and separating mentoring from related varieties of knowledge transmission. Third and, of course, related to the other two criteria, the definition should be useful for advancing research.

We offer the following definition:

Mentoring: a process for the informal transmission of knowledge, social capital, and psychosocial support perceived by the recipient as relevant to work, career, or professional development; mentoring entails informal communication, usually face-to-face and during a sustained period of time, between a person who is perceived to have greater relevant knowledge, wisdom, or experience (the mentor) and a person who is perceived to have less (the protégé).

The definition is not a radical departure from others found in the literature. However, our definition clearly limits the term *mentoring* in ways that would reject at least some current meanings of the term. That, of course, is the point. The lexical meaning of ambiguity is “multiple meanings” and if everything is mentoring then nothing is.

The definition provides at least some resolution of the various problems suggested by the above George–David vignette. Let us return to those questions. First, “can someone be both boss and mentor?” According to our definition, the boss is not disqualified as mentor, but neither is peer mentoring disqualified. The key element of the definition for this concern is that the knowledge transmission must be informal in nature. If the instruction is part of the

formal requirements of the job (or the supervisory relationship), it does not qualify as mentoring. It should also be noted that mentoring requires unequal knowledge, but only in the knowledge domain of the mentoring, and there is no stipulation regarding the status or hierarchical relationship among the parties to the relationship. This implies, then, that it is indeed possible for David to continue as George's mentor even though George has an equal or greater rank. The definition also suggests that George and David can be one another's mentors, as long as it is in entirely different domains and there is unequal knowledge.

We feel that the dependence of mentoring on formal hierarchies is a misstep that occurred early in the history of mentoring research and is now well worth rectifying. Indeed, recent mentoring work has already begun to adjust to nonhierarchical relationships (see Higgins & Kram, 2001). Let us consider just a single example that shows the problematic nature of subjecting mentoring to hierarchical relation. Anyone who has combat experience in the U.S. military has a good likelihood of having witnessed the mentoring of junior officers by hierarchically subordinate, but more experienced, noncommissioned officers. A reading of combat memoirs (e.g., Manchester, 1982; Wolff, 1994) reveals that these relationships between junior officers and noncommissioned officers fulfill all of the attributes associated with mentoring, excepting only the unneeded criterion of unequal hierarchical status. Such mentoring not only affected careers but saved countless lives.

With respect to the "is acknowledgement required?" question, the answer from our definition is "yes." One reason we choose this approach is that the perception of the mentoring may sometimes be as important as the fact of knowledge transmission. Note that our definition does not suggest that mentoring is effective, only that the knowledge received is perceived as useful. We offer this in defense: How sensible is it to speak of having a mentor if one feels that the knowledge provided by the mentor is useless?

Another implication of our definition, an especially important one, is that mentoring is an informal social exchange. This means that the term "formal mentoring" is an oxymoron. This does not mean, however, that the thousands of formal mentoring programs set up in organizations do not result in mentoring relationships, only that they do not develop on command. The question of whether someone in a formal mentoring program has a mentor is an empirical question.

Our use of the term "formal mentoring" is somewhat different from the use prevailing in the literature. Typically, formal mentoring refers to mentoring relationships that are established, recognized, and managed by organizations and are not spontaneous (Chao et al., 1992). Chao and colleagues (1992) concluded that individuals in informal mentoring relationships (i.e., not part of formally sanctioned programs) report more career support and higher salaries than those in formal (sanctioned) mentoring relationships but that protégés in both formal and informal mentoring relationships report more positive

outcomes than nonmentored individuals. The research did not consider the cases, if any, where the formal mentoring program assignments did not give rise to a mentoring relationship.

According to Ragins and colleagues (2000), mentoring, whether formal in its origins or not, results in stronger job satisfaction outcomes. But Eby and Allen (2002) conclude that relationships based on formal program assignments can result in poor dyadic fit leading to more negative experiences and higher turnover and stress than is found in mentoring relationships that are informal in origin. In addition, Tepper (1995) found that informal-originated mentored protégés engage in upward maintenance tactics of their relationships with supervisors, whereas there are few differences between formal program-originated protégés and employees who are not mentored. Those in formal programs place more value on mentor traits (e.g., gender and rank) than behavior (Smith et al., 2005). Our decision to define mentoring in such a way as to disqualify formal mentoring contains no judgment about the thousands of formal mentoring programs that have been set up in organizations. We view formal mentoring programs as sowing the seeds of relationships, many of which flower into useful and productive mentor relationships.

A second stipulation of our definition is that there is a transmission of knowledge, social capital, and psychosocial support that is related to work. It is often noted that mentoring relationships can include an element of socioemotional support that has nothing to do with any cognitive notion of knowledge. We agree that this is often a concomitant of mentoring relations, and often a very important one, but it is neither necessary nor sufficient for mentoring. If one receives only socioemotional support then one does not have a mentor, one has a friend. By contrast, if one respects a mentor, but does not consider the mentor a friend and receives little or no socioemotional support, one can nonetheless prove a valuable source of organizational and career knowledge. To be sure, there is some level of social ingratiation required for any relationship (including mentoring) to work. One cannot despise a person and work effectively with that person as a protégé. But the friendship and emotional minimum seems to us a low one.

"When does mentoring begin and end?" This issue remains troubling because it is in part one of quanta. It is easy enough to say that mentoring does not begin until (a) the knowledge of interest (or the social capital and network ties) has begun to be both transmitted and received and (b) the two parties recognize the role. But the end of the mentoring relationship is a function of two factors, each potentially measurable but neither obvious in its scale calibration. First, when there is no longer an inequality in the focal knowledge domain, the mentoring relationship ends (at least within that domain – it may continue in another). But it is not easy to make such a determination. Certainly, self-reports will be suspect. Second, the mentoring ends with limited contact and limited transmission of knowledge. Inevitably, some judgment is required to determine just when the character and amount

of knowledge transmitted has changed such that a mentor relationship has ceased. Because acknowledgment of the mentoring relationship is a component of our definition, a practical means of determining when the relationship ends is self-reporting.

Locating the Mentoring Concept

Finally, let us consider the question we identified as the thorniest one: "What part of knowledge transmission is mentoring and what part is not?" We noted that knowledge does not place itself neatly into bins labeled "mentoring," "training," or "socialization."

Table 3 provides a comparison of, respectively, formal training, socialization, and mentoring. Although the categorization does not in each case meet the strictest criteria for cell types – mutual exclusiveness and exhaustiveness – it nonetheless provides substantial discrimination among the three often-confused modes of transmitting work-related knowledge. The distinctions in the table include the number of participants, relationship bases, recognition, needs fulfillment, and knowledge content. There seems no need to recapitulate the elements of the table, but it is perhaps worth emphasizing that the utility of knowledge provided by the three mechanisms is somewhat different.

If the mentoring relationship is informal and voluntary and it fails to satisfy the needs of the dyad, then there is little reason to expect that it will be sustained, regardless of the possible benefits to organizations, their goals, and their missions. This is, of course, an important distinction with training. Training often serves individual needs and may be most effective when organizational training needs are aligned with individual needs. But training

Table 3: Comparing three processes for transmitting work-related knowledge

	Formal training	Socialization	Mentoring
Number of participants	Infinite	Dependent on group size	Dyads (including sets of dyads)
Relationship bases	Authority mediated	Informal, typically entailing unequal knowledge or experience	Informal, requiring unequal knowledge
Recognition	Recognition and self-awareness unavoidable	Does not require recognition	Requires recognition (by both parties) for role enactment
Needs fulfillment	Multiple, but must include organization or authority-derived objectives	Multiple, but must include group needs	Multiple, but must serve the needs of the two voluntary participants
Knowledge utility	Includes knowledge presumed relevant to attaining organization mission or goals or formal job requirements	May or may not serve sanctioned work objectives, knowledge develops or reinforces group norms	Must be work relevant, but from the self-interested perspective of the involved parties

is not necessarily voluntary and its functioning does not necessarily depend on meeting individual needs. Likewise, socialization need not meet individual needs. If we think of the classic human relations studies of informal work groups (Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939) then we see that socialization may benefit the group or the organization to the detriment of the individual.

Conclusion

Is the glass half full or half empty? From one perspective, the study of mentoring seems a great success story. Starting in the late 1970s with a fresh research topic, hundreds of studies have been produced using a variety of methods and theoretical premises. Taken individually, a great many of these studies provide important insights. Taken together, the mentoring theory remains underdeveloped.

If one agrees that mentoring theory is underdeveloped, one can perhaps also agree that there are many reasons why this is the case. The work is, commendably, multidisciplinary and, thus, draws from many theoretical perspectives. But this has had the effect of fragmenting theory. Mentoring research is often, and commendably, instrumental in its motivations. But this has had the effect of certain impatience with continuity and broad-based explanation. In our judgment, the most important reason for limited progress toward a more unifying theory of mentoring is a failure to confront some of the lingering conceptual gaps in research and theory. In many instances, important studies of mentoring do not even provide a careful definition of the phenomenon. In most instances it is not easy to sort mentoring from adjacent concepts such as training, coaching, socialization, and even friendship. Our critique has sought, with the application of a thought experiment, to highlight some of the conceptual issues that require attention if research is to produce more powerful explanations.

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Meeting the Challenge of Doing an RCT Evaluation of Youth Mentoring in Ireland: A Journey in Mixed Methods

Bernadine Brady and Connie O'Regan

The move toward evidence-based practice throughout the Western world has led to a renewed focus on randomized controlled trials (RCTs) as a means of establishing impact. RCT studies are difficult, costly, and challenged on philosophical, methodological, and ethical grounds but, for policy makers, remain the method of choice for demonstrating cause and effect. To date, evaluations of social interventions in Ireland have not used RCTs (with the notable exception of an evaluation of the community mothers program by Johnson, Howell, & Molloy, 1993), but in recent years there has been a strong drive toward the use of this design as a means of helping to establish an evidence base for children's and young people's services. The authors are part of a research team in the west of Ireland that is currently undertaking an RCT study on the youth mentoring program, Big Brothers Big Sisters (BBBS). This article outlines the design process that the team went through, starting with an intention to develop a standard RCT with a process study built in. However, the challenges faced in the process of designing and implementing the study led the authors to move toward a mixed methods design. This article argues that researchers can respond to the epistemological and practical limitations of the RCT method in the context of social interventions through creative use of mixed methods models and approaches.

The initial part of this article describes the context within which the study takes place. Attention then moves to the RCT model, outlining the tensions

inherent in both the paradigmatic constraints of the experimental design chosen by the program funders for the evaluation and the practical limitations of the research setting. The final part of the article describes the three phases of the research process and the methodological and paradigmatic choices made at each stage.

Context for the Study

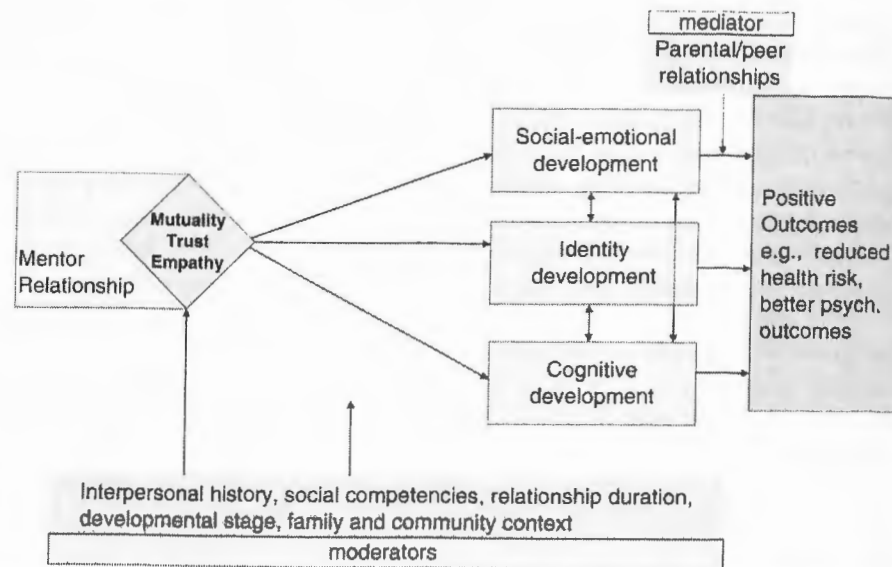
Although there is a long history of gathering statistical data and undertaking survey research, going back into the 19th century (Tovey & Share, 2003), the modern development of the field of evaluation in Ireland has been largely influenced by EU funding programs that rely mostly on process- and indicator-driven methodologies (EU Commission, 1999). However, in recent times, a new driver of evaluation practice has emerged as a consequence of a surge in philanthropic activity in Ireland. One such organization, the Atlantic Philanthropies (AP), has been a significant contributor in Ireland since the late 1990s. In this work, it is guided by a firm belief in the role of education and knowledge creation as a key driver of programs that can change people's lives. As part of its strategic vision for the Children and Youth Services in Ireland, it recognized the fact that funding in this area has been ad hoc and fragmented. The youth sector itself is primarily staffed by volunteers and reliant on a myriad funding sources and streams, often resulting in duplication and lack of coordination across agencies (Lalor, de Roiste, & Devlin, 2007). To address this patchwork approach to service provision and to develop the foundations of an evidence-based practice in social care in Ireland, AP resolved to make the funding of its Children and Youth program strongly linked to the requirement that service providers undertake rigorous, randomized controlled trials of the intervention, where possible. They believe that this will aid the longer term development of better program infrastructure and effective evidence-based policy (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2007). In addition to investment in service development, they made unparalleled investment in universities, including fourth-level education programs (F. H. T. Rhodes & Healy, 2006), capital and revenue support, including the development of children's research centers, at Trinity College Dublin and NUI, Galway.

The BBBS program is one of the oldest and most established models of youth mentoring in the world, operating since 1905 in the United States and now in more than 30 countries worldwide. The program oversees the creation of supportive relationship between adult mentors and young people. What sets the BBBS approach to mentoring apart from others is its highly structured nature, with each match organized by a case manager who works to agreed standards for the screening, training, and ongoing support and supervision of matches. The program focus is not on specific outcomes but on developing a relationship that will foster positive youth development (Tierney, Grossman, & Resch, 1995).

BBBS was established in Ireland in 2002, with a leading national youth organization, Foroige, as the host agency. An initial pilot project provided community-based mentoring in the west of Ireland, to young people between 10 and 18 years. Foroige received a grant from the AP in 2005 toward the further development of the BBBS mentoring program, the stated aim being "to produce better outcomes for children by demonstrating and testing a proven model of youth mentoring" (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2007). The support package agreed between Foroige and the AP specified that the program would be supported to expand and that it would undergo a rigorous evaluation.

Although RCTs had not been undertaken in youth services in Ireland before, the BBBS program was an attractive place to start. A number of critical factors created a positive climate for the "trying out" of such a methodology. To begin with, stakeholders were positively predisposed to the study as it would build on studies in the United States, which had shown the BBBS program to be effective. In one of the most high-profile and large-scale RCT studies in the United States, Public/Private Ventures, an independent social research agency, assessed whether the BBBS mentoring program made a tangible difference to young people's lives. They found that youth with a mentor were less likely to start using drugs or alcohol, were less likely to hit someone, had improved school attendance and performance, had improved attitudes toward completing schoolwork, and had improved peer and family relationships (Tierney et al., 1995). Further evidence in relation to mentoring was provided by a meta-analysis of more than 55 studies of mentoring programs. It found that there is a small (.13), but significant, positive effect for mentees in the areas of enhanced psychological, social, academic, and job/employment functioning, as well as reductions in problem behaviors (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Cooper, 2002). DuBois et al. (2002) emphasize that to facilitate attainment of desired outcomes, programs must provide an organized program structure and support. The BBBS program is considered an exemplar in terms of such programs operated under strict criteria that are associated with good practice in youth mentoring. The meta-analysis confirmed the finding that intensive supervision and support of the mentors by paid staff, a requisite of the BBBS approach, was especially critical to successful outcomes (Furona, Roaf, Styles, & Branch, 1993).

Thus, the Irish BBBS program, which is operated to the same standards as the U.S. model, could be very hopeful that positive effects would be found. Just as the Tierney evaluation in the United States spurred a huge impact on the growth of youth mentoring, Foroige management envisaged that a similar study would provide the evidence they needed to garner policy and financial support for the development of the program in Ireland. Furthermore, aspects of the methodology of the Tierney et al. (1995) study could be replicated in an Irish context, meaning that the evaluation did not have to start from a blank page. In addition, there was great openness on the part of ground-level Foroige staff to the research as they believed it could prove their intuitive sense that mentoring "works."



Note: Adapted from the *Handbook of Youth Mentoring* (p. 32), edited by David L. DuBois and Michael J. Karcher, 2005. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Copyright © 2005 by Sage. Adapted with permission.

Figure 1: Rhodes's model of mentoring

Another key advantage was that there has been a great growth in mentoring theorization and analysis since the Tierney study was published in 1995. Of particular note is the work of Jean Rhodes, who developed a plausible theory of mentoring, using data from the Tierney et al. evaluation (J. E. Rhodes, 2005; see Figure 1). In undertaking an RCT, Ghate (2001) recommends a specified causal model that explains *what* effects are expected and *why* these effects are likely to occur. For the proposed study, J. E. Rhodes's (2005) model of mentoring offered the opportunity to test not just "if" mentoring works, but "how" it works in an Irish context. Furthermore, it has been argued that RCTs are most suited to testing services that are delivered in a systematic way (Ghate, 2001; Oakley et al., 2003). BBBS was ideal in this regard because the program is underpinned by a detailed manual, which clearly sets out the nature of the intervention.

Finally, the fact that a philanthropic organization was willing to fund the study meant that cost was not a prohibitive factor as it often can be in studies of this nature. As part of their targeted initiative to enhance the evidence base of children's services in Ireland, this organization was also to provide capacity building for the research team to facilitate them to learn "how to do an RCT." An expert advisory group (EAG) was formed, composed of leading researchers and academics, whose role was to guide the research team through the overall research project. In summary, therefore, the conditions merged to make this a positive context within which to undertake an RCT.

Criticisms and Challenges Associated with the RCT Method

Although RCTs have been described as the "Rolls Royce" and gold standard of evaluation methods (Chelimsky, 1997), the method and its underlying postpositivist paradigm have also been subject to intense criticism and epistemological debate (Greene, 2003). To place these criticisms in context, it is useful to refer to the main philosophical choices that exist in the conduct of evaluations of social programs (Greene, 2000). Apart from the post-positivist paradigm underpinning experimental design, there is also "utilitarian pragmatism," a position that matches research method to the particular research question and avoids consideration of which method is superior. In addition, there is an "interpretative" stance, which privileges the voice and experiences of the stakeholders in a given situation. The approach is not to search for one objective account but instead to seek a representation of a multilayered complex reality. Finally, there is the "critical social sciences" stance, which focuses on the power imbalances inherent in a given evaluand and seeks to promote the equal participation and empowerment of less powerful stakeholders (Greene, 2000).

At a fundamental level, the application of postpositivist laboratory experimental design to the field of social research is criticized on the basis of its incompatibility to the open complex reality that is the social world. The implicit assumptions in the paradigm that it is possible to separate facts from values and that the objective facts about a program can be established using the experimental method have been vigorously contested.

Some have also questioned the external validity of the method on the basis that participants are not selected at random from all members of a given population; instead, participants are randomly assigned from a sample of people already referred to a given program. It is therefore difficult to establish how representative this population is of the wider sample, which in turn limits the degree to which findings can be generalized. In addition, the experimental design relies on the use of a linear understanding of causality, asserting that it can be proved mathematically that any difference between two groups randomly assigned to a treatment or control condition can be said to be because of the treatment. This focus on the input/output model alone is criticized as a reductionist approach to understanding the nature of causality in the social world (Pawson & Tilley, 1997). Another concern attached to this design is the reliance on quantitative, usually survey, techniques to measure the construct of interest. Issues arise regarding the suitability of measuring outcomes in this way, the construct validity of such items, and the application of standard instruments to populations that are different from the original population the measure was designed for. For some, this issue is addressed by the piloting and redesign of survey instruments, others add qualitative items, although others reject this as a way of "measuring" reality at all. A further challenge to the use of the experimental design in the area of children's research has

been the growth in popularity and influence of participatory and inclusive research designs.

The above criticisms have been leveled at the RCT method mainly from those who consider it an inappropriate means of evaluating social interventions. However, even for those who believe in the value of this form of impact evaluation, a range of ethical, technical, and feasibility difficulties associated with the RCT method must be faced. To begin with, it is argued that, as a result of random allocation, the control group may be deprived of something seen as beneficial. These ethical issues mean that the method may not be appropriate in certain situations. A second issue relates to sample size. As highlighted earlier, the effect size found by Tierney et al. (1995) in the U.S. evaluation of BBBS can be considered small. For interventions that are likely to have small or variable effects, both experimental and control groups must be quite large. The larger the number of units studied the more likely the experimental and the control groups are to be statistically equivalent, and the likelihood of Type 2 errors is reduced (Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman, 2004). With smaller sample sizes there is a risk that the treatment and control groups will not be statistically equivalent, despite being randomly assigned. A third issue relates to the state of development of the intervention under study. It is generally accepted that an RCT is not suitable for programs in the early stages of implementation as, if the program changes during the intervention, there is no easy way to determine what effects are produced by any given form of the intervention. Rossi et al. (2004) suggest that a minimum of 2 years of running the program is necessary. Likewise, Gbate (2001) suggests that the services have time to "bed down" so that teething problems can be overcome.

Fourth, considerable time is needed to ensure buy-in from stakeholder staff. Previous studies have shown that there can be a resistance to random allocation because of practitioners' aspiration to get the best services for the most needy cases (Little, Kogan, Bullock, & van der Laan, 2004). Fifth, long lead times for facilitating and measuring attitudinal and behavioral change are a major methodological problem in measuring the impact of social interventions. Gbate (2001) suggests that the timetable should allow for preevaluation research and for careful detailed planning. Finally, although randomly formed experimental and control groups are statistically equivalent at the start of an evaluation, nonrandom processes may threaten their equivalence as the experiment progresses. Attrition can affect the validity of results because it tends to be more pronounced for members of excluded groups, and differential attrition may produce differences between groups. Oakley (2000) urges that particular consideration be given to how best to avoid the "resentful demoralization" (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002, p. 80) often experienced by control group members and to encourage control groups to feel that it is worthwhile to make an active contribution to the research. Another concern is that the control group may receive treatment that contaminates the experiment.

The Design Challenge

Given the philosophical and practical difficulties with the RCT method just outlined, two key challenges faced the research team in relation to the study design. First, there was a need to find a paradigmatic stance, and second, the design had to be able to address the ethical, feasibility, and technical challenges associated with the RCT method.

With regard to the former, the research team struggled with the epistemological and ontological limitations of the RCT method. A key difficulty in relation to the RCT method is its linear understanding of causality and lack of attention to context. Because the BBBS program was being evaluated in a different cultural context, the research team recognized the need to describe and account for how this context may affect the program. This was especially the case because the program was concerned with developing supportive relationships for young people, and the mentoring research has indicated the need for analytic approaches that are sensitive to detecting how mentoring relationships may be shaped by and shape features of the settings and environments in which they occur (Dubois, Doolittle, Yates, Silverthorn, & Kraemer Tobes, 2006). Furthermore, the research team was cognizant of the strengths of both the U.S.-based mentoring research referred to earlier, which is primarily quantitative in focus, and the insights and critical approach adopted by the more qualitative focus of the U.K. mentoring research (see, e.g., Philip, Shucksmith, & King, 2004). We saw the opportunity to bridge these two traditions in a study that could address questions of impact as well as of process and implementation.

Although RCT studies are primarily quantitative in nature, it is recommended that process designs be incorporated as a means of overcoming some of the perceived difficulties with the use of an RCT in evaluating complex social interventions (Oakley et al., 2003). The integration of a process study into the overall design could allow a focus on program fidelity, compliance, and strength and the collection of data on the experience of stakeholders.

By incorporating a process element, therefore, the opportunity presented itself to move toward a mixed methods approach. Greene and Caracelli (1997) outline three stances that are usually taken on the question of whether it is possible to establish a paradigmatic stance from which to combine methods. Those adopting a purist stance believe that postpositivist and interpretivist approaches cannot be combined in a single study due to their differing ontological and epistemological worldviews. This position is also described as the incommensurability thesis (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). However, alternative view points are the pragmatic and dialectical stances. The pragmatic stance holds that there are differences between the worldviews as held by the purists but that these should not prohibit researchers from matching research methods to the research question at hand in order to meet the particular needs of the stakeholders. The dialectical position also holds that there are differences in

the postpositivist and interpretivist worldviews but, instead of prohibiting their combination, it encourages the development of designs that actively seek to create deeper and more integrated understandings of complex phenomena through interrogating and comparing the data arising from each worldview (Greene, 2007; Greene, Benjamin, & Goodyear, 2001). Having made the decision to undertake a mixed methods study of the impact of the mentoring, the section that follows describes the experience of the research team in finding a framework within which to mix paradigms.

The second challenge was related to the “nuts and bolts” of the evaluation design. To begin with, the design would have to meet the *ethical* standards of both the researchers and service providers and answer potential criticisms regarding withholding valuable services from young people. Another critical issue was that of *sample size*. As recruitment of participants would be undertaken by Foroige youth projects, the design process would involve negotiating with Foroige to assess whether it would be possible for them to recruit a minimum of 200 participants. Furthermore, as outlined earlier, it is recommended that *programs* undergoing RCT are well established. In the case of BBBS, although the program had been established for 5 years in the west of Ireland, it was in the process of being “rolled out” nationally. The logical solution was to limit the study to the western area but this in turn would have implications in terms of the ability to recruit an adequate sample. Another challenge would be to ensure *stakeholder commitment* to a lengthy study and complete the study within the timeframes set down by funders. In addition, the design had to include strategies to avoid “resentful demoralization” on the part of the control group and ensure that control group participants were sufficiently motivated to continue with the study over the proposed 1.5-year timeframe. They also had to ensure that they did not receive *alternative treatment* that would threaten the integrity of the experiment.

The next part of this article reviews our journey in trying to resolve these tensions and develop an integrated study design. The design process was very much a journey of three stages for the research team, reflecting a move from impact/quantitative dominant to a more rounded mixed methods design. It shows that the attempts to resolve the “nuts and bolts” issues influenced the paradigmatic stance and vice versa.

Resolving the Tensions: Phase 1 of the Design Journey

Because the task of designing and implementing an RCT was such a challenging one, the research team initially applied themselves to the nuts and bolts of the impact study. The practical challenges outlined above had to be resolved through consultation with stakeholders and the EAG. In developing the design, a balance had to be struck between ethical practice, scientific validity, and feasibility in terms of what the BBBS program could take.

In relation to sample size, we were supported in our work by members of our EAG, who had particular experience in experimental design. This group advised that a minimum sample size of 200 would be required in order to potentially identify the expected effect size of a Cohen's *d* of just under .2. However, the recruitment of 200 study participants would represent a challenge for the program. At the time, Foroige, the service provider, was supporting 60 mentoring pairs in the western region and had just received funding to roll out the program nationally. Given, as mentioned earlier, that programs undergoing RCT should be well established, the decision was made to restrict the study to the western region where the BBBS program was in operation for 5 years. This meant the program had to grow exponentially from supporting 60 matches to supporting an additional 100 to conduct the study.

The ethical issue of denying young people a service was addressed in a number of ways. Both intervention and control groups would be offered a basic youth service and mentoring would represent an “add-on” service for the intervention group. Thus, all research participants would be offered a service. This meant that mentoring would be evaluated as an additional element of youth service provision rather than as a stand-alone program.¹ Furthermore, the youth in the control group would be placed on a waiting list for support. However, as a result, the target sample age group would have to be reduced from 10–18 years to 10–14 years, so that the young people on the waiting list would have a chance to be matched and benefit from a mentor's support before being ineligible for the program when they reached the age of 18 years. In addition, we agreed on a “free pass” system with the staff, whereby any vulnerable young person deemed to be in need of mentoring support and who the staff were not comfortable with possibly being randomly allocated to the control condition, could be forwarded for the intervention and not included in the study. Detailed information materials were developed in conjunction with program staff to ensure that the research study was communicated clearly to potential participants and full written consent was required from all participants.

Like the Tierney et al. (1995) study in the United States, it was planned that the Irish study would take measures at baseline, 12 months, and 18 months from young people, parents, teachers, and mentors. We were supported in our work by Dr. Jean Rhodes, a member of our international advisory group, who agreed to provide the research team with a set of quantitative research instruments to be used in the study, which would enable us to explore whether the implementation of the BBBS program in Ireland could be understood in terms of her theory of mentoring (J. E. Rhodes, 2005).

In terms of reducing attrition and avoiding “resentful demoralization” of the control group, the fact that control group participants would be engaged in Foroige services meant that they would be less likely to “drop out” and more accessible to the research team than if they were not receiving any intervention. The research team worked extensively with the program staff, developing

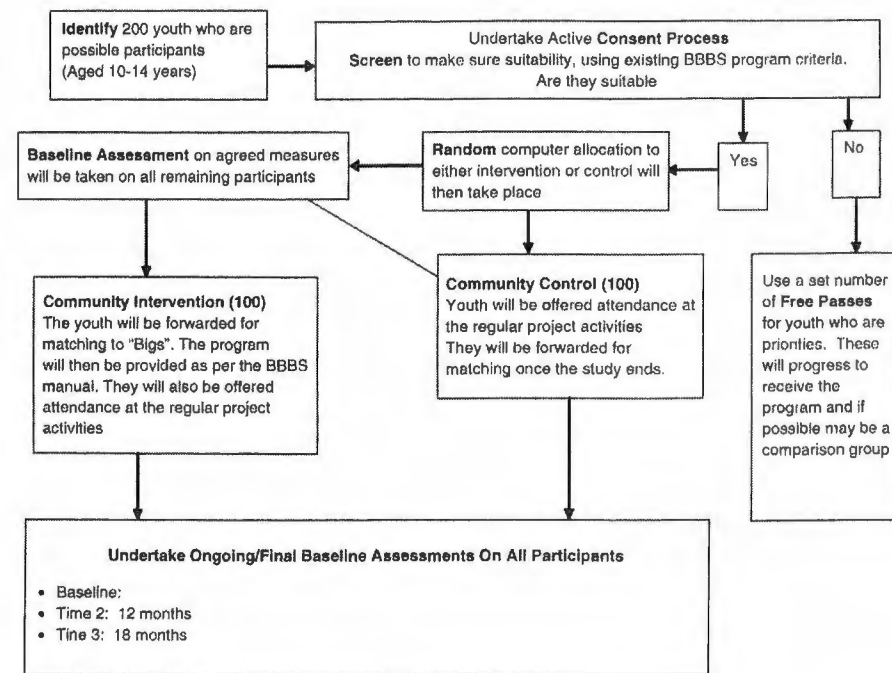


Figure 2: Overview of impact study design

communication and data management protocols with them. To avoid threats to the integrity of the experiment, it was critical that the program staff were aware of the need to offer similar activities to both control and intervention groups and not favor those not receiving a mentor in any way. Data systems were established to record the precise dosage of “intervention as normal” activities received by both intervention and control groups.

A design document was drafted that described the impact study in detail. A flow chart summarizing the initial design choices is outlined in Figure 2.

In practice, as illustrated in Figure 3, the need to address the feasibility and ethical issues associated with RCT impinged on the recruitment of the sample and, consequently, the power of the study. By restricting the study to the west of Ireland and operating a waiting list control that meant that the age range of recruits had to be lowered, the pool of potential recruits was reduced. In addition, the breadth of the study was reduced in that it would focus just on the 10–14 year age group and would evaluate mentoring as an add-on service rather than a stand-alone intervention. However, the ethical and feasibility demands on the study could not be ignored and compromises had to be made.

From on the outset, the research team had identified that the evaluation would need to answer the following three research questions:

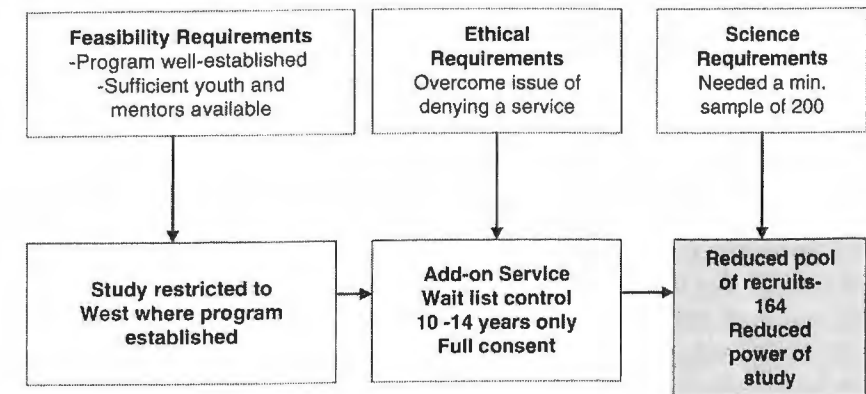


Figure 3: How ethics and feasibility issues affected ability to recruit sample

1. What is the impact of the BBBS program on the participating youth?
2. How is the program experienced by stakeholders?
3. How is the program implemented?

It would be fair to say that during Phase 1 of the design development the research team was consumed by a focus on the impact measurement because of the range of issues to be addressed to make this methodology applicable to the local context.

We had yet to develop a design that would not only incorporate these research questions but also provide a framework for integration of the various data sources. Our position in this phase could be summarized as maintaining a *pragmatic stance* in our intention to use both quantitative and qualitative approaches to answer the different research questions. Our progress in selecting an appropriate mixed methods design is set out below.

Impact and Process: Phase 2 of the Design Journey

As described earlier, the intention at the outset had been to have some type of process study incorporated into the RCT, as a result of the research team's own methodological orientation, a recognition of the importance of understanding process in mentoring studies as illustrated through U.K. research, and in compliance with good practice in RCT studies, which highlights the importance of process studies to describe implementation. At this stage of the design process, some additional forces emerged to place further emphasis on the need for a stronger process element.

First, as mentioned earlier, the research culture in Ireland is very much focused on process studies. While the research team had to grapple with this new form of inquiry, the program staff and other stakeholders also had

difficulties in accepting the RCT methodology. When “selling” the impact study to program staff, the research team was frequently asked if there would be an opportunity for them to provide feedback on the program as part of the study. Thus, there was a demand from stakeholders for a mixing of methods. From the perspective of the research team, the promise of a process element was a means of “softening the blow” in terms of the rigidity of the RCT methodology and providing stakeholders with a little bit of what they were familiar with in terms of research to lessen their anxiety or resistance in the face of the RCT. This was of critical importance given the central role of program staff in liaising between the research team and the study participants. Another factor of relevance at this stage was the difficulty associated with recruitment of the sample. The search for sufficient numbers of participants took longer and was more difficult than anticipated. The data collection time points had to be extended, and the eventual final sample size was reduced to 164. The fact that the projected sample size would limit the statistical impact of the study gave us renewed focus on considering how we could strengthen the study through a strong combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Returning to our research questions, our plan was to use a survey-based methodology to collect outcome data to answer the first question in relation to the impact of the program, as just described. The research team now had to agree on the appropriate means of answering the second and third research questions, in relation to stakeholder experiences and program implementation, respectively. A design proposal was circulated to the EAG that placed the RCT study as primary, with a process study taking a secondary role, examining issues of implementation, process, and meaning.

The data for the second research question regarding the experiences of stakeholders were to be answered through interviews with key program participants, including youth, mentors, parents, and staff. A purposive sample of 12 mentoring pairs was to be selected from across the study area reflecting differences in age, gender, and location, whether urban or rural. Interviews were to be undertaken on two occasions, once when the relationship was established and the next following an interval of 6 months or more. This process would enable us to collect data on stakeholder perspectives and also allow an exploration with each pair of how the relationship develops over time. In relation to the third research question regarding program implementation, it was planned that a review of the case files of mentored youth would be undertaken to establish whether the program was implemented according to the manual. Focus groups with the program staff were also included in the design to collect data regarding their experience of implementing the program.

In this phase, we had moved our stance from a *pragmatic* stance to a *dialectical* position in that we now intended to use the data from both the impact and case study streams to inform each other in the analysis. This stance is facilitated by contrasting the data findings from the deductive framework of

the quantitative impact study with the inductive framework of the qualitative case study (Greig, Taylor, & Mackay, 2007). The measurement of the impact of youth mentoring on the participant youth outcomes was heavily influenced by the developmental focus on much of the North American literature on youth mentoring (Philip, 2003). Our design incorporated this focus both in terms of approach through the impact study and through the use of U.S. data instruments to measure the impact of mentoring. However the focus on the U.K.-based youth-mentoring literature has been more influenced by a sociological approach that has recognized youth agency and the effects of structural limitations in trying to develop an understanding of youth-mentoring programs (Colley, 2003; Liabo, Lucas, & Roberts, 2005; Philip & Spratt, 2007). The conduct of the case studies allows for a more inductive exploration of the mentoring in context from the perspective of those involved. Taking a dialectical stance would provide the opportunity to compare and contrast both these approaches to the exploration of youth mentoring. By using NVivo software to analyze the qualitative case studies and match files, we would be able to link each case study narrative to the quantitative survey scores for that participant. In so doing we would be able to create an analysis of the mentoring relationship that used both qualitative and quantitative data.

However, feedback from the EAG challenged the research team to give more consideration to how the impact and process studies would be integrated. Their feedback highlighted risk that the qualitative aspect may go off on a tangent and that the findings of the two studies would not “speak to each other.” J. E. Rhodes’s (1995) model of mentoring, as described earlier, was suggested as offering a unifying framework for which the qualitative and quantitative could offer different types of evidence.

Integration at Last? Phase 3 of the Design Journey

In the final stage of our design journey, Rhodes’s theory of mentoring (see Figure 1) was placed as central to the design to achieve coherence across the research questions and integrate qualitative and quantitative data sources. As had been planned at all stages of the study design, this theory would guide the analysis of the impact data. However, our breakthrough in Phase 3 of the design process was to conceptualize the program implementation or process element of the study as providing evidence to enable us to test an essential part of the program theory, namely whether the strength of program implementation is a “moderator” of the program impact as predicted by the Rhodes model. Furthermore, we also established that the model could be used to guide the analysis of the qualitative case study data in a number of ways. First, as described above, the qualitative data could be linked to the quantitative data for the case study participants and used to develop an integrated analysis at the individual level. Second, from the case study and the program

staff interview data we could seek qualitative evidence in support of Rhodes's theory of mentoring, and thus explore its goodness of fit to understand the developing of mentoring relationships in the Irish setting.

We resolved to address the concern that the data streams were not integrated by developing a mixed methods research question that would illustrate how the data sources could be interlinked. Therefore, we added a fourth research question to our evaluation to enable us to complete an "integrated" design. Our final and fourth research question was "What results emerge regarding the potential of this youth mentoring program from comparing the outcome data from the impact study with the case study data from the mentoring pairs?" Placing the Rhodes model as the core framework for our analysis meant that this overarching question could be answered through a comparative examination of both the qualitative and quantitative data sources.

At this final stage of the planning the design of our primarily experimental study, we believe that the qualitative stream is both independent and interrelated. By maintaining our efforts to use the various sources of data to inform each other, we have maintained a dialectical stance. By placing the underlying theory as the guiding framework for considering each data source in isolation, transformation, and in comparison, we have developed a concurrent embedded mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The design map to illustrate the various components of our design and their interrelationships is set out in Figure 4.

Conclusion

This article has described how a research team in the west of Ireland responded to the task of designing an RCT study. Although the context was supportive in terms of stakeholder buy-in, funding, established evidence base, and a strong program theory and infrastructure, there was a range of challenges to be faced. First, the study would have to accommodate the feasibility, ethical, and scientific difficulties associated with RCT studies. Second, some means would have to be found to accommodate pressures to incorporate implementation and process data in a meaningful way and find a paradigmatic fit for the study. As described, this was one of the first RCT studies of its nature to be undertaken in Ireland and thus the research team was on a "learning curve."

In cases such as the one described wherein the practical constraints of program size and stage of development prohibit the undertaking of generalizable impact studies, we believe it is pragmatic to look toward the mixing of methods as a way of benefiting from the strengths of the RCT method but compensating for its weaknesses. It is also worth looking creatively at how the data and methods available can work dialectically to inform each other and enable a consideration of both causality and meaning as interconnected and contingent concepts. The final design is particularly suitable to mentoring, which not only

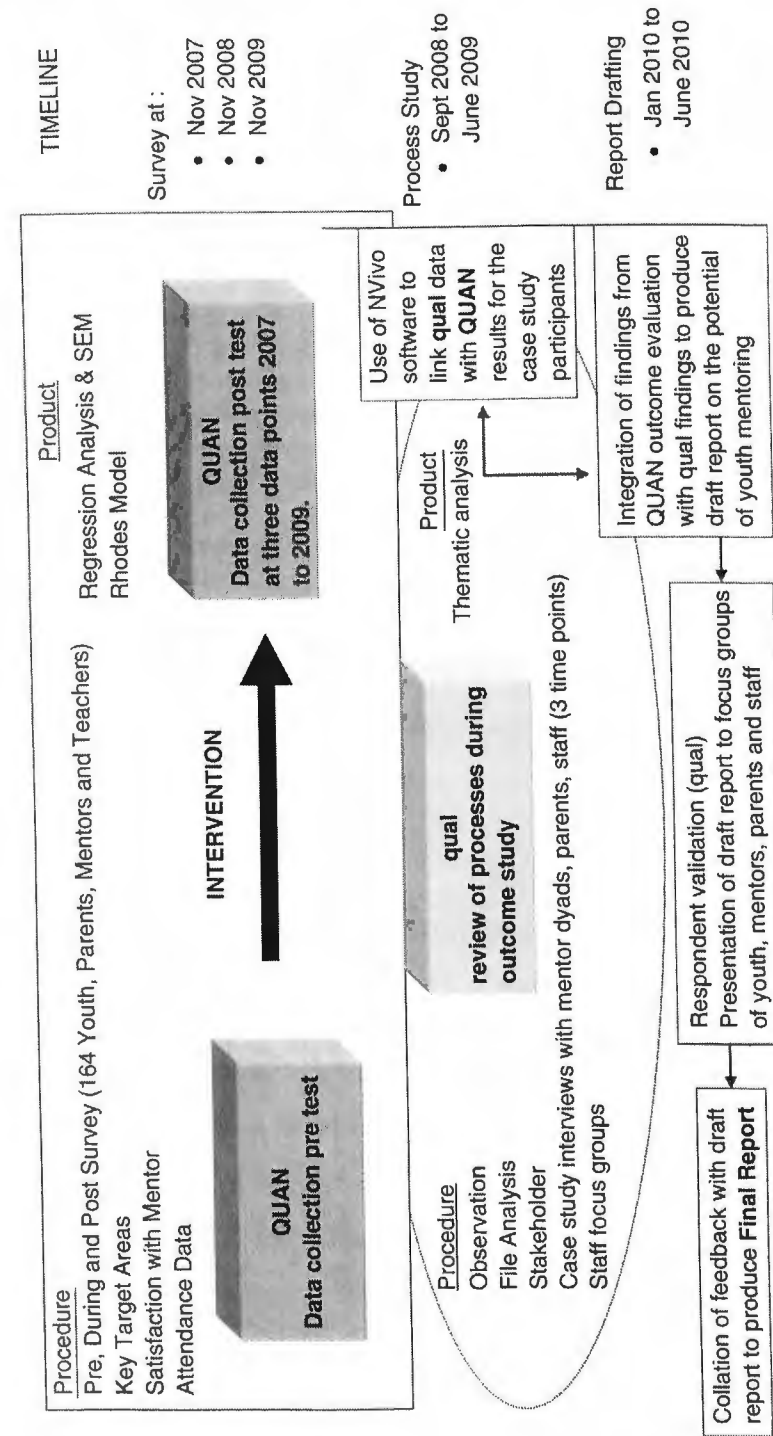


Figure 4: Evaluation of big brothers big sisters Ireland: A concurrent embedded model

has a tradition and literature to be mined both on the qualitative and quantitative sides but also requires its evaluation to capture both the general impacts and the specific case-by-case interpersonal magic that makes mentoring work (or not). Furthermore, the opportunity to incorporate stakeholder feedback throughout the study is an aspect of the design that references the more participatory values that traditional experimental design can overlook. However, the endeavor is not problem free. Chen (1997) makes the point that rigor may be sacrificed in mixed method designs as the evaluator may not have the time or resources to pursue standards of dual rigor. However, Chen argues that, under theory-driven evaluations, the strength of inferences comes from both methodological rigor and theoretical reasoning, which means that the impact of a reduced rigor is less than in a method-driven evaluation alone.

To conclude, our experience suggests that when assigned a task to undertake a certain type of study within worldview, rather than engaging in an argument about the incompatibility between concepts such as objective and subjective accounts, it is preferable to see mixed methods theory and practice as a resource to conceptualize how learning from the research opportunity can be maximized.

Note

1. In Ireland, BBBS is offered as part of youth service provision but in the United States it is a stand-alone program.

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Who Is a Mentor? A Review of Evolving Definitions and Implications for Research

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The topic of mentoring has received considerable attention in both the academic and popular presses as well as in the highly public venue of the Internet. For example, a recent Google search on “mentor quotes” revealed several websites devoted to famous quotations about and by famous mentors as well as places where people can post descriptions of individuals who they considered to be mentors (e.g., <http://www.quotesdaddy.com/tag/Mentor>, accessed June 9, 2010). Viewing just a few of these websites confirms what mentoring scholars have acknowledged for some time: that the word *mentor* has many and varied meanings to people (Kram, 1985). We examine the research literature to study what the term *mentor* means to scholars. Although the mentoring literature has been reviewed previously, we extend those reviews by examining within-construct differences in the definitions of mentoring used by researchers and the implications of those differences for our understanding of mentoring. In particular, we describe how the construct has changed over the past three decades, the implications of such changes for the field, and suggestions for the future. As an integral part of this effort we provide a comprehensive review of definitions presented to research participants in published empirical studies.

In mentoring research, if no definition is provided, participants (protégés and/or mentors) must rely on their own schema of what a mentor is, with the result that many different kinds of relationships and arrangements may

be included in the study. Thus, researchers often provide a definition of mentoring in an attempt to reduce variability among study participants in their conceptualization of a mentor and/or mentoring relationships. However, one concern is that researchers could be substituting the variety of participants' perceptions of mentors with the variety of researchers' perceptions.

It is important to consider how mentoring definitions may influence research outcomes for various reasons. First, we know from several recent reviews that mentoring results in benefits such as increased job satisfaction, higher pay, and more promotions for protégés (e.g., Allen, Eby, O'Brien, & Lentz, 2008; Eby, Allen, Evans, Ng, & DuBois, 2008; Underhill, 2006). However, to understand the construct of mentoring we need to evaluate the definitions provided to research participants to determine whether we are measuring the same construct across studies. As noted by scholars, although defining a construct is a difficult task, "the importance of a well-defined construct cannot be overstated" (Netemeyer, Bearden, & Sharma, 2003: 89). Furthermore, the mentoring literature reflects a wide range in the percentage of people who self-identify as protégés (33%–81%), suggesting that an examination of how mentoring is defined may be beneficial.

We begin with an overview of mentoring research with respect to research topics and perspectives. We then provide an in-depth discussion of the issues and implications presented by how "mentor" and the mentoring relationship are defined in research. We attempt to make more explicit the historical differences in definitions, and we provide recommendations regarding specific information about mentoring relationships that should be collected from research participants, depending on the purposes of the research. We use an inductive approach in which we describe the various definitions in the mentoring literature, highlight their different dimensions and characteristics, and arrive at a framework that clarifies key distinctions within the mentoring construct. Finally, our review considers changes and new emphases in mentoring research we anticipate for the future – changes with implications for conceptualizing and defining mentoring in future research.

Mentoring Research over Time

Our review of the literature focused on empirical workplace mentoring articles published from 1980 to 2009 in the primary journals for mentoring research: *Academy of Management Journal*, *Career Development International*, *Career Development Quarterly*, *Group & Organization Management*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *Journal of Management*, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, and *Personnel Psychology*. We used the PsycINFO electronic database to search each journal for empirical articles using the search terms *mentor* and *protégé*. Only articles that directly assessed a mentoring-related variable (i.e., presence of a mentor,

willingness to mentor, etc.) in a workplace context were included. A total of 124 articles was included in our review. As part of our examination of how mentoring has evolved as a construct, we examined the research included in our literature review within 5-year time frames: 1980–1984, 1985–1989, 1990–1994, 1995–1999, 2000–2004, and 2005–2009. In the next section we provide our observations of the particular research topics, perspectives, and methodologies across these time periods.

Topics/Developments in Mentoring Research across Time

A wide variety of topics were investigated in mentoring research across the time spectrum from 1980 to 2009, with some shifts in focus and emphasis across this spectrum. For example, although we see an increase in the number of published studies on formal mentoring in recent years, we note that the topic was introduced in the literature quite early, and there were at least some scholars during each time period who examined formal mentoring programs. Noe's (1988) widely cited study of formal mentoring of teachers occurred during the second 5-year period we examined. Similarly, a few years later a seminal study by Chao, Walz, and Gardner (1992) examined both formal and informal mentoring in relation to mentoring functions and career outcomes received by protégés, and very recently Weinberg and Lankau (in press) conducted a longitudinal, mentor-centric investigation of formal mentoring relationships. Our examination of studies explicitly examining formal mentoring indicates that the period from 2005 to the present has generated the greatest quantity of formal mentoring research. As we highlight below, however, there are numerous studies across the years in which protégés have been asked about mentors and mentoring received, *without any distinction* made as to whether the mentoring received was formal or informal. In this vein, Allen et al.'s (2008) methodological review of mentoring research through 2006 found that almost 40% of the articles reviewed did not specify the type of mentorship being studied.

Similarly, Kram's (1985) seminal qualitative work on mentoring not only introduced the key dimensions of career and psychosocial mentoring but also attested to the important role of networks of developmental relationships as a broader phenomenon than traditional dyadic mentoring. Nevertheless, although the role of developmental networks in one's career has been acknowledged by mentoring scholars since the earliest years, only in recent years has this phenomenon received significant attention in the research literature.

It was not surprising to see that throughout the span of mentoring research a strong, dominant focus has been the benefits of informal mentoring for (and as reported by) protégés. The array of benefits studied has gradually broadened over time, a positive trend. But the interest in protégé outcomes – whether objective or subjective, financial or psychological, personal or work related – has been a focus of mentoring scholars during all the time frames

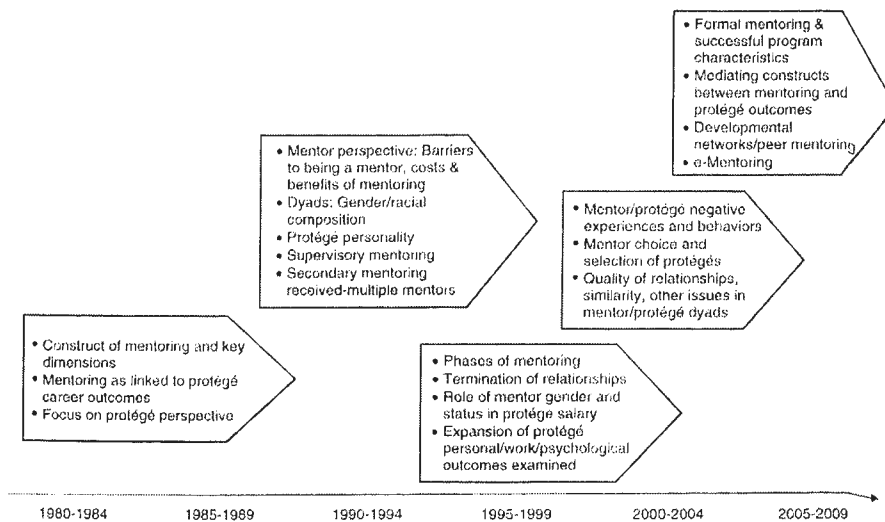


Figure 1: Notable topics and developments in mentoring research across time

we examined. However, numerous additional topics were introduced by scholars during particular time frames. Most of these new topics (e.g., those displayed in Figure 1) spurred at least a small stream of subsequent literature. But we also occasionally observed interesting studies that could be labeled as “one-hit wonders” that received little or no followup and that continue to deserve additional research attention. An example is an examination of how mentoring can play a role in perceptions of procedural and distributive justice (Scandura, 1997).

To illustrate the richness and diversity of the mentoring literature in terms of topics, we display in Figure 1 an array of notable topics and developments across the three decades for which we reviewed the literature. Our observations displayed in the figure are based on examining 124 articles as well as our own knowledge of the mentoring literature. We acknowledge that there is considerable overlap in topics and developments over the years. Nonetheless, we believe that our simplified overview provides insight into major trends in mentoring research across time.

Approaches to Identifying Mentoring Relationships

In examining the mentoring literature, there appear to be two common approaches to determining whether or not a mentoring relationship exists. The first approach establishes whether or not a person “has a mentor.” Specifically, respondents are given a definition of a mentor and then asked if they currently have or have ever had a mentor (e.g., Baugh, Lankau, & Scandura, 1996). Those who respond that they have, or have had, a mentor are considered as self-identified protégés, and often a comparison is made between those who are

protégés and those who are not. In the second approach participants complete a multiple-item measure of “mentoring functions received” (e.g., Burke & McKeen, 1997), which is sometimes preceded by a definition of a mentor. The mentoring functions measure lists a series of actions or behaviors that mentors have engaged in on behalf of the protégé. The comparison in this case is often related to the types and/or amount of mentoring functions received. Thus, the major distinction between the two approaches appears to be examining the *presence* of a mentor versus examining the *mentoring functions* received, although as indicated above, sometimes a definition is provided to study participants who then indicate the mentoring functions received from that mentor.

Unfortunately, scholars have made little, if any, distinction across studies with regard to the implications of being in a mentoring relationship versus receiving mentoring functions. We note, however, that Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, and Lima (2004) observed, in their meta-analytic review, that effect sizes for objective indicants of protégé career success were *stronger* when comparing “mentored versus nonmentored” individuals, as opposed to studies of mentoring functions provided to protégés as predictors of objective outcomes. Furthermore, it seems logical that providing mentoring functions is a necessary but not sufficient condition for establishing the existence of a mentoring relationship. For example, although an individual might receive mentoring functions from a variety of people, it is possible that none of those relationships meet the standard for being considered a mentoring relationship, depending on how mentoring is defined.

In general the number of studies including a definition has increased over time, with the exception of the 2005–2009 time frame. As the number of studies using definitions proliferated, so did variations in how mentoring was defined. From a chronological perspective the major evolutionary changes were (a) including more details about mentor behaviors (functions) versus roles, beginning in the 1990s (e.g., Chao et al., 1992) and continuing with more detail over time (Allen, Poteet, Russell, & Dobbins, 1997); (b) drawing distinctions between supervisors and mentors, beginning in the early 1990s (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1993); (c) drawing distinctions between formal (assigned) and informal relationships, in the 1990s (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1993; Ragins & Cotton, 1999); (d) acknowledging that a mentor may be outside one’s organization, in the late 1990s (Ragins & Cotton, 1999) and early 2000s (Eby, McManus, Simon, & Russell, 2000); and (e) moving toward incorporating the goals of the particular mentoring relationship (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003). Although each of these issues introduced a new element into the definitions, a chronological review indicates that for all time periods, with the exception of the 1980s, which was characterized by shorter, less detailed definitions, some researchers used brief, vague definitions while other researchers used longer, more detailed definitions. Therefore, rather than continue with a chronological discussion, we discuss specific examples of differences among the definitions on an issue-by-issue basis. Table 1 displays a sampling of definitions illustrating the range of definitions from least to most specific.

Table 1: Examples of mentoring definitions

A senior manager who provides emotional support, guidance, and sponsorship to a less experienced person.	Kirchmeyer (1995: 72)
"Someone in a position of power who looks out for you, or gives you advice, or brings your accomplishments to the attention of other people who have power in the company."	Fagenson (1989: 312)
"Someone, other than your manager or immediate coworkers, who provides you with technical or career advice, coaching, or information on an informal basis."	Seibert (1999: 493–494)
"An influential individual in your work environment (typically a more senior member of your organization or profession) who has advanced experience and knowledge and who is committed to the enhancement and support of your career."	Forret and de Janasz (2005: 484)
"A mentor is defined as an individual who holds a position senior to yours who takes an active interest in developing your career. While it is possible for an immediate supervisor to serve as a mentor, relationships of this type represent a special opportunity to interact with a senior manager. The standard subordinate/supervisor relationship is <i>not</i> a mentoring relationship. In the questions to follow please indicate whether or not you consider one or more individuals to be your mentor (while it is possible to have multiple mentors, the nature of the relationship implies that the number of people appropriately classified as your mentor will be small.)"	Dreher and Chargois (1998: 406); Dreher and Cox (1996: 301)
"This questionnaire uses the concepts 'mentor' and 'coach' and 'protégé' several times. Not everybody uses the same definitions for these concepts, therefore we ask that you read the following definitions with care before responding to the questions. A protégé is the person who is guided and supported by a mentor or coach. A mentor is an influential individual with a higher ranking in your work environment who has advanced experience and knowledge so he/she can give you support, guidance, and advice for your development. Your mentor can be from inside or outside your organization, but is not your immediate supervisor. He/she is recognized as an expert in his/her field. Most of the mentor relations are long term and focus on general objectives of development."	Van Emmerik, Baugh, and Euwema (2005: 314)
"Mentoring is described as a one to one relationship between a more experienced and senior person (Mentor) and a new entrant or less experienced person (his/her protégé) in the organizational setup. The Mentor need not be the supervisor or department head and not necessarily from the same department. A mentor can generally be defined as an influential individual in your work environment who has advanced work experience and knowledge and who is committed to providing upward mobility and support to your career." Then subjects were instructed, "You may not have experienced mentoring in a formalized manner but informally at some point in your career or even currently, you may be relating to some person who provides you with psychosocial support as well as shows interest in your career movement."	Scandura and Williams (2001: 349; 2004: 455)
"Over the course of your career, have you had a mentor? A mentor is an experienced employee who serves as a role model, provides support, direction and feedback regarding career plans and interpersonal development. A mentor is also someone who is in a position of power, who looks out for you, gives you advice and/or brings your accomplishments to the attention of people who have power in the company. In order to assist individuals in their development and advancement, some organizations have established formal mentoring programs, where protégés and mentors are linked in some way. This may be accomplished by assigning mentors or by just providing formal opportunities aimed at developing the relationship. To recap, formal mentoring programs are developed with organizational assistance. Informal mentoring relationships are developed spontaneously, without organizational assistance."	Day and Allen (2004: 77)

Definitional Issues

As mentioned earlier, Kram (1985) acknowledged, in her seminal work on mentoring, that the word *mentor* could mean different things to different people. Because of the potential for these diverse perceptions, researchers began providing a specific definition in an attempt to reduce variability among study participants in their conceptualization of mentoring. Our review of definitions was based on a slightly smaller number of articles (117) than our overall review because we excluded studies that studied only formal mentoring relationships or did not require protégés to evaluate a definition of mentoring. Our review identified approximately 40 different definitions (and their slight variations) used in the empirical literature since 1980 (see Table 1 for examples). That suggests the question, have researchers substituted the variability of respondent perceptions with the variability of researcher perceptions?

Although researchers have acknowledged considerable variety in mentor descriptions, to date there has been little discussion or examination of the differences in the definitions. There are, of course, a few notable exceptions. For example, Eby, Rhodes, and Allen (2007) described how mentoring overlaps with, but is distinctly different from, other developmental relationships such as role model–observer, teacher–student, advisor–advisee, supervisor–subordinate and coach–client. Although Eby et al. (2007) did an excellent job of differentiating these relationships from mentoring, they gave less attention to within-construct differences in the definitions of mentoring. In their review, Wanberg, Welsh, and Hezlett (2003) stated that while some scholars have criticized the lack of consistency in definitions of mentoring, there is consistency in the “general concept” of mentoring, at least for traditional mentoring relationships. Many scholars share the general view that a mentor is a more senior person who provides various kinds of personal and career assistance to a less senior or experienced person (the “protégé” or “mentee”). Nonetheless, more recently, Dougherty and Dreher (2007) noted the importance of understanding differences in mentor definitions and called for a systematic examination of these differences and their potential impact.

Although the general concept of mentoring might be perceived relatively consistently, if the actual definitions provided to research participants are not, then the inconsistency in mentoring definitions calls into question the construct validity of mentoring and our conclusions about mentoring relationships. According to classical test theory (Nunnally, 1978), to measure a well-defined construct, researchers sample items from a hypothetical domain of items such that the items used to measure the construct are representative of the global set of items in that domain; this representativeness is necessary to generalize from the specific items to the construct. Applying this logic to mentoring relationships implies that the definition (i.e., item) used to measure mentoring needs to be representative of the universe of mentoring definitions. It is important to emphasize, however, that to date there has not been a thorough, systematic

examination of the variability in mentoring definitions used by researchers and the potential influence of those variations on our research. We believe this in-depth look is necessary to understand how differently mentoring is described across studies and whether such differences influence who identifies themselves as a protégé as well as other research results. As one example, using a definition containing the phrase *gives advice* will likely inflate the correlation between having a mentor and an item in an outcome variable that measures the receipt of advice in the workplace.

Differences in Specifications about Mentors and Mentoring

In examining the definitions provided to protégés (and mentors) we observed two important and related issues. First, there are striking differences in the overall level of detail in the definitions with respect to who a mentor is and/or what a mentor does. Some definitions are quite general about who and what a mentor is/does (Scandura & Ragins, 1993), while others are very specific not only about who a mentor is and what a mentor does, but also how and why they do it (Mullen & Noe, 1999). Second, we identify four boundary conditions that could produce different research results: (a) the mentor's place within the organizational hierarchy, (b) supervisory versus nonsupervisory mentoring, (c) inside versus outside mentor, and (d) level of relationship intimacy. Related to these boundary conditions is the abundance of similar but not necessarily synonymous words used to describe a mentor's identity and behavior. Herein lies a significant portion of the nuances in defining mentorships that might affect the number of people self-identifying as protégés, as well as relationships of mentoring with other variables.

Our purpose here is to raise awareness of the different definitions and the potential impact of specific (versus vague) definitions. Any definition has advantages and disadvantages; our goal is to make those advantages and disadvantages more salient. We assume the original researchers were thoughtful in their choice of definition for the purposes of their studies, but whether that definition is appropriate for other studies is open to interpretation. We first discuss the level of specificity of the definition, which we follow with a discussion of the related issue of boundary conditions.

Level of Specificity

In examining the range of definitions, at one end of the detail spectrum researchers state, "Respondents were asked to indicate if they had experienced a working relationship that significantly affected their career mobility in their firm" (Scandura & Ragins, 1993: 256). This description has the advantage of being broad and inclusive and does not restrict which actions were taken or who took them on behalf of the protégé. The use of such a broad definition

will likely result in more self-identified protégés than will the use of a more restrictive definition. However, the definition is so broad as to include a range of relationships that might be qualitatively different and perhaps not comparable across respondents.

In general, researchers have assumed that a definition is better than no definition in reducing variability in respondents, that is, they assumed that because the word *mentor* means different things to different people, that giving participants a definition would ensure that participants were responding to the same perception. However, if the definition is so vague as to leave room for considerable interpretation, then researchers may not have reduced the variability in interpretation among respondents. Notably, we found no studies that empirically test the comparative advantage of using a definition versus using the word *mentor* alone to test for any differences in the number or quality of responses. Furthermore, broad definitions may include relationships that would be excluded using more specific definitions and thus might complicate comparison across, or aggregations of, studies.

At the other extreme are definitions that are quite restrictive and include very specific examples of mentoring functions provided by the mentor, such as coaching, guidance, feedback, encouragement, and emotional support (Baugh & Fagenson-Eland, 2005; Chao, 1997; Kirchmeyer, 1995). Some definitions even include a motive for the relationship (e.g., "with the agreed-on goal of having the lesser skilled person grow and develop specific competencies"; Godshalk & Sosik, 2000: 109). Using a more explicit and specific definition will likely result in fewer self-identified protégés as the restrictions on what characteristics the relationship must exhibit are increased. However, these explicit definitions enhance the probability that the relationships being examined within each study are substantially similar. The issue of level of detail in definitions could be framed in terms of specificity and sensitivity. Less specific definitions are more sensitive to detecting the existence of mentoring relationships while more specific definitions are less sensitive to a variety of relationships and instead more likely to ensure consistent interpretation across respondents. The optimal definition would depend on the purpose of the study and the degree to which the researcher is interested in a very specific type of mentor. Definitions that contain details on observable *mentor behaviors* (functions) might result in fewer self-identified protégés than those that are vague because protégés are required to make judgments when they have no direct knowledge. For example, some definitions require that the protégé classify the mentor as "influential" (e.g., Baugh et al., 1996). Determining how influential a mentor is might be a tough call for a protégé, particularly one who is new to the firm and has little knowledge of the firm's internal politics or the mentor's exercise of influence. Also, protégés probably have to make inferences about the mentor's level of commitment to "providing upward mobility and support" to the protégé's career. Mentor activities that indicate such a commitment might be unseen by the protégé. Because protégés might have limited access

to information regarding levels of influence or commitment, they might not consider their mentors to qualify as influential or committed, which might result in lower “protégé rates” when using such definitions.

Continuing with our discussion of mentor behaviors, the issue of which mentor functions are included in a definition is of particular interest. The functions are the specific behaviors that mentors enact on behalf of and/or with the protégé, and they are the central features of the mentoring relationship. These functions are generally classified into two broad categories: *career functions* – sponsorship, exposure and visibility, and challenging assignments – and *psychosocial functions* – counseling, friendship, acceptance, and confirmation. Definitions varied not only in the extent to which they included or implied mentor functions but also in which specific mentor functions or behavior were included.

Career functions were either alluded to or explicitly included in the overwhelming majority of definitions we reviewed. The vaguest definitions used phrases such as “helped you by supporting your career” (Aryee, Lo, & Kang, 1999: 568) or “looks out for you, or gives you advice” (Wallace, 2001: 374). However, the phrase “is committed to providing upward mobility and support” to the protégé’s career (e.g., Ragins & Cotton, 1991: 942) was the most popular. The prevalence of career functions in mentoring definitions might indicate that career functions (and career outcomes) are the most important aspect of the mentoring relationship.

While career functions were referenced in the majority of the definitions, psychosocial functions were referenced less frequently. Notably, none of the definitions focused solely on psychosocial functions. Again, such evidence suggests that mentoring researchers see career functions as more consistent with workplace mentoring relationships than psychosocial functions. In general, the studies that included psychosocial functions in the definition mentioned either providing personal support/counsel (e.g., Chao, 1997; Eby et al., 2000) or promoting protégé growth/development (Fagenson, 1992; Mullen & Noe, 1999).

Role modeling is an important dimension of the mentoring relationship and is alternately classified as either a psychosocial function (Kram, 1985) or a distinct third type of function (e.g., Scandura, 1992). Regardless of how the role modeling behavior is categorized, it is one of the foundational elements of mentoring. However, very few definitions specifically mention “role model” when describing a mentor (e.g., Day & Allen, 2004; Fagenson, 1992). Considering the important place role modeling holds in the mentoring dynamic, its omission is quite curious.

Boundary Conditions

The second issue we identified relates to the key characteristics, or boundary conditions, contained in the definition. Although some definitions explicitly state boundary conditions, other definitions only imply such conditions using

related, but not necessarily synonymous, words used to describe a mentor’s identity and behavior. In this section we discuss four boundary conditions reflected in mentor definitions: (a) mentor’s place within the organizational hierarchy, (b) supervisory versus nonsupervisory mentor, (c) inside versus outside mentor, and (d) level of intimacy. Each of these boundary conditions and the numerous ways they are described are proposed to have an impact on both respondents’ reporting of a mentor and also how mentoring relates to other variables. We begin with the mentor’s place within the organizational hierarchy.

Mentor’s place within the organizational hierarchy. The mentor’s place in the organizational hierarchy, either relative to the protégé or in absolute terms, is important for at least two reasons. First, it probably influences the number of self-identified protégés. Often definitions imply that the mentor is higher in the organizational hierarchy, although this is indicated using such varied terms as “more senior member” (Nielson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001), “higher-ranking” (Ragins & Cotton, 1991), “high-ranking” (Ragins & Scandura, 1997), or “in a position of power” (Fagenson, 1994). While each of these descriptors seems to either explicitly or implicitly require a difference in the organizational hierarchy, they do not all clearly identify just where in the hierarchy the mentor is located. One may be “higher-ranking” or “more senior” than one’s protégé without being either particularly high-ranking or senior in an absolute sense. Requiring that the mentor be “high-ranking” or “in a position of power” likely reduces the number of protégés by eliminating from consideration relationships within lower levels of the organization’s hierarchy.

Second, the mentor’s place in the hierarchy dictates which mentoring functions the mentor is capable of providing. For example, mentors higher within the hierarchy are presumed to have more power and thus more ability to provide sponsorship and exposure/visibility. In addition, studies specifying that the mentor is higher than the protégé in the hierarchy (versus peers or those simply more senior) might be more likely to observe a protégé’s receipt of a full range of career mentoring functions (e.g., exposure/visibility, sponsorship) and more likely to find that mentoring is related to protégés’ career progress. Higher level managers or executives have the power and connections in the organization to “make things happen” for a protégé’s career.

Although the majority of studies either implied or explicitly stated some hierarchical difference between the mentor and protégé, some definitions could be interpreted as allowing for a more experienced *peer* to serve as a mentor (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003), and a few studies specifically included peers as possible mentors (Eby et al., 2000). Kram and Isabella (1985) noted that although peer relationships can provide similar functions as those provided in traditional mentoring relationships, there are several important differences between those two types of relationships. For example, peer and traditional mentoring relationships differ in hierarchical level and/or age with peers being

more similar, and in reciprocity, with peer relationships typically providing more of a two-way exchange. Differentiating peer from traditional mentoring relationships is important, as evidence suggests that peers provide different levels of mentoring support and satisfaction than do traditional mentors (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Marelich, 2002; Ensher, Thomas, & Murphy, 2001).

The inclusion of peer mentors likely increases the number of potential protégés in a study. Furthermore, studies with definitions that allow for peer mentoring also might be more likely to observe protégé receipt of psychosocial mentoring functions, positive work attitudes, and personal adjustment. In contrast, these studies would be less likely to observe receipt of career mentoring functions and protégé career progress. Peers can be a strong source of social support and friendship but typically do not have the organizational power to enhance one's career progress.

Supervisory versus nonsupervisory mentor. Closely related to the issue of hierarchy is whether a study allows for the protégé's immediate supervisor to be labeled as a mentor. Although most definitions do not acknowledge the potential role of supervisors as mentors, this boundary condition has several implications. First, studies that include information regarding the percentage of supervisory relationships indicate that a material number of mentoring relationships take place within a supervisor-subordinate relationship (e.g., 85%, Burke & McKeen, 1997). In fact, in one study 97% of the self-identified protégés indicated that their mentor had also been their supervisor at some point during their career (Day & Allen, 2004). In contrast, the definition used by Ostroff and Kozlowski (1993) specifically excludes supervisors as potential mentors, and the percentage of self-identified protégés in their study was only 33%. We expect that excluding supervisors from consideration as mentors substantially decreases the number of people who consider themselves to have a mentor, although we do not know of any research that has investigated this issue.

Second, supervisory mentors appear to provide more functions than nonsupervisory mentors (e.g., Burke & McKeen, 1997; Fagenson-Eland, Marks, & Amendola, 1997). Studies with mentoring definitions that allow for or even specify direct supervisory mentoring are likely to find differences in protégés' receipt of various mentoring functions, compared to nonsupervisory mentoring. For example, some career functions would be more readily received from supervisors, such as coaching and challenging work assignments, whereas higher-level executives might be better positioned to provide exposure and visibility. The rationale here relates to the direct supervisor's limited organizational power to provide certain career functions, compared to higher level executives. Finally, because of supervisors' direct power over subordinates, it also makes sense that inclusion of supervisory mentoring allows for the maximum opportunity to observe negative or abusive mentoring relationships, a recent area of research interest.

Inside versus outside mentor. Most definitions either explicitly state or strongly imply that the mentor is in the protégé's organization (e.g., Nielson et al., 2001; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). However, a few explicitly state that the mentor "may or may not be" in the organization (e.g., Godshalk & Sosik, 2003; Mullen & Noe, 1999; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000), with the remaining definitions being fairly ambiguous as to the mentor's location. One frequently used term that implies that the mentor is in the same organization is "in your work environment." One could argue that some individuals would interpret "work environment" narrowly to mean in the same firm, whereas others might see the term more broadly and include relationships with individuals outside the organization. Researchers who use mentoring definitions that allow for outside the organization mentoring might be less likely to detect protégés' receipt of career (versus psychosocial) mentoring functions and to detect a linkage of mentoring with protégé career progress. Outsiders, presumably, cannot provide the full range of career assistance functions. For example, it is unlikely they could provide sponsorship, protection, or challenging assignments to their outside protégés. Furthermore, we expect that studies including outside mentors would be less likely to observe negative or abusive mentoring since such abuse is likely enabled by hierarchical working relationships within an organization.

Level of relationship intimacy. The descriptions "close" (Sosik & Godshalk, 2000) and "intense" (Chao, 1997) imply a quality Wanberg et al. (2003) referred to as intimacy. An underlying assumption in mentoring research is that mentoring relationships involve some degree of intimacy between the mentor and the protégé; however, this closeness is explicitly acknowledged in only a few studies. Furthermore, in addition to the fact that the interpretation of "close" or "intense" might be highly variable across respondents, "close" and "intense" might not mean the same thing to an individual. Restricting the relationship in this manner would be expected to result in fewer respondents identifying themselves as protégés.

Related to the closeness aspect is whether or not the definition itself restricts the mentor to "informal" status. As Wanberg et al. (2003) emphasized, the mentoring literature needs more precise clarification of the differences between formal and informal relationships. The level of formality is explicit in research that intentionally targets formal mentoring relationships or programs. However, consistent with previous reviews (Allen et al., 2008) we found that the distinction between formal and informal relationships rarely is made unless the purpose of the research is to examine formal relationships. In some instances the definition has outlined the difference between formal and informal relationships and asked the protégé to self-classify (Ragins & Cotton, 1999), while in other instances the definition stated specifically that the mentor helped "even though they were not formally required to do so" (Aryee et al., 1999; Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1993). The use of the phrase "deliberate

pairing” could also be construed as implying a formal relationship (Sosik & Godshalk, 2000). Because differences have been found between formal and informal relationships on key variables such as career-related support (e.g., Chao et al., 1992), it is important for researchers to clarify whether or not the relationships being studied are formal.

Throughout this section of the article we have commented on how a particular detail in a definition might influence the proportion of respondents who would self-identify as a protégé. We examined our set of studies to determine whether we could report the percentages of self-identified protégés as a way to support our assertions. Unfortunately, the percentage of self-identified protégés was not available for every study, and many of the definitions had some degree of overlap, which made it difficult to make fair comparisons. Thus, we were not able to analyze the studies to empirically determine whether definitional attributes were related to the frequency of self-identifying as a protégé. However, we encourage future research to examine how mentor definitional attributes influence responses, including self-identifying as a protégé and perhaps other characteristics that differentiate protégés from nonprotégés. An experiment designed specifically to test the effects of different definitional attributes would likely provide the best opportunity for clarity.

Defining Mentoring: Key Attributes and Recommendations for Researchers

Although we have devoted attention to outlining how the mentoring literature has defined mentoring in various ways, we do not believe that a single precise and comprehensive definition of a mentor or mentoring is advisable at this point. However, consistent with Locke’s (2007) statements regarding the definition of a construct, researchers should be able to come to agreement on the fundamental attributes of a mentoring relationship. Mentoring is a type of developmental relationship that shares some characteristics with other interpersonal relationships, developmental and otherwise. If agreement can be reached on the fundamental, distinctive attributes that set mentoring apart from other relationships, then researchers can incorporate boundary conditions and the issue becomes what type of mentor is being studied.

Based on our analysis of the mentoring literature, we provide some core attributes of mentoring as guidance to researchers in defining and measuring mentoring at work. We also draw from the work of Eby et al. (2007) who provided a comparison of academic, workplace, and community mentoring with other types of interpersonal relationships on a number of relational dimensions. We propose three core attributes of workplace mentoring that should be taken into account by researchers – core attributes that distinguish mentoring from other kinds of work-related relationships. These core attributes are *reciprocity*, *developmental benefits*, and *regular/consistent interaction* over some period of time.

First, mentoring requires a *reciprocal* relationship, involving mutuality of social exchange as opposed to a one-way relationship. This relationship could take a variety of forms (e.g., formal/informal, peer, supervisory) and interaction modalities, including face-to-face, telephone, and even virtual (e.g., online, e-mail) relationships. The requirement of reciprocity and mutual exchange eliminates as a mentor, for example, a role model who is one’s CEO, a celebrity, or historical figure with whom there is no reciprocal relationship. In addition, the reciprocity requirement would eliminate many (but not all) relationships with coaches, supervisors, advisors, and teachers because of a lack of tangible reciprocity in the relationship (see Eby et al., 2007).

Second, a mentoring relationship produces *developmental benefits* linked to the protégé’s work and/or career. These benefits are often lasting benefits that go beyond strictly jobrelated skills or protégé benefits required by the organization. In addition, although the primary goal is protégé development, mentors often do benefit from these relationships, such that mentoring has been deemed a “learning partnership” (Eby et al., 2007), a notion that underscores both the reciprocal and the developmental components of workplace mentoring.

Third, although mentoring relationships vary in level of commitment, intensity, and duration, mentoring involves *regular/consistent interaction* between the mentor and the protégé over some period of time and typically has a longer term nature than other relationships such as coaching or advising relationships.

We next offer recommendations for how researchers can effectively conceptualize the construct, taking into account different forms of mentoring. We recommend that researchers ask research participants about the existence of a general mentoring relationship – that is, one characterized by reciprocity, developmental benefits, and regular/consistent interaction. A brief definition incorporating the key attributes of mentoring can then be followed by systematic collection of additional information about the mentor, the protégé, and the relationship (see Table 2).

This additional information will provide clarity about the nature of the particular mentoring relationship and also will provide potential control variables for analysis of how mentoring relates to other variables, such as career outcomes. For example, as displayed in Table 2, researchers should ask about *mentor-specific* information, such as the mentor’s hierarchical location, gender/ethnic identity, and career stage. Second, *protégé-specific* information is needed, similar to that for mentors. Finally, *relationship-specific* information is needed for a full delineation of mentoring. Examples include relationship initiation, duration, age differential, and closeness/quality of relationship. Collectively, the additional information can assist in the goal of building a more precise cumulative knowledge of mentoring.

Our discussion in this section has called attention to the variability in mentor definitions and how this variability might influence mentoring outcomes.

Table 2: Information researchers should collect about primary mentoring relationships

Mentor specific
Location in the organizational hierarchy
Gender and racial/ethnic identity
Career stage
Supervisory or nonsupervisory relationship to protégé
Inside or outside the protégé's organization
Protégé specific
Location in the organizational hierarchy
Gender and racial/ethnic identity
Career stage (e.g., duration of career)
Relationship specific
Formal or informal
Relationship duration
Age differential of mentor and protégé
Who initiated the relationship (protégé, mentor, or organization)
Closeness/quality of the relationship

We highlighted three fundamental attributes in defining the mentoring construct as well as boundary condition information we think is highly relevant to providing needed clarity on the effects of mentors and mentoring. In the next sections we shift our focus to recommendations for future research with particular attention to developing (and continuing) research trends. We address a number of topics that show promise as sources of new insights into the mentoring relationship.

Developing/Continuing Research Trends

As noted by various scholars, and as emphasized throughout our article, the conceptualization of mentoring and of mentoring relationships has evolved notably during the past 25 to 30 years (Eby et al., 2007; Kram & Ragins, 2007; Noe, Greenberger, & Wang, 2002; Wanberg et al., 2003). For example, Kram and Ragins (2007: 663) stated in their review of the mentoring literature, "We have moved forward from the study of a single mentoring relationship to the study of a range of relationships that offer developmental assistance at various points in individuals' lives and careers." Throughout the article, we have underscored specific issues for researchers to consider in terms of the benefits and drawbacks of expanding the construct of mentoring. In this section, we discuss some relatively new mentoring trends and suggest areas for future research. Note, however, that although some of our suggestions for future research follow directly from our prior review of the literature, other suggestions are based on our overall reflections about the mentoring area. Nonetheless, the mentoring phenomena we discuss include our three "core attributes" for a mentoring relationship – reciprocity, developmental benefits, and regular/consistent interaction. Finally, we want to highlight that what are called mentoring functions may be provided by individuals who are not

"traditional" mentors (i.e., 8–15 years older and one to two levels higher in the organizational hierarchy).

Mentoring across Occupational Settings

An important consideration for mentoring is the occupational setting or context in which the relationship takes place and how the context might influence mentoring relationships and their outcomes. As indicated by our review of the mentoring literature, most scholars emphasize career-related functions in the definitions they use to describe mentors as well as career focused outcomes. Examples include career attainment (salary and promotions) and perceived career success (Turban & Dougherty, 1994), career advancement aspirations (Allen, Poteet, & Russell, 2000), career motivation (consists of career resilience, career insight, and career identity; Day & Allen, 2004), career encouragement (Tharenou, 2001), and perceived employment alternatives (Baugh et al., 1996). Although considerable attention has been paid to career outcomes, very little attention has been paid to constraints operating in the actual careers or occupations of mentors and protégés. In fact, in our review we did not identify any articles dealing with the issue of job/professional context and mentoring.

Since career success is an important outcome in an investigation of mentoring, one might expect that protégés work in occupations and settings with considerable opportunity for promotions. Stated differently, we would assume the existence of career ladders for protégés. We suspect, however, that certain occupations and work settings provide abundant opportunities for upward mobility, while others pose more constraints on mobility. Occupations reported in the studies examined here included accountants, engineers, university administrators, lawyers, nurses, physicians, medical technicians, social workers, journalists, military personnel, and corporate executives. Although executives and lawyers might have distinct career ladders, we wonder whether nurses, medical technicians, and social workers are typically employed in work contexts allowing ample opportunities for upward career progress. In addition, individuals in managerial and professional positions in private sector firms might have more opportunities for upward mobility than nonexempt employees in these firms.

More broadly, the question arises regarding the extent that the type and level of mentoring functions provided vary across different occupations and settings. It seems likely that the meaning of mentoring varies across the occupations and settings studied – an issue that has not been extensively discussed by mentoring researchers. We encourage researchers to consider how occupations and settings may affect the research questions investigated. For example, there may be certain occupations and settings in which it would be inappropriate to discuss traditional mentoring relationships, although the term *developmental relationships* may be perfectly appropriate.

Our point here is to suggest that mentoring researchers engage in a more explicit discussion of how contextual factors such as occupations and settings in their studies might influence their findings (see Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz, & Wiethoff, 2010). These contextual factors may be relevant for the meaning participants attach to the construct of mentoring and also for the nature of the mentoring experience for both protégés and mentors. More broadly, factors such as settings and occupations can also serve as constraints on key behaviors with implications for the generalizability of results.

Developmental Networks

Although Kram (1985) discussed a “constellation of relationships,” Higgins and Kram (2001) later provided a strong impetus for research examining developmental networks. In particular, Higgins and Kram argued that individuals receive mentoring assistance from numerous individuals at any one point in time and that our understanding of developmental assistance would be enhanced by examining the network of developers. In general, researchers interested in developmental network use a “name-generator” technique in which they ask respondents (egos) to identify individuals who meet some definition/characteristic (e.g., “people who take an active interest in and concerted effort to advance your career,” Higgins, Dobrow, & Chandler, 2008; “people who have acted to help your career by . . .,” Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001). Researchers typically then either ask respondents about relationships among the individuals listed to create an ego-centric network and/or ask questions about the developmental assistance provided by the developers. The methods used in research on developmental networks could provide an excellent opportunity to identify and test the validity of the various types of distinctions in mentoring characteristics and boundary conditions that we have highlighted.

In general, evidence indicates that developmental networks can provide value to individuals beyond the primary mentoring relationship (Higgins & Thomas, 2001). Research examining developmental networks can expand our understanding of how developmental relationships influence individuals’ work and life experiences. For example, Dobrow and Higgins (2005) found that the density of the developmental network was negatively related to professional identity, presumably because individuals had less access to nonredundant resources with greater density. Higgins et al. (2008) found that although mentoring support from one’s entire developmental network was related to self-efficacy and perceived career success, individuals who received more mentoring support from developers or peers from graduate school reported lower perceived career success. Such findings extend mentoring research by showing that the structure of developmental networks is an important influence on success such that mentoring support from certain types of individuals is more valuable than support from other types. This finding further highlights

the importance of researchers explicitly specifying and describing the type of relationship being investigated since not all developmental relationships are equally beneficial. Furthermore, the findings suggest that developmental relationships can have both positive and negative outcomes for participants.

Relational Problems

As noted by various authors, mentoring relationships fall along a continuum from very effective to very ineffective and even dysfunctional (e.g., Eby et al., 2000; Eby & McManus, 2004; Ragins et al., 2000; Scandura, 1998). Nonetheless, most mentoring research examines benefits, not problems, in mentoring relationships. Fortunately, however, scholars have continued to pursue what Eby (2007: 324) called “relational problems” in mentoring relationships: “real or perceived aspects of mentor-protégé interactions that minimize, negate, or undermine the personal or professional growth of one or both members.” In general, evidence indicates that protégés and mentors can experience both costs and benefits in mentoring relationships (see Eby, 2007, for a review of this literature), although the mechanisms leading to such outcomes are less clear.

In an attempt to spur research examining possible mechanisms, Eby (2007) proposed an investment model of mentoring relationships that proposed that “mentoring episodes” (Fletcher & Ragins, 2007) influence both mentor and protégé perceptions of costs and benefits of the relationship, which in turn influence attitudes and behaviors of each party. Since mentoring episodes probably vary depending on characteristics of the relationships, such that peer relationships, supervisory mentor relationships, and traditional mentoring relationships lead to different types of interactions, we expect that relational problems differ across these types of relationships. More broadly, Turban and Lee (2007) suggested that personality characteristics of protégés and mentors influence the extent of positive and negative mentoring experiences in the relationships, although the importance of personality may vary across types of relationships. In any case, we expect that the scales developed by Eby and colleagues to measure both protégé (Eby, Butts, Lockwood, & Simon, 2004) and mentor (Eby, Durley, Evans, & Ragins, 2008) perceptions of negative mentoring experiences will help advance our understanding of this issue. There are many areas worth pursuing to understand negative mentoring experiences, and scholars should continue to utilize theories of close interpersonal relationships to understand relational problems in developmental relationships.

Electronic/E-Mentoring

Electronic mentoring, which has been available for only the past 15 or so years, is the use of technology to foster developmental relationships. In their review, Ensher and Murphy (2007: 300) defined e-mentoring as “a mutually beneficial

relationship between a mentor and a protégé, which provides new learning as well as career and emotional support, primarily through e-mail and other electronic means (e.g., instant messaging, chat rooms, social networking spaces, etc.).” They note that e-mentoring falls along a continuum in which parties communicate only electronically, communicate primarily through electronic means, or use electronic methods of communication to supplement face-to-face mentoring (Ensher, Heun, & Blanchard, 2003). Scholars have proposed various advantages to e-mentoring, including (but not limited to) access to a greater number of mentors, greater flexibility in forming and sustaining relationships, and reduction of demographic and personality barriers in traditional mentoring (Ensher & Murphy, 2007; Hamilton & Scandura, 2003). Of course, scholars also have recognized disadvantages of e-mentoring – increased likelihood of miscommunication, slower development of relationships, variability in written communication skills, and discomfort with technology (Ensher & Murphy, 2007; Hamilton & Scandura, 2003).

One area in which scholars agree is the need for research as there are few empirical studies examining e-mentoring (Ensher et al., 2003; Ensher & Murphy, 2007; Hamilton & Scandura, 2003; Noe et al., 2002). An important question is whether one can form a mentoring relationship solely using electronic forms of communication. Clearly, electronic forms of communication can supplement traditional forms of communication. We also believe that some mentoring functions can be communicated solely using electronic means (for an extended discussion of these issues see Ensher et al., 2003; Hamilton & Scandura, 2003). Furthermore, it seems possible that developmental relationships (a construct broader than mentoring) can be developed and sustained through electronic forms of communication. An example of the potential value of e-mentoring is provided in a case study examining an e-mentoring program for professional women in the United Kingdom (Headlam-Wells, Gosland, & Craig, 2005). More recently, a study of a peer-mentoring program for college students found that mentored students received less psychosocial and career support via electronic means compared to face-to-face communication, although mentor gender moderated some of the results (Smith-Jentsch, Scielzo, Yarborough, & Rosopa, 2008). Given technological changes, social networking sites, and so on, we expect that the amount of electronic mentoring will continue to increase and deserves researchers’ attention. In these efforts, we urge researchers to keep in mind the continuum of the extent of electronic communication (Ensher et al., 2003).

Mentor Perspective

Although a mentoring relationship typically is conceptualized as a mutually beneficial relationship involving reciprocity between the mentor and protégé, the overwhelming majority of research has examined outcomes for protégés

rather than mentors (Allen, 2007). Thus, we know much more about protégé mentoring experiences than we do about mentor experiences. As we noted earlier, researchers first began to consider the mentor perspective during the early 1990s. In more recent years researchers have continued to try to understand how mentoring, or developmental relationships, influence the mentor (Allen, 2007; Lentz & Allen, 2009). In this vein, several studies have investigated predictors of willingness to mentor others (for a review, see Allen, 2007), although we know little about predictors of actual mentor experiences.

Mentor motivation. An important area for research is a mentor’s motivation for engaging in a mentoring relationship, which should influence the mentor’s interactions with the protégé. For example, evidence suggests that motives to mentor others include self-enhancement, the desire to benefit others, and intrinsic satisfaction (Allen, 2003; Allen, Poteet, et al., 1997). Furthermore, mentor motives were related to mentor reports of mentor functions provided to protégés (Allen, 2003), although additional research is needed using cross-dyadic perceptions (i.e., relating mentor reports of motives to protégé reports of mentoring received). We encourage researchers to draw from self-determination theory (see Sheldon, Turban, Brown, Barrick, & Judge, 2003) when examining both protégé and mentor motives for engaging in a mentoring relationship. Specifically, considerable evidence from self-determination theory indicates that motivation to engage in an activity varies along a continuum from internally to externally motivated and that internally motivated activities typically result in more positive outcomes than do externally motivated outcomes (Gagne & Deci, 2005). Notably, the mentor motives identified by Allen (2003) – self-enhancement, benefitting others, and intrinsic satisfaction – appear to vary along the extrinsic–intrinsic continuum. We urge researchers to continue investigating both mentor and protégé motives for engaging in mentoring relationships and providing mentoring functions. It seems likely that the motives for providing mentoring may differ for peers, supervisors, and traditional mentors. Furthermore, based on the findings that mismatches and unmet expectations can negatively influence mentoring relationships (Eby et al., 2004; Young & Perrewé, 2004), researchers might examine the concordance (or discordance) of mentor and protégé motivations for engaging in a mentoring relationship.

We also suggest that conceptualizing the mentor role as extrarole behavior might provide considerable insight into reasons for forming a mentoring relationship. For example, Allen (2003) conceptualized mentoring others as a prosocial activity and drew on the prosocial personality literature to develop hypotheses about willingness to mentor others. More broadly, evidence indicates that individuals are more likely to engage in citizenship behaviors when such behaviors are seen as part of their role (e.g., Kamdar, McAllister, & Turban, 2006; Tepper, Lockhart, & Hoobler, 2001). By extension, it seems likely that managers may be more likely to provide mentoring functions, and perhaps

engage in a mentoring relationship, when they see such activities as part of their role. Thus, supervisors who see mentoring functions as an aspect of the supervisory role are more likely to provide such functions than are supervisors who do not see such functions as part of the role. How role definitions are formed, however, is an area for future research. Nonetheless, considerable research has examined predictors of extrarole behaviors (see meta-analyses by LePine, Erez, & Johnson, 2002; Organ & Ryan, 1995), and such evidence may be utilized to better understand factors related to willingness to form a mentoring relationship.

Reverse mentoring and learning. A relatively new phenomenon is what is called “reverse mentoring” (Greengard, 2002). In general, reverse mentoring, although also a reciprocal relationship, is formed with the intent that the protégé provide developmental assistance to the mentor, usually involving the use of technology and/or the sharing of information and knowledge. It is not uncommon for young, well-educated entry-level workers to have more knowledge about technology than their managers (Greengard, 2002; Harvey & Buckley, 2002); therefore, organizations have developed reverse mentoring programs that pair junior managers with knowledge in a specific area with a senior manager who would benefit from such knowledge. Although many of the programs described in the literature are formal programs, it seems likely that such relationships can develop informally also. For example, a study examining age diversity in mentor relationships found that in approximately 10% of the relationships the mentor was younger than the protégé (Finkelstein, Allen, & Rhoton, 2003). We expect that reverse mentoring relationships may become more common given the flatness of organizational structures and changes in where and how work is accomplished. Clearly, this is an area in which research is needed, as we know very little about the benefits of mentoring relationships for the mentor.

Learning and Information Sharing

Although mentoring has been recognized as a mechanism for the transfer of knowledge (Swap, Leonard, Shields, & Abrams, 2001), very little research has investigated exactly what type of information is transferred and/or how the information is transferred in mentoring relationships. As noted by Lankau and Scandura (2007), limited research has examined mentoring and learning, which is particularly noteworthy since mentoring relationships are theorized to help both protégé and mentors grow, learn, and develop. Although some of the mentoring functions appear to deal directly with learning, such as coaching and role modeling, there is little evidence about what type of knowledge is best learned from mentoring relationships. This seems to be a promising area for future research, in particular if one assumes that in some cases protégés have

greater technical skills than do mentors, leading to the question of how mentors learn from protégés. For example, what types of mentoring relationships result in the greatest learning from both partners? Are protégés with certain characteristics more likely to help mentors learn? Some evidence suggests that mentoring received is related to personal learning (Lankau & Scandura, 2002) and to reduced role ambiguity and conflict, which can be conceptualized as indicators of job and organizational knowledge (Lankau, Carlson, & Nielson, 2006). Nonetheless, as noted more than 10 years ago (Mullen & Noe, 1999), we need research to examine information sharing and the learning and development of both the protégé and the mentor.

In addition to the dearth of research investigating learning outcomes, although the topic of personal growth and change is essential to mentoring, these processes have received very little attention (Kram & Ragins, 2007). Presumably, both mentors and protégés grow from a mentoring relationship, although it seems likely that different types of mentoring relationships result in different types of personal growth and change. In addition to career success outcomes, we urge researchers to examine personal learning, personal skill development, personal identity growth, and personal adaptability (Higgins & Kram, 2001; Kram & Ragins, 2007; Lankau & Scandura, 2007) from both the protégé and mentor perspectives. Such variables will provide considerable insight into how such developmental relationships enhance the well-being of the participants.

Conclusion

Our review has provided an overview of how researchers have investigated – and especially how they have defined – the construct of mentoring over a period of almost 30 years. Scholars have examined a broad array of research questions in generating a large cumulative literature of mentoring. In pursuing this work, researchers performed both quantitative and qualitative research, used (mostly) cross-sectional surveys, but also experimental and quasi-experimental designs, and collected data from a wide variety of samples and settings. Our review focused on delineating the landscape of mentoring definitions used by scholars. We observed a range of specificity of mentoring definitions from broad and vague to highly restrictive and specific, and we suggested how various kinds of definitions likely play a role in research findings. We also discussed the relevance of boundary conditions in mentoring definitions, including the mentor's position in the organizational hierarchy, mentor's supervisory or nonsupervisory role, inside versus outside the firm mentors, and level of relationship intimacy.

We emphasized that we do not believe it is possible, or even desirable, for all researchers to agree on one specific, comprehensive definition of mentoring. However, we do believe there are a few key attributes of all workplace

mentoring relationships. These core attributes distinguish mentoring from other kinds of interpersonal relationships. We have delineated these key attributes and provided some examples. We also offer specific suggestions as to additional follow-up information researchers should collect when studying particular mentoring relationships (see Table 2). We encourage researchers to consider how contextual factors such as occupations and work settings might constrain both the construct of mentoring and the experience of mentoring relationships for protégés and mentors. Finally, we have provided our observations of not only the past progression but also developing trends in mentoring research. We hope that our analysis and observations will be helpful to future scholars who pursue these important research questions.

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Seeing the Forest *and* the Trees: A Complex Adaptive Systems Lens for Mentoring

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Introduction

Academic interest in mentoring has flourished since seminal works by Kanter (1977), Kram (1985), and Levinson et al. (1978) inspired a diverse and extensive body of research.

Yet, a number of scholars continue to identify significant research gaps, such as research on the mentor's perspective and experience (Allen, 2007); the social capital functions of mentoring (Feeney and Bozeman, 2008); and the experience of mentoring over its lifespan (Eby and Allen, 2008), among others (see Crisp and Cruz, 2009; Ragins and Kram, 2007).

Addressing the continued gaps in mentoring knowledge, several publications have considered where the field might go in the future (Allen, 2007; Crisp and Cruz, 2009; Haggard et al., 2011; Ragins and Kram, 2007; Zellers et al., 2008). Ragins and Kram (2007) specifically note that recent social and organizational changes 'necessitate the extension, broadening, and development of new theoretical perspectives on mentoring relationships' (p. 10).

Mentoring is not the only field in which self-contemplation has been the response to significant social transformation. The general management literature has also been preoccupied with how management might be reconsidered to cope with the rapidly changing, contemporary environment (see Denning, 2010; Hamel and Breen, 2007; Stacey, 1996). Complexity theory, which looks

at how 'order, structure, pattern, and novelty arise from extremely complicated, apparently chaotic, systems and conversely, how complex behavior and structure emerges from simple underlying rules' (Cooke-Davies et al., 2007: 52), has emerged as a rich theoretical lens. A feature of complexity theory has been to understand organizations and groups as complex adaptive systems (CAS).

We propose understanding the mentoring relationship as a CAS enriches current perspectives in mentoring research. We begin by defining CAS and exploring their grounding in both systems theories and complexity science. We show why and how CAS theory is an appropriate lens for mentoring before going on to identify several specific advantages that CAS offer mentoring theory. In doing so, we respond to the call for greater interdisciplinary sharing of knowledge and conversation that this journal advocates (Khapova and Arthur, 2011). After considering particular research questions that the CAS lens may generate for mentoring research, we explore some of the difficulties adopting that lens poses.

Defining CAS

A CAS can be defined as 'a set of interdependent agents forming an integrated whole, where an agent may be a person or an organization' (Palmberg, 2009: 484). The term was first developed to describe physical, often called natural, systems. However, social systems characterized by diversity and emergence (Sawyer, 2008) – and where the interacting agents that make up the system and the system as a whole are adaptive – are commonly now considered CAS.

It is foundational to the idea of social arrangements being CAS that such systems are dynamic and in a constant state of flux. The interacting, interdependent agents 'are bonded in a collective dynamic by a common need' (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2009: 631). The changing, adaptive nature of these systems means they cannot be fully explained by the study of the individual components alone. Furthermore, the changing, adaptive nature of CAS ensures that interactions between their components are likely to be unpredictable and unplanned. Every CAS is unique, consisting of unique agents who respond uniquely to their unique contextual inputs. Despite this, CAS have a number of defining features, though scholars vary on the terminology used to describe these (see Fryer, 2010; Palmberg, 2009; Richardson, 2008). For the purpose of clarity, here we draw on Uhl-Bien and Marion's (2009) recent work on CAS in leadership that distinguishes between 'complexity dynamics' and 'enabling conditions' (p. 639). These two terms usefully cluster the main precepts of CAS.

Complexity Dynamics

Uhl-Bien and Marion (2009) see complexity dynamics as being 'the emergent processes through which CAS form and operate' (p. 639). Key processes include self-organization, emergence, and bonding. Self-organization occurs because

CAS have no inherent hierarchy of command and control but rather constantly reorganize to best fit with the environment (Fryer, 2010). Consequently, traditional command-and-control type planning and managing of these systems is futile. Emergence refers to the patterns that arise from apparently random interactions between agents (Sawyer, 2008). Bonding, or connectivity, refers to the relationships between the agents. In CAS, the ways in which agents bond and relate establishes the patterns of the system. Accordingly, the relationships between agents are just as, if not more, important than the agents themselves (Fryer, 2010; Palmberg, 2009).

These processes are possible because of the properties of CAS that contribute to complexity dynamics. First, non-linearity is the notion that 'a change in a causal agent does not necessarily elicit a proportional change in another agent' (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2009: 639). Instead, a change within an agent in the system may have no effect, a dramatic effect, or an entirely unpredictable effect. The rich interconnections within the CAS mean feedback is often variable; however, it is also possible for such systems to be historically contingent as path dependencies develop (Schneider and Somers, 2006). Second, CAS contain attractors. Within social systems, attractors are interpreted as change agents (where they pull the system towards new behaviors) or as change inhibitors (where agents within the system resist change because of strong ties to an attractor) (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2009).

Enabling Conditions

Uhl-Bien and Marion (2009) regard enabling conditions as the necessary conditions under which complex behavior will occur. Enabling conditions include the presence of dynamic interaction, interdependence between agents, heterogeneity in the system, and tension. Dynamic interaction means that the agents within a CAS interact in ways that are not fixed, but are emergent and responsive, and thus unpredictable and non-linear. Furthermore, dynamic interactions within a CAS begin at the local level. Agents interact with the other agents they are connected to and are driven by their own needs rather than the overall needs of the system. However, because the agents are interdependent, agents will have to cooperate and compromise to achieve their independent goals (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2009). Heterogeneity or requisite variety in a CAS ensures strength within the system (Bokeno, 2007). Differences between agents feed dynamic interaction and mean the system is forced to adapt to maintain strong ties (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2009). Where traditional systems theory seeks to homogenize and stabilize, CAS argues for variety that creates tension and instability (Palmberg, 2009). Adaptive tension within a CAS is important because it provides the pressure on the system to adjust to its environment and to be innovative and creative.

The Relevance of CAS to Mentoring

Having defined CAS, we now turn to exploring why importing CAS theory makes sense for mentoring research. We do this by examining the two major theories that underpin the concept of CAS: systems theory and complexity science. The following sections discuss each theoretical underpinning in turn, while making connections between CAS and the existing mentoring literature.

Systems and CAS

Systems perspectives are based on the idea that the whole is different from the sum of its parts. They assume that all kinds of systems, be they natural, man-made, physical or social, share characteristics regardless of their components. Systems science is a meta-discipline with content capable of being transferred from discipline to discipline, its goal to 'address problems beyond conventional reductionist boundaries' (Skyttner, 2008: 497). Where a reductionist tries to understand the world by breaking it into ever smaller parts, the systems scientist tries to look at the complex whole (Weeks, 2001). Thus systems theory stresses the interdependent and interactional nature of the relationships that exist among all components of a system, and studies the whole in its entirety.

We acknowledge that systems theory in general is not new to mentoring (see Allen et al., 2006; Caruso, 1992; Keller, 2005; Spencer and Rhodes, 2005). However, previous recognition of mentoring as a systemic phenomenon tends to center on systems theory rooted in traditional science rather than in complexity science, which underpins CAS. Keller (2005), for example, uses a systemic conceptual model to analyse youth mentoring, exploring the complex feedback loops between children, mentors, parents and case workers. Keller (2005) argues that by teasing out the 'multiple pathways of influence' and paying attention to 'factors that contribute to the overall functioning of a system' (p. 183) mentoring may be more fully understood. We agree, but where Keller (2005) draws on open systems theory, we argue that the mentoring relationship is better described as a CAS because it puts greater emphasis on emergence and relationships. Bokeno (2007), on the other hand, argues that developing practice in mentoring is 'indicative of a more broad and systemic outlook' (p. 19) and favours an emergent, non-linear view of mentoring over more traditional systems approaches. We develop the connection he sees between mentoring and CAS more fully here.

A CAS lens is particularly relevant to the modern world because unlike reductionist viewpoints that struggle to handle complexity and a rapid pace of change, it looks for the connections between components and understands small interventions can have enormous consequences. Envisioning mentoring

as a systemic relationship embedded within systems, we believe will provide a fresh and exciting theoretical lens to the field. However, before we turn to the multiple systems that construct mentoring, we want to highlight that even the mentoring dyad itself can be considered as a CAS. For example, infant research explicitly uses the systems concept to account for the interpersonal world of the infant (Beebe et al., 2003), and Systems Intelligence theorists Saarinen and Hämäläinen (2010) propose the 'dyadic system as a basic unit' (p. 13). For the latter, as for us, a dyad can be a co-created system because it influences both participants individually and the relationship as a whole.

Additionally, the mentoring relationship 'has features not detectable by the inspection' of the mentor and the protégée 'separately as isolated individuals' (Saarinen and Hämäläinen, 2010: 13). That is, to know about the mentoring relationship requires more than just knowledge of the individual participants. Despite this, a feature of the research on mentoring has been an intensive focus on the attributes of the participants. A number of studies have explored the effects of personality, developmental stages, gender, race, and communication competency on mentoring. As Eby and Allen (2008) put it, 'most research examines mentoring . . . at the individual level of analysis' (p. 2). To understand CAS we need knowledge of the system and its relationships, and its wider contextual setting, not just knowledge of the individual agents (Palmberg, 2009).

Because the mentoring dyad is a system nested within other systems (such as the organization and wider community) the mentor and protégé and the system they form co-evolve with those other systems. The acknowledgement that forces both beyond and part of the mentoring dyad affect the mentoring process is congruent with a CAS lens. Figure 1 suggests how the mentoring relationship might be configured, though there will be variations depending

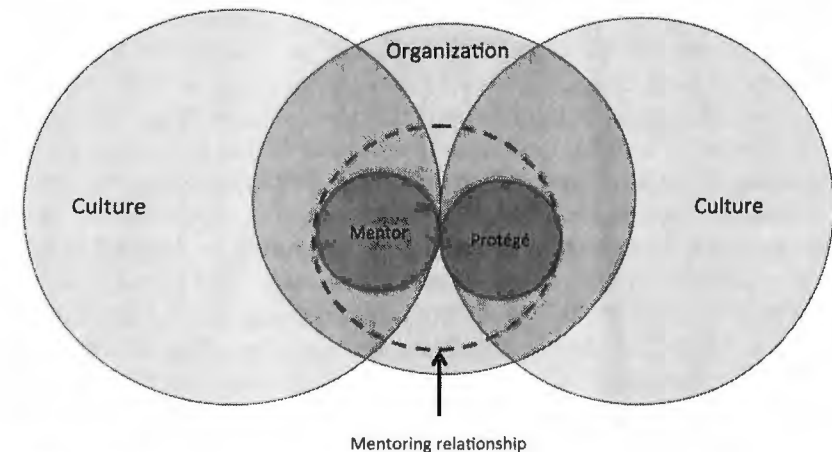


Figure 1: A CAS model of mentoring

on how many overlapping systems the mentor and protégée share. Essentially, it shows the mentor and protégé coming together as agents to form a system, within the context of another CAS – the organization. The organization itself is further nested within a wider social context, labelled here culture. Figure 1 shows the mentor and protégé as coming from different cultural backgrounds, but belonging to the same organization. Using a CAS lens allows the researcher to adjust the model according to the unique circumstances of each mentoring relationship, thus acknowledging differences while at the same time drawing attention to the features that systemic relationships share.

Complexity and CAS

Having examined the relevance of CAS to mentoring drawing on the terminology of systems theory, we now turn to complexity science as the other theoretical basis of CAS. Complexity is essentially about limits to knowledge (Richardson, 2008). While we can examine the individual components of a complex system and see how they are interconnected we often have to just 'sit back and watch' (Richardson, 2008: 15) to see how the system will behave overall. However, complex systems most often demonstrate unpredictable but patterned behaviors. Approaching mentoring through the science of complexity may help us to better understand the micro-macro interplay of the mentoring relationship as a system (Goldspink, 2010). Yet current mentoring research still relies heavily on reductionist approaches that focus in on the particulars of mentoring relationships and, in doing so, tend to lose the overall picture. Researchers have also struggled with how to account for contextual influence, how to deal with the dynamic nature of the mentoring relationship, and how to model that relationship.

Though the mentoring literature to date contains very few references to complexity science, our reading of the literature indicates enormous potential for the mentoring relationship to be analysed as being complex. Historically, mentoring has been characterized by linearity, hierarchy, and the relatively straightforward transfer of information from mentor to protégé. Yet, dissatisfaction with the ability of a closed dyadic relationship that progresses through predetermined phases to accurately reflect the messiness of human experience has led some researchers to explore alternative models. For example, reverse mentoring turns the direction of traditional mentoring on its end, with the young and technologically adept mentoring older, more senior colleagues – though both are believed to benefit from the relationship (see Gonzales and Thompson, 1998). This has emerged as a relevant model given the rapidly-changing and technologically-advancing social context. Other hybrid forms, such as peer mentoring, have also gained traction. Bryant and Terborg (2008) argue that lateral mentoring in organizations is 'qualitatively different from traditional mentoring' and likely offers 'unique advantages over traditional

mentoring relationships' (p. 12). New theoretical models are needed to reflect and explain emergent practice, hence the applicability of drawing on the complexity-informed CAS lens.

This lens rejects mentoring being associated with the ideas of linearity and clear, distinguishable phases in favour of chaotic and irregular movement. This seems to us the direction the mentoring literature is heading, particularly given Higgins and Kram's (2001) influential conceptualization of mentoring through the developmental network model. Their work has its roots in Kram's (1985) early description of 'constellations of relationships' and can also be compared to Dansky's (1996) exploration of group mentoring. Higgins and Kram (2001) proposed that the dyad was not necessarily the appropriate unit of study for mentoring, particularly given the new career and employment context that is increasingly diverse, technological, global, and flatter in structure. Drawing on social networking research, they proposed individuals sought developmental assistance from a set of people rather than just one person, and offered four typical developmental network configurations (receptive, traditional, opportunistic, and entrepreneurial). The range of mentoring models currently evident in the literature and in practice has led Ragins and Kram (2007) to claim there has been a paradigmatic shift that acknowledges 'that mentoring occurs within the context of developmental networks' (p. 660). Tellingly, the emphasis on developmental networks as constellations of relationships is echoed in Uhl-Bien et al.'s (2007) description of CAS as temporary constellations of people.

Certainly, interactions within these constellations must be considered complex. For example, scholars have long recognized that career-outcome and psychosocial benefits of the mentoring relationship are reciprocal. In CAS terms, the heterogeneity of the interdependent agents in the mentoring system leads to non-linear outcomes in the sense that while the intended beneficiary of the relationship is the protégé, in practice the mentor, too, benefits. Recognition of the mutually beneficial nature of the relationship has also affected the perception of other aspects of mentoring, such as the power dynamics and the co-construction of meaning. Harris et al. (2009) describe their use of 'cogenerative dialogue' in a triad of two doctoral students and a supervisor as 'a highly democratic form of collaborative learning that depends upon mutual respect, rapport, inclusion of all stakeholders (regardless of differing expertise) and a multiplicity of participation opportunities for all' (p. 26). The highly interactive and co-created nature of the relationship reflects the CAS features of dynamic interaction and bonding. Furthermore, the importance of an emotional connection between mentor and protégé has received attention in the literature. Langer (2010) goes so far as to claim the benefits of mentoring 'depend mostly on the creation of emotional connection' (p. 24). This aspect of the mentoring relationship lends itself to analysis of complexity dynamics and enabling conditions.

We have presented why we think mentoring suits a CAS interpretation in terms of both its systemic and complex qualities. In doing so, we have made general observations about trends and findings in the mentoring literature that motivate this connection. In the following section we now discuss particular advantages we think the CAS lens might bring to mentoring research.

Specific Advantages of a CAS View of Mentoring

The adoption of a CAS perspective of the mentoring relationship has the potential to bring a number of specific developments to mentoring research. We explore four here: attention to process, reconceptualization of context, adoption of fresh methodology, and the fostering of interdisciplinarity.

Attention to Process

One of the most important advantages a CAS lens offers mentoring is a greater emphasis on the process of mentoring rather than the characteristics of the individuals involved. The primary focus of much mentoring research has been the attributes of participants, the functions of mentoring, and the outcomes of the process. We believe that researchers have been so absorbed in identifying the individual variables that might affect the mentoring relationship that they have occasionally lost sight of the process itself. As a result, as Ragins and Kram (2007) astutely observe, ‘while we have focused on mentoring behaviors and protégé outcomes, we have not explored the dynamic and interactive processes underlying mentoring relationships’ (p. 8).

That is not to say that no work has been done on the relationship itself. Certainly, some researchers are exploring the quality of mentoring relationships (Chandler and Eby, 2010; Eby et al., 2010; Kalbfleisch, 2007). Furthermore, a recent buzzword has been mentoring ‘episodes’ or ‘short-term developmental interactions that occur at a specific point in time’ (Ragins and Kram, 2007: 662). A series of such episodes will constitute a mentoring relationship, but mentoring episodes can also occur outside of a long-term mentoring connection. Communication theory is also being imported into mentoring research to illuminate how relationships unfold over time (see Kalbfleisch, 2007). Relational Cultural theory, which extends the traditional view of mentoring, is a significant shift towards an emphasis on process that also attends to systemic issues (Fletcher and Ragins, 2007). For example, this theory situates the microprocesses of mentoring within societal-level systemic forces such as gender and power dynamics.

Like Relational Cultural theory, CAS theory offers a flexible and appropriate theoretical approach to mentoring, one capable of focusing attention on the iterative processes that constitute the mentoring relationship; that capability

exists because in CAS the relationships between the elements of the systems are fundamental to the system itself (Weeks, 2001). In other words, as much attention is given to the connection between components of the system as to the individual parts. Furthermore, systems and CAS theories show that not only do people’s actions and their relationships collectively define the system, the system in return shapes individual behavior and embedded relationships. Thus, understanding the way the mentor and the protégé relate to one another, as well as understanding the reciprocal impacts of this dyadic system (and the external, overlapping systems it is related to) on these individuals, is crucial to understanding mentoring as a CAS.

As we identified earlier, key properties of CAS are complexity, emergence, and dynamism, and we see these properties as equally important, but somewhat neglected, in mentoring. While these properties are acknowledged in the mentoring literature the opportunity to analyse them using the theoretically coherent lens of CAS is often missed because scholars are not consciously or consistently applying a systems lens. When Chandler and Eby (2010) give advice on how to avoid the mentoring relationship going awry, for example, they suggest that people who volunteer for mentoring are more likely to fulfil one another’s expectations and stress the importance of being alert to ‘patterns of behavior’ (p. 5) that might cause trouble. Within a CAS framework, in effect they are advocating a self-organizing aspect to the mentoring dyad and highlighting the chaotic, emergent but attractor-driven nature of the mentoring relationship. That is, their description of the mentoring experience could be explicated in CAS terms.

Similarly, where mentoring is recognized in the mentoring literature as complex, it is in the sense that mentoring is difficult to fully grasp and understand. This in itself makes it a suitable topic for a systems lens, as systems theory is useful for tackling complex problems (Skyttner, 2008). However, we argue that mentoring is also complex in the specific sense that complexity theory and CAS use the term. CAS are complex because they are diverse and are made up of multiple interconnected elements. They also tend toward chaos in that they are non-linear, though with defined characteristics. Chaos should not be confused with randomness, which implies disorder, as while chaos is non-linear, over time patterns emerge – there are boundaries to the randomness. In a sense, it is a framework that highlights that there are limitations to what we can know, and, subsequently, limitations to what we can plan for and control (Richardson, 2008). This idea seems applicable to mentoring in that while the individual interactions between mentor and protégée are highly unpredictable in many ways, they tend to eventually form patterns – stage models of the mentoring relationship, for example, generically describe the patterns that emerge from what is effectively a unique process (at the level of individual interactions that make up the relationship).

The concept of emergence in CAS refers to the system’s ability to self-organize, evolve over time, and produce unpredictable outcomes. Acknowledging

the property of emergence in the mentoring relationship acknowledges that there is no grand plan at work. The mentoring process cannot be planned or controlled – it emerges from interaction patterns that inform the behavior of the participants within the systems, and the system itself (Fryer, 2010). Changes occur both within and without the system that have a significant impact on its operation. Furthermore, all CAS have inputs and outputs as well as processes to convert one to the other. Much mentoring research has looked at inputs and outputs, though without applying the specific systems concepts. For example, many scholars have investigated the ‘antecedents’ that affect the mentoring process (a component of inputs and context) and the ‘outcomes’ or outputs of mentoring (see Chao, 1997; Rose, 2003; Turban and Dougherty, 1994; Underhill, 2006). What they do less often is emphasize the dynamic nature of both these and the processes of mentoring.

Where the mentoring literature does refer to dynamic aspects of mentoring it invariably adopts a linear frame for the dynamism. For example, Eby and Allen (2008) note that the ‘processes and outcomes associated with mentoring change over time’ (p. 160). For us, the concept of dynamism is inherent in the very nature of the system and is constant. CAS are inescapably, continually dynamic. They are constructed by the constant interaction between local agents and between those agents and their environment. Feedback is an essential component of a CAS and highlights the interdependencies of the agents, just as feedback is and does in mentoring. Bokeno (2007) describes the difference between a CAS view of mentoring and a traditional view by focusing on the dialogic (not monologic) communication of the CAS lens. He argues that both the mentor and the protégé have the capacity to learn as they communicate by questioning and talking about learning. Similarly, Harris et al. (2009) see cogenerative mentoring as involving balancing the tension both within the protégé and mentor and between them. This dovetails with systems theory because the ways in which the agents in a system connect and relate to one another are generally more important than the agents themselves (Fryer, 2010). Thus a CAS approach may refocus attention in mentoring from the attributes of the individual to the processes of connection between them.

Reconceptualization of Context

A further significant development that CAS offers mentoring research is its attention to the nested system aspect of the mentoring relationship. While the primary mentoring relationship between mentor and protégé forms a CAS, that CAS exists in a complex relationship with the wider (multi) systemic context. In other words, the mentoring relationship does not exist in isolation, and, we argue, consequently should not be studied in isolation. Mentoring relationships need to operate effectively within a dynamic and emergent context, while balancing the predictable and unpredictable, the stable and

the unstable. In other words, the mentoring relationship is never fixed – it is always responding and adapting to its own inputs as well as the inputs of the wider environment. Incorporating a focus on the wider environment, or context, is crucial for future work on mentoring. Indeed, Ragins and Kram (2007) note inconsistent results appear in research on individual attributes, such as gender, and they attribute ‘these mixed findings to contextual factors that can be accounted for only by considering gender as a systemic factor nested within social and organizational contexts’ (p. 667). A CAS approach draws attention to the structural, but flexible, properties of dynamic organization while attending to context.

When Ragins and Kram (2007) stress the role of context, they specifically say that ‘context involves not only the system within which the mentoring relationships are embedded but also the structure and medium by which mentoring relationships are enacted within and outside organizations’ (p. 675). To this we would add the multiple (perhaps competing, perhaps overlapping) systems to which the participants in the relationship belong. Interestingly, when we look at existing mentoring studies that refer to context, a number of them use systems concepts without ever drawing explicitly on systems theory. For example, McCauley and Guthrie (2007) unequivocally call for research on how organizational systems and cultures affect mentoring. Ragins and Kram (2007) specifically note that scholars also need to ‘think beyond organizational context to the impact of societal-level systemic forces’ (p. 678). Such forces include cultural values, power relationships, race, gender and ethnicity. The emergence of e-mentoring and the influence of technology on more traditional forms of mentoring have also drawn attention to the contextual elements of structure and medium.

Historically, however, so rarely has context been attended to in mentoring research that Allen (2007) bemoaned the fact that much of it ‘has been conducted as though mentoring relationships in organizations exist in a vacuum’ (p. 141). Similarly, Zellers et al. (2008) remark that ‘although mentoring is recognized to be contextual, only recently have investigators considered the impact of organizational culture on the effectiveness of corporate mentoring programs’ (p. 552). They stress that mentoring relationships must be defined and discussed within the organizational or cultural contexts in which they occur. Similarly, Haggard et al. (2011) encourage future research on contextual factors. Accordingly, 20 years after Kram’s initial remarks, she and Ragins (2007) needed to reiterate that ‘contextual factors illuminate the embedded nature of mentoring and offer important new insights for future research and practice’ (p. 675). Specifically, they highlight five paths of inquiry that will likely shed light on the mentoring context – (1) the role of the organization in initiating and fostering mentoring; (2) the effect of organizational diversity, climate, and norms; (3) the impact of leadership; (4) the effects of technology; and (5) the role of the culture of the society beyond the organization (Ragins and Kram, 2007).

Though Ragins and Kram (2007) outline a path for future study of context, when they diagrammatically conceptualize the mentoring landscape context it is presented as but one of a number of factors that affect the mentoring process. A CAS approach demands context be an integral part of the mentoring relationship because context concerns both the environment in which the relationship occurs and is part of that relationship. As Uhl-Bien et al. (2007) note, 'context in complex adaptive systems is not an antecedent, mediator, or moderator variable' (p. 299); rather it is the dynamic ambiance of the relationships between agents, organizations and environments: 'CAS . . . are socially constructed in and from this context' (p. 299). Furthermore, adopting a CAS lens necessitates that both the relationship and its context are regarded as being in a state of flux. Our reading of much of the early work on mentoring sees scholars often treating the primary mentoring relationship as dynamic (moving through phases, for example) but treating context as static, as a fixed environment in which the primary relationship occurs. In contrast, CAS theory allows for a rich exploration of context because it sees the environment as a dynamic influence on the system rather than a static entity that can be described and measured.

CAS are open systems 'that interact with their environment in a transformation process' (Schneider and Somers, 2006: 356). Accordingly, CAS theory pays particular attention to the immediate context, seeing the agents that make up the system (the mentor and protégé) as primarily influencing one another locally. However, the agents also act on and are influenced by their local environment. That environment consists not only of the system that the individuals make up together, but all the overlapping, nested systems to which they belong, such as the work department, the organization, the community, and so on. Palmberg (2009) argues that 'a CAS can only be understood in the context of its environment' (p. 485), because such a system evolves as agents act and react in cooperation and competition with other agents in their context. Further, a CAS 'acquires information about its environment and its own interaction with that environment' (Gell-Mann, 1995: 17). In other words, the relationship of the mentor and protégé to context is dynamic. Furthermore, for us, it only makes sense to visualize the mentoring relationship in its context, as the mentor and protégé are never isolated from relationships to others external to their dyad.

Adoption of Fresh Methodology

A third benefit of applying a CAS lens to mentoring is that complexity theories, with their non-traditional ontology, demand fresh methodological approaches. Schneider and Somers (2006) argue that complexity theory is an evolutionary development of systems theory that is revolutionary in effect. In other words, though CAS are another type of system, the way in which these systems work

challenges long held notions of science. Accordingly, a CAS perspective requires a quite different ontological approach than traditional systems theory. It is a 'profoundly different way of understanding the world' (Richardson, 2008: 25) than the traditional scientific approach, but one that allows scholars to accept that they can never know or model everything. That is because a complexity science perspective understands that the best representation of a complex system is the system itself – any attempt to model a system will fall short (Richardson, 2008). Consequently, the complexity based researcher will be comfortable with fluidity, ambiguity, and pluralism rather than pursuant of stasis, certainty, and single truths. Thus a CAS lens invites the acceptance of theoretically diverse and methodologically varied approaches.

This is timely for the mentoring field as a number of scholars have critically assessed research methods associated with mentoring. Allen et al. (2008), for example, conducted a qualitative review of the research methods used to study mentoring and found an over reliance on particular study designs (cross sectional and self-reporting data), a tendency to conflate different forms of mentoring (such as informal and formal) and a lack of experimental research. They recommended the field begin to undertake more complex research drawing on multiple data sources and incorporating longitudinal design, a point also made by Crisp and Cruz (2009).

Similarly, in their quantitative study of the mentoring literature, Kammeyer-Mueller and Judge (2008) call for studies that obtain measures from both subjective and objective sources rather than a single source. They further suggest that 'because mentoring is a dynamic process that unfolds in time . . . growth curve modelling studies would be especially instructive' (p. 278). Crisp and Cruz (2009) have also complained that mentoring 'is lacking in terms of rigorous quantitative research designs' (p. 526) and called for studies to be more methodologically thorough. In contrast, Ragins and Kram (2007) and Zellers et al. (2008) favour more qualitative and observational research. What mentoring scholars do agree on is that traditional methods 'capture a limited snapshot' (Ragins and Kram, 2007: 684) and new measures are required.

CAS can help address the methodological concerns because its fresh ontological perspective calls for new methodologies. The influence of complexity and related systems theories on researchers, sometimes referred to as the 'new science' (Wheatley, 1999), has resulted in a methodological movement entitled the 'third scientific discipline' – where the first discipline is experimentation and the second regression (Schneider and Somers, 2006). Pioneers of this movement, Ilgen and Hulin (2000) argue that existing 'methods and theories remain far better suited for the deterministic and linear corners of [organization science] than for the well populated chaotic regions of it' (p. xv). Thus, the third discipline seeks to find better ways of understanding social groups as CAS, and crosses a number of disciplines in the social sciences.

Important features of the third discipline are its focus on longitudinal studies to best study the effects of processes and its integration of a range of

perspectives and methodologies (Hunt and Ropo, 2003; Schneider and Somers, 2006) – exactly what mentoring scholars have argued the field needs. Furthermore, in their recent criticisms of current mentoring research methods, Kammeyer-Mueller and Judge (2008) make two crucial observations. First, they note that mentoring is a dynamic process, and as such is inadequately researched by typical methods. Second, they suggest that researchers ‘may increasingly have to turn away from mentor functions and scales and towards a more detailed understanding of the mentor process as organizationally embedded’ (p. 279). A CAS approach both accepts mentoring as a dynamic process and as nested within systems, and so lends itself to this type of research.

In fact, complexity-theory informed perspectives like CAS demand new non-linear research methodologies that better reflect the phenomenon that they attempt to study. Contemplating the application of CAS theory to leadership, for example, Schneider and Somers (2006) propose dynamic systems simulation and artificial neural networks as valuable methods. Dynamic systems simulation involves researchers creating a virtual representation of the social world to help study the dynamics of emergence. Using techniques such as agent-based modelling, the simulation ‘creates rather than tests theory’ (Schneider and Somers, 2006: 361) and allows researchers to ‘confront the logic of their theories before time-consuming and costly data collection occurs’ (Ilgen and Hulen, 2000, blurb). Such techniques create artificial agents, which act and react based on specified rules governing their behaviors, their interactions between each other, and with the environment to produce emergent systemic patterns. This then forms the theoretical basis for the possible long run behavior of mentoring relationships based on varying contexts. Artificial neural networks, in contrast, test theory using pattern recognition algorithms to uncover patterns in complex data (Schneider and Somers, 2006).

These third discipline methods are not intended to simply replace more traditional approaches, but to be used alongside other, for example, qualitative, data to gain a richer understanding of complex and dynamic system experiences like mentoring. Thus, traditional mentoring research methods tend to concentrate on the individuals and their interactive micro-behaviors in mentoring relationships, while third discipline methods can explore the long range macro-behaviors of mentoring endeavours more systemically, taking into account a wide range of social dynamic interactions.

The Fostering of Interdisciplinarity

Described by Ragins and Kram (2007) as an ‘explosion of research that crosses disciplines, professions and continents’ (p. 4), the mentoring literature extends to many fields. Indeed, mentoring has penetrated a number of disciplines and been richly explored from both a theoretical and applied standpoint. Areas

as diverse as health studies, knowledge management, human resource management, education, and psychology have all paid attention to mentoring as a tool for learning and knowledge sharing. However, this multidisciplinary interest, along with rapid social, technological and organizational change, has had the unintended consequence of producing a somewhat bewildering range of perspectives on mentoring. Eby and Allen (2008) confirm this view, noting that the multidisciplinary nature of mentoring research means there is ‘limited integration’ (p. 159) between disciplines. The CAS lens has its basis in systems theory as well as complexity theory. Both these theories are highly interdisciplinary frameworks that encompass multiple principles but which all seek to explore how living, adaptable, changeable systems function (CASgroup, 2010). The cross-disciplinary nature of the theories that form the basis of CAS make it an appropriate lens to apply to a multi-disciplinary field such as mentoring.

Furthermore, one consequence of having a range of disciplines contributing to the mentoring literature is a struggle for conceptual clarity. As far back as 1983 Merriam noted that ‘mentoring appears to mean one thing to developmental psychologists, another thing to business people and a third thing to those in academic settings’ (p. 169). Twenty years later confusion over meaning remained an issue with Bennetts (2002) commenting that ‘despite becoming popular as a means of personal and professional development, mentoring suffers from a lack of definition’ (p. 155). A recent survey of the literature found over 50 definitions, varying significantly in scope and breadth, pointing out that they are often ‘specific to, and reflective of the researcher’s discipline’ with scholars from business offering quite different interpretations of the terms than their counterparts in psychology (Crisp and Cruz, 2009: 527). A similar disjuncture occurs between academic and practitioner literature. Langer (2010) has recently exposed that ‘although there are some areas of overlap in mentoring theory and practice, little consistency exists in the way mentoring is defined both within and across these categories’ (p. 34).

Though many have called for a clear definition of mentoring applicable across the field, that goal may be both undesirable and unrealistic (Haggard et al., 2011). It may be undesirable because, as Zellers et al. (2008) have persuasively argued, the highly contextual nature of mentoring means scholars should be cautious about importing observations made within one setting (for example, the business sector) to other areas (such as academia). It may be unrealistic because, as Crisp and Cruz (2009) have argued, the lack of a consistent definition may be symptomatic of a lack of a shared theoretical base. We support Eby and Allen’s (2008) call for ‘greater unification rather than fragmentation of knowledge’ (p. 167) on mentoring, and, like them, argue it is ‘time to move out of . . . disciplinary silos’ (p. 160). Adopting the CAS lens provides an opportunity to do just that because while it provides an overarching theoretical lens, it treats each CAS and its context as unique.

Research Questions for Mentoring Using a CAS Lens

What research questions might a CAS perspective encourage mentoring research to ask? The fundamental questions CAS researchers might ask regard emergence. How does emergence happen, why, and what emerges from the mentoring relationship? These questions give rise to a series of sub questions largely unaddressed in the literature to date.

Beginning at the macro level, we might ask how the competing demands of the overlapping systemic context affect the mentoring relationship. Both the mentor and the protégé belong to a number of systems simultaneously and, importantly, these are not necessarily identical. Mentor and protégé may come from different departments within an organization, or indeed may come from different organizations. How then do the individuals balance the demands of the multiple systems they belong to when engaged with mentoring, particularly if those demands compete with the demands of the mentoring system? It is not too difficult to envisage a protégé being pressured by an organizational superior to behave in ways or complete tasks that might impact on the protégé's relationship with a mentor. Indeed, recent research on when mentoring goes bad (see Chandler and Eby, 2010; Eby et al., 2010) suggests the complexity of the mentor/protégé relationship and its fluid state. We see CAS theory as having the capacity to explain that complexity and state of flux.

Another system-level issue for mentoring research that a CAS lens opens up for exploration is the examination of how structure produces behavior while acknowledging behavior produces structure. That is, how is the mentoring relationship shaped by the individuals at the same time as they are transformed by it? The CAS lens does not limit the researcher to exploring the system acting on the mentor and protégé, but looks at how the interaction between the whole system and its parts mutually form one another, within the context of other systems. Similarly, could the mentoring relationship itself have a dialectical relationship with the systems that comprise its context?

Given the complex environment that mentoring relationships are situated within is in a constant state of flux, the mentoring relationship itself is also inescapably dynamic and emergent. A CAS lens prompts us to ask how the mentor and protégé understand and respond to the dynamism inherent in the relationship. In particular, we might ask how mentor and protégé interaction patterns emerge during mentoring. Theoretical awareness of the dynamic emergent processes in mentoring might broaden the conversation between mentor and protégé, freeing them from the expectations of engagement in a neat, linear and self-contained process, as suggested by Jones and Brown's (2011) recent reflective contribution. Bokeno (2007), for example, suggests that a CAS-informed perspective of mentoring will help the mentor and protégé understand that multiple pathways can be found towards the same goals and that (dis)ordered exploration of the relationship rather than predictable, linear steps will likely lead to better outcomes.

Understanding the mentoring relationship as a CAS then leads to potentially fruitful research questions at the micro level. Given flexibility and collaboration are essential to successful bonds between agents in a CAS, and yet, tension and instability will extend boundaries and encourage innovation (Bokeno, 2007; Palmberg, 2009) how can mentoring relationships navigate these contradictory pulls? Research on the processes of relating that address these characteristics will likely benefit the mentoring literature. Such research could inform practice. For example, understanding the processes of relating, the ability to create individual but interdependent visions, to foster positive attractors, and experiment rather than follow detailed rules may help in the design of formal mentoring programmes and help explain and inform the success, or otherwise, of both formal and informal mentoring relationships.

Another micro-level question that we might ask is what are the opportunities for intervention in negative cycles of interaction? The CAS approach calls attention to the generalized repeated patterns of interaction that occur between individuals and between individuals and the system. In the mentoring relationship each individual interaction is emergent and unpredictable, yet, over time, communication and behavior patterns emerge. Understanding the mentoring relationship as a CAS could allow the researcher to identify, given the predictable unpredictability of the relationship as a system, where there might be opportunities to intervene.

Difficulties in Adopting the CAS Lens

Adopting a CAS lens to research mentoring is not without its problems, however. A significant issue faced by many scholars attempting to import the new science of complexity into management is the tendency to subsume complexity into the dominant, functionalist, managerial paradigm. Though offering a significant opportunity to understand organizations in new ways, Zhu (2007) notes with disappointment that 'achievements in natural complexity sciences are enthusiastically transferred into explanations of organization change and management' (p. 445) in watered down and inaccurate ways. Zhu (2007) argues that management scholars fail to notice that:

if rules are specifiable and imposable they are not genuinely emerging; if organizations can be moved to and positioned at the edge of chaos they are then subject to intentional manoeuvre, not self-organizing; and if a population of strategies rather than a single strategy are employed, then more, not less, formulation and implementation is needed. (p. 446)

Such is the problem with agent-based modelling efforts when studying emerging macro-behaviors of systems. That is, such models are based on pre-conceptualized rules for agent behavior, leading to somewhat predictable, or at least derived, macro-behaviors.

If CAS theory is to be successfully applied in mentoring, scholars must consciously fight the desire to impose order, predict the unpredictable, and take a reductionist view of the mentor and protégé.

Ideally, application of complexity theories in mentoring will emphasize the non-linearity and unpredictability of mentoring relationships and stress the 'patterns [that] emerge unpredictably in myriad local interactions' (Zhu, 2007: 448). In this context, 'visions, strategies and initiatives from leaders and managers are no more than gestures . . . calling forth responses from many, different, local agents' (Zhu, 2007: 448). Attention needs to shift from outside intervention towards joint action achieved through conversation (Cooke-Davies et al., 2007). Greater self-reflexivity is also highlighted because, somewhat counter intuitively, 'complexity thinking actually requires us to spend a little more time thinking, and a little less time working' (Richardson, 2008: 13). Complexity thinking means accepting one's limits, especially about what can be planned and pre-determined.

Furthermore, adopting a complexity science based theory challenges current research methods. Mentoring research from a CAS perspective will necessarily be context specific, rendering quick-and-easy-questionnaire type approaches untenable. The field of leadership is facing the same issue as it imports complexity thinking into its oeuvre. Uhl-Bien and Marion (2009) encourage leadership researchers using the CAS lens to employ multi-method studies. For example, they advocate the use of longitudinal studies that focus on processes, using qualitative approaches, case studies, simulation and modelling to help gather rich contextualized data. This is also a good recommendation when applied to mentoring.

However, favouring these methods comes at a cost for the mentoring researcher. If we regard mentoring relationships as CAS we are unlikely to be able to conduct quick, reductionist studies. Static snapshots of the agents or systems are of less interest than adaptations and emergence in relationships over time. In addition, the CAS lens does not prove useful for building constructs, isolating variables or working towards prescriptive outcomes.

The need for contextualized research and longitudinal, messy methods when using a CAS approach makes it difficult for the researcher to provide quick, sharp, practical advice to organizations or individuals. A possible way around the obstacles of the CAS lens is to combine theoretical lenses and methodologies in somewhat of a hybrid approach to theory building and research. Action Research and Appreciative Inquiry, for example, are two methodologies suited to a complexity-based theory as they focus on working with dynamic emergence.

Conclusions

Contemplating future research in mentoring, Crisp and Cruz (2009) argue that theoretical work in mentoring should 'continue to draw from other fields' and conclude with the hope that 'alternative, theoretical frameworks will advance

the literature in the coming years' (p. 540). We have argued the case for CAS to be one of those frameworks. We have shown through our discussion of the complex and systemic features of mentoring why the CAS lens has so much potential for the field.

Driven by a number of factors, CAS is a natural fit with the mentoring relationship. First, a CAS lens offers the opportunity to focus on the process of connecting and so capture the rich, dynamic, complex, and emergent experience of mentoring. Second, it encourages renewed attention to context beyond the dyad. In doing so, it has the additional benefit of allowing a fresh conceptualization of the mentoring relationship. Seeing the mentoring relationship as a CAS in itself, as well as seeing it as part of other such systems, resolves some of the weaknesses of the traditional mentoring models – particularly their emphasis on linearity and their level of analysis at the individual level. Furthermore, by highlighting the complexity of the social world, CAS theory draws attention to the futility of all theory attempting to be normative and prescriptive. The CAS lens also highlights the influence of structure on behavior, even as behavior is influenced by structure, while simultaneously emphasising the adaptive nature of both the relationship-as-system and the individual agents. Finally, like mentoring, CAS theory is cross-disciplinary. Its cross-disciplinary nature means it has the potential to provide a unifying lens for the many disciplines contributing to mentoring research and help with the integrative work called for by Eby and Allen (2008).

Our impression of the mentoring literature is that mentoring scholars are struggling to find a theoretical lens that captures the vagaries and complexities of current mentoring practice. The CAS lens, grounded in complexity science and systems theory, is appropriate because it is a holistic, environment-sensitive, and dynamic lens suited to the complex processes of relating among mentor, protégé, and context – a lens more about emergence than effectiveness or efficiency. Certainly, emergence is evident in the field. Crisp and Cruz (2009) argue that the mentoring literature has lagged behind the development and implementation of mentoring programs in practice, and Ragins and Kram (2007) note that 'new hybrid forms of mentoring [are] being offered by organizations without guidance or connection to empirical research' (p. 4). A CAS lens may help bridge the gap between traditional theory and emergent practice by providing a theoretically sound but flexible and dynamic framework through which to view the mentoring relationship.

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Part 2: Coaching

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

Researching Coaching and Mentoring

Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson

Introduction

As raised in Chapter 1, there are many different perspectives on the meaning of coaching and mentoring, and the research traditions similarly fall into various camps or tribes. In Chapter 1, we also raised the issue of social context and its impact on coaching and mentoring in practice. Within research, the social context also shapes the researcher's purpose and often influences the practitioner's activities as they act on a researcher's findings.

Within our framework of analysis, we examine the gaze, strengths and weaknesses of each. 'Gaze' refers to the issues that various research strands privilege (by giving predominant attention to them), and an example is taken from our recent collaborative research study to illustrate how gaze operates in shaping the perceptions of researchers and determining the findings that they uncover. This is akin to the concept of 'mindset' raised in Chapter 1 but the difference between gaze and mindset is that gaze refers to what the researcher looks at, whereas mindset refers to what they are likely to see. We therefore see gaze as a particularly relevant intellectual tool in discussing research paradigms.

Nonetheless, there is a cautionary note here for researchers, practitioners and scheme designers that research findings need to be understood from the 'gaze' of the writer. As raised in Chapter 1, Burrell and Morgan (1979) offer some helpful insight into the 'gaze' in the task of classifying research approaches. Morgan (1993: 276–7) comments:

One of the main insights emerging from this work was that social scientists, like people in everyday life, tend to get trapped by their perspectives and

346 **Mentoring and Coaching**

assumptions. As a result, they construct, understand, and interpret the social world in partial ways, creating interesting sets of insights but obliterating others as ways of seeing become ways of not seeing.

Burrell and Morgan used a two by two matrix to describe four of these partial ways of seeing: the subjectivist versus the objectivist paradigms and the concept of radical change versus regulatory change. A widely used simplification of this model is to contrast the two approaches of positivism and phenomenology (or interpretive). Others (e.g. Ruona and Lynham, 2004: 157) add to these two core methodologies a third – critical science. Critical science is aligned to Burrell and Morgan's concept of radical change.

To illustrate one such approach in a recent lecture on mentoring research David Clutterbuck suggested that there are a dozen things wrong with most mentoring research:

1. Failures of definition. What is mentoring? Do respondents self-select?
2. Context of relationship not specified. internal/external; formal/informal; in-line/offline/ external.
3. Outcomes not explored. For mentee/for mentor; sponsorship/career (some of Kram's (1985) functions are processes not outcomes – e.g. friendship).
4. Individual demographic variables not taken into account. For example, age, education, gender, race.
5. Quality of relationship. Nature of conversation; training of parties; effects of power on disclosure; effects of coercion to participate.
6. Stage of relationship. How many meetings? Duration of meetings; elapsed time since end of relationship.
7. Lack of triangulation. Just mentee; just mentor; a line manager view; no 360° view; no scheme organizer view.
8. Over-reliance on retrospective accounts.
9. Single point samples. No attempt to track movement of the relationship by longitudinal study.
10. Direction of gaze. If you can't measure it, it doesn't exist.
11. Researcher bias not addressed. Who sees the relationship? Who asks the questions?
12. Sample size. Number of respondents; representativeness is not considered.

We could critique mentoring and coaching research publications against such a list; however, Clutterbuck's perspective is largely a positivist one. While this is not a problem in itself and we maintain the position that no one method is better than the other, we do suggest that a blended approach offers the most potential to inform all users of research material. In this chapter we seek our own grounded methodology to analyse our selection of current research articles in mentoring and coaching.

Methodology

To introduce the different research traditions in mentoring and coaching we have picked two archetypal accounts of research that typify their respective traditions. We give a review of each.

We set out to build a typology of discourses found in the research literature of mentoring and coaching by drawing on a relatively random set of research accounts to give a picture of the field as it is currently developing. Our criteria for selecting the accounts were as follows:

- Published in or after 2003
- Published in peer-reviewed journals
- Selected from a range of journals – no more than three in either coaching or mentoring from the same journal
- The same number of articles about coaching and mentoring. This resulted in 18 mentoring and 18 coaching articles

In this way, we sought to build a picture of research practice that was current, high quality, eclectic and offering comparison between traditions in coaching and mentoring. The criterion of eclecticism was especially important because we could easily (for example) have concluded that all research in mentoring and coaching was in the tradition of a particular journal or its editors if we had over-relied on one source.

Using SWETSWISE and Business Source Premier Search engines, we identified the articles for mentoring as listed on p. 25 and analysed them using Table 1 also on p. 38. The numbers in front of each source referring to the column where they are list.

We also examined practically the research 'gaze' of a group of experienced researchers. At a meeting of the European Mentoring and Coaching Council's (EMCC) Collaborative Research Group, we examined the first few minutes of a DVD of the fifth coaching session between one of the group and a client. The group member, who was the coach on the DVD, took notes of the comments made and these are noted below in the section Research 'Gaze'. The research question was 'What is the reviewer's "gaze" in their analysis of the interaction?'

Archetypes of Mentoring and Coaching Research**The Mentoring Archetype**

For mentoring, the example is Phyllis Tharenou's article in the *Australian Journal of Management* (30(1): pp. 77–109) entitled 'Does mentor support increase women's career advancement more than men's? The differential

Table 1: Mentoring article features by frequency of occurrence

Article	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
A Many citations (>15)	66	58	71	69	60	51	59	53	38	58	45	37	65	16	35	28	54	68	18
B Independent academic author	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	16
C Data from mentees	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	15
D Large N (>30)	3220	190	479	928	239	323	262	88	192	249	217					34		94	13
E Protégés term used	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X		12
F Data by questionnaire	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							12
G Intervening variables examined	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X				X		X		12
H Use others' measures	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							12
I Builds on established theory	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								11
J Hypotheses set/tested	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								11
K Inferential statistics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								11
L Limitations discussed	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								11
M Informal mentoring					X		X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X		10
N Contingent variables controlled	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X								9
O Formal mentoring		X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X						X	9
P Benefits to mentees	X		X		X								X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Q Practice relevance		X				X	X						X	X	X		X	X	8
R Data from mentors						X	X		X	X	X	X		X				X	8
S Data by interview					87								15	15	10	X	10	X	7
T Data from students		X	X		X	X					X	X						X	7
U Kram functions used	X		X	X	X	X		X			X								7
V Qualitative data method specified								X					X	X	X	X		X	6
W Verbatim quotes								X				X	X	X			X	X	6
X Single case organization								X	X				X		X			X	5
Y Disadvantaged group	X				X											X		X	4
Z Longitudinal study	X				X										X			X	4
AA Treatment discussed												X		X	X	X		X	4
BB Benefits to mentors								X					X						4
CC Focus on negatives						X		X									X		3
DD Basis for sample spelt out									X	X						X			2
EE Benefits to organization		X											X					X	2
FF Qualitative data from e-sources													X						2
GG e-mentoring													X					X	2
HH Data from observation																X		X	2
II Data by focus group																X			2
JJ Control group					X													X	1
KK Descriptive stats only																X			1
LL Mentoring by line boss																			0
MM Data from mentee's staff																			0

effects of career and psychosocial support' (Tharenou, 2005). From reading this title, we already know a great deal about this work. For instance:

- It addresses a group who may be disadvantaged in employment – in this case, women.
- It is grounded in an established theory – there is reference in the title to 'career' and 'psychosocial' functions of mentoring, a framework first established by Kram (1985) and continuously used by mentoring researchers ever since.
- It seeks to study the relationship between variables – in this case 'career advancement' and 'career and psychosocial support'. This may imply a 'positivist paradigm' to the research – a point that we will explore more in what follows.
- The question about comparison of effects on women and on men implies a large sample – and indeed, in this case, 3220 respondents.
- The size of the sample implies that the researchers would be more interested in statistical relations than in stories or accounts of experience, and this is indeed so.
- The author's affiliation is described as University of South Australia – so embedded in the research community.
- This article is from the 30th volume of the *Australian Journal of Management*, so it is published in a prestigious and longstanding journal.

A perusal of the abstract of the article will yield further information about the nature of this work:

- The study examines the differential effects of men and women mentors upon the male and female subjects – thus introducing intervening variables and implying a sophisticated statistical treatment of the data.
- The abstract specifies that respondents came from Australians in the public sector and finance and business service industry – characteristically acknowledging the possible limitations to relevance of the findings.
- The study is described as being 'based on past research' so its findings seek to be cumulative building on (or contradicting) other contributions.
- This particular study is, although limited in terms of time, longitudinal – the subjects being surveyed twice, a year apart. This feature is not found widely in mentoring research accounts, but still represents an ideal. Cross-sectional research accounts (a snapshot taken at one time only) frequently refer to this feature as a weakness of their study and recommend longitudinal research designs.

Moving to the body of the article, in addition to confirmation of the points listed above, we also find that:

- A structure of hypotheses is set out and then tested in the remainder of the study.
- The limitations of the study are acknowledged.
- The sophisticated statistical treatment is borne out by a reading of the complete article, which has six pages of tables and reference (*inter alia*) to chi-squared tests, alpha coefficients, *t*-tests, intercorrelations, control variables, moderated hierarchical regression analysis and multivariate multicollinearity.
- Some variables that might affect the results are presented and where possible the statistical procedures to discount the effects of these variables are described.
- A large number of other mentoring research studies are cited and their findings and methodology are compared with the author's own study, placing it in an evolving body of knowledge.

In our view, in spite of the great strengths of this article, there are also some potential weaknesses that moderate the powerful impact of its story.

The subjects are described as 'protégés', a term that implies to an English speaker a passive 'done to' approach to mentoring. In fact, the approach or approaches to mentoring used in this study are not discussed. We suggest that with such a large sample the approaches are likely to have been widely variable, but the use of this term illustrates a disembodied and simplifying approach to the research.

The researcher does not seem to be interested in what went on in the mentoring relationships she is examining. What happened in these relationships is in a 'black box', and not investigated.

There is no discussion of the 'treatment' that the protégés received or how they perceived it.

There is a sense here that the author examines reality principally through the statistics. What there is in the relationship is selected by examining statistical significance rather than personal meaning. As a result of this orientation the author can get into quite a tangle as illustrated by the following sentence: 'It should also be noted that, although mentor support is not related to men's career advancement for this sample, having a male mentor does increase men's managerial levels' (Tharenou, 2005: 102). The statement 'increasing managerial level' sounds to us like an important part of 'career advancement' but because they are two different technical measures in this aspect of the research the rather striking conflict of data embedded in this sentence is not taken up by the author. This example illustrates a main theme in this book of the strong desire of many writers, researchers and organizations to seek simplicity in complexity.

There is an implication that the reader will be deeply knowledgeable about statistics and therefore able to make sense of such sentences as, 'Formal tests were made of multivariate multicollinearity, resulting in high tolerances

352 **Mentoring and Coaching**

(generally >0.07), except for training and managerial level, and low variation inflation factors (all <2)' (Tharenou, 2005: 91). We can see that this level of statistical sophistication is a useful means of gaining publication in a prestigious journal and in examining relationships between variables. However, we are not so sure that, presented in this way, it is effective in communicating with those interested in outcomes of mentoring research from a point of view of practice. As pointed out in Chapters 3 and 8, this approach to communication both includes and excludes different social groups.

The implications for practice are brief – less than a page in a 32-page article. They also seem contradictory. The author says, on the one hand, 'mentor career support explains women's career advancement more than it does men's. . . The effects are strongest for women with female mentors' (p. 105). This sentence seems to us to imply that we would have more positive career effect on women protégés by matching them with women mentors. But in the very next sentence the author says, 'Male mentors also help their protégés (male or female) advance more than female mentors do' (p. 105).

We do not make these criticisms to traduce the author of this interesting and painstaking study. Rather we raise them to highlight weaknesses of the type of research represented here and of which this article is an archetype.

The Coaching Archetype

Moving on to the archetypal coaching article, we explore the features of Vernita Parker-Wilkins' 2006 article 'Business impact of executive coaching: demonstrating monetary value' from the journal *Industrial and Commercial Training* (28(3): pp. 122–127). Again this information begins to tell us about the nature of the article:

- Business relevance is a concern – the 'business impact' is privileged. This writer is addressing practitioners of coaching or buyers of coaching services, rather than the community of researchers.
- The criterion of relevance is 'Return on Investment' (RoI) – the sub-heading speaks of 'demonstrating monetary value'.
- The author's affiliation is described as Executive Development Manager with a consultancy', Booz Allen Hamilton, so a practitioner rather than an academic.
- This article is from a well-established practitioner journal, where some articles are accepted without blind peer review.

The abstract adds the following aspects, all of which emphasize the practical, business related focus of the author:

- Being clear that the purpose is to 'enhance the utilization of coaching throughout the firm'.

- The RoI study is an evaluation of the scheme from the perspective of the business-significant stakeholders.
- This evaluation research focuses on practical effects rather than social science understanding.
- The abstract account showed how all the figures had been reduced to demonstrate that the results were conservative, and did not include remarkably massive individual cases, which were excluded from the study, thus giving the impression of 'reasonableness' in the study.
- The practical policy implications are spelled out in detail.

Reading the article itself indicates that the research was a mixture of quantitative and qualitative, and that there is more interest in what went on, but less attention to describing the research processes than in the mentoring archetype:

- The data are presented in summary form or with examples rather than spelling out in detail the processes and protocols for the research.
- The research was a case study of one company – and in fact this company was the author's own organization.
- Applicability and generalizability was not considered.
- The author delegated the design of the protocols to a survey company.
- The data were gathered by interview, giving a great deal of business-relevant circumstantial detail, which was described.
- The basis for the RoI calculation was given.
- Only 26 respondents were interviewed, though all those who might have responded were asked.

The weaknesses we identify in this account of coaching include the fact that the interests of the author in working for the firm studied and having a role in the delivery of the programme were not discussed.

The detail of the calculation of benefits or costs were not discussed in detail, although examples were given. This means that any reader is unable to assess to legitimacy of the calculations and is also unable to employ the techniques for themselves.

There is no attempt to explore or explain any alternative possible explanations for the positive results. Given the number of variables involved, it is likely that there would be more than one explanation for either positive or negative results.

No other studies are cited to confirm or contrast with the findings so there is no attempt to link this study to the broader body of literature on the subject.

Rather like the communication difficulties we raised about the previous paper, this article is written to appeal to a particular social group with a particular set of discourses. It is not our intention to damn this particular work

by highlighting these deficiencies, as such weaknesses are characteristic of the generality of coaching research accounts.

Both pieces of work can be understood in terms of the gaze of the researcher, the imagined audience and his or her intentions in writing the paper.

In Summary

Mentoring research archetypally:

- Addresses interventions that counteract disadvantage in employment
- Is grounded in established theory and a research tradition
- Is positivist: examining relationships between variables and using analytical/inferential statistics to test hypotheses
- Uses questionnaires to survey a large sample
- Comes from a university research community and addresses other researchers and is peer reviewed
- Explores and seeks to control intervening variables
- Spells out limitations
- Is incurious about the nature of the relationships described
- Privileges statistical significance over subjective meaning
- Only touches on implications for practice and with caveats.

The archetype for coaching research, by contrast, involves:

- Focus on business relevance
- Pragmatic enhancement of practice is the declared aim
- Carrying out an evaluation study of a particular scheme
- Insider account by a sponsor of the scheme
- All other measures are subordinate to RoI
- Summaries and examples are provided rather than detailed research protocols
- Small number of respondents
- Data gathered by interview
- Sources of bias not addressed
- No other studies cited

List of Mentoring Articles Selected

1. Tharenou, P. (2005) Does mentor support increase women's career advancement more than men's? The differential effects of career and psychosocial support. *Australian Journal of Management*, **30**(1), June, pp. 77–109.
2. Allen, T.D. and O'Brien, K.E. (2006) Formal mentoring programs and organizational attraction. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, **17**(1), Spring, pp. 43–58.
3. O'Neill, R.M. (2005) An examination of organizational predictors of mentoring functions. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, **XVII**(4), Winter, pp. 439–460.
4. Rhodes, J.E., Reddy, R. and Grossman, J.B. (2005) The protective influence of mentoring on adolescents' substance use: direct and indirect pathways. *Applied Developmental Science*, **9**(1), pp. 31–47.
5. Eby, L., Butts, M., Lockwood, A. and Simon, S.S. (2004) Protégés' negative mentoring experiences: construct development and nomological validation. *Personnel Psychology*, **57**, pp. 411–447.
6. Young, A.M. and Perrewé, P.L. (2004) The role of expectations in the Mentoring Exchange: an analysis of mentor and protégé expectations in relation to perceived support. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, **XVI**(1), Spring, pp. 103–126.
7. Van Emmerik, H., Baugh, S.G. and Euwema, M.C. (2005) Who wants to be a mentor? An examination of attitudinal, instrumental, and social motivational components. *Career Development International*, **10**(4), pp. 310–324.
8. Boyer, N.R. (2003) Leaders mentoring leaders: unveiling role identity in an international online environment. *Mentoring and Tutoring*, **11**(1), pp. 25–41.
9. De Janasz, S.C., Sullivan, S.E. and Whiting, V. (2003) Mentor networks and career success: lessons for turbulent times. *Academy of Management Executive*, **17**(4), pp. 78–91.
10. Borredon, L. and Ingham, M. (2005) Mentoring and organisational learning in research and development. *Research and Development Management*, **35**(5), pp. 493–500.
11. Barrett, I.C., Cervero, R.M. and Johnson-Bailey, J. (2004) The career development of black human resource developers in the United States. *Human Resource Development International*, **7**(1), pp. 85–100.
12. Lines, D. and Robinson, G. (2006) Tough at the top. *International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching*, **IV**(1).
13. Crossland, C. and O'Brien, M. (2004) Informal mentoring: a source of indirect entry into informal male networks? *International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching*, **III**(1).
14. Friedman, A.A., Zibit, M. and Coote, M. (2004) Telementoring as a collaborative agent for change. *The Journal of Technology, Learning and Assessment*, **3**(1), pp. 2–41.
15. Finklestein, L.M., Allen, T.D. and Rhoton, L.A. (2003) An examination of the role of age in mentoring relationships. *Group and Organization Management*, **28**(2), pp. 249–281.
16. Niehoff, B.P. (2006) Personality predictors of participation as a mentor. *Career Development International*, **11**(4), pp. 321–333.
17. Allen, T.D. and Eby, L.T. (2003) Relationship effectiveness for mentors: factors associated with learning and quality. *Journal of Management*, **29**(4), pp. 469–486.

18. Godshalk, V.M. and Sosik, J.J. (2003) Aiming for career success: the role of learning goal orientation in mentoring relationships. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, **63**(3), pp. 417–437.

The Survey of Mentoring Research

The picture painted in the previously presented mentoring archetype is partly confirmed in our wider survey of the 18 mentoring articles listed above. The studies numbered 1–7 and 15–18 conform to the archetype. The group numbered 8–14, however, are embedded in a different tradition, as will be discussed below.

Findings

Our collection of mentoring research articles split into two parts having very different characteristics. On the one hand, we found mainstream, social science studies in a positivistic tradition, very like the archetype of Tharenou (2005). On the other hand, there were also articles that resembled the practitioner coaching literature – they were concerned to report what respondents said in long open interviews, and to examine the implications for practice. The two types – positivist and practitioner are described below. The pattern of characteristics in Table 1 indicates graphically the differences.

Positivist Studies of Mentoring

The hard social-science studies were very uniform in their type and all had the following characteristics:

1. *Relation to established theory.* These articles described mentoring theory, making reference to a strongly overlapping canon of texts. Kram's (1985) analysis of career and psychosocial functions is used as a base, and scholars such as Allen, Ragins and Scandura are everywhere cited. A large number of references (52–69) to the work of other authors positioned these studies in a research tradition. Authors of these papers seek to build upon what their predecessors have found, and they frequently make use of concepts operationalized in other fields of social science to examine the effects of features of mentoring. So, the studies in our collection looked, for example, at dimensions in organizational theory such as attraction, context, position and type, social exchange and so on. A feature of these studies related to this last point is that they made wide use of established measures of social phenomena – citing other sources to justify the operationalizations they adopted for the concepts that they wished to examine.

2. *Positivist methodology.* These studies sought to make their contribution to established theory by a hypothesis testing methodology. In the light of earlier mentoring studies and well-founded research in other areas, a set of hypotheses was posited, and then examined. The hypotheses were examined by collecting a large number of responses from mentees (numbers varied between 190 and 3,220), and subjecting them to relatively complex statistical analysis. This analysis used tools that went beyond the descriptive statistics of percentages, standard deviations and correlations, and used t-tests, regression analysis and (as suggested earlier in this chapter) tests of multivariate multicollarity.
3. *Intervening variables examined.* Part of the statistical sophistication of the studies lies in their attention to intervening variables that may explain some of the variance described. By using multiple regression analysis and other tools these studies seek to illustrate the presence of relatively complex pathways of cause and effect between a variety of phenomena.
4. *Passive language for mentee.* Following Levinson, et al. (1978) and Kram (1985) the studies used the term 'protégé' to describe the person mentored. We have long argued against this term (Gibb and Megginson, 1993) on the grounds that it implies a dependency on the part of the actor, and it also emphasizes the sponsorship form of mentoring, which is countercultural in some contexts, notably the public service and in northern European cultures.
5. *Distance from the participants of the study.* The authors of these articles are academics who are studying experiences in organizations of which they are not a part – they are outsiders rather than insiders. They also distance themselves from the people that they study by the methods that they use to collect data – postal, email or web-based survey. Similarly, the data that they gather by these means is standardized, quantifiable, tick box responses to pre-determined questions. These authors do not seem interested in the meaning making of the participants in their survey. This distance has its virtues in that the accounts are dispassionate, balanced and avoid partisanship from the authors. The authors acknowledge the limitations of the study and suggest what further research is needed. On the other hand, they do not enquire into the experience of the participants, and thus do not give a taste or feel of that experience. They also run the risk of not measuring the same 'thing' as other studies, because they do not specify the kind of experience that the subjects have had.

Practitioner Studies of Mentoring

The practitioner studies resemble the studies of coaching described below and differ markedly from the positivist studies of mentoring that we have just considered. There is also more variation among them than in the positivist studies.

It is clear that here, as with coaching, we are examining a field of practice where the research protocols have not yet coalesced into a widely accepted form. Insofar as patterns can be discerned, we describe them below:

1. *Insider accounts.* The reports are often from one organization, and the accounts are given by people involved in the scheme rather than dispassionate outsiders.
2. *Data from mentees.* Typically, the studies are based on a relatively small number of interviews of mentees (10–15). The accounts show interest in the experience of the respondents and often include verbatim quotes of their own words. So the treatment these mentees received is not seen as a black box that cannot be examined; rather it is open to investigation and often is at the centre of the study, which therefore has considerable implications for practitioners. These accounts are often about the benefits experienced by the mentees, who are often referred to neither as mentees nor protégés.
3. *Informal mentoring.* Accounts suggest that the kind of mentoring under study is usually informal rather than being part of a formal scheme.
4. *Qualitative studies.* The research processes seem less deeply considered than the previous group, but there is evidence of justification of qualitative data gathering or analysis (notably in de Janasz et al. (2003: 88–89), where the authors make a case for target sampling, reflexive interviews and narrative analysis.
5. *Outside an established tradition.* The articles often include a great many references, though on average less than the positivist group (range 16–68). The references are used differently, they often relate to areas other than mentoring and are not used as thoroughly as in the first group to formulate questions from which the research will build.

The Survey of Coaching Research

When we came to study the range and quality of coaching research we knew that, as a new field of practice, the theory had lagged and the research was rudimentary. We were still surprised at how marked this situation was. The quality of research was fragmented, partisan and impressionistic.

Our own search for peer-reviewed, research-based articles (that have been published after 2003) highlighted the weaknesses in the field. Articles that looked promising when we found their titles often were recommending research rather than describing it or had accounts that were so flimsy that they did not contribute to the genre which they purported to represent. We did not seek, for example, to criticize case studies by the lights of the positivist tradition. However, many of the cases we read did not match up to the criteria for good case study research (Stake, 1998; Kilburg, 2004).

We concluded by focussing on peer-reviewed articles that were either cited widely by others, or, if new, came from reputable peer-reviewed journals. To these we added a small number of professional journal articles that addressed current issues and gave a taste of the range of writing in the field. We added two rich case studies from recently published books to produce 18 texts to match the 18 texts we had selected from the huge mass of mentoring research articles available.

We struggled hard to find our target of 18 articles and the ones we selected in the end did not meet all our criteria – two being chapters from recent books and several being from journal articles that were not peer referenced.

We then read these 18 accounts and identified characteristics as we worked through them and then listed the characteristics or issues. The full list is shown in Table 2, where the items are ordered by frequency of mention.

List of Coaching Articles Selected

- C1 Parker-Wilkins, V. (2006) Business impact of executive coaching: demonstrating monetary value. *Industrial and Commercial Training*, **38**(3), pp. 122–127.
- C2 Natale, S.M. and Diamante, T. (2005) The five stages of executive coaching: better process makes better practice. *Journal of Business Ethics*, **59**, pp. 361–374.
- C3 Longenecker, C.O. and Neubert, M.J. (2005) The practices of effective managerial coaches. *Business Horizons*, **48**, pp. 493–500.
- C4 Bennett, A. (2006) What can be done when the coaching goes ‘off-track’? *International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching*, **IV**(1).
- C5 Robinson, J. (2005) GROWing service improvement within the NHS. *International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching*, **III**(1).
- C6 Abraham, A., Collins, D. and Martindale, R. (2006) The coaching schematic: validation through expert coach consensus. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, **24**(6), pp. 549–564.
- C7 Hardingham, A. (2006) The British eclectic model in practice. *International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching*, **IV**(1).
- C8 McElrath, M., Godat, L., Musson, J., Libow, J. and Graves, J. (2005) Improving supervisors’ effectiveness: Mayo clinic finds answers through research. *Journal of Organizational Excellence*, Winter, pp. 47–56.
- C9 Pearson, M. and Kayrooz, C. (2004) Enabling critical reflection on research supervisory practice. *International Journal for Academic Development*, **9**(1), pp. 99–116.
- C10 Mulec, K. and Roth, J. (2005) Action, reflection, and learning – coaching in order to enhance the performance of drug development project management teams. *R&D Management*, **35**(5), pp. 483–491.

Table 2: Coaching article features by frequency of occurrence

Article	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
<i>Feature</i>																			
A Insider account	X	X		X	X		X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	13
B Business relevance	X	X	X	X	X		X	X						X	X	X	X	X	12
C Aim enhance coaching	X	X	X	X	X		X			X			X		X			X	10
D Scheme evaluation Outputs	X				X			X		X	X		X	X	X		X	X	10
E Small N (<30)	26	2		2	3	16	1			16			2		1	4			10
F Few citations (<16)	0		10	0	0		1	2						2	1	15		8	10
G Many citations (>15)		45				49			39	37	23	44	50				35		8
H Data from coachees									X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	8
I Benefits specified	X	X	X	X										X	X	X		X	8
J Limitations discussed							X	X		X	X	X				X	X	X	8
K Company or Organization scheme								X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		8
L Large N (>30)			225				179	314		1155	254		101				1361	87	8
M Academic author		X	X						X	X	X	X					X		7
N Case study individuals		X		X	X		X						X		X	X			7
O Data by interview	X					X				X	33			30	25				6
P Bias addressed		X				X		X	X			X					X		6
Q Key inputs researched			X	X		X							X				X	X	6
R Data by questionnaire									X	X		X		X			X	X	6
S Builds on established theory									X	X	X	X	X				X		6
T Research protocols detail						X				X	X	X					X		5
U Coaching model used	X	X			X	X	X												5
V Inferential statistics									X	X	X	X					X		5
W Not business						X			X		X	X	X						5
X Verbatim quotes						X		X		X			X		X				5
Y Prescribes unresearched practice		X		X	X										X	X			5
Z Hypotheses set/tested						X			X			X					X		4
AA Consider transferability						X			X								X	X	4
BB Set coaching agenda							X				X		X			X			4
CC Deficiency focus		X			X											X			3
DD Coach plans outcomes		X														X		X	3
EE Data by focus group			45							2	226								3
FF Data from coaches						X				X	X								3
GG Focus on coach acts							X				X	X							3
HH Compare with other HRD interventions								X						X			X		3
II Data from 360°								X						X			X		3
JJ Descriptive statistics								X						X				X	3
KK Collaborative/action research										X	X		X						3
LL Control group used								X			X						X		3
MM Rol a key measure	X							X						X					3
NN Protocol for coach selection						X											X		2
OO Qualitative data analysis method specified						X				X									2
PP Data from coachees' staff															X		X		2
QQ Team coaching										X	X								2
RR Research as intervention											X		X						2
SS Theory development													X				X		2
TT Data by observation										X									1
UU Line manager as coach								X											

- C11 Hoddinott, P., Lee, A.J. and Pill, R. (2006) Effectiveness of a breastfeeding peer coaching intervention in rural Scotland. *Birth*, **33**(1), pp. 27–36.
- C12 Schwartz, J.P., Thigpen, S.E. and Montgomery, J.K. (2006) Examination of parenting styles of processing emotions and differentiation of self. *The Family Journal: Counselling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, **14**(1), pp. 41–48.
- C13 Trevitt, C. (2005) Universities learning to learn? Inventing flexible (e) learning through first- and second-order action research. *Educational Action Research*, **13**(1), pp. 57–83.
- C14 Colone, C. (2005) Calculating RoI in executive coaching, in Jarvis et al. (2006) *The Case for Coaching – Making evidence-based decisions on coaching*, CIPD: London, pp. 219–226.
- C15 Goldsmith, M. (2005) Chapter 9 in Morgan, H., Hawkins, P. and Goldsmith, M. (eds), *The Art and Practice of Leadership Coaching*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- C16 McMahan, G. (2006) Doors of perception. *Coaching at Work*, **1**(6), pp. 36–43.
- C17 Smither, J.W., London, M., Flautt, R., Vargas, Y. and Kucric, I. (2003) Can working with an executive coach improve multisource feedback ratings over time? A quasi-experimental field study. *Personnel Psychology*, **56**(1), pp. 23–44.
- C18 Wasylyshyn, K.M. (2003) Executive coaching: an outcome study. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, **55**(2), pp. 94–106.

One interesting observation is that there are almost more surveys of the field bemoaning its quality than there are quality studies doing something to improve the situation! However, these reviews are useful to build an agenda for developing research in the field. We have found six reviews particularly helpful: Kilburg, 2004; Feldman and Lankau, 2005; Joo, 2005; the Lowman case and the Tucker case, in Morgan et al., 2005; Jarvis et al., 2006.

These reviews all point to a tiny number of studies that meet our criteria of good research outlined above. It is interesting to us that the positivist criteria that drive mentoring research are not present in these gatekeepers for coaching research. Rather their passion is for Return on Investment (RoI) research. The recent paper most widely referred to is Smither et al., 2003, which is praised by Feldman and Lankau, 2005, Joo, 2005 and Tucker, 2005 and Jarvis et al., 2006. Another study by Wasylyshyn (2003) is valued by Feldman and Lankau, 2005, Joo, 2005 and Jarvis et al., 2006.

So, what are the characteristics of these and other papers?

In the main, they are evaluation studies that seek to measure bottom line or other business-critical variables; second, they also frequently compare coaching with other HRD interventions.

Some of the most frequently identified issues – all of which apply to at least eight of the 18 items – are discussed below:

1. *Insider account*. 13 of the articles were written by someone who is involved in the project or relationships studied. This has the advantage of giving an insight into the processes that are being examined – so that it can be contextualized for the reader and a view from the inside can be seen. However, this approach runs the risk of being partisan, omitting the possibility of alternative explanations for phenomena, or being simply self-aggrandizing. Wasylyshyn's (2003) study is a role model of how to do an insider account and to avoid these pitfalls. She studies responses from 87 of her own clients, but in a clear-sighted and careful way that yields insights for the reader and at the same time is humble and thoughtful about the limitations of the study (see 8 below).
2. *Business relevance*. Coaching research by and large addresses a business audience. Five of the 18 articles were not about business, being concerned with sport, research supervision, breast feeding, parenting and curriculum development, respectively. So, of the 13 remaining 12 were written for business users or practitioners of coaching. This contrasts with the style of the mentoring articles where the intended audience seems to be the academic community. The one article from our 18 that is about business but not primarily written for a business audience is Mulec and Roth's (2005) study of drug development project teams. This offers a direction forward to coaching research balancing theoretical and practical considerations emerging from the study.
3. *Aiming to enhance the practice of coaching* – 10 articles met this criterion. The findings were expressed in normative terms – describing what coaches might do to improve practice. In some of these articles, it seemed to us that these prescriptions emerged from the prior commitments of the authors, rather than as findings from the research. In others, prescription comes from investigation, notably Longenecker and Neubart, (2005) who identify the ten practices most desired by coachees.
4. *Scheme evaluation citing outputs/outcomes of coaching*. 10 of the 18 studies focus on one particular scheme, company or organization. This contrasted with the mentoring research articles that tended to cover a range of schemes and informal relationships, brought together in large, wide-ranging surveys. Three of the schemes sought to give an account of the return on investment (RoI) from the scheme (Parker-Wilkins, 2006, McElrath, et al. 2005 and Colone, 2005), a feature often demanded by those seeking improvement in the quality of coaching and mentoring research.
5. *Small samples*. Seven of the studies gave between one and four individual cases studies and three others had only a small number (16, 16 and 26). This contrasted with the norm for mentoring studies, but the other eight coaching papers had large numbers of respondents, ranging from 87 in Wasylyshyn's (2003) study mentioned above to 1,361 in Smither et al., 2003. Smither and colleagues seek to bring to coaching research the positivist methodology associated with mentoring research, with the apparatus

of control samples, interpretive statistics, controlling for other causes and building and testing hypotheses in a theory-rich context that embeds the work in a stream of existing scholarship. Another manifestation of the rarity of Smither's approach in the field of coaching research is the observation that 10 of the 18 cases only cited a few references to others' work – seven of them to two or less sources. On the other hand, this is beginning to change, with the other eight sources citing between 23 and 50 sources. Not all these studies, however, embed their enquiry explicitly into a research tradition or theme. Interestingly, six of these eight cite literature having no connection with coaching – three concern education and learning, while the others explore the literature of sport, health, parenting. Of the remaining two articles one is the Smither et al. (2003) study focussing on feedback and on coaching and the other is by Natale and Diamante (2005), which is embedded in the psychology of emotion.

6. *Data from coachees.* The most frequently investigated sources of information in coaching research are the coachees (eight studies). This compares with the data from coaches (three cases) and data from coachees' staff (two cases). The remaining studies did not describe a specific process for gathering data from anyone, usually presenting data on individual cases ex cathedra without building a case for the care with which it might have been gathered. The richest studies of the coachee's perspective are Smither et al., 2003 and Wasylyshyn, 2003.
7. *Benefits of coaching identified and specified.* The eight papers identifying benefits were often based on a small number of individual cases and outlined the putative benefits from a particular approach to coaching. Goldsmith (2005) is interesting in that he shows how the benefits can ramify throughout the organization following coaching of a senior executive. He also displays commendable modesty in recognizing that much of the credit for this is owed to the coachee, not to himself as coach.
8. *Limitations discussed.* Good practice in a wide range of research traditions is to discuss the limitations of the study and the constraints on its generalizability. This can usefully lead to suggestions about future research as well as begin to set up a debate on the direction of research in the field. The clearest accounts we have identified in our sample of coaching research are (again) Smither et al., 2003 and Wasylyshyn, 2003.

Research 'Gaze'

As suggested earlier, the gaze of the researcher cannot be over-emphasized. Schostak (2002: 2) has identified how the existential quality of our own experience always 'meets the other in dialogue' and describes how a process of 'self-election' in relation to our worlds has many consequences in the choice of what and how to research. This was apparent in attempts by the

Collaborative Research Group (a group of scholars coming together through the European Mentoring and Coaching Council (EMCC) to review research and practice from multiple perspectives). From subsequent discussions around our joint and separate attempts to analyse the raw data of a number of coaching interventions (mainly video) it was evident that the events that shape us as people, our educational, political, ethical, cultural 'make-up', plus our current affinities and interests, impacted on the way we each viewed the data.

At one of the meetings of the Collaborative Research Group, we examined, with permission, the first few minutes of a DVD of the fifth coaching session between one of the group and a client. The group member who was the coach on the DVD (and is also an author of this article) took notes of the comments made and these are noted below. He then went on to review these review comments by asking the question, 'What are reviewers privileging in their analysis of the interaction?' From a learning point of view, these data raise the important question of where issues arise in a dialogue between two people. Is it from the prior commitments made by individuals, or is it from the direction that the dialogue happens to take? Process awareness offers a means of making choices among these and other causal factors.

The number in brackets after each comment refers to the 'gaze' category. These categories are discussed after this presentation of this raw data. The letters refer to different members of the group so that the reader can piece together the preoccupations of different members.

The Review Comments

B. The process sets the agenda. Focus is instrumental not development. Where's the coachee? What's in it for coachee? He seemed anxious about his meeting with his boss. (1).

A. He held it at a safe distance from himself – focussed on the organization not himself. (1).

C. He showed anxiety (his leg 'going') when he spoke. He talked about we/us, not me; about over there, not in here. It felt very busy. (2).

B. His boss is going to watch this; he needs to look at how he's developing into his new role. (3).

E. Coach stuck with what the coachee wanted. The phrase 'hurtling towards the end' reset his focus. 'Big win' was also a big statement. They agreed what was and wasn't an outcome. (4).

D. Neither did much work – both stayed in a frame. What is the coaching culture? I would ask about self-grounding questions. I feel he would be thankful to follow if the coach led. (5).

- B. Agenda for coachee is projects. (1).
- E. He may be talking about IIP, but it may help him address his issues. (4)
- A. The coach worked hard at summarizing. (6).
- B. Coachee descriptive – coach probes him. (6).
- E. Exercising influence rather than working. (3).
- D. He needs a strong style – intervention: more help on focus. He looks at his life from the stage; he needs to look at how the play is constructed. (5).
- E. It may be the first time he ever reflected. (4).
- D. He may need more comments on process. (5).
- A. 'Who's influencing?' is an interesting question; then we can ask 'What is the nature of that influence?' (3).
- D. Look at coach's style and coachee's learning style – do they match or form an alliance? If you got better at this, how would your life be better for you? Where are you in this? How might your boss notice? (5).
- C. There is a multiplicity of interpretations/lenses. (7).
- A. Is three minutes from the relationship enough? (7).
- C. It depends on your research question. (7).
- D. The coach has a specific style; with soft and small interventions he won't shift his approach. Is an educational approach within the coach's range or should the coachee find out for himself? Give him homework and check with him. (5).
- E. List 20 things that have worked for you since last time. He was working – giving information, being very prepared, staying with it, turning up, answering questions, giving lots of information. (4).

The 'Gaze' Categories

1. *The individual and his or her development over the organization agenda.* Both B (twice) and A see the interactions as lacking a valuable personal focus and the emergence of the striving, feeling, inquiring individual.
2. *Interpretation – what do ticks and tropes mean?* C in her first comment focuses on two features. First, the body language – the apparently involuntary leg movements and, second, the use of language – the failure to use 'I', allegedly blurring personal responsibility by talking about 'we' and 'us'.
3. *Context and power relations.* B switches focus from privileging individuality to explaining why the coachee does not do this, by examining the context and power – the coachee's boss will be viewing the DVDs as a member of the collaborative research group.

4. *Autonomy of the coachee.* E mostly stays focussed on what the coachee wants in this interaction and whether and how the coach respects this. These observations by E greatly heartened the coach, as they seemed close to his impulse in behaving as he did, and left him feeling recognized, appreciated and not judged in the way he felt he had been by previous observations (however cogent and salient these judgements might have been).
5. *Education of coachee by coach-examining process.* D makes a series of internally coherent observations about the strength and nature of interventions necessary from the coach in order to shift the coachee into a learning/development stance from being on *the stage* of his life, to directing this from *the stalls or the wings*.
6. *Coach behaviours.* A and B make comments about the coach's individual behaviours – summarizing, describing, probing.
7. *Meta-commentary.* C starts a cluster of meta-comments by recognizing the multiplicity of lenses through which we have examined this short excerpt of a coaching interaction. A wonders how much of an interaction is needed to capture the 'gaze'.
Another theme in these comments, which overlays many of the above was
8. *Who does the work?* Some commentaries (D particularly) observe that not much work is being done; others see the coach as doing it (A, B); yet others see the coachee (E) doing the work.

Patterns of 'gaze' emerge in phases of the conversation – A's comment, which privileged the 'gaze' of process, for example, elicits a comment from B which also privileges process; C's meta-comment presages further meta-comments by A and again by C. However, there are also strong preferences – all five of D's comments have an education 'gaze', three of E's four comments have the 'gaze' of the autonomy of the coachee. From a learning point of view, these data raise the question as to where issues arise in a conversation. Is it from the prior commitments made by individuals, or is it from the direction that a conversation happens to take? An awareness of a coaching process offers a means of making choices among these and other causal factors.

Commentary on the Commentaries

The coach writes:

I am conscious as I write these re-descriptions of my colleagues' descriptions of me – that I am exercising the ultimate freedom described by Richard Rorty (1989), and taking back some personal power, which I experienced having been taken away from me by my friends' comments, and, to an extent, by the intractable nature of the interaction with the coachee, who will not bend to my preferences, but remains, obdurately and magnificently, himself. I reflect, not for the first time, that it is a good job that humans

have this inertia. If they didn't, then all the good work that I did, changing people for the better, might be immediately undone by the next person they met, who would change them again to suit the new helper's preferences.

We give this account to remind the reader that choices about research articles that we have made in the other sections of this chapter are just as arbitrary and partial as the views of our co-researchers in the description above. Knowing and naming is an exercise of power. In doing it we claim the right to organize the field to suit our purposes and also recognize the right of the reader to re-organize our organizing.

Conclusion

There is an established, widely referenced positivist tradition of mentoring research based on mentoring functions (Kram, 1985) and using hypothesis testing, large samples of mentees, controlling or testing the effect of intervening variables, and inferential statistics. This tradition can be described as normal science (Kuhn, 1970). The tone and direction of this strand of mentoring research seems to indicate that it is written by academics for academics. No equivalent tradition has yet been established for coaching research, though this may be emerging with scholars such as Smither et al. (2003) carrying out quasi-experiments on the longitudinal effects of coaching interventions.

The majority of coaching articles, however, describe case studies focussing on the meaning of the experience for the participants (principally the coachee, though sometimes they are spoken for by the coach, without the basis for the views being ascribed to them being expressed). Coaching articles are often insider accounts, written by people who have a stake in the scheme or the relationship – usually as the coach. This has an advantage of giving insights into the dynamics of the coaching intervention, though it can mean that they do not pay attention to alternative explanations for the phenomena that they observe, and that they tend to emphasize the positive and effective while ignoring data that could be seen as negative. Many of these studies are in the tradition of evaluation research, and they are written to catch the eye of practitioners and purchasers of coaching.

There is a tradition in mentoring research that parallels this approach to coaching research.

The Future of Mentoring and Coaching Research

In this section, we offer our view on the routes forward that mentoring and coaching research might usefully take. There is a need for conference debate to build critical mass in this meta-discussion about the direction for research. The positivist tradition in mentoring research could develop usefully by:

- Including more longitudinal studies and quasi-experiments
- Examining the effects on other stakeholders (mentors and sponsors)
- Break out of the productive but increasingly restricted ghetto of Kram's functions and pay systematic attention to other formulations of goals and purposes for mentoring
- Looking inside the 'black box' and exploring the nature of the mentoring interaction
- Paying attention to the development of good practice as well as elegant theory.

The professional strand in mentoring research could be developed by:

- Paying attention to good practice in case study research (Stake, 2004)
- Develop more powerful evaluation models as in some coaching research (Tucker, 2005; Parker-Wilkins, 2006).

Coaching research, which has been described as evaluative and professional, could be developed by:

- Following the dictates of good case study research (Stake, 2004)
- Making more studies across coaching approaches rather than within a preferred approach, to test Kilburg's (2004) contention that we are all running towards Alice in Wonderland's 'Dodoville' (where all approaches have equal effect and all must have prizes).

There is a question as to whether coaching research needs to develop a strand of positivist research as mentoring has done. There is evidence that this can be done, notably in the study by Smither et al., 2003. If other researchers see this as desirable, it would require them to:

- Build a typology of coaching inputs and outcomes
- Conduct studies built on the edifice of positivist research outlined in this chapter
- Conduct longitudinal studies and quasi-experiments
- Continue to pay attention to the 'black box' of what goes on in the coaching relationship
- Explore systematically the experience of coaches and others impacted or involved in the experience.

A final alternative would be to seek an integration of positivist and professional traditions to pay attention to the best in both and develop mixed methodological approaches to research. This direction could also include comparing and contrasting coaching and mentoring interventions across a range of contexts.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF COACHING AND MENTORING

VOLUME IV

Professionalisation, Competence, Ethics and Training

Edited by
Bob Garvey



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Contents



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Volume IV: Professionalisation, Competence, Ethics and Training

Part 1: Mentoring

- | | |
|--|----|
| 73. The Ethics of Mentoring
<i>Dennis J. Moberg and Manuel Velasquez</i> | 3 |
| 74. Ethical Issues in Mentoring: The Role of HRD
<i>Kimberly S. McDonald and Linda M. Hite</i> | 31 |
| 75. Gate-Keeper, Supervisor or Mentor? The Role of Professional
Bodies in the Regulation and Professional Development of
Solicitors and Family Mediators Undertaking Divorce Matters
in England and Wales
<i>Lisa Webley</i> | 45 |
| 76. Training Mentors – Behaviors Which Bring Positive Outcomes
in Mentoring
<i>Robert Garvey and Gunnela Westlander</i> | 63 |

Part 2: Coaching

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 77. Executive Coaching: The Need for Standards of Competence
<i>Lloyd E. Brotman, William P. Liberi and Karol M. Wasylshyn</i> | 93 |
| 78. The Wild West of Executive Coaching
<i>Stratford Sherman and Alyssa Freas</i> | 101 |
| 79. Coaching in Organizations: Current Trends and Future
Opportunities
<i>John Bennett and Mary Wayne Bush</i> | 113 |
| 80. Coaching in the UK – An Introduction to Some Key Debates
<i>David A. Lane</i> | 123 |
| 81. The Future of Coaching as a Profession
<i>David A. Lane, Reinhard Stelter and Sunny Stout Rostron</i> | 137 |
| 82. Continuing Professional Development for Coaches
<i>Dianne R. Stober</i> | 151 |
| 83. Journeys towards the Professionalisation of Coaching: Dilemmas,
Dialogues and Decisions along the Global Pathway
<i>David E. Gray</i> | 165 |
| 84. Ethics and Professional Standards in Supervision
<i>David Lane</i> | 183 |

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

85. Defying Definition: Competences in Coaching and Mentoring <i>Philip Ferrar</i>	199
86. Competencies, Standards and Professionalization <i>Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson</i>	209
87. Are We Obsessed with Skills and Competences in C&M? <i>Bob Garvey</i>	225

Part 1: Mentoring

The Ethics of Mentoring

Dennis J. Moberg and Manuel Velasquez

For over twenty years the subject of mentoring has received a great deal of attention among both scholars and practitioners. The term mentor refers to a more senior person who takes an active interest in sponsoring the career of a more junior person (Kram, 1985). Named for a fabled character in Homer's *The Odyssey* who tutored and looked after the title character's son, mentoring is a process that has been used for centuries as a means of handing down tradition, supporting talent, and securing future leadership. It flourished in the feudal system of the Renaissance as young men served apprentices to gain membership in guilds. Throughout history it is rare to study the career of highly successful individuals and not find the presence of a mentor. Aristotle mentored Alexander the Great, civil rights attorney Charles Hamilton mentored Thurgood Marshall, Gertrude Stein mentored Nobel Prize-winning novelist Ernest Hemingway, and master salesman John Patterson mentored IBM founder Thomas Watson.

The current popularity of mentoring reflects a confluence of interests among jobholders in search of career success and organizations in search of an effective mechanism for developing and retaining employees. Indeed, one finds almost as much published career advice encouraging employees to find and cultivate a mentor as one finds published management advice encouraging organizations to profit from mentoring as a management tool.

Interest in mentoring is reflected in practice. Recent surveys estimate that between thirty-eight percent and fifty-five percent of employees have been

the recipients of mentoring at some time in their careers (McShulskis, 1996; Simonetti, Ariss, and Martinez, 1999). The firms that have formal mentoring programs read like the Fortune 500 list: Douglas Aircraft, Kodak, Exxon, Motorola, NYNEX, Johnson & Johnson, Pacific Bell, Pitney Bowles, Procter & Gamble, AT&T, Federal Express, GM, Merrill Lynch, and Lucent Technology (Benabou and Benabou, 2000). Moreover, the corporate sponsorship of formal mentoring programs appears to be on the rise (Douglas and McCauley, 1997).

Empirical research has demonstrated that the outcomes of mentoring are generally positive but by no means equivalent for both partners. Protégés enjoy enhanced career mobility (Scandura, 1992; Dreher and Ash, 1990), compensation (Whitely, Dougherty, and Dreher, 1991) and job satisfaction (Chao, 1997; Fagenson, 1989; Koberg, Boss, Chapell, and Ringer, 1994). And mentors are thought to accrue comparatively fewer and “softer” benefits such as career visibility, information acquisition, self-enhancement, and a sense of generativity (Zey, 1984; Mullen, 1994; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and McKee, 1978; Smith, 1990). It is instructive that individuals who have been mentored are more willing to mentor others than individuals who have no mentoring experience (Fagenson-Eland, Marks, and Amendola, 1997; Ragins and Scandura, 1999).

In spite of this promise, a number of ethical questions have been raised about the mentoring process. One group of professionals offered the following indictments: “It’s favoritism,” “It’s too time consuming,” and “It’s empire building” (Wright and Wright, 1987, p. 207). More pointed is the criticism that mentoring is too often exclusionary (Whitely, Dougherty, and Dreher, 1991), and that it excludes women and people of color (Goh, 1991; Tsui and O’Reilly, 1989; Athey and Christopher-Zemsky, 2000). Along the same lines, some scholars have noted that mentoring is typically a conservative process that reflects and reinforces the status quo in terms of power and conflict (Covaleski, Dirsmith, Heian, Samuel, 1998; Darwin, 2000; Beech and Brockbank, 1999). In partial response to this criticism, some have called for present-day mentoring to be structured and formalized to allow equal access to all who want it (Bauer, 1999; Ragins and Cotton, 1991; Scandura, 1997).

More recently, one other problem with mentoring has surfaced that has strong ethical overtones – abuses in the mentoring partnership. Mistreatment reported by protégés includes tyrannical and manipulative behavior such as revenge, political sabotage, and harassment (Kalbfleisch, 1997; Scandura, 1998; Eby, McManus, Simon, and Russell, 2000). Similarly, some mentors report instances of dirty tricks and backstabbing by opportunistic protégés (Halatin and Knotts, 1982). Horror stories like these are clearly problematic for the victims of such ill treatment, and they are also destructive of both an individual’s career aspirations (Ragins, Cotton, and Miller, 2000) and the organization’s entire mentoring effort (Myers and Humphreys, 1985; Hurley and Fagenson-Eland, 1996).

We begin our analysis by briefly recounting the mentoring dysfunctions that have been chronicled. We then attempt to refine our understanding of the mentoring process with particular reference to the historical derivation of the term “mentor.” This enables us to describe a model of the ethical responsibilities of the mentor. Our model is based on a quasi-professional conception of mentoring derived from a standard ethical framework composed of utilitarianism, justice, rights, and caring. Next, since mentoring involves two parties, we indicate the nature and extent of the moral responsibilities that protégés have. And finally, we discuss some of the practical implications of this analysis.

Dysfunctions in Mentoring Relationships

When Scandura completed the first systematic examination of dysfunctions in mentoring relationships, she expressed uncertainty about how common these problems are. She stated, “while one might argue that dysfunctional mentoring is a ‘low base-rate phenomenon,’ when dysfunctional mentoring does occur, its consequences might be quite serious” (1998, p. 451). Subsequently, Lillian Eby and her colleagues (2000) surveyed 156 former protégés and found that fully fifty-four percent of them had been in at least one negative mentoring relationship. Dysfunctions in mentoring are *not* a low base-rate phenomena.

From the protégé’s perspective, dysfunctions take many forms. The most common that showed up in the Eby et al. (2000) data were mismatches in values, work-style, or personality between mentor and protégé. Some protégés apparently sensed irreconcilable differences in their ways of thinking or doing things. Second most common was mentor neglect, self-absorption, and intentional exclusion. Such forms of distancing behavior were taken by the protégé as a complete lack of interest in the mentoring task. Next most common were various forms of manipulative behavior including petty tyranny, micromanagement, politicking, and deception, exactly the behavior one expects of mentors in a Dilbert cartoon (Ashforth, 1994). Fourth were various forms of mentor incompetence, and the last category included situations in which the mentor had a bad attitude or serious personal problems. In all, these dysfunctions represent sometimes serious and always sad relationship difficulties.

The list of mentoring dysfunctions from the mentor viewpoint is far shorter (Scandura, 1998). Here the main concerns appear to be with protégés who end up taking much more time to mentor than the mentor expects (Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs, 1997; Young and Perrewé, 2000). Other problems from the mentor’s perspective include various forms of deceit and dissembling. For example, Tepper (1995) reports that some protégés are very inauthentic with their mentors, stretching the truth, editing what they say, and distorting meaning dependent on the mood of the mentor. Some mentors also lament protégés who are submissive or demanding, and still others resent protégés who they perceive to be spoiled or dependent (Shapiro, Haseltine, and Rowe, 1978).

If these relationship difficulties occurred between equals, it might be difficult to establish accountability. But mentoring partners are not equal in power (Auster, 1984). And this basic inequality means that mentors must assume greater responsibility for the course of the relationship. The exact nature of this greater responsibility is spelled out in the model of moral responsibility described below.

The Nature of the Mentoring Relationship

Some of the descriptions of mentoring dysfunctions listed above seem to make mentoring comparable to a close personal relationship such as a friendship or marriage (e.g., Baum, 1992; Scandura, 1998). That the mentoring relationship should be conceived as a “friendship” or other close personal relationship is unfortunate. Certainly friendship between mentor and protégé is a common outcome, and the mentor, much like a friend, is expected to support and be loyal to the protégé. Nevertheless, friendship implies an affective bond between people that need not be present in the mentoring relationship. Moreover, unlike the *mutual* giving characteristic of friendship, mentoring is *one-directional* since the mentor is concerned about the development of the protégé but not vice-versa. Finally, close personal relationships do not typically have the significant power differences typically found in mentoring. And the conventional wisdom that the best remedy for difficulties in personal relationships is a “no-fault” ending is inappropriate with abuses in mentoring (Ragins and Scandura, 1997).

It is also inappropriate to conceptualize the mentoring relationship as a contractual relationship. It is true that both mentor and protégé should establish beforehand what each expects from the other. Nevertheless, the metaphor of contract implies that mentor and protégé bargain as equals. Yet the relationship is one of inherent inequality. The mentor has significantly more power than the protégé, and while the mentor provides significant benefits to the protégé, the protégé provides few comparable benefits to the mentor.

The inequality that is so salient in the mentoring relationship has led some to suggest that the mentoring relationship should be conceptualized as a gift-relationship: mentors freely choose to bestow on protégés the “gift” of their experience and wisdom (Ladd, 1998; Gibb, 1999). Modeling the mentor on the gift-giver, however, fails to recognize that on occasion the mentor role is formally assigned to experienced members of the organization.

How, then, should the mentoring relationship be conceptualized? It is useful to begin with the first mentor in ancient Greek mythology. When Odysseus left for the Trojan War he asked Mentor – ostensibly his son’s elderly tutor, but in reality the Goddess Athene – to look after and guide his son Telemachus. Under Mentor’s guidance, Telemachus is transformed from a meek, self-conscious boy into an assertive, courageous man who preserves his father’s throne and

eventually joins Odysseus in defeating those who threatened to defile his family. Homer’s story is important because it contains the essential elements of the mentor role. First, a mentor is expected to be a tutor. Mentors transmit the established canon (in ancient Greece: rhetoric, logic, history, mathematics) as needed by the protégé. In a contemporary business context, when they act as tutors, mentors customize the lessons normally conveyed in training sessions to the learning needs of their protégés. They teach business principles, provide an understanding of how the organization works, explain industry dynamics, and give examples of how these might be put into action on the job. Second, as elders, mentors give wisdom to the protégé. Through lessons, stories, and by example, mentors convey what Nozick calls, “what you need to understand in order to live well and cope with the central problems and avoid the dangers in the predicament that human beings find themselves in” (1989, p. 267). This requires an intimate relationship between the parties, because mentors must understand their protégés well enough to be able to provide the moral coherence wisdom requires, and because by expressing wisdom mentors reveal themselves. Third, the story of Mentor reminds us that mentoring involves a strong component of partiality and caring support. Odysseus entrusted his friend with his son, so Mentor was expected to act *in loco parentis*. The parent-substitute nature of mentoring requires the mentor to nurture and advocate on behalf of the protégé, in effect striving to develop the protégé and obtain the best possible situation for him or her. The mentor, then, provides three key benefits to the protégé: knowledge, wisdom, and developmental support.

By providing us with the essential tasks of the mentoring relationship, the story of Mentor and Telemachus gives us a beginning point for refining our understanding of the role of mentor. First, the story reiterates that mentors are not merely friends, contracting partners, nor gift-givers. And second, the story supports the notion that because of a mentor’s greater knowledge and experience, the mentor has considerably more power than the protégé, a power that in many respects makes the protégé vulnerable to the kinds of abuse we have described earlier.

We will argue that an apt model for mentoring is the provider-client relationship found in the helping professions such as physician, lawyer, teacher, and accountant. Such roles are characterized by the same kind of power differentials found in mentoring; and, like in mentoring, the over-riding goal of the professional is the development of the less powerful partner (Kitchener, 1984; Beauchamp and Childress, 1979; Meara, Schmidt, and Day, 1996).

Professional roles can be defined in terms of a service relationship that one person, the professional, has with another, the client: the professional provides a certain service – medical services, legal services, educational services, etc. – for and in the interests of the client. Bayles (1981) notes that such professional roles have three primary features: (1) they require extensive formal training, (2) the training involves a significant intellectual component, and

(3) the trained ability provides an important service to society. Moreover, Bayles notes that professional roles generally but not necessarily have three additional secondary features: (4) a process of certification, (5) organized groups that claim to represent the professional and to which members of the profession belong, (6) the autonomy or freedom of the professional to exercise his or her judgment in matters pertaining to the service he or she provides.

Mentoring is certainly not a profession. Mentors clearly do not have the three secondary features characteristic of the professions: mentoring involves no certification process, no organized representational group, and mentoring is generally carried out in business organizations where they are directed by superiors and organizational policies that severely limit their autonomy. Moreover, mentoring does not embody exact replicas of the primary features of Bayles attributes to professionals: mentors generally receive no formal training and their training may be more experiential than intellectual.

Nevertheless, the role of mentor is a *quasi-professional* role in three fundamental respects. First, the role of mentor can be defined in terms of a service relationship that one person, the mentor has toward another person, the protégé: the mentor, as we have seen, provides knowledge, wisdom, and developmental support in the interests of the protégé. Secondly, like the professions, the mentoring relationship is characterized by power distance. The greater power of the mentor over the protégé derives from several sources: the mentor's greater experience and knowledge, the mentor's senior standing in the organization, and, often, the mentor's superior formal authority relative to the protégé's. Thirdly, the role of mentor has characteristics that are significantly similar to (if not exactly like) the three primary characteristics that Bayles identifies: (1) although the role of mentor need not involve formal training, mentors must go through some kind of extensive learning process in order to be able to provide the learning and wisdom expected of their role, (2) such learning, even when heavily experiential, must nevertheless involve an intellectual component since it must be communicable to the protégé in an intelligible way, and (3) the service mentors provide is important to society insofar as it enables organizations to transfer learning to new generations of members.

We conceive of the role of mentor, then, as a quasi-professional role in which the mentor provides the protégé with the benefits of knowledge, wisdom, and developmental support, and whose purpose is to transfer learning to new generations. Moreover, like professionals, mentors have superior power and ostensibly exercise it for the benefit of the protégé. As the relative power of the professional grows, so too does the professional's obligations (Moberg 1994). In an analogous way, the superior power of the mentor implies a greater responsibility upon the mentor to ensure that the relationship not become abusive or otherwise dysfunctional. It is the power difference between the parties that is the major determinant of the locus of ethical responsibility.

Virtually all of the formulations of power relations in organizations build on the conception of power developed by Emerson (1962). Basically he indicated that the power of an individual A over another B is directly proportional to the resources B values that A controls and is inversely proportional to the availability of these resources to B outside the A-B relationship. Mentoring relationships come in many different forms (Ensher, Thomas, and Murphy, 2001). Relationships can be assigned or voluntary, and mentors and protégés can be at the same hierarchic level (i.e., peers), or they can be separated by one or more vertical authority levels. The form with the maximum power difference would occur where the relevant knowledge and authority of the mentor is much greater than the protégé's and where the protégé has no other means of accessing these outside the mentoring relationship. This would make the power difference very large in the case of an *assigned* mentor *two or more levels of authority* above the protégé. By contrast, a mentoring relationship with a *volunteer* mentor who is a *peer* would have low power difference. Thus, while in the first case we would hold the mentor to fairly stringent ethical obligations in the mentoring relationship, we would not in the second case. Stated succinctly, the ethical principle we are proposing is that *the stringency of the ethical obligations mentors have to their protégés vary in direct proportion to the power distance between themselves and their protégés*. In the sections that follow, we will describe what these ethical obligations are.

The Ethical Responsibility of Mentors

In a series of earlier articles we have elaborated a model of moral responsibility for roles in work organizations that rests on four categories of moral principles: utilitarian principles, rights principles, principles of justice, and principles of caring (Cavanagh, Moberg, and Velasquez, 1981; 1995). We have argued that these four principles are necessary and sufficient to adequately resolve moral issues in most organizational contexts and this argument has been widely accepted (cf. Brady and Dunn, 1995). It is not our intent to recapitulate these earlier works (which readers unfamiliar with our framework may want to consult) but to demonstrate in broad strokes the implications of this model for mentoring conceived in the manner described above. Utilitarian principles focus on the maximization of net utility and so have two aspects: maximizing benefits and minimizing harms. Rights principles are focused on the individual, particularly on the individual's right to be treated as a free and equal rational person. Principles of justice both require equity in the distribution of benefits and burdens (distributive justice), and ensure that each receives what he or she is due (commutative justice). Principles of caring obligate us to exercise legitimate partiality toward those with whom we have special relationships. We argue that the four ethical principles imply seven mentor obligations: *beneficence, nonmaleficence, autonomy, confidentiality, fairness, loyalty, and*

concern. These obligations are *prima facie*, i.e., these may conflict with other moral obligations and indeed with themselves. When faced with such conflicts, Ross (1930) suggests that we have to determine which obligation is the more “stringent” one and act accordingly. While he does not provide any general rules for balancing our obligations, his formulation is quite useful.

Utilitarianism, we noted, has two aspects: maximizing benefits and minimizing harms (Cavanagh, Moberg, and Velasquez, 1981). *Beneficence*, the obligation to do good, is implied by the former, while *nonmaleficence*, the obligation to avoid harm, is implied by the latter. In the mentoring relationship, the good that the mentor must provide are the goods of knowledge, wisdom, and developmental support. Beneficence, then, is the obligation of mentors to be diligent in providing these goods to the best of their ability. Nonmaleficence, on the other hand, requires that the mentor avoid inflicting those harms that potentially arise from the nature of the role of mentor. For example, we have noted that the mentoring relationship is characterized by a power distance that renders the protégé vulnerable. Nonmaleficence requires that mentors avoid harming the protégé through the exercise of their power.

Rights principles focus on the individual's right to be treated as a free and rational person (a requirement that, we have argued, is implied by Kantian theory; see Cavanagh, Moberg, and Velasquez, 1981). Two rights are particularly salient in the context of mentoring: the right of informed consent, and the right of privacy. The right of informed consent implies that in the mentoring relationship, the mentor should respect the protégé's right to be informed about and to consent to any actions the mentor undertakes on behalf of the protégé. We call this the obligation of *autonomy*. The right of privacy is the right to control information about oneself. Because mentoring requires that the mentor have knowledge about the protégé (often revealed in confidence by the protégé) that others normally do not have, the right to privacy implies that the mentor has the obligation of *confidentiality* in the use and revelation of such information.

Principles of justice imply equity in the distribution of benefits and burdens, and giving each his or her due (Cavanagh, Moberg, and Velasquez, 1981; Velasquez, 2002). Mentoring provides significant benefits to protégés but can also generate significant burdens. Justice in the distribution of benefits and burdens, then, implies that the mentor has the obligation of *fairness*: the obligation to ensure that the benefits and potential burdens the mentor can provide are fairly distributed. A mentor guided by this obligation would, for example, avoid discriminating inappropriately in the choice of people to mentor. In addition, because the mentor is supposed to provide certain goods specifically to the protégé, the mentor has the obligation of *loyalty*: the obligation to avoid conflicts of interest in providing protégés the goods due them.

Principles of caring impose the obligation of exhibiting partiality toward those with whom we have a special relationship (Cavanagh, Moberg, and Velasquez, 1995). In the context of mentoring, this implies an obligation of

the mentor to exercise legitimate partiality toward the protégé. We call this the obligation of *concern*: the obligation to exercise a caring but fair partiality toward protégés and their interests.

The role of mentoring, then, carries with it seven obligations: beneficence, nonmaleficence, autonomy, confidentiality, fairness, loyalty, and concern. In what follows, we will explain the implications of each of these seven obligations and provide several vignettes illustrating the application of these obligations and some of the key conflicts to which they can give rise.

Beneficence

In the context of mentoring, beneficence is the obligation to be diligent in providing the goods of the mentoring relationship: knowledge, wisdom, and developmental support. As such, beneficence implies several corollary obligations. First, it implies that the mentor will ensure that he or she has the skills and information needed to provide these goods. Lack of formal mentoring training is a significant problem for most mentors (Merriam, 1983), and mentors must compensate for this by developing the skills of mentoring themselves. Research indicates that three important mentoring skills are an ability to be a good listener (Godshalk and Sosik, 2000), to have knowledge of the organization and its environment, and to be patient enough to work with someone who may not be quick to attain mastery (Allen and Poteet, 1999).

A second duty implied by the obligation of beneficence is to be careful about the quality of advice one provides. Potentially, advice is transformative. In a study of the messages that people recalled having a significant impact on their lives, fully eighty-four percent of them were forms of advice (Knapp, Stohl, and Reardon, 1981; cf. Stohl, 1986). Yet, most advice-givers do not take this task very seriously. Ethically responsible mentoring requires mentors to have confidence about the advice they give. To that end, mentors should take care that their advice is based on adequate knowledge and information about both the protégé and the problem the advice addresses. In addition, they should periodically check with other experienced persons to surmise that their advice captures available tacit knowledge (Staudinger and Baltes, 1996; Staudinger, 1996).

If mentors have protégés different from themselves, the beneficence obligation calls on the mentor to develop an understanding of the unique needs of such protégés. (Murrell, Crosby, and Ely, 1999). For example, research has shown that Latinos and Latinas are more concerned with the emotional aspects of workplace relations than are Anglo-Americans (Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, and Ybarra, 2000). In a similar vein, professional women are much more likely than men to seek mentoring (Burke and McKeen, 1990; cf. Lyness and Thompson, 2000). Finally, Black and White protégés apparently take certain types of negative performance feedback very differently (Cohen, Steele, and Ross, 1999).

Illustrative Vignette

Alice has been mentoring Andrew for six months. During a recent conversation Andrew described a conflict situation he was facing and asked Alice for advice. It seems that his boss had urged him to accept a transfer to a headquarters position, but Andrew's immediate colleagues had encouraged him to pass up the transfer to be available for a promotion to a higher position that would soon become available. After listening carefully to Andrew, Alice concluded that Andrew was not ready for either position. She knew that although home-office positions offer a great deal of visibility, the career environment is very competitive, and she did not believe Andrew was ready for this move. For the same reason, she thought that the promotion Andrew's colleagues had in mind was way over his head. Alice believed the best thing for Andrew would be to work with his boss to accumulate more project experience. This would give him the background that would put him on a par with others who work at headquarters. Should Alice advise Andrew to get more project experience?

Vignette Commentary

In this case Alice seems to have Andrew's interest firmly in mind, so it is not her motivation that one would question. Rather, it is the quality of her recommendation that one might question. How certain is she that her assessment of Andrew or of the relatively low value she places on his other options? Two measures of the strength of her advice are how valid and reliable she thinks it is. For her advice to be valid, it must have a reasonably good chance of being accurate. To judge her advice as reliable, she must be confident that other experienced mentors would give the same advice. To be truly beneficent, mentors must exercise due diligence to verify the validity and reliability of their advice. Otherwise they cannot be confident that their advice identifies effective pathways to beneficence.

Alice should entertain one other consideration. Namely, she could easily commit an error many other mentors do. "Instead of recognizing and articulating the complexity of decisions [protégés] make, mentors . . . tend to behave as though it is unproblematic and uncontentious to implement recommended advice" (Hawkey, 1997, p. 329). In this sense, Alice must be careful not to assume that her advice is really best considering that for Andrew to implement it, he has to (1) accept and cope with Alice's evaluation that he is "not ready," (2) satisfy his colleagues that their advice is not worth accepting, and (3) get his boss' cooperation with Alice's plan even though Andrew has ignored his suggestion.

Nonmaleficence

Nonmaleficence binds mentors to avoid exercising their role in a manner that might harm the protégé. This principle has a long-standing tradition in the

helping professions. Few professionals intend to harm their clients, but if they are not knowledgeable, skillful, or alert, harm can occur. Applied to mentoring, this implies a duty to avoid any deleterious effect mentoring can produce. Obviously, this includes disregarding any temptations to engage in petty tyranny, manipulation, or deceit. It also includes disdain for comparatively minor transgressions that might distract the protégé from mastering intended lessons. For example, carelessly phrased advice can threaten protégés' self-esteem and sense of autonomy and leave them offended and unable to learn (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Graham and Barker, 1990; Goldsmith, 1992). Similarly, a mentor who is not vigilant to the relationship between protégés and their supervisors can easily create serious political problems for protégés.

Even though it is often inconsequential, some harm befalls protégés when their expectations are not fulfilled. Accordingly, mentors should make sure protégés' expectations are appropriate (Young and Perrewé, 2000). The practitioner literature urges mentors to begin each mentoring relationship by setting protégé expectations regarding the length of the partnership, the frequency of meetings, the specific activities of each partner, and how the protégé will be evaluated (if at all) (Warbington, 2000; Lindenberger and Zackary, 1999).

Nonmaleficence also implies certain obligations that ethicists classify as positive duties, that is, duties to act rather than duties to restrain. One of them is the obligation to intervene and help out in instances when the protégé has followed the mentor's advice but it has turned out poorly (Driver, 1997). Let's say a mentor recommends that her protégé attend a meeting for career visibility. As luck would have it, when he shows up, he is refused admittance and is embarrassed in front of others. In this case, the mentor ought to do her best to correct this situation, perhaps by talking to those who witnessed the situation and arranging for another equivalent opportunity for the protégé to gain visibility. Such an obligation would not cover any situation that goes bad for a protégé. It would be restricted to situations in which the mentor's advice was followed but the results did not work out.

Illustrative Vignette

Brian has been mentoring Barbara for two years. Although Barbara admires Brian more than vice versa, both believe that their association has been productive and rewarding. In fact, Barbara just received a promotion to director two months ago. For the last month, rumors have begun to spread that Brian and Barbara are engaged in a romantic relationship. Although untrue, these rumors call Barbara's competence into question and are beginning to erode her ability to generate cooperation from others. Barbara has proposed that they discontinue their relationship in order to quell the persistent rumors. While Brian agrees that the termination of the relationship would diminish interest in them as a couple, he worries that Barbara may need his assistance with her new responsibilities.

Vignette Commentary

Cross-gender relationships have been the subject of an enormous volume of empirical research; much of it framed as a problem of which female protégés should be particularly mindful (e.g., Sosik and Godshalk, 2000; Ragins and Cotton, 1999; 1991; Burke and McKeen, 1997; 1995; Dreher and Cox, 1996; Gaskill, 1991; Ragins and McFarlin, 1990). In contrast, the model proposed in this paper makes the mentor *prima facie* responsible for protecting the protégé from negative effects due to gender differences. Therefore, Brian is responsible for countering any negative impacts of the rumors that Barbara may suffer. Rather than acquiesce to Barbara's proposal to terminate the relationship, Brian ought to actively pursue other options (e.g., publicly mentor Barbara in the company of Brian's other protégés, confront rumor mongers, or orchestrate occasions where Barbara's husband and Brian's wife are seen with the mentoring pair).

The existence of these rumors should also stimulate Brian to think about whether Barbara's admiration of him continues to be healthy. Professional psychologists use the term "multiple relationships" to denote that relationships may evolve such that a second or third set of roles are involved (Sonne, 1994; Pope and Vetter, 1992). Applied to mentoring, this can occur if the mentor and the protégé also become close personal friends, co-owners of a condominium, or fellow members on a company softball team. The ethical question is whether mentors can continue to act within their primary role when other boundaries have been crossed. So, Brian needs to reflect on whether his friendship with Barbara risks damage to his mentoring relationship with her quite independent of any impressions created in other people's minds.

Autonomy

Respect for autonomy entails behaving in a way that enables rather than hinders the protégé's ability to exercise his or her own judgment and reasoning. Autonomy refers not merely to freedom from external constraint, but to the development and exercise of a cognitive/volitional ability: the ability to think and act on one's own. The emphasis is on the person's (in this case the protégé's) ability to determine rationally what is best for himself or herself in the context of a community of others who are similarly disposed. This is a long-standing idea in professional ethics traceable to the work of Immanuel Kant.

Respecting the autonomy of protégés translates to several specific mentor obligations. First, mentors should avoid any action that makes the mentoring relationship necessarily compulsory. Second, mentors should openly disclose and explain to protégés any information that they take into account as part of the mentoring process that protégés need to know. Third, mentors should assure that their communication represents education rather than propaganda. And finally, mentors should avoid establishing paternalistic relations with their protégés.

Clearly, respect for autonomy implies that protégés ought to be free to pursue any and all developmental opportunities open to them. Any action by mentors that impedes protégés in taking advantage of other mentoring relationships interferes with their autonomy. The fact that protégés typically benefit from such multiple mentoring relationships adds force to this obligation (Baugh and Scandura, 1999; Peluchette and Jeanquart, 2000).

Respect for the autonomy of protégés also implies that mentors ought to openly disclose any information the protégé needs that arises during the mentoring relationship (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1993). For example, if a mentor recommends that the protégé talk to one person rather than another about some career-relevant issue, the mentor owes it to the protégé to reveal any information the protégé needs to know about the basis for that recommendation. Giving protégés only part of the picture is justified only if the information withheld is unessential relative to the protégé's concerns (Bok, 1983).

One of the most reprehensible contradictions of autonomy is paternalism, the practice of dealing with others as if one has a better vision for their ends than the others do (Warren, 1999). The temptation to be paternalistic is always present in the mentoring relationship since, as we noted above, the role of mentor has characteristics reminiscent of parental guidance. Nevertheless, paternalism is both an arrogant and insidious practice because the paternalist both deprives another of autonomy and at the same time makes the claim of being altruistic. Mentors who suffocate their protégés with attention, make decisions for them, and cover up their mistakes and foibles are depriving them of autonomy. Similarly, mentors who "live through" the experiences of their protégés in order to claim a standing once refused them are using their protégés in a crude and disrespectful way.

Illustrative Vignette

Carla and Chris met ten months ago at a meeting set up by their employer to facilitate the development of mentoring relationships. They began to meet shortly thereafter and have become a mentoring pair. Recently, however, Carla has become troubled by Chris's tendency to accept her advice very literally. This was an acceptable stance early in their relationship, but Carla is concerned that Chris is not demonstrating much independence or originality. When Carla asked Chris for his assessment of the progress he is making, Chris testified that his relationship with Carla is very important to him and that he only hopes she is getting as much out of it as he is.

Vignette Commentary

It appears that Chris has chosen a rather superficial approach to learning that may not satisfy Carla's expectations. Carla could move to withdraw from the relationship, but first, she owes it to Chris to forcefully disclose to Chris her desire for him to be more involved with his own development. This could be hurtful, so Carla may need to be gentle enough to avoid leaving him feeling

abandoned. The practitioner literature discusses how mentors should watch for “openings” before leading protégés to new, profound insights (Daloz, 1986; Flaherty, 1999; Elliott, 1995). Such an opening could occur if and when Chris’s lack of improvisation results in performance difficulties.

Confidentiality

The obligation of confidentiality derives from the protégé’s right to privacy. Confidentiality thus implies that the mentor must maintain any confidences explicitly requested by the protégé. For example, if the protégé discusses her relationship with her supervisor and requests that the discussion be kept confidential, this ought to be respected by the mentor. But in addition, confidentiality also implies that the mentor should not reveal anything that the protégé reveals about him or herself in the course of their working together. Protégé self-revelations should always be assumed to be given with the expectation of confidentiality on the part of the mentor.

The importance of confidentiality is obvious. It is the key to trust, and trust is the core of the mentoring relationship (Corcoran, 1988). If protégés do not trust their mentors, it is unlikely that they will accept their mentor’s counsel and support. Nor is it likely that protégés will reveal to their mentor information about themselves that their mentor needs to have in order to tailor advice and support to the capacities and needs of their protégés.

There may be situations when there are good reasons for revealing protégé confidences. In some cases it may seem to the mentor that it is in the best interests of the protégé to allow the mentor to share information the protégé has revealed with others. Since the expectation of confidentiality should always be assumed, the mentor should not reveal such information unless the protégé explicitly consents; to do otherwise would be careless or paternalistic. In other cases the mentor may feel that it is in the best interests of other parties – such as the organization or other affected parties – to disclose information that the protégé has revealed, even if the protégé refuses to consent to the disclosure (Hansson, 1998). But the temptation to disclose should be resisted. A comparison with how confidentiality is treated in professional roles is instructive. Professionals are required to keep client information confidential *except in those cases where it is certain that very serious harm to others will result*. A similar rule is suitable for the quasi-professional role of mentor.

The obligation of confidentiality can be especially problematic if the mentor is in a position above the protégé’s supervisor in the chain of command. In the course of the mentoring process, a mentor in such a situation may learn things from the protégé that may require an official response. For example, the protégé may tell such a mentor that mistakes are being made that place organizational resources in jeopardy. Obviously, the mentor will have to see to it that the situation is corrected, but as he does, he ought to be careful not to compromise the protégé as the source of this information.

Illustrative Vignette

Danelle has been mentoring Dave for almost two years, and is mostly satisfied with his development. During their relationship Dave has received one promotion, and Danelle expects that sometime during the next few months Dave will be named Vice President of Strategic Planning, a key position in the company that operates in a turbulent competitive environment. She has been concerned, however, about the signs of stress that he has been exhibiting lately. Two weeks earlier she had asked him about this, and he revealed that he had been under a psychiatrist’s care for the last six months. Twice before in his life, he said, he had suffered nervous breakdowns when he had held positions that carried significant responsibilities. Danelle talked with him about the wisdom of him continuing on his track to the position of Vice President of Strategic Planning, a position that would undoubtedly be much more stressful than any he had yet held. He had waved this off, however, and insisted that this time it would be different. He had asked her, however, not to disclose to anyone what he had told her, since this would hurt his chances of being named Vice President. Danelle is unsure whether to honor his request since it would undoubtedly damage the firm to have a person in such a key position suffer a nervous breakdown.

Vignette Commentary

Danelle is in a difficult situation. She should, of course, first discuss at greater length with Dave whether it is in his own best interests to pursue the position of Vice President of Strategic Planning. If he refuses to deviate from his plan and he also continues to insist that she not disclose what he has revealed to her, then Danelle has to weigh two conflicting obligations: her obligation to respect the confidentiality she owes to her protégé, and her obligation to protect others from being harmed. She must assess the probability that he will be able to take the position of Vice President without suffering a breakdown, and she must assess the potential harm that will come to the firm (and to Dave) if he should suffer a breakdown while holding this position. Then she must decide whether the probability and the magnitude of harm are large enough to outweigh her serious obligation of confidentiality.

Loyalty

The obligation of loyalty is based on the key requirement of justice – that a person should be given what is due to him or to her (Sabini and Silver, 1989). In mentoring, loyalty means, first and foremost, the avoidance of any conflict of interest. While mentors need not deny themselves the intrinsic benefits of their partnership, they should assiduously avoid the appearance that their commitment to the relationship is contingent on extrinsic favors or gratuities. Second, a mentor’s obligation to be faithful to his or her protégés means making decisions about the relationship that ordinarily place the interests of the protégé in a paramount position (Pettit, 1988). This does not imply that

other commitments the mentor might have made are given no weight relative to the protégé's; it only means that ordinarily the protégé's ends are to be given greater weight (Wiley, 2000).

The loyalty owed to protégés may create a natural tension with the loyalty the mentor owes to his or her employer (Staal and King, 2000). Consider the case of a highly valued employee who asks her mentor for advice about an offer she has received to leave the organization – an offer that the mentor thinks would be in her best interest to take. In such a case loyalties collide, and the mentor must either work to add alternatives to the decision or determine which loyalty takes precedence with some sort of weighting process (Haughey, 1993).

Illustrative Vignette

Edward received a promotion in the last year, but he has continued to mentor Ellen, who formerly was his assistant. Ellen is an internal auditor, and has recently contacted Edward about an extremely sensitive matter. Ellen claims that the company has been recording certain leases as sales in direct opposition to both generally accepted accounting principles and the federal tax code. When Ellen reported this problem to her boss, he denied that she had her facts right and immediately began what Ellen thinks is a “cover-up” assisted by several of Ellen's less assertive colleagues. Edward looked into the matter but was unable to uncover evidence that either verified or contradicted Ellen's claims. However, Edward trusted Ellen's integrity and suspected her new boss's judgment. The matter reached a climax when Ellen told Edward that she planned to report the matter to her boss' boss. Such a report would, by audit policy, necessitate informing the IRS and other taxing agencies. This could result in substantial legal expenses in defending the company even if Ellen's allegations are invalid.

Vignette Commentary

As a mentor Edward faces divided loyalty. To be loyal to Ellen he must accept her point of view and act as her agent. To be loyal to his employer, he must protect it from tax problems that can be legally corrected. Although it may be difficult to get Ellen to be open to negotiation, Edward should attempt to identify alternatives for her that satisfy all of the role demands the two of them are experiencing. If this is not possible, Edward should find a way not to abandon Ellen in the face of what may prove to be strong pressures to withdraw her criticisms.

Fairness

The requirement that one be fair in the distribution or allocation of benefits and burdens is the basis for the mentor's obligation of fairness. This requires that mentors attempt to be fair not only to their protégés but to others who might otherwise be excluded or impacted by the mentoring process.

One of the most vexing problems that mentoring poses for organizational officials who want to encourage the use of mentoring as a means to developing their human resources is the problem of allocation. If the process of matching mentors and protégés is allowed to be spontaneous, some individuals will not be chosen because they are not sufficiently attractive to prospective mentors (Turban and Dougherty, 1994; Olian, Carroll, and Giannantonio, 1993). In addition, spontaneous pairings sometimes do not permit the protégé to derive natural role-modeling benefits (Lockwood and Kunda, 1997). Consider the African American female protégé, for example, who is unable to find a mentor like herself (Scandura, 1997). One answer to this problem appears to be formal mentoring programs so that pairing can be impartial. However, participants do not benefit as much from formal programs as spontaneous ones (Chao, Walz, and Gardner, 1992), and forced-choice pairings are broadly opposed in the practitioner literature (e.g., Benabou and Benabou, 2000). In general, then, there appears to be no simple method by which organizational officials can assure equal access to the mentoring process.

Instead, the problem of fair access is one for which mentors themselves should once again assume responsibility. This means being particularly open to mentoring protégés who have characteristics (social class, race, gender, interpersonal attractiveness, etc.) that make them less desirable to other mentors as protégé prospects. It also means that mentors should look for reasons to accept rather than reasons to reject such disadvantaged prospects (Allen, Poteet, and Russell, 2000). It is obvious that no one mentor can neutralize all access injustices by virtue of his or her own fair selection criteria; however, mentors who participate in mentoring relationships tarnished by unjust access are implicitly endorsing an indefensible, some might even say immoral, arrangement.

Fairness is also a concern regarding those who might be burdened by actions resulting from the mentoring process. For example, if mentors lobby unfairly on behalf of their protégés, others may be hurt in the process. Similarly, if mentors give inside information to their protégés that gives them an unfair advantage, fairness is not served. In general, fairness argues for restraint in mentors' promotion of their protégés, to, in effect, create no unfairness as part of the mentoring process.

Illustrative Vignette

Frank is a regional sales manager who has been mentoring Fatima, a key customer sales representative, for two years. As graduates of the same university, the two of them have been working earnestly on Fatima's gaining more visibility in the company. In that regard, Fatima has been vying for an award for the highest sales figure in the region during the present quarter. Because of Frank's privileged position, he learns that Fatima has indeed won the quarterly sales volume award before it was officially announced. Unfortunately, Fatima is scheduled to receive her award at a celebration

scheduled during a time when she has to be at a very important meeting with her customer. Frank is considering whether to use his influence to have the date of the celebration changed so that Fatima can get the visibility she has earned.

Vignette Commentary

There is a profound tension in mentoring between mentors' partiality toward their protégés and their need to advance justice in the world. In this case the tension seems resolvable. Unless someone is adversely affected in a significant way by this change of date, then it is perfectly acceptable for Frank to use his influence in this way. If the adverse effect is merely an inconvenience, then this seems a small price to bear for Fatima getting her just desserts.

On a completely different level, Frank may want to reflect about whether his choice of protégés creates a system of entitlement that disadvantages certain types of protégé candidates. If Frank makes a practice of selecting protégés *only* on the basis of some sort of socioeconomic criteria (e.g., restricting them to "classmates") then one might question the justice of this practice.

Concern

Concern is the obligation to exercise a caring but fair partiality toward protégés and their interests. Concern implies a deeper more emotional-laden duty than the obligation to be loyal. Recall that concern derives from principles of caring, and that this is relevant to mentoring because mentors are expected to act toward their protégés *in loco parentis*. Parents are, of course, loyal to their children, but loyalty does not adequately convey the deep, emotional attachment that they have toward their children nor does it reflect the merging of selves involved. Thus, concern is an obligation quite different from loyalty.

Like caring parents, mentors are supposed to hold the interests of their protégés as paramount by providing them inside information, by advocating on behalf of their interests, and more generally, by providing them the kind of support that will contribute to their development. In these respects, the mentor exhibits a form of partiality toward the protégé, providing benefits and advantages for the protégé that the mentor does not provide for others.

The obligation to exercise concern does not relieve the mentor of obligations to third parties and to the organization. The challenge is to be partial toward the protégé without simultaneously being unfair toward others. The mentor is to show a *fair* partiality toward the protégé. Bayles (1981) correctly indicates that "many of the most interesting, important, and difficult problems of professional ethics concern conflicts between a professional's obligations to a client and to others." Exactly the same kinds of conflicts are created by the mentor's obligations to – in effect – show a form of favoritism toward the protégé, and the mentor's obligations to be fair toward others. To resolve

such problems, Bayles proposes a standard based on role reversal: one should determine what one would want if one took the role of the client, and what one would want if one took the role of others, and strike a balance that seems fair from the perspective of both.

Bayles' proposal, however, does not so much resolve the conflict, as attempt to erase it. In effect, it proposes that when there is a conflict between the partiality shown to protégés and fairness toward others, the mentor should become impartial and opt for fairness. Instead, we propose that when such a conflict exists, the mentor should resolve it as would a parent who is trying to resolve a conflict between being partial toward his child, and being fair toward the children of others. Normally a parent is expected to be partial to his child and to favor him over others. However, parents sometimes undertake special obligations to the children of others such as, for example, when one agrees to temporarily oversee the activities of other children. In such cases, the parent is expected to be fair and to not favor one's own child over those who have been entrusted to one, and the parent who cannot be impartial in such circumstances should not agree to care for the children of others. Similarly, we propose that a mentor can legitimately be partial toward his or her protégé in all situations except those where the mentor has special obligations toward specific other persons. A manager supervising the work of others, for example, is specifically charged with being fair and impartial among those over whom he has supervisory authority, and so such a manager must be fair and impartial when dealing with his subordinates, even if these subordinates include a protégé. This implies that the mentor should only rarely choose subordinates as protégés because of the difficulty of being an advocate for one's protégé and simultaneously being fair to all one's subordinates.

Illustrative Vignette

Gloria has been mentoring Greg for a year. Greg, who works in another department, is hopeful of being promoted to Director of that department. For some time now Gloria has been lobbying with several people in the organization to get them to promote Greg to the position he has been seeking and for which Gloria believes he is well suited. Recently, however, Jane, one of the people Gloria supervises in her own department, has approached her and informed her that she would like to be considered for promotion to the position of Director of the same department Greg hopes to have. Jane has asked Gloria to lobby for her so that she will have a better chance of getting the position. Gloria is unsure what to do.

Vignette Commentary

In this case Gloria has an obligation to be partial toward Greg whom she agreed to mentor and to be his advocate over others. Gloria also has a special obligation to be fair and impartial among the people in her own department,

but no special obligation to be impartial between those in her own department and Greg. Moreover, Gloria has no special obligation to be an advocate for Jane or to be partial toward her. In the absence of any special obligation to be impartial between Jane and Greg, Gloria should be true to her obligations of partiality toward Greg. She should, of course, be forthcoming and explain to Jane the special mentoring relationship she has with Greg.

Summary of Mentor Duties

We have argued that the ethical obligations of mentors derive from two factors: the quasi-professional nature of the mentoring relationship, and the ethical principles of utility, rights, justice, and caring. Based on these, we have identified seven key obligations of mentoring: the responsibility of being diligent in providing knowledge, wisdom, and developmental support to the protégé, the responsibility of ensuring that one's mentoring does not harm the protégé, the obligation to respect the protégé's privacy and autonomy, the obligation to be fair to others while being loyal to one's protégé, and the obligation to exercise a fair partiality in supporting one's protégé. We have argued that because of the power differences that obtain between mentor and protégé, the locus of responsibility for meeting these obligations rests largely with the mentor. And, finally, we have claimed that as the power difference between mentor and protégé increase, the ethical obligations on the mentor become more stringent.

The Ethical Responsibility of Protégés

While organization theorists have long recognized that the creation of a professional service (in this case the service rendered by a mentor) requires the cooperation of both professional and client, almost no attention has been focused on the moral obligations of the protégé in the mentoring transaction (cf. Warbington, 2000). We do not have the space to discuss adequately the obligations that we believe protégés owe mentors. However, these are derivative of the *inequality* implicit in the mentor-protégé relationship. By almost any measure, mentors receive far fewer benefits from the mentoring relationship than do protégés. In addition, unless there is a dysfunction or abuse by the mentor, protégés accrue fewer costs from the relationship than do mentors. On net, the mentoring relationship is inequitable; with protégés on the receiving end and mentors on the giving end (Ladd, 1998). Organizations seldom recognize or make up for the unevenness in the mentoring exchange. In most cases, mentors must sustain their other work performance at the same level that it would be without their mentoring responsibilities. In this sense, it is accurate to label mentors as virtuous, altruistic, or to conceive of their actions as a sign of organizational citizenship behavior (Wilson, 2001).

Conceived in this way, it would be immoral for protégés to reap the benefits of mentoring without some correspondent obligations. Unless mentors are specifically rewarded by the organization for their actions as mentors, they are due reciprocity from their protégés. Such reciprocity ought to take the form of the duties of veracity, efficiency, and gratitude.

Protégés owe a duty of veracity to their mentors. This obligates them not only to be honest with their mentors so the advice and support they receive from them is built upon accurate premises. It also binds them to be truthful about any observation they report about what is going on elsewhere in the organization. Among the few benefits mentors receive from mentoring is information from their protégé's network. For protégés to distort or withhold such information from mentors seems to us to accentuate what is already an inequitable situation. Thus, protégés ought to be forthcoming in all legitimate areas queried by a mentor (Benjamin, 1985). This includes frank information about the protégé's perceptions of whether the mentoring relationship is meeting his/her needs. Besides having a duty of veracity, we argue that protégés are obligated to be efficient in all encounters with their mentors. The reason is twofold. Once again, being efficient attenuates the inequity implicit in the relationship. Additionally, it should be recognized that a mentor's time is typically at a premium. To reflect this, we propose a protégé duty to make every encounter as efficient as possible (Petress, 2000). This includes being prepared for each mentoring encounter, keeping the encounter moving, and in general respecting the mentor's time. The third protégé duty we propose is gratitude (Berger, 1975; Card, 1988). To the extent that protégés receive value in excess of the investments they make in the mentoring relationship, they owe their mentor a debt of gratitude (McCullough, Kilpatrick, Emmons, and Larson, 2001; Wellman, 1999).

Obviously, these three protégé obligations are *prima facie*, i.e., constrained by personal costs and capabilities in much the same way as mentor obligations are. A protégé who is facing significant personal costs to be efficient, honest, or even grateful may legitimately view these requirements as aspirations rather than obligations.

Implications

Mentoring is a process in which many people have placed their hopes. Organizational officials often conceive of mentoring as an apparently low-cost technique for socializing and retaining employees. Junior employees see mentoring as an apparently low-risk way of enhancing their chances for career success. Caught between these hopes are mentors without whose generosity mentoring would not be possible but whose power enables them to do great harm. This paper casts a new light on this interesting process.

The most important implication of this analysis is the impossibility of being a direct supervisor and an ethical mentor of the same person. As we have seen, the mentor role carries with it a special loyalty, partiality, and concern for one's protégés. This is contradicted by the moral obligations of the supervisory role to be impartial and fair to all one's subordinates. Therefore, unless one has only one subordinate, it is highly problematic to supervise and ethically mentor the same person. If the term "mentor" is used imprecisely to denote roles that involve only training, performance coaching, or career counseling, then holding both roles relative to the same person is feasible. Otherwise, they are morally contradictory.

Another key implication of this analysis is that some mentoring arrangements are more morally burdensome for mentors than others. Specifically, mentor duties are greatest if the power difference between them and their protégés is large, and this is exacerbated if the organization provides them with no rewards for their mentoring investments. If an organization has a formal mentoring program, it might be prudent to restrict especially burdensome mentoring assignments to those who are committed to high ethical standards.

A third implication is that mentors and protégés alike should be familiarized with the ethical obligations built into these roles. Some organizations provide formal training for mentors and protégés, and attention to ethical factors might enable individuals to detect potentially problematic situations before they became serious. For example, a trained protégé may sense that her mentor is not respecting her autonomy or a trained mentor may realize that she needs to be explicit about her expectations early in a mentoring relationship. Such mutual sensitivity will not eradicate all instances of abuse, they may deal with problems that are unintentional or due to lack of vigilance.

Fourth, in those sad cases of abuse, the model in this paper may allow a more adequate system of establishing mentor and protégé accountability. Tragically, a graduate student who committed suicide at a major research university in 1999 cited mentoring abuse in his suicide note (Djerassi, 1999). Without a clear model of responsibility, victims of abuse can only turn to the courts for relief. This can be an expensive and time-consuming process. For example, in a widely publicized case in which a mentor at the University of Michigan was successfully sued for fraud, it took the protégé (a research assistant) eight years to prevail (*Phinney v. Verbrugge*, *Perlmutter*, and *Adelman*, 1997).

Fifth, there is a condition in contemporary mentoring that we have taken as a given that really should command attention – mentors seldom reap the rewards from mentoring that their commitment (and we should add, moral attention) justifies. This implies that organizations and protégés are the primary beneficiaries of a process that relies largely on the virtues of mentors. The injustice implicit in this arrangement is troublesome, especially if the people who mentor are expected to "do more with less" in their normal work assignments (*Ibarra*, 2000). Thus, while we would never condone the abuses

by mentors we discussed earlier, organizations that over-work and place stress on mentors share some of the moral responsibility.

From a theoretical viewpoint, this paper demonstrates how business ethics can be productively applied to develop a moral understanding of an "informal" organizational role. Unlike the role of "engineer" or "planner," a mentor role is often taken rather than assigned, and as such it exists outside the authorized nexus of contracts. Like the role of colleague, team player, or role model, the mentor role falls outside the formal system of rules and controls. In the absence of such local normative standards, it is important that such roles come with clear ethical parameters. Otherwise, moral ambiguity and ethical abuse are more likely.

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Ethical Issues in Mentoring: The Role of HRD

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A discussion of mentoring is incomplete without an exploration of ethical issues that can arise in these important developmental relationships. For years, scholars have researched and written about the various benefits derived from mentoring experiences, and many have documented the importance of mentors in protégés' career advancement (e.g., salary, promotions) as well as in providing psychosocial support (Kram, 1985). More recently, researchers have begun to investigate how these relationships can become dysfunctional and the ethical implications for the individuals and organizations involved (Moberg & Velasquez, 2004; Ragins & Scandura, 1999; Scandura, 1998).

The literature on ethics in mentoring has an interdisciplinary perspective, although the basic concerns are similar. Scholars from the fields of psychology (Needels, 1998), adult education (Darwin, 2000), sociology (Auster, 1984), and business (Moberg & Velasquez, 2004; Scandura, 1997) have identified various ethical issues and have explained how these dilemmas arise. Moberg and Velasquez (2004) indicated that the primary ethical concerns related to mentoring focus on access (e.g., mentoring is perceived as exclusionary and discriminatory) and abuses in the relationship, often due to power differences. Usually attention turns to ethics when the situation may lead to harmful consequences to individuals or the organization.

Although ethical issues have been addressed in the mentoring literature, little has been written on the role that human resource development (HRD)

should play in handling these concerns. In many organizations, the HRD function is involved in developing and coordinating the mentoring process, particularly if the organization has a formal mentoring program. Therefore, it is logical and valuable for HRD practitioners to be aware of potential ethical issues in mentoring and to develop strategies to minimize the likelihood for these dilemmas to occur.

This article provides a brief summary of the literature on ethics in mentoring (see Moberg & Velasquez, 2004, for a thorough review of this literature) and provides recommendations regarding HRD's role in this important developmental process. Specifically, we will describe the importance of HRD's taking a strategic interventionist stance in dealing with ethical issues developing from mentoring relationships. Recommendations regarding how HRD practitioners can help protégés and mentors develop productive, ethical relationships will be addressed through four critical interventions: organizational analysis, recruitment/selection, training, and follow-up/evaluation.

Ethical Issues in Mentoring

To fully understand the ethical issues involved in mentoring, one must first examine the nature of the mentoring relationship. The typical mentoring relationship develops when an experienced senior member of an organization provides career and psychosocial support to a less experienced junior member. Mentoring is often described as an important factor in career advancement (Ragins, 1995) and as a positive interaction that has the potential to yield participant satisfaction and work-related benefits, depending on the quality of the mentoring relationship (Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000). Recognition of variability in relationship quality has led to some criticism and speculation about the concept of mentoring. One focus of discussion has been ethical concerns. A number of ethical issues have been described in the mentoring literature, but it is difficult to discern how prevalent these dilemmas are because few empirical studies have been published on this aspect of mentoring. Those that are available indicate the need for further exploration. For example, in one study intentionally designed to investigate negative mentoring experiences, more than half of the protégés reported at least one negative mentoring experience (Eby, McManus, Simon, & Russell, 2000). A review of the literature reveals frequently cited concerns that will be grouped into three interrelated categories: cultural replication, access, and power.

Cultural Replication

Concerns about mentoring as a means of cultural replication suggest that mentoring has a negative effect when it reinforces unquestioning acceptance of the existing culture. For example, Darwin (2000), analyzing the mentoring

relationship from a functionalist perspective, suggested that it is a means of ensuring that protégés learn how to fit into the corporate culture. She concluded that these hierarchical, asymmetrical relationships often perpetuate the status quo, resulting in the maintenance of existing power structures. Hansman (1998) expressed concern about mentoring "sanctioning elitist behavior" (p. 68) when mentors in power positions maintain "a hegemonic culture that keeps those of different gender, ethnicity, race, or sexual orientation from fully participating" (p. 68). Similarly, Ragins (1995) advocated diversified mentoring relationships but acknowledged that these may "promote assimilation of minority protégés to the dominant culture and can undermine the preservation of independent cultures in organizations" (p. 124).

Access to Mentoring

Another reoccurring ethical concern is access to mentoring in organizations. Several studies have addressed the challenges facing women and underrepresented groups in gaining access to mentors (Giscombe & Mattis, 2002; Hite, 2004; Noe, 1988; Ragins, 1995; Ragins & Cotton, 1991). As Johnson (2002) suggested, mentors have a tendency to choose protégés who are similar to themselves in background and interests. Because mentors often are high-ranking individuals within organizations and many of these individuals are White men, it is likely that many chosen protégés will be White men as well. Access alone does not fully address this complex issue. The quality of the resulting relationship often is of concern as well. Assigned, cross-gender, or cross-race mentor-protégé relationships (as in formal mentoring programs) frequently are less close than those formed through informal mutual choices (Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Although this may vary depending on the individuals involved and the time the relationship has to develop, many formal mentoring arrangements are time limited and may not last long enough for close ties to be nurtured. Consequently, protégés in these relationships often receive fewer career advantages and less psychosocial support from the mentoring experience (Hansman, 1998). Conversely, the limited number of upper level staff members from traditionally underrepresented groups may be inundated with mentoring requests they cannot fulfill from nonmajority protégés seeking someone like themselves for guidance and support (Hansman, 1998).

Power

Power is a unifying construct in many discussions of ethics in mentoring. Inherently, most mentoring relationships involve an unequal balance of power. Auster (1984) described the relationship "as a power exchange . . . a power-dependent relationship imbalanced in the direction of the mentor due to his or her greater supply of valued resources" (p. 145). The relationship between

power and mentoring is complex (Ragins, 1997), and the power differential that exists in most mentoring relationships often is exacerbated when race/ethnicity, gender, and/or organizational culture enter into the mix (Ragins, 1995; Scandura, 1998). Studies suggest unequal power is the likely cause of many ethical complications in cross-gender mentoring and in cross-race mentoring. In cross-gender mentoring, common concerns are that the relationship may become intimate or result in sexual harassment (Hansman, 1998). Cross-race and cross-gender mentoring adds historic racial complexities to the already complicated concerns of mixed gender relationships (Blake, 1999).

Although a power differential is natural to any mentoring relationship, ethical concerns arise when power is abused by one of the parties involved. The potential for abuse of power typically resides with the mentor because of the position he or she holds. Consequently, Moberg and Velasquez (2004) suggested that the mentor has a greater responsibility to ensure that the relationship remains ethical and healthy. However, some research has suggested that protégés can abuse power as well. Beech and Brockbank (1999) analyzed four mentoring relationships from a power/knowledge perspective and found that some protégés gained power and used it to derail meaningful relationships with their mentors. For example, as protégés became more knowledgeable themselves, they saw less value in the mentoring interaction and began to withhold information from their mentors and to withdraw from those relationships. A study by Eby and McManus (2004) affirmed the potential for protégés to use their power to disrupt the mentoring relationship through exploitation, deception, sabotage, and egocentric behavior. However, Eby and McManus also pointed out that descriptions of protégés' behaviors indicate that they tend to be "subtle and covert" in their negative actions, "reflective of the differential power between mentors and protégés" (p. 270).

The ethical consequences of an imbalance of power also may result in dysfunctional behaviors. Often this occurs when one party, usually the mentor, engages in overly paternalistic behaviors that limit the development of the protégé. Specific examples of these types of behaviors include not allowing the protégé autonomy (Moberg & Velasquez, 2004), encouraging overdependence (Scandura, 1998), and expecting the protégé to be just like him or her (Ragins & Scandura, 1997). Dysfunctional relationships also arise when the mentor abdicates responsibility or attempts to capitalize on the protégé's skills for his or her own gain. This may result in jealousy, inappropriate credit taking, violation of confidentiality, or neglect (Eby et al., 2000; Ragins & Scandura, 1997; Scandura, 1998). Scandura (1998) and Eby et al. (2000) indicated that the intentions underlying these behaviors may be good or bad, yet they still result in a dysfunctional relationship with ethical implications.

In follow-up studies, Eby and associates (Eby & Allen, 2002; Eby, Butts, Lockwood, & Simon, 2004) more clearly delineated those behaviors considered unethical. In a study examining protégés' perceptions of negative mentoring experiences, Eby and Allen (2002) clustered common unethical mentor

behaviors into a category labeled *distancing/manipulative behavior*, which includes deceit, credit taking, sabotage, intentional exclusion, and general abuse of power. They concluded that these behaviors "appear to be marked by bad intent on the part of the mentor" (p. 471) and therefore are unethical.

Given the range and potential consequences of ethical dilemmas related to mentoring, it is both the logical and ethical responsibility of human resource development to play an active role in helping mentors, protégés, and the organization to create and maintain healthy mentoring relationships. Specifically, HRD can assist throughout the mentoring process through four initiatives: organizational analysis, recruitment/selection, training, and follow-up evaluation.

HRD and Mentoring Ethics

Successfully addressing ethical dilemmas in the mentoring process requires that HRD take on a role that combines strategic intervention and advocacy. Gilley, Eggland, and Gilley (2002) noted the importance of linking human resource development to the strategic goals of the organization to increase credibility and relevance and to enhance the impact HRD has within the system. This linkage also promotes commitment of financial and personnel resources, which is critical if HRD practitioners are to influence the ethical culture of the organization. Mentoring provides a tangible example of the importance of strategic involvement. It traditionally has been handled by human resource development, although often that responsibility has been bestowed without commensurate authority to ensure equitable and ethical practice. Ethical practice requires that HRD have authority to influence mentoring policy as well as to advocate for processes and programs. The following recommendations focus primarily on factors involved in establishing formal mentoring programs. HRD's role in informal mentoring often is limited due to the nature of those relationships. However, practitioners also must be aware of potential ethical concerns in informal relationships and take responsibility for intervention when appropriate.

Organizational Analysis

HRD practitioners must lay careful groundwork in establishing support systems for mentoring relationships and in developing ethical formal mentoring programs. The process should begin with an assessment that can be used to identify systemic support and interest, gauge the cultural climate, provide baseline data for evaluative measurement, and clarify program goals.

At the start, HRD practitioners must determine if the leadership within the organization supports a large-scale mentoring program for the purpose of developing employees throughout the system. This means taking on the role of

interventionist/advocate in clarifying two key points: first, that the intention in establishing a mentoring program is to contribute to the development of mentors and protégés, not simply to benefit the organization's image or to ensure compliance with the prevailing culture; and second, that the program will be made available to employees from traditionally underrepresented groups as well as those from the existing majority. This is to counter the potential for mentors to choose protégés who most resemble themselves, a practice that perpetuates the traditional power structure and often marginalizes those who could benefit most from having a mentor to guide them through the organizational system (Ragins, 1995).

Assessing the level of organizational support and commitment is a critical factor in the early part of the analysis process. HRD practitioners must determine if the organizational culture is conducive to ethical mentoring practice (Kram, 1985) and open to culture change. For example, do the policies and procedures, reward structures, and communication patterns support or inhibit the mentoring process? Organizational culture has a profound effect on power relationships within the system (Ragins, 1995). If the system is incompatible, a mentoring program will at best yield marginal results and at worst might damage careers in the process.

As in conducting a training needs assessment, data collected at this phase of the mentoring project will serve both to inform ethical program development and to supply accurate baseline data for evaluation. In this instance, archival data relating to career progress (e.g., promotion opportunities and turnover rates) of a randomly selected varied group of employees can provide baseline data to measure equity in advancement opportunities. In addition, interviews or survey instruments focused on perceptions of career development may be used to assess equitable distribution of opportunities, particularly to gauge inclusiveness for individuals from traditionally underrepresented groups. Adding items to assess interest in mentoring could provide guidelines for action.

The organizational assessment concludes with using the data obtained to determine the type of program that best fits organizational needs. Whereas informal mentoring relationships often prove to be effective in terms of mutual satisfaction and protégés' career development (Ragins & Cotton, 1999), a major limitation is the potential exclusionary aspect of those pairings (Ragins, 1995). A strength of a formal mentoring program is that it can be beneficial in providing access to mentoring for nonmajority group members and in minimizing rumors of mentoring choices based on sexual attraction (Hurley & Fagenson-Eland, 1996). HRD's influence can make a difference in the effectiveness of a formal mentoring program. If well designed, a formal mentoring program can expand access to power within the organizational system, limit concerns about harassment or favoritism, and increase the potential for positive relationships.

One consideration is the structure of the mentoring relationship. Although the one-to-one model is most typical in informal relationships and has been adopted often for formal programs, other more creative options can help to redefine power distribution in the relationship and ease the burden of mentoring for those in the most senior ranks within the system. Darwin (2000) reflected on the benefits of peer mentoring as a mechanism that is based less on power and more on expertise and support. Kaye and Jacobson (1996) described a "learning group of four to six employees" (p. 44) led by a more experienced senior member within the organization that meets on a regular basis to share information and experiences. Team or network mentoring mixes a group of protégés with several mentors, a design that decreases the risk of a "poor match," distributes mentoring responsibilities and opportunities, provides protégés with the opportunity to learn from different styles, and decreases concerns about favoritism while increasing perceptions of fairness (Bauer, 1999). Selecting the format that best fits within the parameters of the system is a key factor in creating an ethical, successful program.

Recruitment/Selection

HRD's interventionist/advocate role continues as mentoring program participants are selected. Three focal points tap HRD expertise at this point in the process: determining selection criteria for mentors and protégés, setting realistic expectations for all involved, and matching potential protégés and mentors. Access to mentoring can make a significant difference in career opportunities (see e.g., Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998), so determination of selection criteria for protégés is an ethical as well as an equity issue. Inclusive criteria that fit the strategic goals of the organization will be critical in developing a program that upholds HRD's ethical responsibilities and fulfills expectations of organizational justice (Bauer, 1999; Scandura, 1997). Although access to power and availability traditionally have been major requirements for mentor selection, a selection process takes into account the myriad skills required to be a good mentor, including high ethical standards, competence in the industry, willingness to learn and teach, and communication skills (Allen & Poteet, 1999; Moberg & Velasquez, 2004). Allen and Poteet (1999) suggested using assessment instruments with documented validity to measure key characteristics sought in mentors.

Clarifying expectations at the recruitment stage is another ethical responsibility of HRD. Potential participants should be clear about the structure of the proposed mentoring relationship and the time commitment required. Formal mentoring relationships often are set for a 1- to 2-year time span, with the understanding that mentors and protégés may choose to continue beyond that point (Conway, 1995). During that specified period, regular mentor and protégé meetings are necessary for the relationship to be successful. In addition,

early in the process, all parties should be made aware of the mutual learning and influence potential in a productive mentoring relationship.

Studies on matching mentors and protégés are not definitive about a best method to bring the two groups together. Certainly, different processes will be effective depending on the structure of the mentoring relationships being created. Conway (1995) recommended a formal matching process implemented by HRD because it offers more safeguards and opportunities to diversify mentoring relationships than informal, “meet and greet” matching sessions where potential mentors and protégés gather to select one another. Use of interview or survey data addressing skills, needs, and expectations of both mentors and protégés can be an effective method to form initial mentoring relationships. Two caveats should be added to this general recommendation. First, to avoid ethical dilemmas resulting from multiple role conflict, mentors and protégés from the same functional unit (Conway, 1995; Scandura, 1998) should not be matched together unless there is a compelling reason to do so. Second, both mentors and protégés should have an option to leave the assigned relationship if the match is not compatible (Scandura, 1998).

Training

The mentoring relationship is a complex one, and the stakes are too high to leave success to chance; therefore, training is an essential factor in implementing an ethical and effective mentoring program. Training should encompass three key areas: performance expectations regarding the mentoring process, skills needed in the mentoring relationship, and knowledge regarding ethical concerns.

Just as in any position within the organization, there are performance expectations for mentors and protégés. To build successful mentoring relationships, training must focus on building awareness about appropriate mentoring behavior and clarifying expectations for the protégé-mentor relationship (Hegstad, 1999; Ragins et al., 2000). For example, mentors need to be aware of the multiple responsibilities they have agreed to take on as sponsor, teacher, learner, coach, or devil’s advocate, depending on the situation and the needs of protégés (Conway, 1995). Protégés need to be cognizant of their responsibilities to take an active part in the mentoring relationship rather than being passive recipients. Both groups need to understand the importance of building healthy mentoring relationships based on trust, honesty, and shared learning. Ragins and Scandura (1997) also suggested the importance of discussing the termination of the mentoring relationship to ensure a smooth outcome.

Not all mentors and protégés will enter the relationship with the skills and knowledge needed to successfully meet prescribed performance expectations. For example, Eby et al. (2000) found mentor competency was a major reason reported by protégés for dysfunctional mentoring relationships. Allen and

Poteet (1999) suggested training for mentors to counter deficiencies in skills or knowledge when candidates possess other key characteristics of a good mentor. Conducting a training needs assessment for mentors and protégés would help determine the skill base and knowledge desired for participants in each group. Depending on the experience level of mentors and protégés, training or coaching in active listening, conflict resolution, cultural diversity, team dynamics, or problem solving might be indicated.

Training for mentors and protégés also must include building awareness of potential ethical concerns in the mentoring relationship and providing guidelines for appropriate behavior to avoid ethical pitfalls. For example, Hurley and Fagenson-Eland (1996) cited the importance of training both mentors and protégés on sexual harassment to minimize concerns about sexual coercion due to power inequities. Just as professional ethical standards provide behavioral parameters for their constituents, mentoring programs should include clear ethical guidelines for mentors and protégés in both formal and informal relationships (Moberg & Velasquez, 2004). HRD professionals may find the Academy of Human Resource Development (1999) *Standards on Ethics and Integrity* a useful reference in establishing guidelines. Although these standards do not specifically address mentoring, recommendations are provided regarding HRD professionals’ relationships with others (e.g., sections on respecting others, nondiscrimination, confidentiality, and exploitative relationships). All six of the general principles listed in the standards can apply to mentoring relationships: competence, integrity, professional responsibility, respect for people’s rights and dignity, concern for others’ welfare, and social responsibility.

Perhaps it is in the training realm that HRD can be most helpful to those in informal mentoring relationships through disseminating information on ethical standards and best practices, inviting informal mentoring participants to training events, or distributing self-study materials. Individuals involved in informal mentoring may use this information to assess and enhance their relationships with or without additional HRD support.

Follow-up/Evaluation

HRD practitioners are familiar with the importance of an evaluation process. A key aspect often includes follow-up support for program participants. This is particularly important for assigned mentoring relationships, but it also may be helpful for those in informal mentoring interactions. HRD interventions should include setting periodic check-ins with mentors and protégés, identifying an advocate to address problems in relationships, providing updated skills training as needed, and supplying ongoing coaching to support ethical and productive interactions among mentors and protégés.

Good practice suggests that evaluation would assess if the mentoring program is fulfilling its goals and objectives. However, of concern here is the

Table 1: A summary of ethical issues in mentoring relationships

Ethical concern	Potential consequence	Human resource development's role
Cultural replication: Perpetuates existing power structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of independent cultures within the organization • May reinforce the "good-old-boy" network 	<p><i>Organizational analysis:</i> Assess organization's culture to ensure goals/purposes of formal mentoring programs are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ethical • beneficial to all parties • conducive to good organizational practice <p><i>Recruitment/selection:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use a selection process that ensures mentors/protégés have the skills and desire to enter into this relationship • Assist in the matching/pairing process; use selection processes that result in equitable access to mentors • Advocate for alternative forms of mentoring that will provide more opportunities for protégés to be mentored (e.g., peer, team, networks) <p><i>Training:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss dysfunctional mentoring behaviors in training and provide assistance in ways to detect when a relationship is becoming dysfunctional. <p><i>Follow-up/evaluation:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follow up with mentors and protégés through periodic meetings, interviews, and/or surveys to determine satisfaction and address issues that may arise; provide ongoing coaching support and training as needed
Access: Limited mentoring opportunities for some individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denial of an important development activity for underrepresented groups • Lack of this activity may lead to fewer opportunities for advancement, salary increases, and so on • Limited success of diversity goals in organizations 	
Power: The inherent imbalance of power found in this type of dyadic relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May result in dysfunctional behaviors such as overdependency, exploitation, sabotage, jealousy, violation of confidences, and harassment • Ultimately will result in lower relationship satisfaction. 	

assessment of ethical mentoring practice. Eby et al. (2000) recommended the use of survey feedback and upward appraisal systems as methods to monitor mentoring relationships. While gathering data on relationship satisfaction and development, some questions also should address specific ethical concerns. In addition, tracking organizational audits and archival data such as salary levels, promotions, and career opportunities can determine not only system results but also provide evidence to indicate the degree of inclusiveness and equitability of the mentoring program (Table 1).

Recommendations and Conclusion

Further exploration of ethical mentoring practice is needed to better prepare HRD professionals to address this issue through planning and intervention. Empirical research on power relationships in dyadic versus group mentoring and comparisons of mentoring programs that provide an ethical component in their training with those that do not would help build a base of knowledge that could be used to enhance the mentoring process. Hegstad and Wentling (2004) noted the need for studies that focus on evaluation of mentoring programs and on the cross-cultural aspect of mentoring. Both topics have implications for ethical practice. Mentoring programs should be evaluated from an ethical perspective. For example, pre- and post-organizational assessments can track career progress of protégés, observing how members of underrepresented groups fare compared to their majority counterparts. Cross-cultural influences on mentoring clearly involve ethical issues in terms of differing perspectives on and responses to power, cultural attitudes regarding mixed gender mentoring relationships, and culturally based beliefs regarding mentoring and development. Additional research addressing the ethical practice of mentoring would enhance knowledge regarding this issue as well as provide guidelines for program implementation.

This article addresses ethical issues in the mentoring process and offers some strategies to incorporate into mentoring endeavors within organizations. Given the time and emotional investment required of mentors and protégés and the potential consequences of a failed mentoring relationship, it is imperative that the ethical component of mentoring be explored in greater detail. There is a clear need for additional empirical research not only on ethics in mentoring but also on how HRD can intervene to ensure a more ethical and effective process.

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Gate-Keeper, Supervisor or Mentor?
The Role of Professional Bodies in the
Regulation and Professional Development
of Solicitors and Family Mediators
Undertaking Divorce Matters in England
and Wales

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Professional Regulation

The professions subconsciously or consciously inculcate certain values in their members in relation to acceptable approaches to the professional project (see Abel 1989a, p. 43). This is achieved in a number of different ways. Training and accreditation are vital parts of the professional project, ways in which to provide substantive knowledge, to develop skills and to shape the approach that new professionals will adopt in their practice. Professional bodies have an impact on the training regimes that their prospective members undertake; they either run or accredit training programmes that are a prerequisite to professional membership and practice. Accreditation may act as a means of supervising qualified professionals, or providing quality assurance mechanisms for specialist providers. It may perform a supervisory or a mentoring role. Training and accreditation requirements are obviously not determinative of behaviour; however, they do provide an insight into the issues

that the profession currently considers to be important to its members. There is an extensive literature on the role that legal education plays in shaping students' attitudes to the law and to legal practice, and by allusion it is possible to draw the conclusion that the professional bodies' training and accreditation requirements must provide an indication to students and to full members of the profession about the professional approach.¹ As Cavenagh *et al.* note:

A key dimension in becoming professional is the process of socialization . . . part of this socialization experience is the acquisition of a set of attitudes pertinent to the profession, and the aim of professional training is to achieve not only necessary knowledge and skills but to indoctrinate with the appropriate values and attitudes. (2000, p. 897)²

Pre-entry training and pre-qualification training have been considered in detail here, as a way to examine the professions' approaches to professional practice on divorce. There are difficulties, however, in considering training for solicitors and for family mediators for a number of reasons. The two 'professions' are not easily comparable, having very different roots and histories. Secondly, practitioners may be members of both professions, there is no bar to a solicitor being a family mediator, or a family mediator being a solicitor, and this cross-fertilisation makes it difficult to talk in absolute terms about a professional approach, although this is less of an issue at a macro level than a micro level. Cross-fertilisation of professional identity and approach at a micro level may, in time, affect the professional bodies' views of the professional approach. The more regularly members work with different professionals, the more likely they are to be influenced by their professional approaches. Indeed, four professional groupings were considered in the study, many of which have clear overlaps. The four groupings were: solicitor with no family law specialist status; family law accredited solicitor; family mediator regulated by the Law Society; and family mediator regulated by the College of Mediators. At any one time it would be possible to fall within three of those four groupings: as a solicitor who was or was not family law accredited, plus a family mediator regulated by the College and the Law Society as a member of both organisations.

There are also issues about the term 'profession' being applied to family mediation. Although there is insufficient space here to discuss this issue, family mediation is not currently a profession defined by statute, in contrast to the solicitors' profession. Thus the College of Mediators does not have the power to regulate entry into the profession in the same way as the Law Society has for solicitors.³ As Wilensky states:

Any occupation wishing to exercise professional authority must find a technical basis for it, assert an exclusive jurisdiction, link both skill and jurisdiction to standards of training, and convince the public that its services are uniquely trustworthy. While this traditional model of professionalism, based mainly on the 'free' professions of medicine and law, misses some

aspects of the mixed forms of control now emerging among salaried professionals, it still captures a distinction important for the organisation of work and for public policy. (Wilensky 1964, p. 138)

The College does set entry requirements for family mediators who want to claim College accreditation. Training providers who wish to provide training that leads to accreditation must adhere to their standards and training framework. Using Wilensky's model, the College is well on the way to becoming a fully fledged professional body, although it will have to claim an exclusive jurisdiction or a shared exclusive jurisdiction (for example along with the Law Society) to reach full professional standing. The Family Mediation Council may assist in this endeavour.

Method and Background

Previous research has been conducted on divorce, family solicitors and family mediators and their roles in the process of divorce. Research has encompassed the skills required by family solicitors and by family mediators to carry out their work effectively.⁴ Previous studies have tended to focus either on the role that family solicitors or family mediators perform in process terms, or on the outcome of their intervention. Others have looked at family mediation or family solicitors but have not compared the two directly.⁵ Some have carried out extensive empirical studies on what family mediators or family solicitors do.⁶ None has looked at the training, accreditation and codes of conduct of divorce solicitors and family mediators to examine what these say about the messages that the professional bodies in England and Wales transmit to their members about the appropriate professional approach.

This study relied heavily on documentary sources to draw conclusions by constructing a theory about what messages the two professions send to their members about the appropriate professional approach to divorce clients and divorce matters.⁷ All of the professional bodies' publicly available policy and regulatory documents on training, accreditation, codes of conduct and best practice requirements were analysed using a grounded theory method, to develop conceptual categories, conceptual theories and then a final grounded theory.⁸ The research in this article is centred on the policy and regulatory documents produced in respect of training and accreditation, although codes of conduct and best practice requirements were also analysed in the study. The training course requirements that were compared were those developed for students who had a prior undergraduate degree. Thus, the study considered the Law Society training requirements for entry into the solicitors' profession via the Graduate Diploma in Law (GDL) and the Legal Practice Course (LPC) plus additional post training requirements.⁹ This has been compared with the foundation or initial training required by the College of Mediators and the Law Society for entry into family mediation professional practice. The analysis has focused on: initial entry requirements and any further additional

entry requirements over and above an undergraduate degree; the content of the course in terms of the subjects covered and where possible the number of hours that are attributed to each subject; the skills that are taught during the course; the balance between skills and substantive knowledge; the mode of assessment; and the duration of the course.

The study also examined the accreditation requirements or the post-entry training and supervision requirements for full membership of the solicitors' profession (to reach 'solicitor of the Supreme Court of England and Wales' status) and of the family mediation profession (to reach full membership of the College of Mediators or practitioner members of the Family Mediation Panel of the Law Society of England and Wales). Trainee solicitors are not required to specialise prior to full solicitor status and therefore the requirements have been drawn as generic requirements rather than family law specific ones as family law is not a compulsory part of legal education pre-qualification. The College has set out its accreditation requirements for full family mediator membership of the College. These include further training, supervision and the number of hours of professional practice that must be undertaken prior to full status being granted. These were compared with the Law Society's requirements for practitioner status of the Family Mediation Panel.

An additional level of professional accreditation has also been analysed for solicitors as the Law Society has established the *Family Law Panel Accreditation Requirements* and the *Family Law Advanced Panel Accreditation Requirements* for solicitors who wish to be accredited family law practitioners, with the right to use the Law Society Panel logo on their documentation. The Law Society Family Mediation Panel does not have a tiered level, unless one were to count family mediation consultant status, which appears to be a teaching status rather than a senior mediation status, and thus has not been considered here. Equally, the level of professional practice consultant for the College of Mediators has not been considered as a separate level of expertise as the role is a supervisory and teaching role, rather than a status akin to an Advanced Panel role for family law solicitors. The Advanced Qualification in Mediation level was initially considered in this study as a separate level until it became clear that this level appeared to be a more detailed assessment of the family mediator's competence (with greater levels of experience required) rather than assessment against a new or higher skill set. The College's relatively recently introduced higher level 'recognised' family mediation status (introduced subsequent to the study) appears to be similarly drawn.

Professional Bodies' Requirements for Initial or Foundation Training

The professional bodies keep a watching brief on the content of the training programmes that provide the knowledge and skills they consider as a minimum requirement for entry into the profession. The professional bodies control, at

least in part, the content of initial training courses. They do not provide courses themselves; instead they accredit other course providers to run courses that meet the bodies' training standards. In a sense, the professional bodies act as gate-keepers of professional knowledge and skills in that they either directly or indirectly set the curriculum to which all members of the profession must be exposed, and in some cases on which they must be tested, in order to be admitted into the profession.

(1) Family Mediators

Family mediation has developed within individual professional bodies to meet the needs of their members and their professional ethos, as different bodies have traditionally had distinctive identities. Consequently there had been little attempt to standardise and regulate training programmes and qualifications until the advent of the College of Mediators and now the Family Mediation Council. Some of the previous bodies' practices have been continued in the criteria that have been developed by the College, were then taken into the Law Society's criteria and have been taken up by the Family Mediation Council. Other bodies are free to set their own standards for qualification, and offer their own mediation training programmes, although they must meet these minimum family mediator training requirements if they are to provide their students with equivalent status. Richards suggests that most initial mediation programmes consist of 40 hours of training leading to a mediation certificate, although there is a wide diversity of training programmes (Richards 1997, p. 204). These reflect affiliations with the Law Society and the College, in order that their trainees may attain accredited status from one or both of these bodies.¹⁰ The College of Mediators sets requirements for the foundation training course that prospective family mediators must undertake prior to applying to the College for 'associate' professional status and then full 'standard' professional status; although with the advent of the Family Mediation Council many course providers are now seeking accreditation by the Council rather than by the Law Society and the College separately.¹¹

The Law Society also sets the training parameters for 'their' family mediators who wish to meet the professional entry-level 'general' status and then full practitioner membership. The Family Mediation Training Standards are set as competencies rather than as content-based requirements. The training is structured to follow three stages of mediation, before, during and after the mediation and is broken down into the elements that make up each of these stages and the skills and knowledge requirements for each. The training standards are expressed in a 'students will be able to' form, in other words, they are outcome based. Commentary is provided to enumerate the issues and the theories that students should be aware of and understand. The training standards are extremely detailed in terms of the content and outcomes, but do

not explain how the material is to be delivered or how the student mediators are to be assessed. This stands in stark contrast to the College of Mediators' best practice for training courses. These standards set out the issues that must be dealt with in the curriculum and how the training is to be conducted in terms of quality-assurance requirements for the trainers, but it is not expressed in an outcome-orientated manner and is not as detailed as that for the Law Society. Again, the role of the Family Mediation Council means that training providers are seeking Council accreditation, although six training providers have Law Society approved status.

(2) Solicitors

The Law Society of England and Wales sets the parameters of training for prospective solicitors. There is no one route to becoming a solicitor, nor is there a discrete group of family solicitors who are required to undertake specific family law training pre-qualification. Instead, all solicitors follow seven core subjects either through an undergraduate qualifying law degree route, which is usually referred to as a Bachelor of Laws (LLB), or the Graduate Diploma in Law route (GDL). On successful completion, students will then move on to their one-year, full-time or two-year, part-time LPC course, to finish their pre-training-contract training followed by the two-year training contract, which must include successful completion of the Professional Skills Course (PSC). It has been argued by family mediators that family mediator training tends to be post-graduate study and not undergraduate study, more akin to the GDL, and that trainee family mediators will be admitted on to a course if they have a relevant degree qualification or sufficient experience in a related field to be considered as equivalent.¹² As a result, and because GDL training is more standardised than undergraduate law programmes, the GDL was selected as the training comparator for the purposes of this study.

The GDL/LPC route appeared to be the fairest comparison with family mediation training as both may be undertaken by those who hold an undergraduate degree in another discipline. At the time of the research there were 40 institutions accredited by the Law Society (and Bar Council) to offer the GDL, and 33 institutions accredited by the Law Society to provide the Legal Practice Course at the time of the study.¹³ Of these, 26 are university-based courses and a further seven branches are non-university course providers.¹⁴ Eight institutions had been accredited by the Law Society to provide the Professional Skills Course as well, which must be undertaken during the training contract.¹⁵ Consequently, there are multiple course providers which are all governed by the training requirements set by the Law Society.

It is possible for a divorce solicitor to practise in the area of divorce law without having studied family law either on the GDL or the LPC. Family law is an optional subject in the curriculum rather than a core, although most

undergraduate programmes would consider family law as a staple subject even though it is not a compulsory one. Academic family law is also difficult to define as family law courses vary considerably from law school to law school and cover a wide range of public and private law issues.¹⁶ Family law would not generally be offered on the GDL as the timetable is dominated by the compulsory modules. Many LPC courses do offer family law as an optional subject, and solicitors who were planning to practise in this area on completion of the LPC would normally be expected by their destination firm to have family law on their curriculum vitae. That does not prevent solicitors from entering the profession without family law qualifications or experience.¹⁷ It could be argued that the general legal principles that they will use within family law practice will be similar to other areas of law that they have studied, as is argued in relation to transferable skills teaching elsewhere.¹⁸ Others have argued that family law is distinctive, and must be taught in a distinctive way that takes in to account the difficulty of applying generalised law to highly individualised and personal situations.¹⁹ Either way, all solicitors will have studied the seven foundations of legal knowledge and will have followed the core elements of the LPC and PSC.²⁰ These core subjects were compared, as the solicitor training, against those for family mediators, as were family law or family mediation based options where extant.

The content of the education and training regulations for the three training regimes has revealed the conceptual categories as indicated in Table 1.²¹

Comparisons

What conclusions may be drawn from the messages that are transmitted by the professional bodies to would-be solicitors and family mediators? The training for would-be solicitors appears to broaden and deepen students' legal knowledge and to provide and develop the skills they need to be able to use substantive knowledge. Skills development also focuses on interpersonal skills to enhance the solicitor-client relationship, although there is no overt skills training in how to assist a client towards making decisions that lead to instructions to the solicitor. In other words, it is assumed that the client will be able to take the information and advice given to him or her by the solicitor and then formulate appropriate instructions for the solicitor to act on. This does not appear to represent the reality of family legal practice. Previous research indicates that solicitors try to steer their clients towards appropriate settlements and to raise or lower their expectations, while taking into account the needs of any dependants such as children (Davis *et al.*, 1994, p. 46: see Chapter 3 – 'The Parties Views of Justice'). However, this is not present within the core of legal training, whereas advocacy and litigation skills are present. Negotiation skills are also not core skills at LPC level as evidenced in the training documentation. This provides some evidence for the proposition

Table 1

Solicitor	Law society accredited family mediator	College accredited (family) mediator
Professional gate-keeping and the maintenance of standards. Selection of possible members of the profession on the grounds of:		
Potential ability followed by benchmarked level of competence in law and skills	Solicitor qualification and inclination to mediate	Appropriate family mediator beliefs and values
Active partisan problem-solver	The professional's role: Actively informed consensus solution-facilitator	Active consensus solution-facilitator
Partisan, protector and problem-solver	The professional's approach: Actively impartial non-directive facilitator	Passively impartial and fair facilitator
The role of legal and non-legal norms in decision-making and how these should be used to reach a settlement or determine an appropriate order: The framework or the legal back-stop	Assessed attributes that indicate a competent professional: The framework or the legal back-stop A family law expert, competent, fair, legally acceptable consensual solution-facilitator	One possible framework A competent, fair, impartial, consensual solution-facilitator

that solicitors are trained to practise in the shadow of litigation, even if they do not take cases on to court. Solicitors are taught to be analytical problem solvers, to use the totality of their skills and their knowledge to provide a solution that the client is able to accept. Teaching is within the context of the norm of partisanship. The solicitor is trained to be the client's champion, who will protect the client from inappropriate demands from the other person or people involved in the matter.

Family mediator training appears to inculcate key values and principles into students, even though potential family mediators are selected on the basis of having appropriate values (in the context of selection using the College of Mediators' criteria). Subsequent training is values and skills-based rather than knowledge-based. Facilitation skills are the key to assisting clients in reaching their own decisions; however, there is no normative structure within which clients should reach an appropriate agreement. The training literature reinforces the impartiality of the family mediator and the need to redress power imbalances. It does provide some training in relevant legal norms and the Law Society family mediation training highlights the need for a family mediator to terminate mediation in certain situations. However, the training documentation does not grapple with the issue of when a mediator should intervene in the decision-making process to ensure that the needs of one of the couple are brought to the fore, or when the needs of the children should be taken into account by the couple, nor when an agreement is not an agreement that could in any way be described as fair. There is evidence within the literature to support the proposition that family mediators adopt a consensus-based approach to practice, however, the literature stays silent about when a family mediator must intervene to prevent a *prima facie* consensual settlement that is manifestly unfair for one of the parties or for the children. This goes to the heart of the distinction between information giving and advising, which appears to be the crux of the difference between family mediation and solicitor approaches to divorce.

Accreditation and Professional Standards

Professional bodies have an interest in monitoring professional standards post-qualification and requiring professionals to undertake updating and refresher training. As Laster and Taylor comment:

Professions distinguish themselves by claiming competence in certain skills not possessed by others. Guaranteeing professional competence is an important way of gaining legitimacy for a profession. Thus professionals ensure that incompetent members are penalised, so as not to undermine the standing of their professional peers. Competence is 'created' through formal training and accreditation. (Laster and Taylor 1994, p. 208)

They may also set higher levels of accreditation to denote specialist skill and substantive knowledge in a smaller cadre of professionals. Abel argues that professional bodies construct the professional commodity. Consequently, they must require certain basic values, skills and knowledge from their members in order to maintain, and in a competitive situation, advance the profession. This is certainly an issue in respect of divorce services, as divorce solicitors are now vying with family mediators in relation to public funding of legally aided divorce dispute settlement. As Abel states, '[p]rofessions produce services rather than goods . . . Service providers confront two distinct problems in particularly acute form. First, the consumer must value the producer's services . . . Second, consumers must be convinced they cannot produce the services themselves' (Abel 1989b, p. 18). Couples are permitted by law to reach their own divorce settlements and do not need to use the services of a solicitor or family mediator to do so. Therefore, professionals must point to their rigorous training and accreditation requirements, including regular updating and monitoring or reaccreditation, to indicate that their professional project is an important one that takes years to learn, and which provides a service far superior to anything a lay person would be able to achieve themselves, or with the assistance of a non-expert.

Reaccreditation, Professions and Professional Capture

Abel further suggests that professions must also market expertise – art and technical ability – and must continue to reinvent themselves in order to maintain their professional commodity (Abel 1989b). Interestingly, the Law Society reinvented itself vis-à-vis family mediation and the College of Mediators has reinvented itself from a focus on family mediation to having a broader remit in relation to mediation more generally. Accreditation and reaccreditation requirements may play a role in this. Accreditation standards allow the professional body the opportunity to set the entry-level qualifications for its new members, and provide a tiered competence level for more experienced staff. However, accreditation requirements alone will only assist bodies with new recruits to the profession, or members seeking to move between recognised tiered levels of expertise. These standards will not address continuing technical ability of existing members, nor provide a vehicle for professional bodies to refocus the skills and knowledge of their established professional members to develop or model the professional project. Reaccreditation and continuing professional development requirements provide this function. Professional bodies may also attempt to maintain the competence of their profession by setting continuing professional requirements and periodic renewal of membership to ensure that messages they have sent about professional approaches are reinforced throughout professional practice. They may argue that continuing professional development promotes professional development and reflection,

just as initial training provides substantive knowledge and skills development. This inculcates professionals with a sense of profession and identity, which may also result in a particular professional approach being adopted by members.

The professional accreditation requirements set by the solicitor and family mediation professions are greater than would be needed for the purposes of marketing a service. Abel argues that the detailed content of education and training is far greater than is necessary for a professional to be competent. He states that: 'To the extent that mandatory education serves a purpose other than market control, it confers status through the association of the university with high culture, socialises entrants to their professional roles, and provides warrants of loyalty and discipline' (Abel 1989b). Continuing professional development would appear to take this a stage further, socialising professionals but also highlighting the importance of the knowledge and skills that solicitors and family mediators need to refresh, in order to retain professional status. This in turn suggests that professional bodies also have some influence over their members as a result of professional requirements and standards, otherwise over a period of time the profession's marketing would be discredited and the professional commodity devalued.

Abbot argues that professionalisation is not a linear development and that in reality professions organise themselves and control and influence their members in order to retain a 'heartland jurisdiction', which they will defend in the face of competition from other areas of professional practice (Abbot 1988). Laster further argues that lawyers defend themselves by persuading the public of their specialist knowledge and skills as well as their commitment to the public through altruistic ideals (Laster 2001, pp. 19–20). This is evidenced by the accreditation requirements they set, including the technical and values-based norms of the given profession. In the face of competition from family mediators, which have been viewed as less intimidating, more responsive and less expensive in the media and parliamentary debates at the time of the passage of the Family Law Bill, the Law Society has sought to distinguish between its generalist solicitors and its family law specialists, while family mediators have retained a distinctive identity, a step apart from other types of mediators.²²

Specialist Status

In response, or at least subsequent to this move by the Law Society, the College of Mediators introduced an advanced family mediation qualification in 2004 (AQM), which seeks to recognise family mediators who have more extensive post-qualification experience (at least 80 hours of mediation experience, making up at least 20 mediation cases in the previous three years). These mediators have been assessed against the College criteria via a taped practice mediation session, an assessed 3000-word essay on an approved family mediation topic and an assessment of competence at this level by a professional practice

consultant, as at the time of the study. However, further detail was not provided about the criteria against which the family mediator was to be judged and, on this basis, even though it is billed as an advanced qualification akin to a specialist qualification, it does not appear to involve greater specialism but rather a more detailed assessment of competence. Solicitors too have sought to position themselves not only as solicitors but also as family mediators. This could be further evidence of professional realignment or, as Dingwall argues, of professional capture.²³ The distinctions drawn between different groupings appear to have been accelerated by the Law Society, not as a result of individual members' decisions.

Weber argues that competitive advantage is one of the keys to a successful profession and that 'Market competition constructs categories of adversaries within classes . . . Professions are distinguished by the strategies of social closure they use to enhance their market chance . . .'.²⁴ In other words, professional bodies have an interest in extolling the virtues of their members in contrast to other occupations or professions that may be permitted to offer their services to a similar client group. There is some evidence as discussed by Dingwall that this strategy may be operating within the divorce services sector.²⁵ At a time when family mediation was marketing itself as a family-focused rather than a generalist service for couples with specific needs, the Law Society introduced a specialist Family Law Panel with two tiers of membership, aimed predominantly at clients undergoing separation and divorce. Equally, it could be argued that the professional bodies for family mediators were marketing the benefits of mediation over legal assistance, for couples going through divorce and relationship breakdown. The rhetoric focused on consensual decision-making in place of adversarial partisanship (see for example, National Family Mediation 2004), from the mediator organisations, and expert legal help and protection of legal and financial interests over non-expert decision-making.²⁶ The messages were stark and oversimplified, but had the hallmarks of social closure for market advantage, as well as being genuinely held ideological differences between professions.

The professional bodies set similar structural conditions for membership, which are the hallmarks of most professions. They require members to have met certain entry criteria, by undertaking accredited training. They require them to have had a certain amount of practical experience before conferring qualified status on them. They both require some level of supervision or monitoring of the quality of members' work before attaining full membership status; they also require references or signatures by more senior staff to vouch for the ability of the trainee. Finally, they both require reaccreditation or renewal of membership subject to continuing professional development conditions, as well as payment of a fee. Table 2 provides a summary of the concepts revealed by the analysis of the regulatory and policy documents for solicitors, accredited family solicitors, Law Society and College of Mediators.

Table 2

Solicitor	Accredited family solicitor	Law society accredited family mediator	College accredited (family) mediator
Professional bodies' membership levels and renewal requirements – meeting the standard and maintaining the standard	Professional bodies' membership levels and renewal requirements – meeting the standard and maintaining the standard	Professional bodies' membership levels and renewal requirements – meeting the standard and maintaining the standard	Professional bodies' membership levels and renewal requirements – meeting the standard and maintaining the standard
Pre-admission assessment after long-term training and socialisation with no reaccreditation	Expert professional assessment with periodic reaccreditation with minimum practice requirements	Professional oversight and endorsement and a minimum number of mediations undertaken with periodic reaccreditation or renewal	Professional oversight and endorsement and a minimum number of mediations undertaken with periodic reaccreditation or renewal
The need for a minimum level of knowledge requirements, professional practice and/or experience, which defines the sphere of expertise	The need for a minimum level of knowledge requirements, professional practice and/or experience, which defines the sphere of expertise	The need for a minimum level of knowledge requirements, professional practice and/or experience, which defines the sphere of expertise	The need for a minimum level of knowledge requirements, professional practice and/or experience, which defines the sphere of expertise
Extensive pre-admittance experience	Extensive and continuing specialist experience	Some continuing experience (as solicitor, CPD must also be undertaken)	Minimal continuing experience
The demonstration of professional standards to senior professional members, to provide a professional recommendation of suitability to practise	The demonstration of professional standards to senior professional members, to provide a professional recommendation of suitability to practise	The demonstration of professional standards to senior professional members, to provide a professional recommendation of suitability to practise	The demonstration of professional standards to senior professional members, to provide a professional recommendation of suitability to practise
Continual assessment during training, no post-admittance monitoring	Benchmarked experience with detailed academic assessment of knowledge	Recommendation by other professionals	Informed recommendation by family mediators
A set of minimum knowledge requirements, which defines the sphere of professional expertise	A set of minimum knowledge requirements, which defines the sphere of professional expertise	A set of minimum knowledge requirements, which defines the sphere of professional expertise	A set of minimum knowledge requirements, which defines the sphere of professional expertise
Transactional, negotiation-based practice within a business context	In-depth family law knowledge, adherence to reflexive, family-focused practice with knowledge of mediation	Continued assessment against the initial training mediation value-based criteria	Continued assessment against the initial training mediation value-based criteria
Continuing professional development, which the professions use to keep control of the knowledge base	Continuing professional development, which the professions use to keep control of the knowledge base	Continuing professional development, which the professions use to keep control of the knowledge base	Continuing professional development, which the professions use to keep control of the knowledge base
Annual updating and refreshing	Annual updating and refreshing in a specialism	Additional family mediation updating and refreshing	Reflexive practice with refresher training

The rules that have been laid down by the professional bodies for admission to the professional Roll or Register provide some clues about the nature of professional practice in respect of a professional approach. They provide insight into the issues that the professional bodies wish to place firmly on the agenda for their professionals, for clients and potential clients and for the wider public and regulatory frameworks. All bodies stipulate that those wishing to become professionals must have completed a period of approved training, thus requiring all who wish to attain membership through this status to have undertaken a prescribed curriculum. All potential members must have had their competence assessed and have been graded as at least competent at each of the identified training components. All must have completed a minimum period of vocational experience and have been supervised or observed during that period. It is important for both professional bodies to control membership to their organisations and to exercise continued control. It is also important to them that their professionals are seen as current in their professional expertise and that they have been assessed by another professional or they have been overseen by another professional who has vouched for their abilities.

Gate-Keeper, Mentor or Supervisor?

Solicitors are required to continue in their practice as they were taught in their classroom-based courses and socialised by their supervisors in their training contract. There is a requirement that they refresh their knowledge and skills through CPD, but it is up to the solicitor to select the courses they wish to attend from a wide array of those on offer in the legal sector. Family mediators who are members of the Law Society Panel will undertake their CPD to be a solicitor but also undertake family mediation CPD as well. They also have to reapply for selection to the Panel periodically. This challenges them to reflect on their professional practice and it is likely that their approach to being both a solicitor and a family mediator will be influenced, at least to some extent, by their membership of two different professions. Accreditation does not require them to learn new skills or to demonstrate vast tracts of substantive knowledge, unlike the status of Family Law Panel membership and advanced membership for specialist family solicitor status. Family Law Panel members are required to have the characteristics of solicitors but also to adopt a conciliatory approach to family law matters, including alternative modes of resolving disputes if appropriate, which brings their professional approach closer to the approach that has been identified as consensus-based rather than adversarial. Family Law Panel members *do* maintain their partisan stance, but attempt to use that role, along with the solicitor for the other member of the couple, to broker a settlement that they and their clients consider to be appropriate.

The accreditation requirements set by the Law Society and the College reflect their view of their role. The Law Society appears to regard its role as

a gate-keeper, a body to ensure that those who wish to receive the status of full membership – regardless of whether this is solicitor or Law Society family mediator status – meet a minimum standard of competence to be assessed in detail against specific outcome-based criteria. Once a professional is admitted to full membership, scrutiny of competence is left to the profession itself – the Law Society does not require further evidence of competence. The exception to this is specialist accreditation to the Family Law Panel for solicitors wishing to be recognised as family law members and advanced members. Those solicitors who wish to attain specialist status must resubmit to assessment every five years. As much of the assessment is knowledge based, and the law changes at a rapid rate, it could be argued that resubmission to assessment is a necessary condition of continued specialist status and the continued endorsement of the Law Society, although it is not within usual Law Society practice for non-specialist solicitors. The College appears to regard its role as a continuing one, more as the supervisor of its members than a gate-keeper. This may reflect the fact that the College is of relatively recent inception and it oversees a relatively new profession without a large, established and competitive market. Accreditation requirements for family mediators are set at a relatively low level in some respects – professional experience is measured in hours rather than in days, but again this may reflect the lack of a developed market, rather than an unwillingness to set stringent standards. Instead, the College compensates for this low experience requirement with an ongoing surveillance of members. This surveillance is part a check on continued competence, and part an ongoing mentoring role. It will be interesting to examine whether, in time, the College adopts a role more akin to that of gate-keeper than supervisor, as the market develops and the profession matures, and whether the Law Society will follow suit in relation to its regulation of solicitors who are also Law Society-accredited family mediators. It may be that the inception of the Family Mediation Council, which has brought the two professional bodies under one umbrella, has created a disincentive for either body to attempt to distinguish its members from other family mediators operating under the Council's auspices. However, it is clear that in a divorce context, the messages that are being transmitted are clearly consensual rather than adversarial, even though there are obvious differences in relation to partisan and neutral stances as between solicitors and family mediators. In this regard, it could be argued that the accepted professional settlement norms for family legal practice and family mediation practice are closer than much of the literature would appear to suggest.

Notes

1. For a discussion see Menkel-Meadow (1991, p. 3).
2. See too *The Royal Commission on Legal Services Final Report Volume One Cmnd 7648* (1979) for a discussion of the key indicators of a profession.

3. On this basis there is an argument about the extent to which the UKCFM is a professional body regulating a profession (family mediation). For a discussion of professionalisation and the development of professions, see Wilensky (1964, p. 137); see further Friedson (1994). For an applied discussion in relation to solicitors and family mediation see Brain (1994, p. 193); and in respect of the professionalisation of family mediation in the US see Barrett (1996, p. 617), Carey (1996, p. 635), Russell (1996, p. 613), Spiegelman (1996, p. 677) and Harper (1997, p. 687). For a discussion of the market in privately funded family mediation in England and Wales see Head *et al.* (2006, p. 8). For a discussion of publicly funded work see the National Audit Office and Legal Services Commission (2007).
4. For family solicitors' skills, see Sherr *et al.* (1995). See Haynes and Roberts (1988, pp. 144–149) in relation to family mediators.
5. See Davis *et al.* (2000) for a detailed consideration of family mediators in the context of legal aid work.
6. See Eekelaar *et al.* (2000) for a detailed consideration of the role and approach of family law solicitors, as well as Ingelby (1988). See too Davis (1988) for a comparison of solicitors and mediators in the context of divorce, researched at a micro level.
7. Documents in force and as extant at the 31 December 2006.
8. A full list of documents considered in the research may be found at Webley (2008).
9. The Law Society's Annual Statistical Report 2006 notes that during 2005–2006, 3791 new admissions to the Roll were law graduates, 1158 were non-law graduates who had taken the CPE/GDL prior to the LPC, and the remainder came via other routes such as overseas lawyers, barristers etc. (see Law Society of England and Wales 2007, p. 50).
10. The Legal Services Commission also acts as a 'passporting' body for the purposes of assessing family mediation competence in relation to publicly funded family mediation.
11. Subsequently, this has changed to two approved foundation courses: Hertfordshire Family Mediation and Key Mediation; and recognition has been granted to courses by ADR Group, National Family Mediation and Resolution.
12. See Webley (2008) for further details.
13. The figures have subsequently changed as at 15 October 2007 to 28 institutions providing courses in 35 LPC locations; 25 of these are university based: see www.lawsociety.org.uk/becomingasolicitor/qualifying/legalpracticecourse/courseproviders.law for details.
14. See The Law Society, *LPC Provider Introduction* [online], available from: www.lawsoc.org.uk/dcs/fourth_tier.asp?section_id=4543.
15. The PSC provider figures have also changed slightly since the time of the research. As at 8 November 2007, there were seven institutions providing the PSC, in 59 locations: see www.lawsociety.org.uk/documents/downloads/becomingpsceexternalproviders.pdf, version of 26 February 2007 Education and Training Unit, The Law Society 2007.
16. See Burton *et al.* (1999). The authors suggest that family law is a relatively new subject as far as the undergraduate curriculum is concerned, with the introduction of the first textbook in 1957 by Peter Bromley. Having said that they also point to the Faculty of Law King's College centenary of family law collection of essays in 1957, which may counter this view. See p. 27 for details.
17. The Law Society does have an accreditation scheme for family solicitors through the Family Law Panel. This is discussed in chapter 5 as the level of entry related to a solicitor with post-qualification experience rather than at trainee solicitor or recently qualified solicitor level, which is the subject of this chapter.
18. This is certainly the argument put forward by the QAA as regards general transferable skills in their benchmarking standards (see QAA 2000).
19. For a discussion of training and family lawyer behaviour, see Fritze-Shanks (1989, p. 202).

20. With a limited number of exceptions, for example, for fully qualified foreign lawyers.
21. For an explanation of how these codes were developed, see Webley (2008) for further details.
22. Non-family mediators are now organising themselves into a separate umbrella body, the Civil Mediation Council, which is seeking to establish itself as a professional body for mediators in the civil field in a similar way as the College of Mediators did approximately 10 years previously.
23. See Dingwall (1999, p. 131); and see further Dingwall and Fenn (1987, p. 51).
24. See Weber (1964); for a discussion see Abel (1989b, pp. 34–39).
25. See Dingwall (1999, p. 131); and see further Dingwall and Fenn (1987, p. 51).
26. See further Law Society (1994); for a discussion of the debates at that time, see Day Sclater (1995).

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Training Mentors – Behaviors Which Bring Positive Outcomes in Mentoring

Robert Garvey and Gunnela Westlander

Introduction

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section provides a brief history of mentoring. This demonstrates the historical antecedents of mentoring and helps to explain the current understanding of mentoring. In the second section we offer an overview of how mentors' contributions and needs are described in mentoring research and discuss the research on training courses tailor-made for mentors. It describes how they are designed, and what and who are they aimed at. The third section asks how we know what is going on in mentor education. It addresses this question by exploring the research and evaluation data. The fourth section explores practitioner expert opinion on mentor education. It explores the following questions: What does the term "expert" mean? What behaviors bring positive outcome in mentoring as presented by "expert" opinion. The final section looks at recent developments in mentor education, including the use of technology and offers a curriculum for mentor education. We then conclude with a summary and a concluding position.

A Brief History of Mentoring

The first mentor was the Goddess Athena in Homer's epic poem *The Odyssey*. Athena took the form of Mentor, the trusted friend and adviser to Odysseus

Source: Jonathan Passmore, David B. Peterson and Teresa Freire (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell Handbook of the Psychology of Coaching and Mentoring* (First Edition) (London, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 243–265.

and worked with Telemachus, the King's son. Athena, in the guise of Mentor, helped Telemachus to learn how to become a king. Her method was essentially experiential learning, dialogue, and reflection.

The mentoring theme was much later developed by Fénelon (1699), tutor to Louis XIV's heir, in his seminal work *Les Aventures de Télémaque*. This is a case history of human development which demonstrates that life's events are potential learning experiences. Fénelon shows us that the activity of observing others provides both positive and negative learning opportunities. He suggests that if these events are fully explored with the support and guidance of a mentor, the learner acquires a high-level understanding of "the ways of the world" very quickly. Fénelon implied that leadership could be developed through guided experience and Louis XIV viewed this as a challenge to the divine right of kings and consequently banished Fénelon to Cambrai and cancelled his pension.

In France in 1762, Rousseau, probably the founder of the notion of "experiential learning," produced the educational treatise *Emile*. Rousseau was profoundly influenced by Fénelon's work and *Emile*, the central character, receives a copy of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* as a guide to his developmental journey. Telemachus is thus employed as a metaphor for learning, growth, and social development.

In 1759, Caraccioli wrote *Veritable le Mentor ou Peducation de la noblesse* and it was translated into English in 1760 to become 'The true mentor, or, an essay on the education of young people in fashion'. Caraccioli acknowledges Fénelon's influence on his work as he describes mentoring from the perspective of the mentor. He invites the reader to engage in what we now understand as holistic learning, where the rational and the affective are brought together. This could be regarded as the precursor to the idea of emotional intelligence found in current discourses in mentoring.

Two volumes of the publication *The Female Mentor* by Honoria appeared in the English language in 1793, with a third volume in 1796. Honoria acknowledges Fénelon's influence and provides a recording of conversations about topics of interest among a group of women referred to as "the society". She identifies and describes the characteristics of the female mentor, not as the substance of the book but rather as a commentary and series of asides made throughout the volumes. The mentor, Amanda, seemed to have been a role model for "the society".

These historical writings position mentoring as an educational activity, involving experience and dialogue with the purpose of the mentee learning and developing. These links are maintained in modern writing and the US researcher, Kathy Kram, for example, suggests that mentoring performs a "psychosocial" function (Kram, 1983). Here the mentee is socialized into a specific social context and develops self-insight and psychological well-being through dialogue with an experienced person.

Today, mentoring is found in a range of occupational and social settings. Allen and Eby (2007) argue that when reviewing mentoring research it can sometimes be difficult to assess if the researchers are actually looking at the same thing. They argue that when trying to define mentoring it is necessary to take into account the following:

- Variations in the social contexts
- The formality of the arrangements
- The differences of intention of the organization and the participants
- The expectations of the participants, stakeholders and the organization
- Relationship dynamics (Allen and Eby, 2007).

It is also clear that there are different models of mentoring in use around the world, particularly in the business context. Clutterbuck (2004) suggests that there are two purposes for mentoring, the US "career sponsorship" model and the European "developmental" model. American research (Allen, *et al.*, 2004; Carden, 1990; Ragins, 1989, 1994; Ragins and Cotton, 1999; Ragins and Scandura, 1999) shows that sponsorship mentoring can bring many benefits for mentee, mentor, and their host organization. For example enhanced:

- Career progression and knowledge development
- Emotional stability and problem solving ability
- Decision making, creativity, and opportunity
- Leadership abilities, organizational morale, and productivity

However, these authors also note that due to inherent power dynamics within sponsorship schemes there is the potential for relationships to become abusive or to breakdown.

Clutterbuck (2004), Garvey (1995) and Rix and Gold (2000) show that developmental schemes offer similar benefits to the sponsorship model with fewer of the negative effects. Therefore, in this section, we have attempted to keep the contexts of the research clear because, as Bruner (1990), a social constructivist psychologist, asserts, it is only really possible to understand human activities if the context in which they happen is also understood.

History shows us that mentoring is a natural and human activity and therefore anyone has the potential to engage in mentoring; however, most writers now suggest that it is also possible to learn how to mentor. Certainly, within formal mentoring schemes, which attempt to replicate the benefits of natural or informal relationships, Megginson *et al.* (2005), Klasen and Clutterbuck (2002), and Allen *et al.*, (2006a, b), for example, recommend and show that mentors should be trained and we raise the question: "So what should inform the training design?"

The Research

The following is an overview of selected empirical studies about mentoring. These are mostly published in international scientific journals or book chapters and a few are taken from PhD theses. The context of our selected research includes professional, educational (schools and higher education), business, and health settings with various occupations. This suggests that mentorship is a widely applied form of support. Researchers often derive data about mentoring activity by asking the mentees about their mentors, the mentors about what they feel they have done or by asking both parties.

In mentoring research the most common used methods include:

- Large group questionnaire studies
- Smaller group questionnaire studies (about 30 people)
- Combined questionnaire and interview studies
- Small scale in-depth semi-structured interviews

Less common methods include:

- Focus group studies
- Ideographic case studies

University Academic Staff

One study defined a mentor as, “an advisor whose guidance focuses on professional issues” and a role model as, “a person who provides an example in a broader context that includes both professional and personal aspects of life” (Levinson *et al.*, 1991, p. 423). They found that having a mentor was linked to:

- Help with research efforts
- Salary benefits
- Gaining time for research
- Encouragement
- Emotional support

Mentoring also correlated with increased research outputs.

However, they also found that having a role model was more associated with life satisfaction and the role model offered more help with personal issues than a mentor.

Pololi and Knight (2005) found that a lack of access to mentors can hinder faculty scholarly productivity and may result in attrition from academia. Their study, within a formal dyadic mentoring program found that some mentees

reported that their mentors were inspiring, supportive, and provided psychosocial career support (Kram, 1983). They note that senior people as mentors recognized the benefits of peer support for themselves, but not peer support among lower grades of academics, despite this group benefiting from peer support.

Steiner *et al.* (2004) found that some mentees sought a “caring” mentor which suggests supportiveness. Other mentees reported that their mentors were superficial, exploitive, mediocre or non-existent, with some reporting that the mentoring felt “forced”. Steiner *et al.* (2004) also found that the lack of availability of mentors, sometimes due to time constraints, raised problems for mentees and that the mentor’s “good reputation” was an important element for mentees.

Higher Education Students

Clark *et al.* (2000) identified the students’ perceived benefits of having a mentor in rank order as follows:

- Providing education and training
- Offering support and encouragement
- Acting as a role model

Ninety-one percent evaluated the mentor relationship positively and they cited 1675 positive and negative qualities observed in their mentors. The six most commonly cited were, in rank order:

- Supportive
- Intelligent
- Knowledgeable
- Ethical
- Caring
- Humorous

Clearly, there are some resonances with the findings above, but the career functions do not seem to feature very highly. Lindgren (2000) offers further support for these findings by noting that mentors seemed to contribute to the doctoral students’ developing:

- Self-confidence
- Self-esteem
- Self-awareness

The degree of improvement among the mentees was variable, but both mentors and mentees agreed about *how* the mentees had developed.

In Lindén *et al.* (in press), the issue of “mutuality” within mentoring is raised. Their findings show that the degree of mutuality or reciprocal learning varied and explained this in terms of:

- Different structures of doctoral supervision
- Participation or not in a formal mentoring program
- Access to informal mentors

This study found that “task” learning rather than personal learning was more the norm.

Feiman-Nemser *et al.* (1994; reprinted 2005) in a study of trainee teachers and their mentors found that:

- Mentors dominated the conversation
- Mentors gave praise but without explaining why
- There was no learning about the rationale and sources of mentor’s ideas

The paper shows that the training for mentors focused on “technical activity” or “a procedural knowledge derived from research” (p. 6) and the wisdom of practice was downplayed.

In Bray and Nettleton (2007) the mentees were nurses, midwives, and medical doctors in their final training. The researchers looked at the various possible roles and functions of the mentor. In particular:

- Adviser
- Trainer or teacher
- Counsellor
- Supporter
- Role model
- Assessor

The authors found that both mentors and mentees had similar opinions, with the roles of “teacher” and “supporter” being the most important. The assessor role was more often mentioned as the most difficult to understand and perform and mentors who had the dual role of assessor and mentor found them conflicting.

In Schools

The introduction of mentoring in schools is widespread across Europe and the United States. It is often employed as a means to prevent turnover among the teachers in their first jobs. Classroom teaching is often solitary work and a minor part of the working time is devoted to communication and collaboration with other colleagues. Therefore, professional support is a key issue and much

research in this area is driven by the question: “Are mentoring programs useful in their efforts to make beginning teachers motivated to stay in their jobs?”

Ingersoll and Kralik (2004) reviewed hundreds of studies on this issue and it was difficult to find clear common features other than, “some empirical support for the claim that assistance for new teachers in form of mentor support have positive impact on teachers and their retention” (p. 14). Lindgren (2003, 2006) found that the mentors offered opportunities to discuss the teacher role in situations with students and parents; they also got advice about handling conflict and lesson planning. Lindgren concludes that the mentors’ contributions involved a mix of professional and educational help in different proportions which depended on the individual mentee’s requests. The mentees were positive about their mentors and appreciated the opportunity to discuss problems that otherwise would “have been taken home.”

Varah *et al.* (1986) found that those with mentors were more satisfied with their choice of profession, more motivated to solve problems and they had a more distinct professional self-identity than their colleagues in the control group without mentors.

Ganser (1996) found that the most important perceived mentor contributions were:

- Supportive and encouraging
- Helpful with teaching tasks issues
- Helping to avoid learning by trial and error
- Helpful in the transition from college to work
- Inspiring to remain in the job

This study identified reciprocal benefits for mentors, in particular mentors could:

- Reflect on their own teaching
- Learn about new ideas
- Be helpful

However, they also stated that there were obstacles to the mentoring role and these included:

- Lack of time
- Other responsibilities
- Disagreements on teaching ideologies

Hawkey (1998) found contrasting styles between the two mentors in her study despite the subject matter and purpose being the same. One mentor dominated the conversations whereas the other listened and gave equal space to mentees’ talking. In a similar study, Feiman-Nemser and Parker (1993) found it was important to take note of the contextual conditions as well as the demographic structure and program philosophy when evaluating the mentor functions.

Bush and Coleman (1995) asked the mentee head teachers to identify key characteristics in their mentors. The following are the conflated responses in rank order:

1. Reciprocal learning and peer support
2. Collaboration
3. Executive succession and socialization
4. Co-counselling
5. Coaching and altruism
6. Career sponsorship
7. Expert-novice

Rowley (1999) suggests the following should ground mentor training within a school-based mentor program, the good mentor is:

- Committed to the role of mentoring
- Accepting of the beginning teacher
- Skilled at providing instructional support
- Effective in different interpersonal contexts
- A model of a continuous learner
- Able to communicate hope and optimism

In the Healthcare Sector

In Garvey (1995) the mentees were a mixture of health service managers and clinicians taking an MBA sponsored by the health authority. They looked for the following qualities in their mentors in rank order:

- Good listener
- General experience at executive level
- Previous MBA experience
- Greater health service experience
- Different perspective
- Trust (p. 14)

They felt that their mentors needed:

- Specific training in mentorship
- Opportunities to discuss mentoring with fellow mentors
- Access to background materials on mentoring (p. 14)

The author provided the participants with a framework to help both parties to discuss the expectations of their relationships and to evaluate and review

their progress, known as the “dimensions framework” (see Garvey, 1994). The conclusion showed that mentoring worked well and that the tools of learning style inventories and the “dimensions framework” were beneficial.

Nilsson (2000) evaluated a mentor program aimed at recruiting candidates for managerial positions in the public healthcare sector. The fourteen mentees were physicians and dentists. The mentors, recruited from private and public organizations retrospectively believed that they provided psychosocial support and were less career-oriented. Half the mentees believed that their mentors helped to strengthen career ambitions and personal development as well as facilitate open conversations. They believed that their mentors provided a model of future manager positions by giving advice and tips about pitfalls and by developing decision-making capacity. The majority emphasized that the conversations were meaningful and “deep”.

In Business

Waters *et al.* (2002) studied mentoring among an unemployed group of people who were training to help them to return to the labor market. The program focused on business planning, conducting risk analyses, learning about financial management, sales, and marketing. Two of the four hypotheses were confirmed, namely:

- Frequency of contact between mentors and protégés will be positively related to career-related support, psychosocial support, and perceptions of business success.
- The career-related function will be more strongly related to business-related outcomes (profit and perceived business success) than the psychosocial function.

In Høigaard and Mathisen (2009) female leaders participated in an evaluation study aimed at obtaining the mentees’ picture of:

- Mentor functions and communications
- Listening and communication structures
- The relationship
- The mentoring outcomes for the mentees
- Perceived leader performance
- Job satisfaction and career planning

The mentors received 25 hours of a mentoring skills program focusing on communication, mentor strategies, and functions. The study identified that positive interrelations were found, with one exception. Contrary to other

studies (i.e., Ragins and Cotton, 1996) where same-gender mentor relationships in formal mentoring program showed more success than mixed gender partnerships, this study showed that the sex of the mentor was irrelevant.

Westlander (2010a, b) looked at the long-term effects of mentoring experiences with ten middle managers. They completed narrative descriptions of 19 past mentoring relationships 10–20 years ago. The author categorized the analysis in three aspects:

- Early stages of professional career
- Transition to extended managerial responsibility
- Gaining higher management positions

These categories highlighted that mentees had different needs and different work conditions and this created different expectations of their mentors. The study found homogeneity in conversation content, for example:

- More of an organizational socialization in early carrier situations
- More on problem-solving support and situated learning in advanced manager levels

The participants recalled that their discussions with their mentors had lasting effects and were mostly concerned with social competence at work, role-taking, and performance in the “here and now situation”, the company culture and possible career paths, but in some cases discussions were more oriented to long-term, work-life values, and occupational adaptability.

Overall Findings

Overall, the selected findings cover three main functions or purposes for mentoring:

- Leadership development
- Educational, learning, and development
- Psychosocial support and development

It is interesting to note that these provide further support for Kram’s (1983) observation that mentoring provides a “psychosocial” function in that the mentee is socialized into a specific social context and develops self-insight and psychological well-being through dialogue with an experienced person. However, it is also clear that within each occupational setting, the person of the mentor is defined differently. A further issue relates to Bruner’s (1990) assertion that to understand human affairs it is important to understand the social context and these studies were conducted in many different settings.

Discussion

One issue raised is the extent of role modelling within mentoring. From an historical perspective, role modelling was seen as an aspect of mentoring rather than something separate. This is also the case in modern mentoring literature (Clawson, 1996; Gardiner, 2005; Kram and Chandler, 2005; Ragins and Cotton, 1999). However, the function of role model is not without its difficulties. Moberg and Velasquez (2004, p. 116) consider that the concepts of both role model and mentor within a formalized or semi-formalized scheme is ethically dubious in that it “falls outside the formal system of rules and controls. In the absence of such local normative standards, it is important that such roles come with clear ethical parameters. Otherwise, moral ambiguity and ethical abuse are more likely.” This suggests that the design of a mentoring scheme and the training associated with it needs careful consideration.

The design of the mentoring scheme also seems to impact on the participants (Beech and Brockbank, 1999; Colley, 2003; Merrick and Stokes, 2003) and Kram (1985) argue that it is important for the mentor to be clear about his or her role and function within a scheme. In general terms, power differentials may raise issues for mentor training. Habermas (1974) suggests that differences in power and status between people and groups can distort the communication between them. This leads to mutually suspicious interpretations of the other’s meaning. Habermas’s remedy for distorted communication is the “ideal speech situation”. However, the “ideal speech situation” is rarely enacted in practice; it represents a standard to be achieved. Alred and Garvey (2000) suggest that mentoring is a learning relationship and therefore plays an important role within knowledge intensive organizations. This suggests that the main duty of the mentor is to contribute to the mentee’s developmental learning. Garvey (1994) goes further and suggests that the development of a “learning culture” is necessary to sustain mentoring as a “normal” organizational activity.

Pololi and Knight (2005) suggest that learning is not necessarily something egalitarian and drawing on Erikson’s (1978) concept of “generativity” to explain the power issue in their study they suggest that the notion of peer supported learning conflicts with the mentors’ altruistic generativity motive as the mentor discounts collaborative peer support. Generally, in most of the studies, hierarchical structures and power differentials between mentor and mentee are common. Potentially those in power positions have a view that “they know best” or are the “knowledge holders” by virtue of being senior. Colley (2003, p. 2) states that in social mentoring schemes issues of “unacknowledged power dynamics at work such as, class, gender, race, disability, sexuality that may either reduce or reproduce inequalities” are often present and she raises the question of “whose agenda is it?” If it is someone other than the mentee’s, there is the potential for difficulties and gratuitous advice giving becomes a norm. A further issue which relates to power is the function

of a mentor. In one of the studies above the mentor was conflicted in the roles of mentor and assessor.

Beech and Brockbank (1999) explore power issues in their study and note that mentors may see themselves as experienced knowledge holders and advice givers and mentees may react in different ways to these characteristics. McAuley (2003, p. 14) argues that the psychological phenomena of transference and counter-transference are often present but unacknowledged in mentoring conversations. His framework suggest that mentees who are involved with transference may show, "respect for the mentor's expertise and process skills," they may be, "overawed by the mentor" who then, "becomes a parent figure," or they may find, "assertion of personal identity in relation to mentor," or even, "suck the mentor dry, then complain about their incompetence." For the mentor in counter-transference he suggests that the mentor may express "benevolence" and a "desire to be associated with mentee's development," or may make "the mentee stay overawed," or be able to let "go of the" mentee or engage in "victimizing the mentee within the encounter or in the organization." These suggest that training in psychology may be necessary for mentors.

Returning to a central characteristic of mentoring-learning, Garvey (1995) suggests that understanding learning styles can be an aide to mentoring. The view mentors and mentees take about learning may therefore influence the discussions. Eminent scholars of the past, for example Piaget, Jung, Levinson, Buhler, Neugarten, Kegan, Gilligan and Kohlbergh all positioned learning as something that happens in either stages or phases and arguably, the intellectual movements of the last two hundred years have all conspired to make this linear, simplified and hierarchical model of learning virtually irresistible, and certainly very dominant.

The problem with this view, which constructs practically every curriculum in the educational systems of the developed world, is that it has become part of our everyday outlook and this view of learning implies that it is possible to accelerate people's progress or give them a "leg up the ladder" of learning. It positions and divides people as achievers or non-achievers, fast learners or slow learners, and it links to the idea that learning can be pre-specified in advance in a cause and effect rational pragmatic world. However, in some contexts, such as learning a specific skill or acquiring some core principle, this may be appropriate but, fundamentally, this approach depends on measurement against the pre-specified pass or fail and it deals with the known world rather than how to cope with uncertainty and complexity. This approach cannot be adequate to develop any awareness of the different kinds of destination available, the speed of travel or the choice of route, nor does it hold out any promise that we will be enriched by the outcome. Mentoring activity that subscribes to this view may distort the communication and change the agenda and this position raises issues as to the purpose and content of mentor education.

The question of what is discussed within mentoring is also part of this issue. Steiner *et al.* (2004) argue that it is important that mentors can provide

research training in order to be able to offer support. This raises the question of how subject matter expertise is used within mentoring. Those academic practitioners who critique mentoring activity, often coming from the coaching environment, suggest that mentoring is about gratuitous advice giving (Rosinski, 2003). Studies above seem to suggest that this is the case. However, advice giving is not necessarily a "bad" thing. Knapp *et al.* (1981), Moberg and Velasquez (2004) and Stohl (1986) argue that advice is "potentially transformative"; however, advice should be relevant, address the issue under discussion and be presented as an option for debate.

A further issue of interest raised by the above studies is the issue of "challenge". Many writers, (e.g., Clutterbuck and Megginson, 1999; Colley, 2003; Gibb, 1994) suggest that challenge is an important element within mentoring. Jones (2008) did not find this in her study; "support" was more important, but the mentees expected the mentors to be reactive to this need rather than proactive and as mentees became more independent and self-assured the need for support diminished. However, Colley (2003) suggests that "challenge" can also be part of a power issue and asserts that too strong a challenge can disempower the mentee, particularly if the agenda for mentoring is outside of the relationship.

The nature of the mentoring relationship is also an important element. Neilson and Eisenbach (2003) found that renewal of the relationship through regular feedback and review of the relationship within the relationship played an important part in creating successful outcomes. Healey and Welchert (1990), Fielden *et al.* (2009), and Carden (1990) found, similarly to some of the above studies, that mentoring activity can be mutually beneficial. Levinson *et al.* (1978) and Daloz (1986) argue that mentoring relationships have long been associated with personal transition and change and these studies indicate the same. In one study, "different teaching ideologies" were cited as a problem for mentoring and in another, the "mentor's good reputation". These are about how people are put together. Megginson *et al.* (2005) recommend voluntary matching, but also matching in relation to scheme purpose, and a preference in matching for a small degree of difference between people. "Different ideologies" suggests too large a difference and "good reputation" may link to a sponsorship motive which may also be problematic.

Overall, there are many variations of context and purpose in the above research, but common themes include:

- Identifying the purpose of mentoring within a specific context and articulating it to the participants.
- Understanding the various possible functions of a mentor, including role model.
- Balancing, in context, the importance of personal development and career development.
- Personal qualities; values and skills play an important role.

- Balancing guidance and advice with support, encouragement and challenge.
- Being clear on mutual expectations.
- Considering time, access, and commitment.
- Considering power issues and the potential for these to distort the relationship.

Empirical Studies on Training Mentors

The subject of mentor training in the literature is limited. However, a number of studies do compare mentors with training, with mentors without training (Giebelhaus and Bowman 2002; Orly, 2008; Pfund *et al.*, 2006). Overall, those with training had statistically significant better results with their mentees than those without. With this in mind we ask:

- What are the aims and purposes of the training?
- What is the content of training?
- What form does the mentor training take?
- When is the mentor training taking place?

What Are the Aims and Purposes of the Training?

Garvey and Alred (2000, p. 115) note that educators in higher education have a variety of aims for teaching their students about mentoring. These are:

- “Develop mentoring skills and attributes
- Professional development for the mentor
- Support learners
- Enable mentoring to take place
- Enable people to understand better the concept of mentoring and be better mentors
- Focus on methods and appropriateness of individual development approaches
- Heighten awareness of the role of mentoring
- Aid transition of learning to the workplace
- Part of the knowledge requirement of the course”

Varah *et al.* (1986, p. 32) indicate that the purpose of training was, “to explore the role of the mentor teacher and identify the characteristics of an effective teacher, to develop conference techniques with the inductee in self-evaluation procedures and to become proficient in supervisory methods.”

In Pfund *et al.* (2006) the objectives were to train mentors to improve their communicative skills, to consider issues of human diversity and discuss

various mentoring approaches and Youens *et al.* (2004) indicate the purpose as “quality assurance”.

What Is the Content of Training?

Garvey and Alred (2000, p. 116) note that the content of mentor education is varied and includes, for example, the personal qualities of mentors, skills, and process models. Varah *et al.* (1986) identified two elements of the content of mentor education in a school-based program. The first emphasized the mentor role, the characteristics of an effective teacher, development of conference techniques for self-evaluation and supervisory methods. The second emphasized effective teaching training procedures and an analysis of teaching through observation. The content therefore was focused on the purpose of the scheme and the tasks the mentor would be expected to work on with their mentees. In Giebelhaus and Bowman (2002) and Feiman-Nemser and Parker (1993), the focus of the mentor training was also on subject matter expertise. Orly’s (2008) study focused on different types of mentoring, diversity among students, background characteristics and environment, academic and social difficulties, teaching alternatives, and ending the relationship. The subject of ending relationships is covered in Clutterbuck and Megginson (2004).

Ramani *et al.* (2008, pp. 404–7) identified 12 practical tips for mentor training:

1. Mentors need clear expectations of their roles and enhanced listening and feedback skills.
2. Mentors need awareness of culture and gender issues.
3. Mentors need to support their mentees, but challenge them too.
4. Mentors need a forum to express their uncertainties and problems.
5. Mentors need to be aware of professional boundaries.
6. Mentors also need mentoring.
7. Mentors need recognition.
8. Mentors need to be rewarded.
9. Mentoring needs protected time.
10. Mentors need support.
11. Encouraging peer mentoring unloads the mentor.
12. Continuously evaluate the effectiveness of the mentoring program.

Youens *et al.* (2004) found four main areas of content:

1. Managing the mentees experience
2. Planning
3. Facilitating professional learning
4. Assessing the mentee’s performance

In a positive action mentoring program within a UK Police Service (Garvey *et al.*, 2009, p. 183) mentors received training in, “counselling skills, problem-solving, learning styles, conflict management, coaching, motivation theory and action planning.”

With the issues of transference and counter-transference raised earlier in the chapter, we could not find any literature that referred to psychological training for mentors, although some mentoring literature draws on developmental psychology (Alred *et al.*, 1998; Johnson *et al.*, 1999; Moberg and Velasquez, 2004). Others (Aryree and Chay, 1994; Beech and Brockbank, 1999; Colley, 2002; Emmerik, 2008; Erdem and Aytemur, 2008; McAuley, 2003; Morgan and Davidson, 2008; Turban and Dougherty, 1994) use various psychodynamic, personality type, and emotional frameworks drawn from psychology to underpin their work and several writers, for example Johnson *et al.* (1999), Levinson *et al.* (1978), Moberg and Velasquez, (2004), and Ragins and Scandura (1994) link mentoring activity to the psychological concept of “generativity” (Erikson, 1978). However, within the coaching literature the concept of “psychological mindedness” (Lee, 2003) is raised for coach training and rather than full psychological training, it appears that psychological awareness and understanding (Bluckert, 2006) is viewed as appropriate. Perhaps this is also the case for mentors in some circumstances?

What Form Does Mentor Training Take?

Orly (2008) included, lectures, group work, presentations during meetings, in-depth studying, library search and problem solving as approaches to mentor training. Pfund *et al.* (2006) developed an eight-session mentor-training program (equivalent to one day). Garvey and Alred (2000) suggest that such programs need to be delivered in “the mentoring way” in order to mirror mentoring activity. Feiman-Nemser and Parker (1993) evaluated a training program where there were 30 hours in 1–3 hour sessions for mentors, followed by separate workshops on leadership topics. Case studies were also employed with discussions on relevant literature. Youens *et al.* (2004) noted the use of a comprehensive guide for distance learning activities designed to consolidate the new mentor’s understanding of mentoring issues.

When Is Mentor Training Taking Place?

Giebelhaus and Bowman (2002) investigated mentor training as a preparation for the mentoring role. Others (Orly, 2008) have the mentor training running parallel to the mentoring period and Youens *et al.* (2004) looked at a two training events per year for mentors over two years. In Bush and Coleman (1995) the training preceded the mentoring activities.

Meggison (2000) raised issues on the design of the mentoring scheme. In particular, he highlights the issue of the number of hours needed for people to practice and learn mentoring skills. These seem to range from one-day courses to 1000 hours. He also asks whether scheme design variables make any difference to the mentoring outcomes. He concludes that the jury is still out.

Expert Opinion

Given the overall finding in empirical research that skills development for mentors does make a difference to the mentoring activity, we now look at some expert opinion found within practitioner texts. We suggest that an “expert” is someone who has both academic and practitioner based knowledge and experience. The practitioner element is about continuous professional development and the academic part is about the understanding and practices of research. Both elements develop through critical reflection and critical reflexivity.

With the above description in mind, this limits the field; however, Megginson and Stokes (2004, pp. 94–106) identify three elements in mentor development:

- “Skills approach
- Developing a business case
- A conscious seeking-out of the mentor’s own way”

They suggest that the skills approach focuses on specifically developing appropriate mentoring skills and behaviors within a mentoring conversation. These may include, asking appropriate open questions, checking out assumptions and active listening.

The business case approach focuses on getting buy-in from the participants in terms of the values of the scheme and helping the participants to make sense of these values in the context of the organization or environment that they operate in. This raises key issues of power, culture, and ownership in most interventions of this type.

The conscious seeking-out approach is learner centered and focuses on drawing out of all participants their existing skills and understanding of mentoring and becoming more aware of these so as to be able to add to them.

They argue that it is likely that all training will contain elements of each, but it is important that conscious decisions are made with regards to the blend of these. It is also important to recognize that, although many mentoring schemes tend to focus primarily on the mentor the skills of the mentee are also important. Skilled mentees are better able to draw what they want and need from mentors and are arguably better equipped to be able to cope with any weaknesses or deficiencies in mentors’ skill sets.

Klasen and Clutterbuck (2002) suggest that the quality of the training for mentors is of greater importance than the quantity and offer three key elements necessary for high quality mentor training:

- A clear conceptual model to follow.
- An understanding of the roles and responsibilities.
- An introduction to the relevant skills and techniques of mentoring, with an opportunity to practice and reflect on their performance.

They go on to suggest that: “The objective of training is not mastery of all the skills, but to equip them with the confidence to begin the relationship, the insight to recognize how it should be managed and the tools to identify where the relationship is being least effective and most importantly, how to take appropriate action” (p. 255). They argue that the ideal is for all parties to benefit from some training.

A further consideration are the elements of scheme design. Megginson *et al.* (2005, p. 7) recommend the following:

- “Clear link to a business issue, where outcome is measured
- Part of culture change process
- Senior management involved as mentees and mentors
- Link to long-term talent management established
- Mentees (or protégés) in the driving seat
- Light-touch development of individuals and scheme
- Clear framework, publicized, with stories
- Scheme design focused on business issues and change agenda”

Alred and Garvey (2010) suggest that voluntarism is necessary. Different organizations deal with this differently, but as a minimum both mentor and mentee should volunteer to participate and there should be a recognition that mentors may need ongoing support and further development during the mentoring period. It is also important that all involved are clear about how the matching process works. There are many different approaches to matching, but nothing can replace people getting together, establishing ground rules and making an effort to be open and honest. Some experts (Alred and Garvey, 2010; Megginson *et al.*, 2005) recommend the safety net of a “graceful exit” or “no-fault divorce” if a mentoring pair are unable to progress after three meetings and they also suggest that within an organization mentors and mentees need to be matched cross-functionally or inter-professionally. These design elements may help to minimize power problems. Additionally, mentoring is often conceived as the more experienced or older, working with the less experienced and younger and here is the potential heart of the power issue. As Garvey (1997, p. 8) points out in relation to identifying mentors: “We cannot assume that senior people are necessarily the right people.”

Additionally, ongoing evaluation of the mentoring is important (Megginson *et al.*, 2005). They recommend a developmental or appreciative enquiry approach to evaluation.

The Developing Curriculum for Mentors

Taking all the above into account, we look at the future and offer a curriculum for mentor training. We have shown that mentor training is important and does influence the outcomes for mentees. We have also shown that mentoring has various purposes and therefore takes various forms. Mentor training needs to reflect the variety. However, there are also elements upon which those who research and practice mentoring agree, particularly in the area of skills, techniques and processes. For the future, if mentoring remains an element of organizational and educational development as well as social support, and there is no reason to think that this may change, we ask, what may the future look like?

In Garvey *et al.* (2009), the authors suggest three main themes in the mentoring world that require serious consideration. First, they suggest that one explanation for the rise in interest in mentoring activity across the globe is due, in part, to the social context of the knowledge economy. The concept of the knowledge economy is straightforward, driven by a key question: “How can knowledge be developed and used to add value to goods and services?” (Garvey *et al.*, 2009, p. 221). They argue that this concept is relevant to all sectors of economic activity in capitalist societies, including the voluntary, public and not-for-profit sectors. Learning is central to knowledge acquisition and development and mentoring plays its part in supporting learning through performing a “psychosocial” function (Kram, 1983).

The second theme is “mindset”. Mindset is associated with notions of ways of thinking about human affairs. Arguably, mentoring plays its part in working with mindsets within certain communities of practice, again linking to the idea of the “psychosocial”. Garvey and Williamson (2002) believe that within Western economies the dominating mindset is pragmatic rationalism. Johnson and Duberley (2000) support this view when they claim that pragmatic positivism dominates management thinking and decision making and added to this, the mentoring literature suggests that mentoring can lead to transformational change among individuals (see, for example, Daloz, 1986; Scandura and Williams, 2004). However, the truth claims about transformational change made by practitioners and the mantra perpetuated by the pragmatic rationalistic mindset of keeping things simple may mean that sometimes, transformational change is not easy because often the issues a mentor is required to discuss may be complex. Allied to this is the idea perpetuated by the rationalistic mindset of “rightness” or the alleged scientific position of “cause and effect”. This leads to a belief that there are right answers waiting to be discovered.

Clearly, this is the case at certain times and in certain situations, but mentoring does not always deal with the obvious and according to Von Krogh *et al.* (1994, p. 54), “there is no longer a ‘right knowledge’, but many coexisting conflicting pieces of knowledge.”

Extending this line of argument, a further risk of the pragmatic rational mindset is that “simplification” often leads to commodification and this in turn, creates and manufactures language and mentoring becomes a “tool” – an instrument of production. It is not hard to find references in the literature to mentoring as a tool: “Mentoring has been suggested as one tool to assist women in breaking this glass ceiling” (Blake-Beard, 2001, p. 331), and: “Mentoring has been viewed as a crucial tool” (Broadbridge, 1999, p. 338). According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, a “tool” is a device or implement, typically hand-held, used to carry out a particular function or a thing used to help perform a job or, more worryingly, a person exploiting another. A product of the manufacturing language applied in human activities is power or, the misuse of power. The most obvious conflict of interest here is where the mentor acts as both an assessor and a supporter but, generally, we are mindful of Habermas’ (1974) notion of the “ideal speech situation” raised earlier in this chapter. For mentoring scheme designers this is an important issue and impacts on the underpinning purpose and philosophy of the mentoring scheme. This is discussed in the section on curriculum in relation to the approach taken to delivery of training.

Third, they suggest that definition is a key issue. As can be seen throughout this chapter, mentoring is an eclectic mix of human activities. This makes definition a problem. The rational pragmatic mindset seeks definition and simplicity; however, mentoring is a social construction and therefore a single and universal definition is simply not possible. However, what is possible is to be clear about the meaning of mentoring within specific contexts. So, the future remains complex and eclectic, but with this understanding, it becomes possible to design appropriate and tailor-made training for specific contexts and purposes.

Technology

One trend we have observed is that mentor training continues to be developed as an online and distance learning package. While this has the promise of convenience in terms of access, time, and a clear potential to assess knowledge, enabling active situational learning and developing skills through practice and experience is always limited. One of the authors of this chapter was involved in developing an online package for mentors called MentorsbyNet. It consisted of a skills-based assessment followed by training packages to help the trainee mentor develop their skills. The cost inhibited full development and the skills elements became simple text-based examples rather than interactive. The program was rolled out across the United Kingdom and its evaluation

(Megginson *et al.*, 2003) showed that it was beneficial to the users. A further online training package for mentors within the enterprise environment was developed by one of the authors of this chapter. It involved questions and multiple choice responses, case studies, and voice and filmed activities. However, this was a very expensive program to develop and was inevitably restricted by cost and the medium of the computer resulted in quite a simple program design rather like an online language program. In some ways it served its purpose and its use became extensive despite its limitations. True interactive training programs are expensive to produce and the technology for such products remains inevitably basic.

There are available on the market online mentoring packages. Many of these operate on a “mentoring by numbers” principle, which makes such programs limited. Overall, we have yet to find a mentor training package online that can displace more traditional development.

A Curriculum for Mentor and Mentee Training

The idea of curriculum is central to all debates about education and training and a curriculum is a program or course of study. The educational philosopher Bernstein (1971) raised four key questions in relation to curriculum design and suggested that these need to be addressed in any curriculum design. He asked, what is valid knowledge, a valid pedagogy, a valid evaluation and a valid realization? In relation to mentor development these also seem relevant. However, the question of pedagogy raises potential power issues and conflicts with Megginson and Stokes’ (2004) theory that a mentor needs to find his or her own way. Pedagogy is about teaching and Bernstein (1971) suggests that a high teacher control in education can lead to low autonomy for the learner. In the context of mentoring, where a mentor needs to “consciously seek out their own way” (Megginson and Stokes, 2004, p. 94), an andragogic (Knowles, 1980) approach becomes more appropriate. Knowles (1980) outlined six elements of andragogy, adults:

1. Need to know the reason for learning something.
2. Learn experientially.
3. Need to be responsible and involved in the planning and evaluation of their learning.
4. Are most interested in learning things relevant to themselves.
5. Need a problem-based approach for learning rather than a content-based approach.
6. Tend to be self-motivated rather than need external motivation.

The risk of a pedagogic training program is that it has the potential to disengage the learner and Broad and Newstrom (1992) argued that this

approach simply does not deliver. The andragogic approach resonates with the concept of “the mentoring way” (Garvey and Alred, 2000) and is therefore an important element of the curriculum design for mentors. This approach is more empowering for the adult learner and provides an alternative model of learning for potential mentors. This may influence their approach to their subsequent mentoring, potentially reducing the tendency to instruct and advise their mentee and help them to become more andragogic and non-directive in their practice.

Therefore we propose the following content for a mentor-training program:

- Establishing the purpose of the mentoring in the context in which it is employed.
- Mentoring philosophies.
- Exploring a range of possible definitions of mentoring and considering how these apply individually and in the context of the scheme.
- Some psychological education on transference and countertransference.
- Power dynamics and how to work with them in a non-directive way.
- Considering at least two process models of mentoring in relation to the scheme and comparing and contrasting them.
- Skills practice including, listening, questioning, use of summary, challenge and support.
- The importance of establishing ground rules and reviewing them.
- Working with expectations.
- Establishing a good relationship.
- Consider and discuss organizational issues which may impact on mentoring activity.
- Ways of ending the relationship.

We suggest that the minimum time spent on face-to-face development is one day, but it is also important to take into account the variations of experience among mentors. Those with less experience may need more time. Additionally, support for beginner mentors is often important (Alred and Garvey, 2010) and this can take various forms, from one-to-one support to peer group support facilitated by a more experienced mentor.

Future Research

As shown in the brief history of mentoring at the start, mentoring has had a place as a key element of human intellectual and emotional development for a substantial period. In the last 30 years it has gained momentum throughout industry, commerce, and the public services. Due to this rapid rise in the utilization of mentoring, we believe that its meaning has become confused and altered. There is debate among practitioners and academics as to its true and

distinctive nature. Some search for a clear definition of the concept and, in a world of increasing complexity, simplicity has appeal. However, it is probably more appropriate to offer a rich and “thick description” (Geertz, 1974) of mentoring to highlight its complexity rather than attempt to simplify. Therefore, future research must take into account the social context (Bruner, 1990) in which mentoring takes place and the purpose to which it is being employed. In this way the consumers of research develop a great clarity and precision about what is being researched and in what context. Given the wealth of mentoring research extant, perhaps there is now an opportunity for some meta-studies aimed at achieving a genuine “rich description”, where patterns and themes may be found and differences explored within the broad and eclectic mix of mentoring activity. This would be with the purpose of fully appreciating the complexity of human developmental relationships.

The paucity of research on mentor training is a cause for concern and perhaps it is time to focus attention on this element as the few papers we employed indicate that training mentors is far from a luxury. How far this is the case, again needs further work.

Conclusion

This chapter has covered a lot of ground and highlighted the many benefits and pitfalls found within mentoring activity. We have also highlighted the main issues surrounding mentor education and recommended a curriculum for mentors. Clearly, training is a “good thing” and should be undertaken but, it is a complex process and any curriculum for mentors should be developed in line with the scheme’s purpose and this should be regularly reviewed in the light of the ever present dynamic changes which occur between mentors and mentees.

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Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

Defying Definition: Competences in Coaching and Mentoring

Philip Ferrar

Introduction

The extensive, protracted debate around 'definitions' and standards continues to confound practitioners and researchers in the relatively immature profession of coaching and mentoring.

In 2003, the European Mentoring and Coaching Council (EMCC), established to '*promote best practice and ensure that the highest possible standards are maintained in the coach/mentoring relationship*', commissioned a project to:

- 'Establish whether there is an underlying set of core competencies common to all types of coaching and mentoring practice', and to . . .
- 'Identify whether it is possible to draw existing standards and competencies for all types of coaching and mentoring into a common framework.'

The precise wording of these aims, particularly the use of '*whether there is*' and '*whether it is possible*' indicates a deliberate caution in embarking on this quest, with good reason. The advent of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) in the early 1990s led to the almost obsessive generation of competences in many sectors, at great cost and with dubious benefits. I, for one, experienced first-hand the laboured attempts to map jobs in the retail financial services sector at that time. Despite all of this work, the obsession

with definition has done little to improve the *customer experience* in financial services. In fact, apart from giving the regulators some comfort at the time (but not since, as mis-selling continues to be uncovered in the sector) there have been no evidence-based claims demonstrating tangible benefits derived from the use of competence methodology. There have been many *claims* that 'Training and Competence' regimes have added real tangible value; even the regulator – the Financial Services Authority – claims that it's good business sense, but no one has yet come forward to prove it. It is interesting that one role mapped in the drive for competence-based definition was the coaching role of sales managers, resulting in a clearly defined coaching process and standards. The outcome was, by and large, an impoverished form of coaching that was little more than a mechanical, predictable, repetitious, and therefore largely pointless exercise to put a tick in a box.

Apart from the difficulties inherent in competences, any relationship between coach/mentor and learner is shaped by the characteristics and personalities of those involved, and this adds further complications in attempting to define coaching and mentoring.

This paper draws on an exploration of current research supported by my own experiences and is intended to highlight the difficulties inherent in a competence approach to the definition of coaching/mentoring, pointing to the need for another way (although, what that alternative might be is not the subject of this paper). The paper also highlights the difficulties of attempting to prescribe a process where two personalities are involved in engaging together within it.

Complexities of Context and the Limitations of Competence

There can be little doubt that clarity around what a coach/mentor does and how a coach/mentor operates is of value in positioning coaching/mentoring as a bona fide profession. A lack of clarity is potentially disorientating for all parties in a coaching/mentoring contract, with capacity for misaligned expectations. Definition would provide a common stake in the ground, a benchmark, a template to which to conform, a comfortable safety net. However, seeking a universal definition of coaching/mentoring, with clearly drawn borders and a specified process, is fraught with difficulties, not least the possible promotion of an over-dependence on 'competence' above professional judgement, and a resulting over-rigid process-obsessed approach.

The pursuit of an all-embracing catch-all definition seems to me a Holy Grail quest – honourable in intent but ultimately fruitless. Each of us sees our definition through our own unique lens. Like the ontological argument for the existence of God, everyone has their own unique vocabulary and understanding of concepts; we all 'define' God, or Heaven, or a Coach, in our own unique blend of words and interpretations; therefore, no two definitions are exactly

the same; therefore, it is virtually impossible to deny (or confirm) all possible definitions. However, for the sake of professional differentiation (comparing what a coach does with, say, a counsellor or therapist) shouldn't we at least try to reach a universal definition?

The NVQ framework for competence-based definition involves two main facets: a series of *elements* or activity statements, which together describe the key task areas and behaviours of the role; and underpinning each of these, a *range statement* that attempts to define the usual *context* in which the former sit. This approach is fairly sound for describing base-level, operational coaching, however the methodology is fraught with difficulties in describing more complex, professional-level coaching and mentoring. Defining competences presents one major flaw in that "the notion of competence is concerned with predictable behaviours in predictable situations" (Barnett, R. 1994 p.73). Therefore, a competence approach is fine if coaching/mentoring can be constrained within a tight process with relatively few variations. One example is coaching in a repetitive skill such as processing orders or scripted questions in a call centre environment. Coaching in this scenario requires a fairly narrow set of skills applied in a largely predictable process. However, this type of coaching (more like instruction) would not be acceptable in an executive coaching situation, where the 'range variables' (NVQ terminology) making up the range statements would constitute a far longer list than the elements or activity statements themselves. Coaching in this scenario requires rapid assimilation of a vastly complex 'context', unpredictable and therefore almost impossible to rehearse or drill. It is like comparing, in the National Health Service, the routine task of changing dressings with the job of a consultant in a hectic Accident and Emergency department.

The case for caution in embracing a competence-based approach is best illustrated by examining a sample of professional opinion that challenges accepted norms in specific areas of coaching.

Challenging Norms: Layers of Complexity in the Coaching Process

Take as an example the generally accepted norm of **agenda setting** in establishing a contract between coach/mentor and learner. This appears simple enough to put into a process and competence framework, however consider the following:

Unique Interpretation

Each learner's actions are fully consistent with the interpretation that persists within their own frame of reference (Flaherty, 1999 p.9). Consequently, in setting an agenda the learner's actions are determined by their interpretation of

the agenda and what it means, which will be different to the coach's. Flaherty continues: "our job as coaches will be to understand the client's structure of interpretation, then in partnership alter this structure so that the actions that follow bring about the intended outcome". Of course, the 'intended outcome' is also open to different interpretations. Flaherty suggests that the first-cut of the agenda is therefore likely to be only a prototype, something that will need re-working, adding layer upon layer of complexity onto an apparently simple process.

Chicken and Egg

Alfred Bandura (1988) observed: "people's beliefs about their abilities have a profound effect on those abilities". Their view of what is achievable is coloured by their experiences and mindset. In agenda setting, individuals can be self-limiting, choosing the comfortable option or assuming that they need to conform to a pattern most readily acceptable to the coach. Perversely, the learner is often in need of coaching before an agenda is set, in order to set an agenda for the coaching that is not self-limiting!

Re-setting the Agenda

Nathan (2002), a chartered psychologist, observes that coaches will be faced frequently with a need to re-set the agenda, often in the same meeting as the original agenda setting. The coach needs to be able to "make a professional judgement whether or not to take the client down a route different from the entry point". The use of 'professional judgement' adds more layers to the complexity of the process.

In financial services, the process of elimination used by financial planners in arriving at a suitable recommendation for a client has been mapped. The decision tree runs to pages of process description, and yet the professional financial planner can arrive at an appropriate conclusion in seconds, with the help of a calculator. Actuaries calculate probabilities, finance directors 'sense' there is something wrong with a balance sheet, surgeons make life-or-death judgements, all in the space of seconds, yet the decision tree charting the processes involved, taking account of the variables, would run to many pages. The same would be true for an experienced coach, adapting and responding to the sort of anomalies and conflicting signals given out by a client in a first meeting. What people say they want and what they need are not necessarily the same; clients sometimes withhold vital pieces of the jigsaw and can mislead with irrelevant data.

There are other examples of notable exceptions to the generally accepted norm:

- Does a coach need to have experience or technical knowledge in the area in which he is coaching? According to John Whitmore (1992), "the answer is 'no', not if the coach is truly acting as a detached awareness raiser". This is fundamentally challenged by McLellan (2003) who quotes two sources in her research into executive coaching: "a good coach should be able to have added-value conversations about strategic issues" (Steve Nicklen, Penna Change Consulting), and John Weston, head of the Institute of Directors' director development programme – "an executive coach must have been a top business person themselves and understood what it means to lead an organisation. They must have been there, seen it, and done it. They must have been practitioners."
- According to the accepted norm, goal setting must be owned by the learner, and the coach or mentor should not intrude in this area. Landsberg (2000) stresses the importance of creating 'a compelling vision' and cautions against the potentially myopic view of the learner. Individuals may lack the confidence to reach out for more ambitious or unconventional goals, and may need help in crafting a compelling vision or destiny. Landsberg believes that the coach should play an important part in influencing and guiding the learner towards a more compelling vision of the future, one which generates sufficient self-motivation to ensure it becomes a reality. Peltier (2001) believes that "goal setting is overrated" and should not get in the way of "immediate awareness", although he agrees with Landsberg that the coach should work "together with the client" to establish goals, influencing the learner in goal selection. Furthermore, a prescriptive approach to goal setting in complex situations is cautioned against by Skinner (2003), who concludes that "it is unlikely that there is one intervention that will always be effective".
- The reaction from a group of 40 coaching/mentoring practitioners, of varied experience, in a presentation by an executive coach, extolling the use of 'tell', was deeply divided – some strongly disagreeing and regarding the approach as unprofessional, some strongly agreeing, believing that executives expect an added-value approach in which some direction and advice is entirely appropriate. It is generally accepted that a coach should avoid 'tell', relying on questioning to draw conclusions from the learner, thus encouraging ownership. But is giving 'advice' off-limits? Whitely (2003) is one of a growing number of practitioners who strongly disagree, asserting the need for the coach to be 'inspirational' when coaching to develop inspirational leadership attributes in executives. Whitmore (1992) is firm in his opposing view – "the coach is not a problem solver, a teacher, an adviser, an instructor or even an expert; he or she is a sounding board, a facilitator, a counsellor, and an awareness raiser". In Whitmore's view, coaches

employing autocratic methods “deny their learners’ responsibility, by telling them what to do”. Goleman (1995) posits a contrary view – when giving feedback a coach should “point to a way to fix the problem, otherwise it leaves the [learner or client] frustrated, demoralised, or demotivated”. Clutterbuck (1998) advocates a four-quadrant model in mentoring, in which one quadrant or style is ‘Guardian’ – here ‘tell’ is perfectly appropriate. Clutterbuck observes “the noticeable shift in recent years . . . towards non-directive [coaching] behaviours is admirable, but may sometimes obscure the complexity of the relationship”. He continues: “in practice, the effective coach will vary the directiveness according to the attitudes and behaviour of the learner.”

Practitioners cannot agree on innumerable other aspects of coaching and mentoring, and with each opposing view another potential ‘range variable’ enters the competence framework:

- Mentoring is generally accepted as involving internal mentors, with their knowledge of the organisation key to the effectiveness of the relationship. Microsoft, however, use only *external* mentors in their extensive and highly successful mentoring scheme, according to Glover (2002).
- Any coach or mentor that comes close to entering the area of counselling with a learner should exercise extreme caution. This is generally accepted, with many practitioners absolute in their resistance to crossing the boundary into counselling or therapy territory. However, Peltier (2001), a licensed psychologist as well as an executive coach, holds a different view on this – “to run from the therapy model, to abandon it completely, would be a mistake . . . the core ideas from accepted therapy theories have significant value for executive or management coaches”. And the boundary moves again. . .
- Coaching methods and techniques are generally seen as useful tools for the coach and mentor. These could be included in competence range statements. However, not all leading practitioners agree on the value of ‘techniques’ and this casts doubt on the validity of their inclusion in a competence framework. Two notable examples are Whitmore (“obsession with techniques killed the coaching”; “responsibility and awareness are the key, how you get there is not important”) and Flaherty (who states unequivocally in his ‘Five Principles of Coaching’ that “techniques don’t work!”).

In the ongoing debate of ‘what’s in’ and ‘what’s out’ of coaching and mentoring, *context* appears to be a major determinant. The more complex the context, the more the accepted norms tend to be challenged by practitioners and researchers (Cox, 2003). Accommodating all of the anomalies and variables thrown up by the myriad of contexts in, say, executive coaching would require a set of competences that would be unwieldy and unworkable.

The People Dimension

Another dimension that adds further complexity is that individual characteristics, both in the learner and the coach/mentor, play a major part in determining outcomes. To what extent can definitions and competence frameworks accommodate the variations in behaviours necessary between coach and learner to result in effective coaching or mentoring? The possible permutations between two individuals are huge:

- There are 8 Myers Briggs personality types. In interactions between two people, this amounts to 64 possible combinations. Each one has its own unique subtle relevance in terms of how the coach needs to modify behaviour to get the most out of the relationship.
- There are four Honey & Mumford learning styles. In an interaction between coach and learner there are 16 possible combinations. The coach has to recognise the learner’s preferred learning style as well as being thoroughly familiar with their own. For example, writing reflection notes: an Activist may find this tiresome; having decided what action to take, the Activist will want to get on with the action, not write it down. An Activist coach will need to recognise that their own reluctance to write reflection notes should not be imposed on their learner. A coach, faced with an Activist learner, will need to use their influencing skills to encourage the learner to write reflection notes.
- Then there are gender differences to consider. According to Deborah Tannen (1990), women are concerned with intimacy whereas men are concerned with independence. Women want a sympathetic ear, while men want to ‘solutioneer’. Women prefer a coach or mentor to ‘match’ their problem with a similar anecdote of their own (empathising) whereas men would tend to be resentful of this, feeling that their problem is being belittled. Men tend not to seek help and can resent it when it is volunteered. These factors should be taken into account by a coach or mentor, and the tactics for any interaction should allow for these differences. The possible combinations of male/female coach/learner amount to 4.
- Allowing for Myers Briggs, learning styles and gender differences, the total number of possible combinations is 4,096 ($64 \times 16 \times 4$). Given that a coach’s profile is a ‘fixed’ factor, the possible number of ‘people-variants’ (MBTI/learning styles/male-female) amounts to 64 ($8 \times 4 \times 2$). A coach who is truly effective across all possible types would need to know how to adapt to each of these 64 varieties. Add to this the possible variations due to cultural differences, age, and other variations, for example mindset (optimistic, pessimistic), and the picture becomes highly complex.

Multiply this by the range of models that a coach uses and the permutations are mind-boggling. For example, if the coach uses the GROW model there are 64 possible variations to 'learn' in relation to GROW alone. The picture is probably impossible to learn by rote. It can only be understood through trial and error and diligent reflection. Even a 'master' coach will get it wrong now and then. Arguably, a coach *must* 'get it wrong' in order to develop, on the basis that with innumerable possibilities a coach is constantly learning and therefore mistakes are par for the course.

I have lost count of the number of people I have coached over the years – it is well over a thousand, many of them in short-term situations, but with a growing number of regular and repeat clients in recent years. I tried to analyse, some years ago, what made the difference between what I call 'operational' coaching and 'inspirational' coaching. The operational variety is the predictable, transactional, process-tied, routine sort of coaching that works well enough on a basic level. But to inspire, a coach has to take risks, trust his/her instincts, strive for ever-higher self-awareness, weigh up situations and decide on appropriate tactics in an instant, and develop an almost super-ability to read people and understand them. Chalk and cheese. It may be going too far to claim that inspirational coaching defies description. However, its richness would surely defy any attempt at wholesale mapping or charting – visualise a computer's attempts at writing poetry. . .

Conclusion

A competence framework could define the foundation-level processes and methodology of coaching and mentoring satisfactorily, and would be useful in providing a track for novices to follow. A Code of Ethics, such as that being developed by the EMCC, could provide, at *principle level*, a valuable means of defining and stipulating professional behaviour that would be of practical use for all interested parties. However, it is difficult to envisage how a competence framework and standards could be applied to higher-order coaching/mentoring, such as executive coaching, without the resulting output being convoluted to the point of being indigestible and therefore of little practical use.

The budding profession of coaching and mentoring will need to find other means to regulate higher-level practitioners, perhaps involving evidenced continuing professional development (CPD) and case-specific supervision (similar to therapists).

To conclude, the very nature of coaching and mentoring at the higher level is such that it will probably never be completely mapped or charted. This, of course, is a major reason why it holds such fascination for those engaged in it professionally, and why generations of master coaches will continue to inspire their learners and release their untapped potential.

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Competencies, Standards and Professionalization

Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson

Introduction

It is our view that the issues of competency, standards and professionalization in coaching and mentoring present a conundrum and indeed contradictory positions. Standards, for example, seem to be a basis for a higher and higher proportion of qualifications and curricula throughout the western world. These standards are increasingly based on competencies or learning outcomes. This approach seems to have become a dominant discourse and is rarely challenged. As discussed in Chapter 6, this is an example of linear thinking about learning and, as discussed in Chapter 10, it also relates to 'goal' assumptions applied in the context of learning and development.

The consequence of these discourses, as we have discussed in relation to other discourses is that they have become so loud and so embedded in professional bodies, universities and other providers' minds that alternatives become marginalized or worse, ignored and discounted and risk becoming wiped out by those who hold the loudest voices. This presents a problem for coaching and mentoring practice where, in the literature at least, individualism, variety, difference and complexity are celebrated as a core values.

Source: *Coaching and Mentoring: Theory and Practice* (London, UK: SAGE Publications, 2009), pp. 188–200.

Methodology

Overall, this chapter addresses three main questions:

- Can and should competencies be used as a basis for describing the role of coach and mentor?
- Can and should standards be built upon these competencies?
- Can and should a professional accreditation be established on the basis of these standards?

We also raise other questions.

On competencies we ask, what, in their turn, are the competencies based upon? In some cases, it seems as if the basis is what providers currently do; but we could ask, what are these existing providers' competencies based on? This line of questioning takes us into the Discworld created by the novelist Terry Pratchett. Featured in most of his 26 books, the Discworld is an imaginary location which consists of a flat disc sitting on top of four huge elephants which are in turn standing on the back of an enormous turtle as it slowly swims through space. One of his characters believes that the turtle sits on another turtle which sits on another turtle and so on. With competencies, it's perhaps from here on down just turtles all the way!

On standards, we ask the question, do you accredit the programme or the individuals or both?

On professionalization, we ask, how much professionalization is needed and appropriate in the field of coaching and mentoring, and the requirements for a profession that serves its customers.

To address these questions, we start with a discussion on the issue of competency. We then explore the pros and cons of the competency based view. We repeat this process for standards and professionalization.

Competencies

Competencies emerged from the systematic training model of the 1960s. Systematic training identified skills and knowledge (and later, attitudes) as a basis for building curricula. In the 1970s, there was a move to replace these curriculum-based units of analysis with a work-based unit, the competence. This described something that an individual in a job was able to do. At that time in history, it seemed a significant step forward, and, we would agree that competencies do have a number of advantages. Before considering their dark side, we outline these below. Looking at the positive side of these issues, we make the case for competencies being based on research – illustrating this

point by employing the European Mentoring and Coaching Council (EMCC) work in this area.

Arguments for a Competency Basis

Regulating the Wild West of Executive Development

Coaching has been described as the Wild West of executive development (Sherman and Freas, 2004). It is depicted as being populated by quacks and charlatans making unlikely claims based upon dubious methods, inadequately researched (see Chapter 2). We found in the early 1990s that corporate purchasers of coaching were crying out for something to happen to show them who were the sound coaches and who the fly-by-nights, among the dozens who were approaching each organization every week and offering their wares.

Ground Understanding of the Role on What Practitioners Do

Willis' (2005) research for the EMCC was perhaps the most thorough study of mentoring and coaching competencies undertaken anywhere. She developed her long list of over 900 competencies for mentors and coaches from the curricula of organizations that had produced detailed specifications to train coaches and mentors. This approach has the advantage of grounding the framework in current practice but, as discussed above and in Chapter 11, there is a risk that the dominant discourse of current practice has the disadvantage of not allowing for innovation and new emerging perspectives.

Creates Framework of Comparison

By bringing together differing frameworks on competencies, researchers have enabled the profession to see commonalities and contrasts between various approaches. This also contributes to developing a typology of roles such as executive mentor or career coach (see Chapter 5). They have also created a template that individuals can use in planning their professional development.

Validated by the Field

The EMCC framework was distributed to members and other leaders in the field who were asked to indicate which competencies they saw as core to their practice, which related to a particular approach or clientele they addressed and which were not relevant to their practice. In this way, patterns of competencies emerged that were doubly grounded in existing practice – first, from the competencies list that had been developed from existing curricula and, second, from the survey of experienced practitioners.

Arguments against a Competency Basis

Atomistic

The practice of any reasonably high-level skill is conducted and experienced as an integrated whole. We illustrate this point with terms in the EMCC's competency framework (www.EMCCouncil.org) which might apply to one action by a coach or mentor. The coach or mentor, when they reflect back to their client what has just been said, may be showing 'empathy', and they could also be said to be demonstrating 'listening', 'feedback', perhaps 'assessment', 'learning theory', 'supporting independence', 'ensuring understanding', 'active listening', 'building and maintaining the relationship' and many other items from the detailed list of competencies. To break down what a coach or mentor is doing and to specify it in unambiguous terms could be flying in the face of practice as experienced by both helper and helped.

Monoculture

There is a question for the profession of whether a standardization of coaching practice would be a good thing or not. Coachees and mentees are hugely varied in what they can do and what they want, and standardizing the offering is not necessarily a desirable feature for those seeking help. Biologists remind us of the inherent instability of monocultures.

Mere Competence

Another concern about competencies is that they create a frame of mind where professionals seek simply to do a 'good enough' job, rather than to create their own kind of excellence.

Deficiency Model

Competencies and standards can lead to a 'training gap' orientation, focussing coaching or mentoring on what the client lacks. This seems a pity motivationally and it misses all kinds of opportunities. Fairbairns, an early critic of the gap mentality, argued that in organizations where 'we have little idea about what is coming next, maybe we should stop looking at training needs analysis to help us to decide what training and development programmes to run' (1991: 45). Solutions-focussed approaches (Berg and Szabó, 2005) offer a reminder that the deficiency model is only one perspective on coaching.

Competencies Degrade in the Context of High-Anxiety and Low-Resource Base

A shrewd observer of mentoring in the UK National Health Service, Ed Rosen, made the observation to us that when professionals are highly anxious – perhaps

because of detailed surveillance, and under strong resource pressure, then the delivery of competencies can degrade. The professional is tempted merely to deliver what has been specified, even if it does not meet the emerging requirements of the situation.

In contrast to the idea of competencies, Richard Oliver's *purposive drift* offers another perspective (Oliver, 2006). He suggests coaches be clear about purpose, and open about what might turn up on the way: we should pay attention to making it up as you go along. Machine thinking and the claims made for it are a 'reassuring fiction'. 'We are smarter than we think, though more ignorant than we know' (2006: 23) and 'Our life work consists of identifying, maintaining, extending and amplifying our states of well-being' (2006: 24). Oliver argues: 'Sense of well-being is our compass point. Purposive drift is a relationship between values, competencies and contexts. Focusing on your context and your interactions with it tells you both what you value and the competencies that you can bring to bear on it' (2006: 29).

Three good questions for coaches around purposive drift are:

- Can I change anything in my context to help it to contribute to my well-being?
- Is there anything I can change in my interaction with my context to make it contribute to my well-being?
- Do I need to move from this context to another to increase my well-being?

Conclusion

There are arguments for and against competencies. The arguments for are about regulating a chaotic market and understanding what it is that coaches and mentors are purported to do.

The arguments against are grounded in the contrast between the ambiguous nature of the world and the nuanced approach necessary to the performance of a high-level skill.

Our view is that some kind of competency framework has become necessary – especially for external coaches, and, this being the case, it is better that the competencies be grounded in thorough research and linked to accredited qualifications but at the same time, like good practice in mentoring and coaching, there is scope for review and development.

Standards

Are standards possible in coaching and mentoring? This field is not an occupation with an overall model of theory or of practice. Comparison can be made with occupations like 'TA therapist', which have strong unifying theory behind them; or accountancy, which has national and international practices

that dictate how it should be conducted. In contrast to this position, there are many ways of delivering coaching and mentoring.

How much desire is there to standardize practice? Are those who purport to be interested in setting standards driven to further the profession and to improve the service to users or are they seeking personal advantage in an ambiguous market place? There is a parallel with the World Boxing Federation – are we seeking to create a unified belt, to win the inter-professional competition for influence, to regulate out deviants or to improve standards?

Is the development of standards in mentoring and coaching likely to lead to a pass or fail mentality, or is it likely to contribute to open-ended development? Parsloe (1992) and Parsloe and Wray (2000) suggest it can do both, though we have argued (Megginson et al., 2006: 247) that there is a significant risk that the standard becomes the *de facto* maximum that training and education providers will aspire to. So, a paradoxical question is: do standards raise standards?

A related issue is whether the requirement in some standards' frameworks for 'flying hours' (or number of hours of practice) as a criterion are an example of 'misplaced concreteness' (see Chapter 1).

If you decide to follow the standards route, then a pragmatic question is: do you accredit the programme or the individuals or both? The EMCC has followed the route of accrediting programmes and strongly in the UK, and increasingly in other European countries, coach and mentor training providers are seeking accreditation. The International Coach Federation (ICF), on the other hand, focusses on individual accreditation and has built a substantial base of accredited members in the US (see also Chapter 14) and increasingly in European countries.

Arguments for a Standards Approach

Time of Purchasers in Dealing with Bids

One of the ways that the need for standards emerged within EMCC conferences and other gatherings was in purchasers from large organizations complaining about the time they had to spend in dealing with unsolicited bids for work from coaches. It was as if aspiring coaches were going away on a weekend course, and then stopping off at a service station on the motorway and going to a machine and printing off a business card claiming that they were a business coach. A perception arose that something had to be done – and the professional bodies saw accreditation as the way to go.

Creating an Efficient Market for Coaching Services

In an ambiguous market, there are greater transaction costs if product quality is hard to verify. These greater costs are borne in part by purchasers, who

have to create bespoke processes to verify the quality of suppliers. However, the transaction costs also impinge on the suppliers.

First, the overall size of the market will be reduced by marginal purchasers deciding that the game is not worth the candle and opting out.

Second, the ambiguity creates costs for sellers of services as they may have to spend unremunerated time on bespoke selection processes (beauty parades) in order to obtain work. Reducing ambiguity makes the market work more efficiently – purchasers can ask: do you have ICF accreditation, or does your training as a coach receive the EMCC quality standard? And this could be all they need to ask because the profession has created standards for itself that are acceptable to the purchasers.

Customers Can Judge Standards Easily

There are of course inherent ambiguities in answering the question: what is quality in coaching provision? However, for some purchasers getting a guarantee that a supplier is an accredited professional may be all the assurance they need. The Association for Professional Executive Coaching and Supervision (APECS) seeks to take the simplification process further by encouraging purchasers to become members and to allow the Association to do the selecting of coaches for them.

Arguments against a Standards Approach

On the other hand, there are arguments against standards. These are arguments of principle rather than of practice, so the debate about the usefulness of standards can be seen as a tussle between pragmatists, who want order and to get on with the job, and theorists, who see the apparent rationality of standards as being spurious and as kowtowing to unacknowledged and unattainable needs for certainty.

Illusion of Control – Misplaced Concreteness

Many feel that if there are variable standards and opacity of performance in an occupation, then setting standards will resolve this problem. Critics of this view argue that standards related to mentor or coach training or alleged coach performance miss the point. Standards, to influence the improvement of coaching, need to attend to the relationship between the coach or mentor and their client. It is between our noses rather than between the coach's ears that the standard is established.

In practice, standards are located in an even wider forum than this – the context also dictates whether the experience is judged as being 'up to standard'. A mentor and mentee may both agree that the relationship was transformative and energizing for the mentee, but if the organization sponsor thinks it didn't

meet the scheme agenda, or if the mentee's boss thinks that it didn't address their staff members needs as the boss perceived them, then it may become judged as a failed intervention. And what about the mentee's colleagues or staff? Or the mentee's customers? Or HR department? Or the government body funding the scheme? The boundaries that we put round the relationship, who is in and who is outside, will influence, perhaps markedly, how any one-to-one relationship is perceived (see Colley, 2003).

Credentializing the Passable

It is often said that, 'What's measurable gets measured'. When people enquire about a course from a training provider or an education establishment they often ask: but can you be sure that it will make me a better coach? Providers, to deal with such enquires, focus on particular competencies or curriculum that seems to them to satisfy their potential clients. What they offer is a set of abilities and they say that to pass you have to demonstrate that you have these. But what about maverick coaches who want to use their own view of what helps? Or principled mentors who lodge their interventions in a view about what a just society might be like?

Providers of training have to be fair to all, so they are drawn into ensuring that there is a common template against which all will be measured. And then there is the question of marginally passable people. As external examiners and in our own institution we experience difficult cases where a course member's performance has been marginal – just about good enough to pass the course, but no more. Would you want to be coached or mentored by such a candidate? Probably not, but the credentializing process means that such people will inevitably be out there. No one wants to be operated upon by a brain surgeon who got 1 per cent over the pass/fail boundary, but lots of patients are operated on by just such people and the same principle follows for qualified coaches.

Lack of Coherence to Coaching and Mentoring as Activities

We have made the point that many professional bodies are held together by an extensive shared body of knowledge. In spite of the attempts by bodies such as EMCC and ICF, it is still the case that there is a huge range of ways of coaching and mentoring in all sectors of society. As this is the case, it makes setting standards more problematic than it would be for a more established profession. As pointed out in Chapter 1, both the literature and the market place are populated by people who see the practices of others as deeply flawed. For example: 'Don't go to a Gestalt coach, they mess with your head'; 'If you go for a business coach who isn't solutions focussed or you'll spend all your time looking at problems'; 'Don't go to a mentor at all; they'll just dish out

gratuitous advice.' This positioning is perhaps an inevitable consequence of the commodification of coaching and mentoring first raised in Chapter 1.

A Note on 360-Degree Feedback

A very helpful short article on 360-degree feedback (Goodge and Coomber, 2007) argues that coaches using 360-degree feedback should focus on performance rather than on the data. This accords with our experience of using these tools. A crucial step is to identify the big goal, instead of getting bogged down in the minutiae. While working on this goal, Goodge and Coomber (2007) suggest that the coach helps the client to find ten options for action, especially attending to change processes, use of time, delegation, meetings, structures, jobs, relationships, information systems; and not just books, courses, learning from others. This is strong advice, as 360-degree feedback tends to be an HR intervention and therefore HR remedies are often recommended. Goodge and Coomber (2007) redirect our attention to learning and action in and through work itself, and away from the standards that lie behind most feedback frameworks.

Conclusion

Standards are a pervasive part of organizational life. They can do much less than is often claimed for them. Nonetheless, for many, they are a necessary part of developing an emerging profession of coaching or of quality assuring the social movement of mentoring.

Professionalization

Is professionalization a convenient rationale by the proto-profession of coaching to help to raise prices, by restricting supply? Or does it regulate the 'dog eat shark' approach of commercialism? What happens to an occupation when it makes the journey from an unregulated group of practices to a unified profession? Will the insiders move closer to the centre, while the outsiders are pushed further out? The latter point is offered as a critique of communities of practice in Chapter 8 ('Learning Networks').

In coaching and mentoring we are dealing with a thoroughly amorphous cluster of interests and foci. The population varies according to:

Client group – the differences could not be wider: some executive coaches deal with the most senior levels in global companies; some social mentors deal with the most disadvantaged, demoralized and deskilled in our communities.

Level of skill – some line managers operating as coaches do so after a day or even less of training; some executive coaching organizations argue that to be a coach you need to first be qualified as a psychologist and then do extensive training after that.

Basis for helping skill – some executive coaches and small business mentors seem to think that having been in a senior position and having trod the same path as their clients that is all they need to function well; other executive coaches argue that therapeutic skills of a high order are needed. Even among this latter group there are many sharp differences – some feel that existential therapy is the answer, others adhere to transactional analysis, others Gestalt therapy; the list is endless.

We explore how much professionalization is needed or appropriate in the field of coaching and mentoring, and the requirements for a profession that serves its customers. What are the arguments for and against professionalization?

Arguments for Professionalization

Emerging Profession

Professionalization can be seen as a natural process that is followed by a huge range of occupations as part of their evolution. A body of knowledge is identified, it is codified and one or more membership organizations seek to defend the code and define the field. There are ancient professions – medicine, church, law – newer professions – accountancy, surveying, architecture – and proto-professions – coaching and mentoring, IT, facilities managers. According to this view, professionalization is a natural process and different occupations will flow along this course in a natural and somehow inevitable way.

Control of Poor Performers and Unethical Practitioners

Every membership body concerned with coaching and mentoring has a code of ethics and an ethics committee to oversee it. This interest in ethics seems to be unfeigned. The EMCC ethics committee at a formative stage conducted a survey of members and found a remarkably high degree of interest in and use of the ethical standards among members. When offering external coaching or mentoring, purchasers are pleased to know that those selling their services are bound by a professional code. It is very unlikely that the purchaser will need to invoke the code – and the sanctions that its upholders can apply are limited in proto-professions – nonetheless, purchasers report that it is good to know that it is there.

Reduce Burden of Assessment of Potential Coaches

As discussed above under the heading of ‘Standards’, there are money and time costs of not having standards, and professional membership acts as a useful first filter in assessing which coach or mentor a purchaser will use.

Enables Committed Professionals to Differentiate Themselves in the Market

Any rigorous process of entry to a professional body, if it does nothing else, at least separates those committed to the profession from casual or dilettante practitioners. And some years of study and reflection on professional practice is highly likely to create some improvement in performance in an overwhelming majority of cases, even if it can offer no guarantee in every individual so accredited.

Carried by a Public-Spirited and Non-Doctrinaire Body It Can Prevent Partisan Advocates of One Particular Approach from Dominating the Scene

In recent years, our experience of EMCC has led us to the conclusion that without bodies like this the coaching profession could have been hijacked by people with a self-interested axe to grind. Psychologists would have been more tempted to claim that you have to be a psychologist to coach; retired executives would have had a louder voice calling for the T-shirt test (that you have to have been there to help others); and alumni of a particular school of coach training might have had a disproportionate traction on the market.

Arguments against Professionalization

Focus on Where the Big Bucks Are Rather Than Areas of Greatest Social Need

It is surely no coincidence that the biggest interest in the multiplicity of bodies involved in professionalizing coaching has clustered round executive coaching. There is an old joke that the answer to the question, ‘What’s the difference between a life coach and an executive coach?’ is ‘£200 an hour’. In some quarters of central London the fee for executive coaching may change the punch-line to as much as ‘£1,000 per hour’. By encouraging the development of a profession we might unwittingly marginalize those who work in unfashionable or badly funded areas of work, and that this would be undesirable.

Self-Interest of Providers

More generally, professionalization can be seen as serving the self-interest of their members and not focussing on the good of the wider community of customers, clients, purchasers and society at large. So, while professions may not do much harm, they attend to doing 'good' primarily for their members and only secondarily for others if this helps them to maintain their mandate from society.

Professionals Are a Conspiracy against the Laity

George Bernard Shaw called all professions an organized conspiracy against the laity. This is the strongest case against professions in general: that they actively do harm to others by protecting the incompetent, defending the indefensible and preserving the mystery of the occupation from the prying eyes of outsiders who might question the taken-for-granted beliefs or dominant discourses of practitioners. A particular target of this attack on professions is the practice of members of the profession serving as judge and jury of behaviour in the profession. Cases of professional misconduct are handled universally by members of the profession themselves, and those outside the charmed circle may feel that their experience of the profession is given short shrift in the process.

Conclusions

Professions are seen as a pervasive feature of contemporary life, and so, it could be argued, coaching and mentoring need to get in on the game with everyone else. The case for this is supported by an austere vision for professions as the disinterested guardians of standards in public life. Standing against this argument for professions is the perspective that they operate largely on an agenda of self-interest. Reflecting on our own involvement with the coaching and mentoring profession, we see both these motives at work. Professionalization provides more education work for universities; it creates a climate where more people are likely to seek paid coaches and mentors. At the same time, we find ourselves impelled by a sense that we owe it to our clients and to the wider society to ensure that people who are licensed to coach and mentor abide by the highest professional standards and ethical codes.

The Influence of the European Union

The EMCC, the Association of National Organisations for Supervision in Europe and three national organizations (two German and one French) have jointly appointed a representative to explore how the associations could develop

their strategic alignment in the European Union. The Bologna Process from 1999 has initiated close co-operation between universities in establishing a European system with standardized levels for Bachelor and Master's degrees. The Copenhagen Process from 2002 identified four priority areas for vocational education and development: strengthening the European dimension; transparency; recognition of competencies and qualifications; and quality assurance. Then in 2005 the European Parliament agreed a Directive on recognition of professional qualifications, and in 2006 a framework for joint platforms. In 2007, the Commission decided on the formation of a group of co-ordinators for the recognition of professional qualifications. Work in the EU has been undertaken on the development of vocational guidance and it is possible that developments in coaching and mentoring could be related to this established body of work. An argument for those involved in coaching and mentoring becoming active in the European dimension is that this will enable us to be masters of our own fate. One of the other issues for coaching and mentoring is whether a distinctive European framework is desirable and needed or whether it is satisfactory to follow a US-led framework.

Conclusions

To return to the three main questions we raised at the start of the chapter:

- Can and should competencies be used as a basis for describing the role of coach and mentor?
- Can and should standards be built upon these competencies?
- Can and should a professional accreditation be established on the basis of these standards?

This chapter, while focussing on standards, competencies and professionalization, has as an underlying theme the question of social order and how it is maintained in communities of practice and in organizations availing themselves of the communities' services.

Taking the first question, yes competencies can be used as a way of describing the role of a coach or mentor. The question of 'should they be?' is debatable with no clear answer.

To take the second question, standards could be built on a competency framework but again, the question of 'should they be?' is still a debate.

The third question raises some conflicting issues. We conclude that there are strong pressures to bring order to mentoring and coaching communities but perhaps this is driven by the dominant concept of the rational pragmatic manager first raised in Chapter 3. Whilst there is nothing wrong with this concept, several hundred years of research into learning and developmental also points to alternative ways of interacting with the world. The risk of the

rational pragmatic dominating is the risk inherent in Tayloristic 'one-best way' practices which may be fine in a stable world but, as discussed in Chapter 13, diversity is a big challenge to humankind and a diversity-informed perspective embraces different and alternative views.

There are also persuasive arguments against a competency-based approach. These are based on both libertarian values and the search for innovation and impact from coaching and mentoring and a diversity mindset where difference is to be celebrated. The alternative is the logic of 'turtles all the way down' or the dominance of one power base over another. In the end the current state is based on 'you pays your money and you take your choice': but, is paying your money one way or the other a sophisticated and all-embracing position fit for the twenty-first century? Perhaps not.

The Future

We see pressure for competencies, standards and professionalization growing in the future, thanks to the combined interests of suppliers, purchasers, educators and regulators. We dream of a world where people have a more nuanced approach than this and negotiate their wishes between each other as free and responsible citizens. Is this going to happen? At our university the number of people wanting to come on our competency-grounded, EMCC-standard-approved, professional Master's course is increasing year by year. On the other hand, in recent years we have met a growing trickle of people coming to us and saying, 'Is there any way of studying this subject in a coaching way, where I negotiate the curriculum to meet my idiosyncratic needs, and where I do only what will be useful to my practice?' We are developing ways to encourage and work with this trickle of people. Will the trickle become a flood? We hope so, but we are not holding our breath.

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Are We Obsessed with Skills and Competences in C&M?

Bob Garvey

Introduction

As presented in Chapter 1, coaching and mentoring theory is also drawn from other frameworks in sport, developmental psychology, psychotherapy, sociology and philosophy. An ongoing debate within the coaching and mentoring worlds also links to learning and development theories. The HR profession seems to have adopted these theories in organisational contexts and this has led to an approach which inevitably involves the rational pragmatic use of skills training, competency frameworks, standards and the call for increased professionalisation not only for coaches but also mentors. This chapter takes a critical look at the question of skills and competencies in coaching and mentoring and argues for a return to the concept of the 'professional' rather than the professionally qualified or professionalisation.

The chapter first presents some propositions about learning and then links these to various dominant discourses in the organisational context. It then brings together these positions into a discussion about professionalisation versus the concept of the professional.

Source: *A Very Short, Fairly Interesting and Reasonably Cheap Book about Coaching and Mentoring* (London, UK: SAGE Publications, 2011), pp. 48–65.

Learning and Development, Coaching and Mentoring

If we link coaching and mentoring to learning and development frameworks, it is first necessary to understand some key features of human learning. I would propose these cover the following:

Learning is:

- Social
- Cultural
- Situated
- Transforming
- Continuous
- A natural human experience
- Linked to moral issues.

Social

Learning is a social activity (see Argyris & Schon, 1981; Boisot et al., 1996; Nonaka 1991; Polanyi, 1958) and it takes place through an interaction with other people: it is either helped or hindered by the framework of social relationships within which it occurs.

Cultural

Learning is simultaneously a social and cultural activity made possible by human beings' ability to communicate with one another through a common language. Language enables us to codify our experience into bodies of knowledge and we pass this on from one generation to another. It gives us the ability to build up ideas and to confer a meaning, significance and purpose onto what we do. Cultures are also collections of values and beliefs and these influence the boundaries to learning by creating and enforcing social norms on learning. So what is acceptable for questions and challenges in one culture may not be so in another. Further, what determines an appropriate approach to learning varies from culture to culture.

Situated

Learning is also a situated activity. What people learn, the pace at which they do so, the quality and depth of their understanding are very much related to the circumstances in which they live and work. People may also learn what not to do as well as what to do.

Transforming

All learning involves personal transformation as new possibilities open up with further understanding. Through learning, people transform their sense of who they are and the possibilities in their lives. It provides them with a deeply personal measure of how they themselves have changed. New learning inevitably opens up new questions about the world and new possibilities in human lives. Learning generates a new sense of openness in human identities and nurtures new hopes and fears. Some organisations and settings will nurture this and some will not.

Continuous

Learning takes place in all domains of human experience. It can be continuous throughout life and learning in one domain is, potentially at least, transferable to others.

Natural Human Experience

Learning is part of human experience – hence the importance of experiential learning in contemporary management theory – but it is not only an individual experience. While it is obvious that only individuals can learn there can also be a sense of collective learning because learning is social: we learn by, with and from others and this gives a real sense in which organisations have the potential to nurture new learning.

Morality

As discussed in previous chapters, within developed economies issues of manipulation, control and the abuse or uses of power are central features and within learning environments these power dynamics cannot be ignored. This is because, as Jarvis (1992: 7) puts it, '*... learning, and perhaps knowledge itself, has significant moral connotations*'. Jarvis argues that the moral dimension is inescapable in learning and knowledge acquisition. He traces his argument to the myth of Adam and Eve. Before eating from the tree of knowledge both were innocent, but afterwards they had acquired the knowledge of good and evil. Some theologians describe this event as 'the Fall' but 'Archbishop William Temple once commented that if this was a fall, it was a fall upwards! Perhaps this is the greatest paradox of all human learning – the fact that something generally regarded as good has been intimately associated with a myth of the origin evil in the world . . . learning, and perhaps knowledge itself, has significant moral connotations' (Jarvis, 1992: 7).

Implications of the Learning Propositions

The implications of these propositions are profound. The dominating discourse of the pragmatic and rational manager often leads to the discourse of 'a manager's right to manage' that is found in organisations. This discourse, while reasonable in some respects, can also lead to a 'manager knows best' discourse and this could include 'one best way thinking', goal-dominated working practices and sometimes the inappropriate exercise of control and a misuse of power. Arguably, the evidence for this discourse could be seen, for example, in the recent rash of industrial disputes in the UK within British Airways and the British Airports Authority. HR departments, acting as agents for the pragmatic rational management, often take up and act on these arguments.

The above propositions can also help us to see that for too long most people working in modern economies have been prevented from developing their human potential to the full because few organisations have developed the environments to facilitate the very thing they profess to want – creative, innovative and self-motivated people. Not only have individuals within these environments missed the opportunities potentially open to them, but organisations and society have also lost the benefit of the further development of their most precious asset: their people. The implication here is that the rational pragmatic discourse of 'one best way' in management, a unitarist position, has no place in a true learning environment. Thus, the scientific method of cause and effect, which so dominates the management mindset, is seriously challenged and this raises issues for coaching and mentoring as well.

Added to this are clear resonances between mentoring and coaching and the above propositions. However, Cox (2006) points out that there is very little connection in the literature between adult learning and coaching despite the similarity between the two discourses. This is not to suggest that coaching writers don't make links to learning and development, they do quite often as is shown in Chapter 5, but there is not the detailed rigour in their discussions that you tend to find in the mentoring literature (see, for example, Brockbank & McGill (2006); Kram & Chandler (2005); Lankau & Scandura, (2002); Sullivan (1995).

Could this be because coaching is still a relatively new concept or term and is under-researched whereas mentoring is very well researched? And could it be that the coaching discourse employs the rational pragmatic mindset and focuses on performance rather than learning?

It may be because there are many people who have not made the links between coaching and mentoring and prefer to keep these separate – it is my experience that coaching writers do not draw too much on mentoring literature.

It may also be that, to date, the emphasis in coaching research has been return on investment (linking to a perceived management discourse) and has yet to develop insights into adult learning and coaching. And yet as is shown

in the tables in Chapter 5, there are signs that in recent years the balance has shifted in the coaching literature as more people are expressing an interest in coaching.

It may also be because many of those involved with writing coaching books and papers seek to differentiate coaching from mentoring, with mentoring being positioned as an essentially voluntary activity conducted by relatively unskilled people.

In my hopeful, positive, and even idealistic moments, I would like to think that the core discourse of coaching and mentoring is an antidote to such thinking and as such it provides an alternative discourse to most mainstream management discourses. This may account for the huge increase in mentoring and coaching activity across all parts of developed and developing economies as people are crying out for a different way to relate at work. For me, the challenge is that so many practitioners and some academics seem to subscribe to the managerial discourse of the 'rational pragmatic' in order to get either coaching or mentoring going.

Another and perhaps alternative dominant discourse for the rational pragmatic manager within many different types of work organisation around the world is founded in the commonly presented slogan that management is about 'achieving results through people'. The implications for ethical behaviour are challenging here. In my view, there are two discourse imperatives in business – effectiveness and efficiency. Both are important and yet there is an inherent conflict between the two as Harrison and Smith (2001: 199) suggest: *'to do things effectively is not the same as to do them well'*. Effectiveness relates to the quality of an activity and efficiency links to time. Harrison and Smith (2001: 199) continue here by speculating as to *'whether one would prefer to be managed by the good manager or the effective manager, let alone the efficient one'*. These natural tensions may be resolved through flexibility, innovation and creativity but these may also require new ways of thinking and changes in the organisational narrative in such areas as power, status and control and I would acknowledge that it is very difficult for a manager to empower all this. The conflict here is similar to the tensions that naturally occur in learning and the concept of experiential learning could be of use in assisting a shift in position.

Experiential Learning

Kolb (1984), for example, clearly argues that learning from experience is a process and not a product or outcome. His framework, derived from Kurt Lewin, John Dewey and Jean Piaget, develops a set of 'structural dimensions' that underpin the process of experiential learning and lead to four different forms of knowledge, divergent, assimilative, convergent and accommodative. He views the process as cyclic but within the cycle are tensions. Kolb's model

also offers two aspects of learning; gaining experience through action; gaining experience through reflection. Action-based experience leads to 'apprehension' whereas reflective experience leads to 'comprehension'. He suggests that experience gained during action or testing is 'concrete experience'. Experience, gained through apprehension, may involve feelings about the 'heat' of the situation, the mood, the ambience. Having a concrete experience will include a whole range of events, some of which will be tangible and others intangible. The resultant knowledge, according to Kolb, is 'accommodative knowledge' or extended knowledge. Kolb (1984: 52) summarises how these forms fit together in a process of learning as follows:

Learning, the creation of knowledge and meaning, occurs through active extension and grounding of ideas and experiences in the external world and through internal reflection about the attributes of these experiences and ideas.

Inherent in his model of learning are paradoxes and conflicts and it is these very tensions that create the conditions for learning. A task may be performed identically by two separate individuals but the resultant concrete experience may be completely different and just as relevant. It is also interesting to note that Kolb emphasises 'internal' reflection. The coach or mentor can help with 'external' reflection by helping the coachee or mentee to verbalise their thoughts and this is perhaps based on Weick's (1995: 18) notion of '*How can I know what I think until I see what I say?*' Although Kolb does not explore coaching or mentoring in the context of experiential learning, it is clear that coaching and mentoring can play an important part in facilitating learning through experience (see, for example, Alred & Garvey, 2010; Chapman, 2010) that can lead to transformation and change within the coachee or mentee.

As a result, rather than seeking to control, a mentoring or coaching manager may seek to facilitate understanding within a specific context and this could lead to new insights and change. It is not for the manager to specify the nature and form of these insights, it is for the coachee or mentee to do so in their own way. Some might see this as risky and may not be willing to take the chance on letting their power positions go, others may find that in doing so the performance they dream of starts to appear!

The Change Discourse

As raised in Chapter 3, another discourse is about constant change. This relates to the efficiency and effectiveness arguments in that change in an organizational context is nearly always viewed by managers as 'good' and leading to improved effectiveness or efficiency. It also links to organisational policies for recruitment and selection, learning and development, and health and safety.

As Garvey et al. (2009: 96–97) indicate, this then leads to assumptions that people are needed in the workplace who can:

- adapt to change rapidly;
- be innovative and creative;
- be flexible;
- learn quickly and apply their knowledge to a range of situations;
- maintain good mental and physical health;
- work collaboratively.

They add in the pressure to perform and how it is important for '*employees to have strong and stable personalities*' (Kessels, 1996) and be able to '*tolerate complexity*' (Garvey & Alred, 2001). See Chapter 6 for a brief discussion on the psychological impact of these pressures on individuals.

This list of attributes of the modern employee could be found in most job specifications in almost any country in the world. One recent job specification, for example, for a role as a community Project Manager in Uganda, Africa, listed the following attributes:

- Strong leadership skills, including ability to build and motivate a team as well as willingness to deal with conflicts up front;
- Political and cultural sensitivity, including ability to adapt well to local cultures;
- Diplomatic and tactful;
- Proven ability to function well in a potentially volatile and sometimes stressful environment;
- Strong liaison and communication skills;
- Ability to resist external pressures;
- Innovative and creative thinking;
- Strong analytical and reporting skills. (<http://unjobs.org/vacancies/1279743103672>)

This is a challenging list and, arguably, these may not be developed via training or the competency frameworks so commonly promulgated by organisations! So, there is a problem here as well! Kessels (1996), from The Netherlands, argues that the skills and competency approaches to learning are becoming increasingly redundant. Many managers observe that this type of development simply does not deliver (see Broad & Newstrom, 1992; Groot, 1993). There are strong resonances in the above with the literature and practice of coaching and mentoring and previous chapters in this book. It seems to me that the support and potential for growth offered by coaching and mentoring addresses the issue of which key attributes people need for modern business very well on an individual basis. However, within the professional bodies for mentoring and coaching there seems to be a blockage in mindsets and an increasing emphasis

on skills and competency development. This when set against the kinds of profile for the 'good' employee outlined above creates another paradoxical argument. An organisation wants and needs these attributes for its people and competency and skills frameworks do not deliver – but they do persist and the coaching and mentoring bodies promote competency frameworks for coaches and mentors! It seems that everyone is singing from the same hymnsheet but ignoring both the research and practical experience!

What's Wrong with Competencies?

In themselves nothing, but Garvey et al. (2009: 191) note '*when professionals are highly anxious . . . under strong resource pressure, then the delivery of competencies can degrade*'. Barnett (1994: 73) goes further when he states '*the notion of competence is concerned with predictable behaviours in predictable situations*'.

These are serious observations that suggest that using competency frameworks to develop people for stable situations is probably acceptable, but set against the need to change arguments there is a problem. A competency approach to developing the skills and attributes outlined above is problematic because as Bolden and Gosling (2006: 148) suggest, there are five commonly cited problems with such frameworks:

- 1) The reductionist nature of competencies makes them inadequate to deal with the complexities of a job role (Ecclestone, 1997; Grugulis, 1998; Lester, 1994).
- 2) The generic nature of competencies means that they are not sensitive to specific situations, tasks or individuals (Grugulis, 2000; Loan-Clarke, 1996; Swales & Roodhouse, 2003).
- 3) They represent a view of past performance rather than act as a predictor of future behaviour (Cullen, 1992; Lester, 1994).
- 4) They tend to exclude subtle qualities, interactions and situational factors (Bell et al., 2002).
- 5) They create a limited and mechanistic approach to learning (Brundrett, 2000).

Both coaching and mentoring are often employed to help develop people using competency frameworks, particularly in leadership development. Yet for me this presents a problem in practice where the coaching and mentoring literature emphasises individualism, autonomy, choice, variety, difference and complexity as core values, but the professional bodies call for regulation, control, standards and competencies. This is another paradox of meaning and practice and I would speculate that professional bodies are engaging in their perceptions of the dominant discourse of the rational pragmatic manager in

order to engage with the management mindset. While it is imperative to do so, as I raised in the Introduction, the current practice seems to be more collusive than collaborative. Where is the critical debate?

Again, I do not suggest that the above is a malicious act but it is one that is influenced by the dominant discourse of which people become a part. Of course this is not exclusive to the coaching and mentoring professional bodies and would be no different to any other professional body or social grouping, but wouldn't the application of the coaching and mentoring approach that involves challenge and support surely be more appropriate here? We may be engaging in Argyris' (1992) concept of '*espoused theory and theory in use*' at this point, where he notes that what people say is not necessarily what they do.

There are management discourses that subscribe to the learning and development agenda but these are often from HRD professionals and consultants who seem to have to constantly struggle to communicate with the rational pragmatic manager who seeks rational pragmatic proof.

Arguments in Learning for Competitiveness

In an age of science, technology and mass communications, economic life is driven by a competitive search for advantage and profit based on the exploitation of new knowledge. All sectors of the modern economy depend for their survival and growth on maintaining and developing ideas, skills and products, which increasingly require advanced scientific, technological and social scientific research. The results of such research are applied in all domains of social, economic and political life, acting as catalysts of social change. This means that learning and development and knowledge development are and always have been central features of economies. And yet, organisations still find it difficult to create the environments in which these can happen.

A possible explanation can be found in what could be seen as a mass societal construction of learning, based on substantial research by eminent scholars like Piaget, Jung, Levinson, Buhler, Neugarten, Kegan, Gilligan and Kohlbergh. This positions learning in stages or phases. The intellectual movements of the last two hundred years have all conspired to make this staged view or linear picture of learning virtually irresistible and certainly dominant.

Darwinian ideas of evolution and Marxist laws of historical progress have become part of our everyday outlook. The implication of this view of learning is that it is possible to 'hurry people along' or give them a 'leg up the ladder'. More dangerously, it positions and divides people as having achieved or not achieved against a linear framework. It also connects with the idea that learning can be prespecified in advance. While in some cases this might be a reasonable point of view, say with learning a specific skill or acquiring some core principle, the linear approach depends on goals, objectives, targets because success can be measured by whether or not these have been achieved. However, this only

gets us to where we want to go by the straightest and most direct route – it cannot develop any awareness of the different kinds of destination available, the speed of travel or the choice of route, nor does it hold out any promise that we will be enriched by the outcome.

Curricula in schools across the world are based on this concept, as are university curricula and training functions in organisations. This concept has now become so familiar that we seldom notice the significance of it but children in schools are positioned by it and adults are graded by it and careers are enhanced or dashed by this concept. Every experienced coach and mentor knows that there are other ways of looking at learning that are often revealed in the central feature of learning conversations, reflection.

The act of reflection facilitated by a coach or mentor is central to the facilitated conversation and without it we cannot think new thoughts nor have new thoughts about old ideas, customs or practices. In theory at least, coachees and mentees are not being ‘taught’ anything but are being helped to revisit and find new ways into old truths or to have new insights or ideas. Here learning is non-linear. In this way coaches and mentors are, potentially, dealing with basic and apparently simple ideas, but in reality these are so complex, so deceptive in their simplicity, and yet so important, that they have to be approached again and again from different angles.

As Schulman (1993: 308–314) pointed out *‘The more central a concept, principle, or skill to any discipline or interdiscipline, the more likely it is to be irregular, ambiguous, elusive, puzzling, and resistant to simple propositional exposition or explanation’*. Schulman realises that *‘less is more’* and where we so readily think in terms of progress we have to appreciate the significance of a different set of terms: selectivity, depth, variation and richness are four that Schulman mentions.

Instead of a single, linear track the learner requires a *‘criss-crossing of the landscape’*, the active application of multiple representations through metaphors, analogies, narratives and inventive examples. These require on the part of the learner *‘constructions, iterations, and, most important, dialogues and debates’* (Schulman, 1993: 308–314). This seems to resonate strongly with the philosophy of coaching and mentoring and not with regulated competency frameworks. However, we are still left with the question of the professionalisation arguments where skills frameworks and competency frameworks dominate.

The Skills and Competency Movement in Coaching and Mentoring

Professional bodies in the coaching and mentoring worlds have already developed or are developing competency frameworks and standards of practice, particularly for coaches. These issues present a challenging puzzle. The notion of ‘standards’ in educational settings for qualifications forms a core feature of

curriculum design throughout the western world. The discourse around such qualifications emphasises competencies or pre-specified learning outcomes (a version of goals) and these also link to the linear model of learning presented above. This manifests in stages of qualification or a hierarchy of membership levels. The exponential growth in performance league tables for organisations and performance objectives for individuals provides evidence of this view (see Caulkin, 1995, 1997).

A straightforward explanation of this is found in Bernstein’s (1971) work. He looks at curriculum design in two main ways – the open or the closed. In an open curriculum the learner leads the learning agenda, delivery is learner-led and dependent on the situation, and assessment is harder to achieve because this can only be done in relation to the learner’s agenda (does this sound familiar from the coaching and mentoring literature?). In a closed curriculum the subject matter is pre-specified, delivery is content-based, and ‘teacher’-led. Assessment is dominant and is easy to achieve because the learning is pre-specified. Competencies fit with the closed curriculum and therefore have appeal because they are easily measurable and thus fit with the rational pragmatic mindset.

Of course we do learn some things through a closed approach but for many issues in the workplace this is not the case. According to Bernstein (1971) the closed curriculum tends to require learners to be more compliant and less empowered, to demonstrate less initiative and little innovation or creativity. Whereas an open curriculum tends to require the learner to be less compliant and more empowered, to demonstrate more initiative and be more creative and innovative in approach. This is more in line with the attributes outlined in the previously quoted job specification.

Despite this competency frameworks are rarely challenged (see Garvey et al., 2009), even when key writers in the coaching world such as Whitmore (1992: 56–57), who is clearly anti-competencies – *‘obsession with techniques killed the coaching’* and *‘responsibility and awareness are the key, how you get there is not important’*, and Flaherty (1999: 13), who stated that *‘techniques don’t work!’*, are making their opinions be heard.

The pro-competency discourse has become so loud and so embedded in professional bodies, universities and other providers’ minds that alternatives have become marginalised, or worse ignored and discounted, and risk is becoming extinct because of those who have the loudest voices. For me, this seems to offer huge risks. A recent evaluation of the London Deanery’s Mentoring programme for Doctors and Dentists (Chadwick-Coule & Garvey, 2009) raised challenging questions: *“How much training or education is enough?”* *“Could the culture of training have negative affects on people in a competency based world where the opportunity to be not good enough is increased?”* These were based on a quotation from one mentoring doctor:

... you can’t be an educational supervisor just because you have done it for 10 years, you need to train to be one, you can’t assess a junior doctor

just because you have done it for 20 years, you need to train to do it, you can't be a mentor unless you have trained to do it, as these specific trainings have come in, I have to say that I have experienced a profound loss of confidence, despite being quite a senior doctor, to the point where I would say the mentoring has added to that process of feeling that you're in the wrong, you're falling short, you're not good enough, that you're not up to standard, that perhaps you're not a very good supervisor, that perhaps you're not a very good coach. I am plagued by those kinds of thoughts in a way that is quite unhelpful, because of the development in postgraduate medical training and the kind of professionalisation of some of these roles. (Mentor)

If this is what we are doing I am very concerned, because yet again exclusion is the result rather than inclusion.

A further point, as mentioned in Chapter 2 and according to de Haan (2008), is that the relationship matters and not the model or the techniques. De Haan is referring to the relationship between coach and coachee, however, that is not the only relationship possible here. Coachees and mentees may also have a relationship with the concept of coaching or mentoring. The literature mainly emphasises the coach's or the mentor's skills and experience, but what of the notion of the skilled coachee or mentee? If both parties to the coaching or mentoring subscribe to the concept of coaching or mentoring and submit themselves to the process, there is the potential to reduce the power distance between them and thus provide an opportunity for a more balanced and productive conversation. The alternative is that the coach or mentor maintains the power position – and this may suit professional bodies and many coaches and mentors!

Professional bodies have also developed the idea of 'flying hours'. Like a pilot, a coach or mentor needs to have time to practise, reflect and experiment in order to become skilled. While in principle this seems like a good idea and it is rooted on the idea of ancient craft guilds and apprenticeships, there are also problems here. In their defence, professional bodies do ask for evidence of hours, but in my view it is the underpinning assumptions that are the difficulty and these seem, yet again, to be an attempt to quantify a human experience. Certainly hours can be counted but hours in themselves are only an indicator of development. They say nothing about the variety of experience, the quality of the experience or the coach or mentor's ability to reflect and learn from the experience. Reporting hours is simply not the same as demonstrating competence. It is a bit like someone saying that they have thirty years' experience but actually it is the same experience for thirty years! Hours reporting alone seems like a blunt instrument.

Professional bodies do however recognise the importance of continuous professional development. As raised in the Introduction, if a coach or a mentor ever thinks that they know it all it is time for them to stop! Therefore professional bodies provide, through CPD events, conferences, journals and

newsletters support for continuous learning and challenge. Moreover, some engage with or commission research. This can only be a good thing. However, what does professionalisation mean?

Professionalisation or Professional?

Professionalisation is essentially a social norming process in which a trade or occupation sets the rules, standards and qualifications and involves compliance measures and sanctions. Professionalisation usually involves the creation of a professional body that has the function of controlling, vetting and objectifying the trade or occupation by differentiating itself as a body with integrity and competence. A professional body also defines those who are amateurs, unqualified, or of lower standing. In this way, the concept of professionalisation could be viewed either positively as creating standards of membership and practice or negatively as a narrow elitists group that excludes. Both positions are power plays. The Dublin Declaration group called for something slightly different in that they wanted standards and codes of conduct but they also aspired to acknowledge diversity and were therefore more inclusive than exclusive in intent. The following key word extracts illustrate this:

Establish a common understanding . . . shared core code of ethics, standards of practice, and educational guidelines that ensure the quality and integrity of the competencies – acknowledge and affirm the multidisciplinary roots and nature of coaching. (Mooney, 2008: 5)

The very well-known American academic, Warren Bennis, referring to coaching, said in Morris and Tarpley (2000) *'I'm concerned about unlicensed people doing this'*. This article was probably the first to raise concerns about standards in coaching practice and Bennis used the term 'wild west of coaching' to describe what was happening back then. This term seems to have gathered momentum within the coaching world on both sides of the Atlantic and in the *Harvard Business Review* article by Stratford Sherman and Alyssa Freas called 'The Wild West of Executive Coaching' and published in 2004, this description was given more weight and obvious air time. In my view this led to a 'wild west of coaching' discourse being promoted by some professional bodies, possibly to strengthen their claim on a need for their existence or possibly to set themselves above the wild west in order to be attractive and civilised!

If we take the mentoring world, we can see a different picture. In Chapter 3 I discussed the rapid growth of social mentoring schemes to address social problems in the UK. In the USA, Garmezy (1982) pointed out that mentoring was employed on the basis of ideological or political reasons and Freedman (1999: 21) observed that that mentoring was often an *'heroic conception of social policy'* and the scramble to establish mentoring programmes for

disaffected youth was '*fevor without infra-structure*'. Helen Colley, in her excellent studies in the UK, had similar findings.

It is also noteworthy that some studies, particularly US ones, (Hurley & Fagenson-Eland, 1996; Ragins & Cotton, 1996; Ragins & Scandura, 1994) show that there are potential problems with mentoring in an organisational context (see Chapter 3). For example, mentoring can be exclusive and divisive; it can encourage conformity among those with power, it can maintain the status quo and reproduce exploitative hierarchical structures (Carden, 1990; Ragins, 1989, 1994; Ragins and Cotton, 1991).

Set against this, there is also plenty of research to show that overall mentoring does work well under certain conditions (see, for example, Davies, 1999; Garvey & Garrett-Harris, 2005; Kanai & Hirakimoto, 1996; Levin-Epstein, 2003; Megginson et al., 2005; Rix & Gold, 2000). However, the calls for professionalisation in the mentoring world are not very loud. Instead, in the UK, the European Mentoring Centre was established to become a centre of excellence rather than a professional body. The National Mentoring Network was established to support mentoring activity (this later became the Mentoring and Befriending Foundation) and in the USA the Big Brothers and Big Sisters scheme was established. None of these organisations aspired to become like professional bodies, they were more intent on supporting mentoring activity, researching it, and encouraging it to flourish. They often provide training for participants and this usually takes the form of either skills training in listening, questioning and the use of a process framework or an orientation exercise towards the design features of a particular scheme. This may be because of a strong discourse in mentoring that it is a force for good, it is generally voluntary, anyone can do it, it is unpaid and, arguably, altruistic in nature. It may also be that mentoring carries with it the credibility created by clear and strong historical roots.

Clearly this is not the whole story, but good quality research shows that mentoring is both potentially positive and negative and it persists almost as if people are prepared to tolerate the 'messiness' in the 'swampy lowlands' (see Chapter 2). Mentoring is not immune from factionalism and positioning. Helen Colley (see Chapter 3) was heckled at a conference of social mentoring scheme coordinators following the publication of her book and one well-known coach called me '*a self-centred nuisance*' when I challenged ideas put out by members of a professional body.

A Possible Way Forward?

At the heart of coaching and mentoring activity lie trust, reflection, listening, support and challenge. These are the key attributes that seem to facilitate growth, change, learning and transformation. These are also the concepts

that unite people who engage in coaching and mentoring. Of course there are many others, but progress does not mean compromising on what is agreed – the vision must remain the same but the tactics may change! The vision articulated by the Dublin Declaration states that they recognise difference but seek common ground; however, as was pointed out in previous chapters, this often articulated using the discourses of management and their associated assumptions.

One way forward is to substitute 'professionalise' with the concept of 'the professional'. In calling for 'professionalisation', there is an assumption that coaches and mentors are not professional now! This is then reinforced by 'wild west' arguments.

A professional is a member of a vocation with the vocation allied to specialised education. As argued above, competency frameworks and standards carry with them assumptions of control, simplification, reductionism, predictability and compliance. In my view this is not specialised education, rather it is pre-specified education where there are known answers. This is an important issue for several reasons. The philosopher Bertrand Russell said '*The trouble with the world is that the stupid are cocksure and the intelligent are full of doubt*'. And, '*Everything is vague to a degree you do not realize till you have tried to make it precise*'.

Competency frameworks rarely offer 'doubt' and often create a sense of precision. This results in the problem presented in the Introduction that it is possible to have 'done' coaching and mentoring! We reach the destination, but then what? Learning requires a synthesis of knowledge which results in situational decision making rather than the operation of routines or procedures. A professional must also develop new insights and understanding in the light of experience and may require further education. A professional needs to be critically reflective and reflexive about his or her own learning. This supports the idea I raised in the Introduction that we can never have 'done' coaching and mentoring because it is an ongoing journey.

For me, there is a mindset challenge here. Given the discourse in coaching and mentoring around thinking new thoughts, reframing and no predetermined answers, it seems curious that the appetite for competency frameworks and educational controls is so strong.

The previously discussed discourse of the rational, pragmatic manager is the challenge. Much of it is based on three philosophies:

- Power and control over the many by the few (articulated as the manager's right to manage).
- Newtonian concepts of cause and effect methodologies for improving efficiency and effectiveness.
- Tayloristic 'one best way' thinking.

Garvey and Williamson (2002: 194) following the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York stated:

the old frameworks for thinking about the global order of our lives, its political fracture lines, religious and ideological diversity and its sustainability in environmental terms, are all shown to be inadequate.

Clearly, 9/11 was a horrific act. But the events which followed did not represent a change of mindsets but rather an aggressive restating of old approaches based on the lack of understanding of difference and 'west is best' thinking. I can only conclude that the arguably natural human instinct of the 'intolerance' (see Back, 2004; Bhavnani et al., 2005) of difference seems to be a major challenge right across all sectors of global society.

There are two issues here. The first is that 'intolerance' does not imply that the opposite concept – 'tolerance' – is any less problematic. What a dominant group may see as normal, a minority group may see as an aberration worthy of punishment or vice versa. Some may see the concept of 'toleration' as an acceptance or 'putting up with' an unacceptable custom or behaviour. Such a position could be viewed as moral relativism and as such it would have dubious connotations. It is also difficult to separate tolerance from power. A dominant group may have more of a choice to 'tolerate' than a minority group would. The minority may simply have to 'endure', 'suffer in silence' or 'put up with' a dominant group's perspective.

Alred and Garvey (2010: 526) suggest that 'tolerance' has at least two meanings.

One is about '... putting up with'. Tolerance in this sense implies that a person views situations as, simplistically tolerable or intolerable so that the very perception of a situation becomes part of what makes it more or less tolerable. This, we believe, chips away at the personal qualities and abilities that determine optimal performance.

The second meaning they put forward (2001: 256) is:

... closer to its etymological root [and means] 'to sustain', to keep going and remain effective in prevailing conditions.

The second quote offers a more positive perspective and involves aspects of the Rogerian concept of 'positive regard' for difference raised in Chapter 3. An alternative to 'positive regard' may be found in the concepts of 'civility' or 'pluralism'. These ideas include the notion of 'acceptance'.

The second issue is that 'instinct' is not underpinned with knowledge and therefore there is no understanding or insight for an 'instinct'. For all people, this is a very serious issue – probably the most serious we face – but

it is also deeply problematic. 'Acceptance' or 'tolerance' or any other concept in the context of diversity is a blend of the rational and the emotive. Many organisations attempt to 'manage' diversity and lever it for strategic or social benefit and this is a completely rational choice – it makes sense. However, making sense of anything is a construction based on individual and societal narratives. People have within them a narrative line about themselves and about others. These narratives influence behaviours and by exploring an individual's narrative and seeking alternative positions, understanding, tolerance and acceptance become possible. This is the challenge of Position 3 thinking, which is outlined in Chapter 3.

In diversity there are no easy ways forward, but in the context of learning and development diversity is an essential characteristic of the creative process. It is not about 'putting up' with each other but more about creating a genuine tolerance, acceptance and understanding of difference, living with it as normal rather than defining others by their differences and as outsiders. Bruner's (1990) view is that meaning is distributed through dialogue and here is the link to mentoring and coaching. A mentoring and coaching dialogue offers the potential to explore dominate narratives and meanings, develop understanding and explore the emotive as well as the rational – and this takes place with Position 3 thinking!

Professional bodies have a key leadership role to perform in all this. Leadership, in my opinion, is more about the toleration and acceptance of difference than an imposition of controls and the expectation of compliance. For me leadership is about helping people to come together, to be inspired and to resolve differences. Leadership based on compliance is morally dubious, fails to recognise individuality and difference, and stifles creativity and the human spirit. The Ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle was supposed to have said '*It is the mark of an educated mind to be able to entertain a thought without accepting it*'. In my view, this is the central challenge of diversity.

Perhaps it is time to stop all the jostling for position and start getting the message out using the discourse of coaching and mentoring rather than adopting other people's discourses, thus confusing the marketplace and diluting the message. One such discourse is that of performance.

This is discussed in the next chapter.

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VOLUME V

The Relationship with Psychology and Therapy

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Contents

Volume V: The Relationship with Psychology and Therapy

Part 1: Mentoring

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 88. Phases of the Mentor Relationship | 3 |
| <i>Kathy E. Kram</i> | |
| 89. Mentoring: Narcissistic Fantasies and Oedipal Realities | 23 |
| <i>Howell S. Baum</i> | |
| 90. Role of Protégé Personality in Receipt of Mentoring and
Career Success | 45 |
| <i>Daniel B. Turban and Thomas W. Dougherty</i> | |
| 91. Managers and Leaders: Are They Different? | 61 |
| <i>Abraham Zaleznik</i> | |
| 92. Transference, Countertransference and Mentoring:
The Ghost in the Process | 79 |
| <i>M.J. McAuley</i> | |
| 93. Mentors' Motivations at Work as Predictors of Protégés'
Experiences in a Formal Mentoring Program | 93 |
| <i>Melenie J. Lankau, Robert R. Hirschfeld and Chris H. Thomas</i> | |
| 94. Mentoring – A Relationship Based on Trust: Qualitative Research | 101 |
| <i>Ferda Erdem and Janset Özen Aytemur</i> | |

Part 2: Coaching

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 95. Psychoanalysis and Coaching | 113 |
| <i>Roland Brunner</i> | |
| Translated by <i>Louise Tillo</i> | |
| 96. The Impact of Life Coaching on Goal Attainment, Metacognition
and Mental Health | 117 |
| <i>Anthony M. Grant</i> | |
| 97. Rational-Emotive Behavior Therapy: A Behavioral Change Model
for Executive Coaching? | 129 |
| <i>Jessica Sherin and Leigh Caiger</i> | |
| 98. A Bridge over Troubled Water: Bringing Together Coaching and
Counselling | 141 |
| <i>Tatiana Bachkirova and Elaine Cox</i> | |
| 99. The Foundations of a Psychological Approach to Executive
Coaching | 153 |
| <i>Peter Bluckert</i> | |

100. Executive Coaching: Towards a Dynamic Alliance of Psychotherapy and Transformative Learning Processes <i>David E. Gray</i>	163
101. Evidence-based Coaching: Flourishing or Languishing? <i>Anthony M. Grant and Michael J. Cavanagh</i>	189
102. The Art of Thinking Narratively: Implications for Coaching Psychology and Practice <i>David B. Drake</i>	217
103. Towards a Systemic Model of Coaching Supervision: Some Lessons from Psychotherapeutic and Counselling Models <i>David E. Gray</i>	239
104. A Survey of Executive Coaching Practices <i>Joyce E. Bono, Radostina K. Purvanova, Annette J. Towler and David B. Peterson</i>	257
105. Using Socratic Questioning in Coaching <i>Michael Neenan</i>	297

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

106. The Negative Side of Positive Psychology <i>Barbara S. Held</i>	317
107. The Psychological Influences on Coaching and Mentoring <i>Bob Garvey</i>	347

Part 1: Mentoring



Phases of the Mentor Relationship

Kathy E. Kram

An individual who is entering the adult world and the world of work is likely to encounter a variety of developmental tasks that are reflected in concerns about self, career, and family (Bray, Campbell, & Grant, 1974; Gould, 1978; Hall, 1976; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978; Schein, 1978; Super, 1957; Vaillant, 1977). A mentor relationship can significantly enhance development in early adulthood by facilitating work on these tasks (Clawson, 1980; Dalton, Thompson, & Price, 1977; Levinson et al., 1978). The mentor provides a variety of functions that support, guide, and counsel the young adult as this important work is accomplished.

Adult development perspectives suggest that the primary task of early adulthood is one of *initiation*, and the primary task of middle adulthood is one of *reappraisal*. Through a presentation of a conceptual model derived from empirical study, it will be demonstrated that the mentor relationship has great potential to facilitate career advancement and psychosocial development in both early and middle adulthood by providing a vehicle for accomplishing these primary developmental tasks. In addition, it is argued that the potential value of a mentor relationship is limited and that, indeed, a relationship of this kind can become destructive.

Theoretical Review

A young adult, in the first stage of his or her career, is likely to be engaged in forming an occupational identity, forming a dream, forming intimate relationships, and forming a mentor relationship (Levinson et al., 1978). It is a time

when questions about one's competence, one's effectiveness, and one's ability to achieve future dreams are most salient. Erikson (1963, 1968) describes the primary tasks of this era in terms of two polarities that become the focus of attention for the young adult: "role identity versus role confusion" and "intimacy versus isolation." Alternatively, the primary tasks of this era are stated in terms of the individual's relationship to the organization in which s/he is working. Learning the ropes of organizational life encompasses the development of requisite technical, interpersonal, and political skills, as well as a sense of competence in a particular work context or occupation (Berlew & Hall, 1966; Hall, 1976; Schein & Van Maanen, 1977; Webber, 1976). Thus the young adult is likely to seek relationships at work that provide opportunities for resolving the dilemmas posed in early adult and career years.

In contrast, the more experienced adult at midlife and/or midcareer is likely to be in a period of reassessment and reappraisal during which time past accomplishments are reviewed, and one is confronted with the challenge of readjusting future dreams and coming to terms with past accomplishments (Gould, 1972, 1978; Jung, 1933; Levinson et al., 1978; Neutarten, 1968; Osherson, 1980; Sofer, 1970; Vaillant, 1977). It has been suggested that this period of life can be extremely difficult as one realizes that life is half over and one's career has been fairly well-determined (Dalton, 1959; Jacquest, 1965; Sofer, 1970). For those who find themselves with no further advancement or growth opportunities, this time of life can be particularly troublesome (Hall & Kram, 1981; Levinson, 1976).

Entering a developmental relationship with a young adult provides an opportunity at midlife to redirect one's energies into creative and productive action that can be responsive to these salient concerns. The Eriksonian polarity at this life stage, "generativity versus stagnation," suggests the potential value of a mentor relationship. Through enabling others, the midlife individual satisfies important generative needs (Erikson, 1963, 1968, 1978) and also has the opportunity to review and reappraise the past by participating in a younger adult's attempts to face the challenges of early adulthood. Individuals may feel challenged, stimulated, and creative in providing mentoring functions as they become "senior adults" with wisdom to share; alternatively, they may feel rivalrous and threatened by a younger adult's growth and advancement.

There is considerable agreement among those who have studied mentoring that in order to understand fully the nature and impact of this developmental relationship, it is necessary to examine how it changes over time (Clawson, 1979; Davis & Garrison, 1979; Kram, 1980; Levinson et al., 1978; Missirian, 1982; Phillips, 1977). Levinson et al. (1978) acknowledge that more often than not, a mentor relationship ends with considerable ambivalence and anger, with both gratitude and resentment; and that, much like a love relationship, a battle occurs at termination of the relationship that enables mentor and protégé to separate and to move into new relationships that are appropriate

to their current developmental needs. Although Levinson et al. (1978) allude to changes in the nature of the mentor relationship over time, these are not explicitly discussed in their work.

Missirian (1982) and Phillips (1977) have made a further contribution, in their studies of female managers, by delineating phases of the mentor relationship. However, both of these models were derived from retrospective accounts of managers who described relationships from earlier in their careers, presenting the possibility of distortion in the data because of faulty recall. Second, they were derived from one perspective of the relationship, rather than from personal accounts of both parties of the relationship. Thus, they do not clearly delineate how the relationship benefits the mentor, but only how it benefits the younger individual. Third, these phase models are based solely on interviews with female managers, limiting the generalizability of the findings to a particular population that does not include the many mentor relationships that involve men. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, these studies, though illuminating what generally occurs in the mentor relationship, fail to identify the factors that cause a relationship to move from one phase to the next.

The conceptual model presented in this paper clarifies the phases of a mentor relationship by systematically delineating the psychological and organizational factors that cause movement from one phase to the next. In addition, the conceptualization, derived from an intensive biographical interview study of *pairs* of managers, makes the experiences of both individuals explicit, highlighting how both can be beneficiaries of the relationship. This dynamic perspective illuminates the manner in which the mentor relationship unfolds over time as well as how each individual influences and is influenced by the relationship at each successive phase.

Research Method

This research is based on the study of 18 developmental relationships as they are occurring. Pairs of younger and older managers involved in significant relationships with each other were interviewed at length about their relationships with each other. Thus it is a study of *pairs* of managers involved in relationships that *currently* are affecting each manager's development. In addition, these 18 relationships are in *different* phases.

Methodological decisions were guided by the premise that an appropriate research strategy emerges from careful consideration of the interaction of the problem, the method, and the person-researcher (Reinharz, 1979). The exploratory nature of the research problem suggested the need for a flexible data collection method that would encourage unpredicted aspects of the phenomenon to surface (Filstead, 1970). The emphasis on individuals' subjective experience of the relationship as the primary data for understanding the

relationship's essential characteristics required in-depth clinical interviewing of a small number of individuals so that sufficient time could be spent exploring the relationship at length by obtaining personal accounts from each member of the pair. Finally, a method was chosen that fostered a research relationship of considerable intimacy during the joint task of exploring the meaning of the relationship in an individual's career history so that valid information could be obtained and mutual learning for both investigator and participant could occur.

Setting and Sample

The research was conducted in a large northeastern public utility of 15,000 employees. The management population consists of managers in a hierarchical structure with 2,000 at first level management, 1,000 at second level, 250 at third level, 55 at fourth level, and 25 in top management. Young managers between the ages of 25 and 35 who had three or more years of tenure in the organization and who were at first, second, or third levels of management were identified as the central target population. Theories of adult development and career development suggested that this group represented the population for which the need for mentoring would be greatest; if developmental relationships existed at all, they most likely would exist in this group.

Interviews with a random sample of 15 young managers who met the above criteria for selection into the research pool resulted in the identification of only 3 developmental relationships. Because theoretical sampling is more important than statistical sampling in an exploratory qualitative study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), a decision was made to obtain recommendations from personnel staff of young managers who they believed had developmental relationships. This recruitment process allowed for several exploratory questions in the interview, which resulted in identification of 12 more young managers who had mentors. Three of the young managers each reported two developmental relationships, thus accounting for 18 relationships studied.

The young managers range in age from 26–34 with an average age of 31.3 years (see Table 1). They have been working in the organization for an average of 9.2 years. Eight of the young managers are male, and seven are female. They currently are in second or third level management positions. The senior managers range in age from 39 to 63, with an average age of 47. They have been working for the organization for an average of 23 years. Two of them have recently left the organization. All but one of the senior managers are male. Three of the senior managers are at third level management, the remainder are at fourth level or above. At the time of the interviews, 11 of the 18 relationships were direct reporting relationships; however, 4 of them involved an indirect reporting relationship (separated by two levels of the management hierarchy) in an earlier phase.

Table 1: Sample description

Relationship ^a	Junior manager			Senior manager			Relationship	
	Age (in years)	Sex	Level	Age (in years)	Sex	Level	Age difference (in years)	Level difference
1	33	M	3	44	M	4	11	1
2 ^b	32	M	3	49	M	4	17	1
3 ^b	32	M	3	46	M	4	14	1
4	34	M	3	39	M	4	5	1
5 ^b	33	M	3	45	M	5	12	2
6 ^b	33	M	3	55	M	5	22	2
7	33	M	2	46	M	3	13	1
8	31	M	3	44 ^c	M	4	13	1
9	33	M	3	48 ^c	M	4	15	1
10	33	M	3	63	M	Retired	30	2
11 ^b	32	F	3	41	M	3	9	0
12 ^b	32	F	3	44	M	4	12	1
13	30	F	2	44	M	4	14	2
14	31	F	2	44 ^c	M	4	13	2
15	26	F	3	48 ^c	M	4	22	1
16	28	F	2	47	M	3	19	1
17	31	F	2	55	M	4	24	2
18	30	F	2	42	F	Left company	12	2

^aIn the research sample, relationships varied from less than 2 years to 11 years. At the time of the research study, only one relationship had clearly ended, five relationships were in the cultivation phase, and the remainder had been through one or more phases of separation created by structural job changes and/or significant changes within one or both individuals. The four phases vary in length, and in some instances a recycling occurs through the cultivation and separation phases several times.

^bThree junior managers had two developmental relationships that were studied. Relationships 2 and 3, 5 and 6, and 11 and 12 each have a junior manager in common. Thus, there are 15 different junior managers in the sample.

^cTwo senior managers were identified as significant others twice. Thus, relationships 8 and 14, and 9 and 15 each have a senior manager in common. Thus, there are 16 different senior managers in the sample.

Interview Method

The interview sequence with the young managers consisted of two two-hour sessions. During the first session, the primary task was to review the young manager's career history and to explore relationships with more senior managers that had been important during his or her life in the organization. During the second interview session, the primary task was to explore one or two relationships with senior managers that had been important in the young manager's career. This was accomplished by reconstructing significant events as the relationship unfolded and by following the thoughts and feelings that the young manager expressed as s/he told the story.

The pivotal question at the end of the first interview that identified the relationship(s) that would become the focus of study during the second interview was, "Is there anyone among those that you have mentioned today that you feel has taken a personal interest in you and your development?" In response to this question, the young managers were able to review their

feelings and thoughts in order to arrive at a clear statement of the person they wanted to talk about in the second interview. These significant others then were contacted and invited to participate in a parallel interview sequence. The study was introduced to the senior managers by reviewing how they had been mentioned by a young manager as someone who had contributed to his or her development. All of the senior managers contacted were quite willing to participate in interviews about the relationship.

The first interview with each senior manager was parallel to the second young manager interview; the history of the relationship was explored and the senior manager was encouraged to describe his or her experience of the relationship as significant events were identified. The second session of the senior manager interview sequence was devoted to exploring the senior manager's career history. The purpose of this segment was to illuminate how the relationship with the young manager fit into the senior manager's career and, in turn, how the relationship influenced his or her development.

This research method has intervention consequences. Certain efforts were taken to minimize potential negative consequences: careful debriefing at the conclusion of the interview sequence, careful linking processes to the senior managers that insured the confidentiality of all individual interviews, and an invitation, in the feedback report, to research participants to contact the researcher with questions.

Analysis

The primary method of analysis was characterized by an inductive process in which tentative hypotheses concerning developmental relationships were suggested and revised as interviews were conducted. As the number of relationships in the sample increased, themes and categories began to emerge to illuminate recurring patterns in the data. These themes and categories became the basis for the conceptual model of the phases of the mentor relationship. This inductive process, characterized by continuous movement between data and concepts until the time when sufficient categories have been defined to explain what has been observed, is described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as the "constant comparative method of analysis."

The actual delineation of the conceptual model involved extensive use of illustrative quotations from the case material. This process included intuitively sorting the case material, identifying the organizing concepts, and then clarifying the link between concepts and data through written presentation. An informal test of the usefulness and accuracy of the emergent analysis evolved early in the analysis phase. When case material could not be effectively utilized to illustrate a concept, it was concluded that the concept was inadequate or inappropriate in some way. The more the accounts of managers could stand

alone in illustrating the emergent analysis, the more credible was the new conceptual understanding.

Relationship Phases

A mentor relationship has the potential to enhance career development and psychosocial development of both individuals. Through career functions, including sponsorship, coaching, protection, exposure-and-visibility, and challenging work assignments, a young manager is assisted in learning the ropes of organizational life and in preparing for advancement opportunities. Through psychosocial functions including role modeling, acceptance-and-confirmation, counseling, and friendship, a young manager is supported in developing a sense of competence, confidence, and effectiveness in the managerial role (see Exhibit 1). In providing a range of developmental functions, a senior manager gains recognition and respect from peers and superiors for contributing to the development of young managerial talent, receives confirmation and support from the young manager who seeks counsel, and experiences internal satisfaction in actively enabling a less experienced adult to learn how to navigate successfully in the world of work.

Examination of the phases of a mentor relationship highlights the psychological and organizational factors that influence which career and psychosocial functions are provided, and it shows how each manager experiences the relationship at any given point in time. Although developmental relationships vary in length (average length of five years in the research sample), they generally proceed through four predictable, yet not entirely distinct, phases: an *initiation* phase, during which time the relationship is started; a *cultivation* phase, during which time the range of functions provided expands to maximum; a *separation* phase, during which time the established nature of the relationship is substantially altered by structural changes in the organizational context and/or by psychological changes within one or both individuals; and a *redefinition* phase, during which time the relationship evolves a new form that is significantly different from the past, or the relationship ends entirely.

Exhibit 1: Mentoring functions

Career functions ^a	Psychosocial functions ^b
Sponsorship	Role modeling
Exposure-and-visibility	Acceptance-and-confirmation
Coaching	Counseling
Protection	Friendship
Challenging assignments	

^aCareer functions are those aspects of the relationship that primarily enhance career advancement.

^bPsychosocial functions are those aspects of the relationship that primarily enhance sense of competence, clarity of identity, and effectiveness in the managerial role.

Initiation

Young managers' recollections of the first 6 to 12 months of the relationship suggest that a strong positive fantasy emerges in which the senior manager is admired and respected for his or her competence and his or her capacity to provide support and guidance. In this fantasy, the senior manager embodies an object for positive identification and is viewed as someone who will support the young manager's attempts to operate effectively in the organizational world. With time, the senior manager's behavior lends credence to these initial fantasies, and the behavior is experienced as inviting and supportive. The young manager begins to feel cared for, supported, and respected by someone who is admired and who can provide important career and psychosocial functions:

I think being a first job in my career, there were a lot of transitions I was making, and a lot of them were hard. . . . You know – realizing that you were at the bottom – there were thousands of others like you, and you didn't know everything to start with – wanting to know and not knowing . . . and wanting challenging work and not getting it. . . .

Yet John, three levels of management away from me – he hired me – and I guess I had the feeling that he believed in me – and that even though I didn't have the right degree, I could still do it. . . . I had the feeling that in fact there was someone who recognized what I was going through and who had faith in me to make the right decisions. . . . I was able to do a lot of different projects, work with others, and really get in the know because of him. . . .

Senior managers' recollections of this period suggest that the young manager quickly comes to represent someone with potential, someone who is "coachable," and someone who is enjoyable to work with. A fantasy evolves of someone who can become an object for the transmission of the senior manager's values and perspectives on the world. The young manager is viewed as someone who can provide technical assistance and who can benefit substantially from the senior manager's advice and counsel. Thus the possibility of contributing to the young manager's growth and success is impetus for setting the relationship in motion:

Karen was the second or third person that came in. I interviewed her and I was completely impressed with her. My assessment of her was that she was a real comer – I tried to give her some advice of sorts as I got to know her – you know, understanding what the company is about . . . taking her to meetings and giving her the opportunity to present her ideas. . . .

I guess I really get an inner pride, particularly in being someone getting all that respect so fast from other people. It is kind of challenging to help them succeed. The accomplishment is not that I hired them, but that over time

other people recognize them as well. That really puffs out your chest a bit. That other people agree with your assessment and judgments. . . . It's like being in a hall of fame, when they succeed because of your help – maybe you don't get all the applause, but you did a tremendous job!

Initial interactions that create and support positive expectations occur in a variety of contexts, including: a direct hire interview; an informal interaction around common work tasks; and a direct reporting relationship created by unrelated promotional decisions or through recommendation from peers that encourages the senior manager to seek out the young manager as a potential subordinate. Work on common business tasks, recommendations from significant others, and discussions of performance or departmental concerns cause each to develop an increasingly positive expectation of the value of relating to the other. In most cases there is a balance of initiative on both sides: the young manager begins to look towards the senior manager for support and guidance, and the senior manager begins to provide developmental opportunities.

The events of the first year serve to transform initial fantasies into concrete positive expectations. For example, an opportunity to work on a high visibility project is interpreted by the young manager as proof of the senior manager's caring, interest, and respect. Alternatively, a request for assistance or a volunteered criticism of the department is interpreted by the senior manager as proof of the young manager's assertiveness and competence. These interpretations set the relationship in motion and provide the foundation for its movement to a new phase.

Cultivation

During the cultivation phase, lasting from two to five years, the positive expectations that emerge during the initiation phase are continuously tested against reality. As the relationship continues to unfold, each individual discovers the real value of relating to the other. The range of career functions and psychosocial functions characterizing a mentor relationship peaks during this phase.

Generally, career functions emerge first as the senior manager provides challenging work, coaching, exposure-and-visibility, protection, and/or sponsorship. As the interpersonal bond strengthens with time, psychosocial functions emerge. In some instances they include, primarily, modeling and acceptance-and-confirmation. In other instances of greater intimacy, they extend to include counseling and friendship as well. Career functions depend on the senior manager's organizational rank, tenure, and experience, but psychosocial functions depend on the degree of trust, mutuality, and intimacy that characterize the relationship.

A young manager, after two years in a developmental relationship, notes how challenging work assignments, coaching, role modeling, and acceptance-

and-confirmation contributed to his growing sense of competence and enabled him to navigate more effectively in his immediate organizational world:

It is a hard thing to put your finger on, but it is reinforcing. He has given me an awful lot of confidence in myself that I lacked before. I had almost begun to feel that I was not really of much value. . . . Now I feel that I am being pushed, advised, growing. He has given me a lot of self-confidence that has made me much stronger and more valuable a person to the company. . . . I never enjoyed speaking before groups and that sort of thing before and now it doesn't bother me. I have a certain confidence that I feel that he has given me, because he forced me into a lot of situations of speaking before a group, before superiors . . . running a meeting . . . he has given me this self-confidence.

For a senior manager, this phase of the relationship produced substantial satisfaction in knowing that he had positively influenced a younger individual's development. The young manager received a promotion into middle management and recently left the department:

I can tell you that the biggest satisfaction that I get is seeing someone that you have some faith in really go beyond where you expect and really seeing them get recognized for that. . . . To see them do an excellent job and see them get recognized for it is probably the most gratifying thing, like seeing your son graduate from college, like seeing your mother get a degree when she's 45 years old – it's that kind of pride that you take. You know you had faith in these people, you've helped them along, but you haven't told them what to do . . . it's like raising children . . . when you see those people get promoted and you're really pleased. And you say, "You know, I've had something to do with that."

Another senior manager describes his experience of the cultivation phase by noting how the young manager has grown to provide technical and psychological support. Thus he has benefited from the relationship by enabling a younger individual to make his life at work easier and more enjoyable:

He really has made it easier for me to do things that I think need doing, because I don't have to spend much time with him. With a less talented person, the other person would be taking another 5 to 10 percent of my time – so I'd be spending my time assisting that person in his operation, when I could be doing something else.

So my work life is a lot more pleasurable. He is also enjoyable to watch and to think about. . . . I enjoy thinking about him and his career. . . . I think he will make a major contribution to the company.

Finally, a young female manager discovers the limitations of her developmental relationship two and a half years after it began. She found coaching, exposure-and-visibility, counseling, and friendship. However, she yearned

for someone to model and to identify with in ways she could not with her mentor:

I have yet to meet someone that I work for directly that I really want to emulate. That bothers me a lot. Jerry is close to it, but he does a lot of things that just aren't right for me. . . . He will get on my case, he will say I am a pussycat . . . but he just doesn't fully understand that women, just by being women, can't do exactly the same things that a man will do. It is almost like I need another woman, to be in that job, where I can see her style and really try it her way.

The combined effects of psychosocial and career functions are complex, and each individual is changed in some obvious and some subtle ways. The young manager generally becomes more self-confident and optimistic about the future; and, in identifying with the senior manager, parts of self are legitimized and brought to life through modeling and incorporation of new attitudes, values, and styles of operation. Through the relationship, the young manager not only acquires critical technical skills and learns the ropes of organizational life, but s/he also has the opportunity to experience confirmation and support for whom s/he is becoming.

The overriding benefit for the senior manager is empowerment. S/he experiences the capacity to support and to nurture and, in doing so, can note the extent to which s/he has influence in the organizational world. Not only is the senior manager able to open doors, but s/he also is able to transmit values and skills that enhance the young manager's capacities. These activities give rise to personal satisfaction and provide a unique avenue for expressing oneself through the next generation of managers.

During the cultivation phase the boundaries of the relationship have been clarified, and the uncertainty of what it might become during the initiation phase is no longer present. For some there is disappointment in discovering that the relationship cannot meet important developmental needs, as with the young female manager who wanted someone whom she could emulate more fully. For others, the relationship is far richer than anticipated, and the interpersonal bond is far more intimate and personally meaningful.

Separation

After a period of time ranging from two to five years, a mentor relationship moves into the third phase of separation. This phase is marked by significant changes in the functions provided by the relationship and in the affective experiences of both individuals. Some turmoil, anxiety, and feelings of loss generally characterize this period as the equilibrium of the cultivation phase is disrupted. It also is a time when the young manager experiences new independence and autonomy, and both managers reassess the value of the relationship as it becomes a less central part of each individual's life at work.

Separation occurs both structurally and psychologically. If a structural separation is timely, it stimulates an emotional separation that enables the young manager to test his or her ability to function effectively without close guidance and support. Alternatively, if a structural separation occurs prematurely, it stimulates a period of substantial anxiety as the young manager is forced to operate independently of his or her mentor before feeling ready to do so. Finally, if a structural separation occurs later than an emotional separation, either manager is likely to resent the other as the relationship becomes unresponsive to the individual's changing needs and concerns. In all instances, this phase is a period of adjustment because career and psychosocial functions can continue no longer in their previous form; the loss of some functions, and the modification of others, ultimately leads to a redefinition of the relationship.

Three years after a structural separation created by a promotion, a young manager describes the anxiety and turmoil of the first year apart from her mentor:

I used to cry at home! What I did was much harder than ever, and the end of the first year, I said, "I made it! I must be O.K.!" The first year after I left was probably the hardest that I ever had in my life in terms of being emotionally trying. Proving myself, you know, having to prove myself more to me, than to others, as it turns out.

This young manager struggled with the temptation to return to her mentor for help. The structural separation urged her to complete an emotional separation as well. Over time she developed increasing self-confidence and a sense of autonomy:

Part of the refusal to go back to him was that I really didn't want others to think that he was the reason I got my new job and that he was a crutch. I had to prove to myself and to everybody that it was me, that I could stand alone and that I no longer needed his support. . . .

My needs have changed now. In the growing up process, because I think I'm a lot more mature than I was. . . . I would hate to think that I am now like I used to be . . . but maybe he met the needs I had then and my needs are different now. . . . Things are different now – if I have a problem I don't think of going to him with it and maybe it's because I like to think of myself as self-reliant.

This young manager's mentor had a less stressful experience of the separation phase; as with other young managers in whom he had taken a strong interest, his dominant feelings were pride and satisfaction in seeing her move on. He missed having her around, but he accepted the separation in stride. He now continues to keep track of her performance, he continues to provide

acceptance-and-confirmation and, to whatever extent possible, he will sponsor her in the future at a distance:

I thought it was a good opportunity for her to have. I felt that she had a lot of potential, this was a promotion for her, and that she could best exercise her talent at the higher level. . . .

It is different though . . . after they leave you, you kind of keep up with them – and try to follow them along, and you take great pleasure in seeing them move along in the business. That's the fun of it all. It's amazing sometimes – the nicest thing is when you talk to a peer and find out she's doing really well. . . .

There are other senior managers who anticipate such loss that they resist the separation by blocking promotional moves. Managers' comfort with their own positions seems to affect the extent to which they are willing to let their subordinates grow, separate, and move away or perhaps beyond them in organizational rank. For example, one senior manager, who recently learned that he would advance no further in the corporation, predicted no further movement for a young manager who is ready to move on:

I don't think he will ever move out of this area even though he wants to. That's my candid opinion. I think he's at the level where if he were to move out of the group, he should have done it several years ago at a lower level. Lateral movement within a large corporation should occur at a lower level. The higher up someone goes, the more this movement slows down. I think he's right at that point now. He wants to be considered for a promotion out – I think he's locked in here.

Senior managers who shared this perspective on their young managers' potential for growth all had a dim view of their own opportunities for growth and advancement. It appears that organizational conditions that create blocked opportunity affect the extent to which a senior manager will encourage the separation phase to occur. When a senior manager sees limited opportunity for personal advancement, he is likely to resent and therefore delay a structural separation that enables a young manager to advance and grow.

When structural separation is imposed prematurely, the young manager feels abandoned and unprepared to meet new challenges. The loss of critical career and psychosocial functions can be traumatic. At the same time, organizational norms and practices mitigate against continued frequent contact. In one instance pressure was exerted to move a young manager to a new department. Both managers felt that the move was premature, and both felt that they had no choice but to accommodate the request. Two years later the young manager's performance had dropped considerably, and the senior manager was angry and disappointed. The young manager had become an extension of the senior manager, and thus her failure was his own:

I cautioned against the move but my peers and my boss were extremely unsympathetic. They said it's where the business needs her and the needs of the business are more important than her feelings or my feelings. . . .

Now her poorer performance reflects on me. I was the person who got her promoted to the third level, and I was her earliest supporter. . . . So my judgment is reflected upon now – when you see one of your stars rising, and you promoted or evaluated that individual, or affected that person's career, it is very satisfying. . . . If they begin to go the other way, and you were a strong supporter, you feel disappointed and frustrated.

It is possible that the immediate trauma of the premature separation will subside, and that each someday will look back on this period with a new perspective. Whatever the long term consequences of this separation, the current experience is quite disruptive to both individuals.

The separation phase is critical to development. It provides an opportunity for the young manager to demonstrate essential job skills while operating independently without support from a mentor. At the same time, it enables the senior manager to demonstrate to self and to peers and superiors that, indeed, one has been successful in developing new managerial talent. The end of this phase occurs when both managers recognize that the relationship is no longer needed in its previous form.

Redefinition

The dominant pattern for the eight relationships that reached the redefinition phase is one in which the relationship becomes, primarily, a friendship. Both individuals continue to have some contact on an informal basis in order to continue the mutual support created in earlier years. Although there is less evidence of most career and psychosocial functions, sponsorship from a distance, occasional counselling and coaching, and ongoing friendship continue. The senior manager continues to be a supporter of the young manager and takes pride in the junior colleague's successive accomplishments. The young manager, operating independently of the senior manager, now enters the relationship on a more equal footing. With gratitude and appreciation for the guidance of earlier years, the young manager is now content to continue the relationship for the friendship it provides.

The senior manager, to some degree, is removed from a pedestal in the young manager's eyes, but s/he is still recalled with indebtedness. The excitement of the first two phases of the relationship is replaced with gratitude and realism about the contribution of the relationship to the young manager's learning and advancement. For the senior manager, the young manager is proof of effectiveness in passing on important values, knowledge, and skills; there is pride in seeing the young manager move on to greater responsibility

and career advancement. Both individuals acknowledge that what was is no longer; they also recognize a new bond that is more responsive to their current needs:

We can now talk about common problems, which I would have had some reservations talking to her about during the period when she was a subordinate. I guess I view it as I'm supportive of her and she's supportive of me – it's great – we have a mutual support system!

When two individuals have achieved peer status, there frequently is ambivalence and discomfort, as both adjust to the new role relationship. This may reflect the young manager's wish to continue to see the senior manager as all-knowing, or the senior manager's fear of being surpassed in some fundamental sense.

Well to me he will always be the boss. Like I don't really see myself so much as his peer because he was the boss for so long. I will probably always look toward him for advice because I have a lot of respect for him. . . . We are peers now, but to me he will always have a part as the boss – even if I were to get promoted and he weren't.

One relationship that entered a redefinition phase is characterized by significant hostility and resentment. After several years of separation a young manager felt abandoned by her mentor and decided that the relationship was over. Although it is uncertain whether someday in the future the relationship might be renewed, at this point in time it has ended with bitterness. The young manager felt that her mentor was no longer taking an interest in her career, and at a social event she felt that he was inappropriately flirtatious towards her:

Well there is quite a bit of distance there now, and quite a bit of fear on my part – and things have changed. Since before I always knew I had an ally in my old division – a friend who happened to be in a critical level of power. It was a very secure sort of feeling. . . . After a time, and after the social encounter I became quite fearful – I mean he might go around all of a sudden and change his mind about my competence, and no longer support me! I feel very uncomfortable now – I could never go back to work in his division. . . .

I don't know how healthy it is careerwise to let a relationship like that become so important. I think I was putting my eggs all in one basket, having one sponsor and being very dependent on that one sponsor. . . . I don't want to cultivate that kind of relationship again. . . .

Perhaps the emotional intensity and expressed hostility provide a vehicle for completing psychological separation. As this young manager forms new relationships of a different kind and discovers that she can operate effectively

without this relationship, her hostility may subside. It remains to be seen how a hostile termination of a developmental relationship affects both managers in later years.

The redefinition phase is, finally, evidence of changes that have occurred in both individuals. For the young manager, the ability to relate in a more peer-like fashion with the senior manager and the ability to function effectively in new settings without the immediate support of the relationship reflect greater competence, self-confidence, and autonomy. For the senior manager, the ability to relate in a more peerlike fashion with the young manager and the ability to redirect energies toward other young managers reflect competence and generativity. Both have experienced a shift in developmental tasks so that the previous relationship is no longer needed or desired.

Implications

This phase model illustrates how a mentor relationship moves through the phases of initiation, cultivation, separation, and redefinition (see Exhibit 2). Each phase is characterized by particular affective experiences, developmental

Exhibit 2: Phases of the mentor relationship

Phase	Definition	Turning points ^a
Initiation	A period of six months to a year during which time the relationship gets started and begins to have importance for both managers.	Fantasies become concrete expectations. Expectations are met; senior manager provides coaching, challenging work, visibility; junior manager provides technical assistance, respect, and desire to be coached. There are opportunities for interaction around work tasks.
Cultivation	A period of two to five years during which time the range of career and psychosocial functions provided expand to a maximum.	Both individuals continue to benefit from the relationship. Opportunities for meaningful and more frequent interaction increase. Emotional bond deepens and intimacy increases.
Separation	A period of six months to two years after a significant change in the structural role relationship and/or in the emotional experience of the relationship.	Junior manager no longer wants guidance but rather the opportunity to work more autonomously. Senior manager faces midlife crisis and is less available to provide mentoring functions. Job rotation or promotion limits opportunities for continued interaction; Career and psychosocial functions can no longer be provided. Blocked opportunity creates resentment and hostility that disrupts positive interaction.
Redefinition	An indefinite period after the separation phase, during which time the relationship is ended or takes on significantly different characteristics, making it a more peerlike friendship.	Stresses of separation diminish, and new relationships are formed. The mentor relationship is no longer needed in its previous form. Resentment and anger diminish; gratitude and appreciation increase. Peer status is achieved.

^aExamples of the most frequently observed psychological and organizational factors that cause movement into the current relationship phase.

functions, and interaction patterns that are shaped by individuals' needs and surrounding organizational circumstances.

This dynamic perspective delineates how a mentor relationship can enhance both individuals' development as it unfolds. When primary tasks are complementary, a mentor relationship is likely to reach the cultivation phase and to provide a range of career and psychosocial functions that enable the young adult to meet the challenges of initiation into the world of work, and the senior adult to meet the challenges of reappraisal at midlife. When, however, the young adult begins to feel established and more autonomous, s/he no longer will look toward the senior adult for the same kind of guidance and support. If the senior adult has other avenues for creative expression of generative needs and can accept continued growth and advancement in the younger adult, then the relationship will follow its course through separation and redefinition.

Under certain conditions, a mentor relationship can become destructive for one or both individuals (Kram, 1980). For example, a young manager may feel undermined and held back by his or her mentor, or a senior mentor may feel threatened by his or her protégé's continued success and opportunity for advancement. Either is likely to occur when a senior adult enters a difficult midlife transition and/or a young adult encounters organizational barriers to advancement. Continued research in a variety of organizational contexts will further illuminate the factors that contribute to these dysfunctional dynamics as well as the range of organizational circumstances that facilitate movement through the phases of a mentor relationship in a manner that maximizes benefits to both individuals.

The research data from which the relationship phases were delineated indicated significant limitations in cross-sex relationships. The lack of an adequate role model in a male mentor caused young female managers to seek support and guidance from other female peers (Shapiro, Haseltine, & Rowe, 1978). Collusion in stereotypical behaviors encouraged women to maintain feelings of dependency and incompetence when they were attempting to become independent contributors (Kanter, 1977; Sheehy, 1976). Concerns about increasing intimacy and concerns about the public image of the relationship caused both individuals to avoid interaction that had the potential to provide a wide range of career and psychosocial functions. Similar complexities are likely to exist in cross-race relationships. There is a need to study further the unique attributes of cross-sex and cross-race relationships to determine whether observed relationship limitations can be alleviated.

Given that such developmental relationships are limited in value and time duration as a result of changing individual needs and organizational circumstances, it is likely that an individual will have, over the course of an organizational career, several developmental relationships that provide a range of critical career and psychosocial functions at each life/career stage. The wish to find one senior manager who will carry an individual through his or her

career, and who will continue to be responsive to individual concerns, is one that is likely to generate considerable disappointment and disillusionment.

It would be fruitful, therefore, to investigate the patterns of relationships that individuals have at successive career stages in order to illuminate other developmental relationships as alternatives to the primary mentor relationship. Not only is the mentor relationship limited in value and duration, but it may not be readily available to all individuals in the early stage of a career because of organizational conditions and/or limited individual capacities to form enhancing relationships. Peer relationships appear to offer a valuable alternative to the mentor relationship; they can provide some career and psychosocial functions, they offer the opportunity for greater mutuality and sense of equality, and they are more available in numbers. Future research efforts designed to clarify the role of peer relationships in early and midcareers would offer insight into the range of developmental relationships that are possible at each career stage.

Because relationships are shaped by both individual needs and organizational circumstances, interventions designed to enhance relationship-building skills and to create organizational conditions that foster developmental relationships in a work setting should be explored. In preparation for this applied work, however, it is necessary to delineate further the characteristics of individuals who seek out and benefit from relationships with mentors, as well as the characteristics of organizations that facilitate or hinder initiation and cultivation of enhancing relationships. It is essential that next steps in research be conducted in a variety of settings so that the relevant organizational factors can be identified.

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Mentoring: Narcissistic Fantasies and Oedipal Realities

Howell S. Baum

Introduction

The literature on mentoring is growing. Some of this interest reflects changes in work. Professional and managerial positions, in contrast with blue-collar work, are ambiguous. Instead of finding well-organized roles, workers must negotiate their own boundaries and relationships. In addition, career patterns are uncertain; for many jobs, there is no clear or specific line of advancement. Under these conditions, a new worker can benefit from personal guidance by someone who knows an organization and can offer advice, protection, and entree.

Demographic and economic trends make this need especially acute. The baby boom brings a growing crowd of applicants to the corporate world, each looking for the special advantage that will ensure success. Moreover, women make up an increasing proportion of workers seeking professional and managerial careers, and many are concerned about breaking into what has been largely a male organizational world. At the same time, corporate mergers have reduced the number of top positions available.

Thus, getting ahead in an organization is uncertain and risky. Those who enter together often compete for the same positions, and rivals may do whatever they can to eliminate one another. Someone who moves up may displace someone higher up, and those at the top may try to ruin anyone who threatens them. Realistically, a mentor's tutelage can be an important, if not essential

way to facilitate organizational and career advancement. Roche typically describes mentoring's benefits in a study of executives:

Executives who have had a mentor earn more money at a younger age, are better educated, are more likely to follow a career plan, and, in turn, sponsor more proteges than executives who have not had a mentor (1979, p. 15).¹

Writers often describe the personal relationship between mentor and protege in strikingly instrumental terms. Zey, for example, refers to mentoring as a way of dealing with "politics in the modern corporation" (1984, p. viii). Hunt and Michael characterize mentorship as "a career training and development tool" (1983, p. 475, emphasis added). Phillips-Jones calls mentoring "a strategy that successful people have known about for centuries" (1982, p. 16, emphasis added). Collins' (1983) book, *Professional Women and Their Mentors* has the subtitle *A Practical Guide to Mentoring for the Woman Who Wants to Get Ahead*. The title of a *Harvard Business Review* (1978) article declares that "Everyone who makes it has a mentor."

Even with a mentor, can making it be a peaceful process? The literature offers two distinct answers, each depending on a different image of mentoring. Optimistic tales of mentoring, most often found in books of advice, tell an encouraging story: the neophyte who finds a mentor can be tutored by someone knowledgeable and powerful, protected from conflicts, and, finally, placed in a deserved top position. Advancement is possible without conflict, and a newcomer need not be anxious about not knowing how to do a job, whether any workers will be collegial, or whether those he or she might pass by in the hierarchy will yield gracefully or fight. Virtue will be rewarded.

One common variant portrays mentoring as purely instrumental, whereby a senior staff member tutors a promising newcomer in work and organizations skills, receives valuable assistance from the junior partner on projects enhancing the mentor's prestige, and in appreciation helps the protege find a high-level position of his or her own. This relationship is focused on work, and it is shaped around the requirements of cognitive teaching and learning. Its premise is that advancement depends on esoteric knowledge which only a few people can and choose to impart.

Yet there is a second view of mentoring, which more often comes from reports on actual experiences. Here the relationship appears ambiguous, tempestuous, conflictual, and often disappointing. In this view, mentoring is not only instrumental, but also developmental. Advancement depends on more than cognitive learning: it requires a basic transformation of the newcomer's expectations, hopes, assumptions, and identity (Baum, 1990). Effective mentoring requires an intense, emotional relationship, in which the protege is not only interested in learning about work but also willing to become a new person. The mentor will engage a younger person so intimately because the mentor, too, can and wants to develop, by passing on some of him- or herself to the next generation.

The first model is a neater, more controlled, certainly more controllable relationship, whereas the second, by encouraging emotional spontaneity, may run an uncertain course. The second model is risky to its participants, who cannot be sure of emerging safely. It is also organizationally dangerous. When two workers become intensely attached to each other, they exclude others and may find the pleasures of their intimacy more satisfying than organizational rewards. This is a potentially subversive relationship. Understandably, formal organizational mentoring programs generally are presented in terms of the first model (for example, Klauss, 1981; Zey, 1984).

Both types of relationships may be observed in organizations, and both are called "mentoring." However, can both be equally effective in helping newcomers advance in organizations? Can cognitive learning alone be sufficient for developing the competence that mentors and managers reward? Perhaps the models respond to different aptitudes and needs, or they may suite different personalities. But it is also possible that the second model represents a more complete description of mentoring relationships than the first. Any human relationship inevitably has emotional components, and even the most instrumental of mentors has feelings about a protege. In addition to referring to more narrowly and carefully bounded relationships, the first model may represent a description of only the conscious aspects of mentoring relationships. Are belief in and promotion of the first model perhaps a defense against the risks in the second? Does the first model express a fantasy about getting important career assistance from someone without any emotional entanglements or dangers?

Existing research does not provide clear answers to these questions. However, the high expectations placed on mentoring in the face of real organizational conflict encourage us to explore these relationships for defensive as well as developmental aims, fantastic as well as realistic assumptions, and unconscious as well as conscious dynamics. The contrast between the peaceful and the conflictual images of mentoring is a good place to start. Reports on actual mentoring relationships indicate that both may be part of mentoring, that, further, the first is often succeeded by the second. In other words, there may be a developmental logic to mentoring that requires an amicable relationship to give way to passion and conflict in order for the protege to grow.

This article examines this possibility from a psychoanalytic point of view and offers the following interpretation: In the successful mentoring relationship a protege unconsciously goes through stages analogous to earlier life stages, including narcissism, the Oedipus complex, and the formation of an identity. Mentoring is a rebirth.

The Idealized Mentoring Relationship

Both the promises of many advice books and the reports of many studies portray the mentoring relationship as wonderful. Missirian, reporting on a study of women managers, says:

. . . mentors were perceived to be larger-than-life. They were seen as brilliant, charismatic, physically attractive, boundlessly energetic, innovative, and totally inspiring human beings (1982, p. 39).²

Proteges see their mentors as very successful, very knowledgeable, and very powerful, able to support and guide (Kram, 1985).

Proteges like, admire, respect, and look up to their mentors; they hold them in awe, and they love them. Proteges feel gratitude, excitement by the association with power, and a feeling of being somehow special, worthy of attention, and valued (Burke, 1984; Collins, 1983; Kram, 1985; Levinson, et al., 1978; Missirian, 1982).

Proteges and mentors come to trust, take care of, and feel loyal to each other (Burke, 1984; Collins, 1983; Dalton, Thompson, & Price, 1977; Kram, 1985; Missirian, 1982; Reich, 1985, 1986). Their relations become close, intimate, friendly, and affectionate (Bowen, 1985; Burke, 1984; Clawson & Kram, 1984; Collins, 1983; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Missirian, 1982; Reich, 1985, 1986).

And yet, Kram concludes after interviewing people who have had mentors, many such initial impressions of mentors represent at least as much fantasy as reality, an opinion offered retrospectively by many proteges. In general, these qualifications mean that proteges exaggerate their mentors' abilities and the intimacy and caring of their relationship.

The fantasies have two aspects, one involving organizational reality and the other involving the protege. One possible motivation for such idealization is to defend new workers against the dangers of organizational life and to transform the organization into a place where work and advancement are safe. Instead of confronting a hierarchical organization where many are competing for power and position, a new worker finds an exclusive two-person relationship where a wise and powerful older person cares for him or her and helps him or her advance (and implicitly takes responsibility for any aggressive actions along the way).

In this vision, the aggression expressed in competition and embodied in hierarchical distinctions is balanced, even replaced by libidinal caring. In work where boundaries are fuzzy and continually susceptible to negotiation, it is affection, rather than aggression, that will fill in relationships. This is a reassuring organizational portrait for workers who feel anxious about the consequences of aggressively working hard (see Baum, 1989). Thinking of an organization in these terms transforms it from an economic enterprise into a family, where appeals to trust and loyalty supplant concerns about the fairness of the division of labor and profit. This image encourages workers to believe they can advance in the organization without obstacles or conflict (see Baum, 1991). The language and emotions of mentoring are not those of industrial conflict or class struggle.

In fantasizing about their relationships with mentors, proteges also transform themselves. Mentoring relations are not simply intimate and caring, but

they resemble two specific other relationships. Phillips-Jones writes that they have "many of the characteristics of parenting or of falling in love" (1982, p. 111). Similarly, Collins says, "Losing a mentor can be almost as emotionally devastating as the loss of a parent, spouse, or other member of the family" (1983, p. 85).

Repeatedly, accounts of mentoring characterize the relationship as like that between parent and child (for example, Collins, 1983; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Levinson et al., 1978; "The Mentors," 1979; Missirian, 1982; Phillips-Jones, 1982; Shapiro, Haseltine, & Rowe, 1978). The mentor has the strength and concern of a father or mother who wants his or her child to grow up strong and safely. Such an analogy rests on some realities. The mentor is older than the protege, often by a number of years that might separate a parent and child. The mentor is, indeed, more competent, more knowledgeable, more powerful, and more privy to organizational secrets than is the protege. It is easy for mentor and protege to cast their relationship in these familiar terms. It is also reassuring to do so. Defining an intimate relationship in terms of parentlike tutoring avoids considering, alternatively, that the relationship is somehow romantic.

And yet many mentoring relationships between men and women do become romanticized (Bowen, 1985; Clawson & Kram, 1984; Collins, 1983; Fitt & Newton, 1981; Lean, 1983; Missirian, 1982; Phillips-Jones, 1982; Ragins, 1989; Shapiro et al., 1978). Discussions of male-female mentoring repeatedly characterize the relationship in terms of falling in love and being in love. Guidebooks to women seeking mentors caution them against confusing mentor and lover or husband (for example, Collins, 1983). Even when mentor and protege do not become romantically involved, they often find themselves forced to define their intimacy in terms besides parent and child.

The mentoring literature does not discuss romance between mentor and protege of the same sex.³ This absence is probably due to taboos which make it difficult both for protege and mentor to recognize or make sense of homosexual wishes and for writers to mention them. There is no reason to doubt that similar emotions and aims motivate and become part of all mentoring relationships. However, while male-female mentoring relationships can be acceptably interpreted in terms of romantic attraction, members of same-sex relationships are probably more likely to interpret them exclusively in parent-child terms.

Thinking of the mentoring relationship as a romance has a more realistic basis than the parent-child analogy. And yet, when mentor and protege are in love, their relationship has all the unconscious origins and meanings of any being-in-love. And these meanings, finally, include a wish to merge with a parent. A woman interviewed by Missirian refers to both aspects in describing her fantasy about her relationship with her mentor: "He had sort of a proprietary interest in the precocious little girl he'd discovered. After all, he had invented me" (1982, p. 41). A lover is discovered; a child is invented, although lovers are always convinced they are reborn in their relationship.

The ambiguously parental and romantic fantasies apparently express a single wish, to restore feelings of omnipotence and omnipresence associated with the narcissism of life's earliest moments. Originally, a child imagines himself to be the center of a good and loving universe, or, perhaps more accurately, the self-sufficient entirety of the universe. The child has no sense of being separate from anyone or anything. When he discovers that there are separate persons in the world, that these persons set limits on him and do not always love him, and thus that he is not omnipotent, he attempts to recreate his earlier experience by projective identification with an ego ideal (Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1985).

The ego ideal begins as the infant's mental image of the experience of lost omnipotence. When he attributes the qualities of this image to another person or object and then identifies with that object, he can recapture the feeling of being loved and powerful. The first specific object to which a child ascribes such perfection is a parent. If the child imagines himself to satisfy all this parent's expectations, and can identify with the parent, he feels perfect and thus loved. Later in life, people associate their ego ideals with teachers, bosses, and even organization.⁴ If an adult creates an ego ideal which seems realistically demanding, he may feel moved to be ambitious, to work and be creative. If, in contrast, the ego ideal calls for apparently unachievable results or perfection, he may either become a workaholic or retreat from practical activity and substitute fantasy for instrumentality.

One way that people unconsciously attempt to identify with the ego ideal in fantasy is by falling in love. Being-in-love involves projecting one's ego ideal onto another person and then feeling merged with the other, becoming perfect in the union. Being-in-love is not really experienced as a relationship so much as like the oneness of the early period before the discovery of separateness and limits. Normally, the ego ideal associated with a parent serves as the model for the love object. Thus, being-in-love is a way of unconsciously regaining a powerful, loving relationship with the parent of childhood.

Chasseguet-Smirgel (1986) describes narcissistic fantasies as an effort to escape from a world unconsciously associated with the appearance with the appearance of the father (as a separate person) into a world associated with the mother's body, which is a place before separateness). Unconsciously, Chasseguet-Smirgel argues, people think of the world of the father in contrast with the world of the mother. The father's world is a world, first, of differences: in it there are separate objects. Moreover, it is a world of roughness and human and other obstacles. Consequently, it is also a world of cause and effect; instrumental action is necessary to achieve anything. While accomplishment is possible in this world, imperfection is inevitable. In contrast, the mother's world is a unity; there are no separate objects, no differences. It is a smooth world, where there are no obstacles. Here, instrumentality is irrelevant, because the wish, including the wish to become perfect, is equal to the action.

Striving for accomplishment in the real world, associated with the father, can bring some of the pleasures identified with the perfect world of union with the mother's body. However, those whose ego ideal do not make reasonable demands of them, or who cannot accept their imperfection, may turn to fantasy to join with the mother. Falling in love is one fantasy. Falling in love with a mentor at work is a particularly compelling fantasy.⁵

Explicitly and implicitly, many proteges speak of feeling intimately, intensely in love with a perfect mentor. Not only does this experience make the protege feel powerful in a workplace that is probably overwhelming, but it also "solves" the problem of advancement. Not simply is the organization transformed into a domain of libido, rather than aggression, where efforts to move ahead are safe, but the organization becomes a place where advancement is effortless.

If a protege is merged with a powerful, caring mentor, the relationship itself seems to move the protege to the mentor's high position. Levinson et al. describe these fantasies about the mentor:

The little boy desperately wants the mentor to be a good father in the most childish sense – a father who will make him special, will endow him with magical powers and will not require him to compete or prove himself in relation to would-be rivals (1978, p. 147).

Regardless of whether the mentor is a man or a woman, the relationship unconsciously leads into the world of the mother, in which there are no differences, no obstacles, and no need for instrumental action. In this world, advancement is really unnecessary, because the union with the mentor means it has already taken place.

These fantasies, by their nature, are regressive, in leading away from organizational reality. But they serve clear aims in defending the protege from dangers. Idealizing the mentor's powers makes the organization a safe place. Seeing the mentor as purely benevolent, further, protects against fears that the mentor might use these powers to punish a neophyte who grows too quickly. And yet, by pointing out a line of advancement, these fantasies also aid and encourage development. They are regressive but might, depending on how they are used, serve the ego in moving ahead in the organization (Kris, 1952).

Here it is germane to look at the entry of sexual attraction and conflict, envy, and intimidation into mentoring relationships.

Sexuality and Aggression in Mentoring Relationships

Sexuality

Collins' (1983) admonition to women not to confuse mentors with lovers or husbands is a warning not simply against emotional attachment but also against sexual involvement. Many mentoring relationships between men and

women lead to sexual relations (Clawson & Kram, 1984; Collins, 1983; Fitt & Newton, 1981; Lean, 1983; Ragins, 1989; Shapiro et al., (1978).⁶

Psychoanalytic theorists (for example, Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1985) distinguish being-in-love from loving. Being-in-love, as already described, is a state of identification with another person to whom ideal characteristics are attributed. It is a form of self-love, admiring another person who is unconsciously seen as simply the perfect version of oneself. In an important way, being-in-love, despite the physical presence of two identifiable persons, is a one-person "relationship" for each participant: each adores an idealized image of him- or herself.

Loving, in contrast, is a two-person relationship. Each person recognizes the other as separate, and also as imperfect. Each appreciates certain strengths or characteristics of the other while accepting shortcomings or distasteful aspects as relatively unimportant. Although a love relationship may not be devoid of idealization, its affection rests on a more or less realistic appraisal of the other person.

Sexual activity has different unconscious meanings depending on whether it expresses being-in-love or loving. As an act of being-in-love, sexual activity with another is a way of rediscovering an early condition of union with existence. It represents an effort to retreat from the world of real persons and objects to a place where there are no separate objects. It is an effort to recapture the remembered experience of oneness with the mother's body. If successful, it brings the narcissistic feelings of omnipotence and omnipresence.

Sexual activity which expresses loving may include some of these aspects but also recognizes the sexual partner as a distinct person. The partner may be unconsciously identified in part with the parent of the Oedipal period of childhood, so that the relationship and sexuality include an effort to gain that imagined earlier partner. However, just as the Oedipal parent was a separate person, so, too, is the contemporary sexual partner.

The implication of this distinction is that, insofar as the reported sexual relations between mentors and proteges express being-in-love aims, then they are consistent with either partner's idealization of the other. Theoretically, at least, however problematic the sexual activity becomes at work and at home, it is consistent with the ideal mentoring relationship. In contrast, sexuality which expresses loving for a mentor or protege is quite different. It recognizes the other as a distinct person. It is a departure from idealization into reality. Thus, theoretically, the puzzle about sexual activity in mentoring concerns those relations in which mentor and protege, or at least one of the partners, has moved from one-person narcissism to a two-person relationship.⁷

The mentoring literature, on the whole, is not psychoanalytic. Authors do not distinguish being-in-love and loving with any precision, nor do those they interview. Thus, it is impossible to know the balance of meanings for the sexual relations which evolve from mentoring. However, it seems likely that many of the sexual relationships start as or become more or less realistic

two-person relationships. For example, writers describe women who marry their mentors. Some of these women report that their husbands remain their mentors, whereas more say that their husbands have ceased to be their mentors, that their relationship has changed from the early idealization (for example, Collins, 1983; Missirian, 1982; Phillips-Jones, 1982).

These latter sexual relationships, among couples who do or do not get married, represent an important change from the ideal mentoring relationship. They rest on a new, realistic recognition of the partner as a separate, imperfect person. Unconsciously, this change involves another. It recapitulates an earlier developmental progression from the one-person world of infantile narcissism, through the discovery of the mother as a separate person, to the encounter with still a third person, the father whose entry creates the Oedipus complex.

In allowing a protege to encounter a symbolic equivalent of one of the parents and to try to resolve the Oedipus conflict more successfully in childhood, the mentoring relationship is regressive. In themselves, fantasies that bosses and supervisors are parental lovers only serve to avoid organizational realities and career interests. However, the Oedipus complex represents an important developmental advance over narcissism: It accepts the inevitability of becoming a separate person and requires giving up the idealization of the parent-mentor and coming to terms with him or her more realistically.

This progression is encouraged by unconscious memories of past development, which presents a model for subsequent transitions. In addition, working conditions themselves impose on the idealized mentoring relationship. As a protege learns more about a job and an organization, gains more self-confidence, becomes intellectually and professionally more the mentor's equal, and works more closely with the mentor, the protege has the ability, opportunity, and necessity to appraise the mentor more realistically.

This new realism brings professional benefits, but it bears unconscious costs. Missirian captures much of this ambiguity: "When a child is ready to be born, it must leave the safety of the mother's womb, or both parent and child will surely perish" (1982, p. 71). Accepting the separateness and imperfection of a mentor means giving up illusions of being perfect. It feels like losing a good part of oneself. This narcissistic loss leads to rage against whoever, such as the mentor, who now shows him- or herself to be imperfect, has caused the protege to feel separate and imperfect (Kohut, 1972). To the degree that the protege can accept his or her own responsibility for having created the no longer tenable illusions, then he or she feels angry toward himself, and these losses bring grief and depression (Klein, 1935/1948 and 1940/1948). Phillips-Jones observes, "Just as in romantic relationships, when you realize you're both only human, feelings of disappointment can be very strong" (1982, p. 107).

Thus, the emergence of loving sexual relations suggests two unconscious departures from the idealized mentoring relationship: the redefinition of the mentoring relationship at least partly in Oedipal terms and inwardly and/or

outwardly directed rage about the loss of the ideal relationship. In constructing an Oedipal fantasy, the protege retreats from organizational dangers but also unconsciously can begin to move closer to differentiated and conflictual reality.

Aggression

These descriptions of mentoring relationships emphasize the merging impulses of libido. Quite differently, other reports refer to the dividing impulses of aggression. The contrast between these experiences has led researchers to postulate stages in the development of mentoring relations. Typically, idealization appears at the beginning, and sexuality in its various expressions shows up at many stages, but aggression and division arrive later on. Phillips-Jones (1982) speaks of "disillusionment" and "parting," Kram (1983) writes of "separation," Levinson et al. (1978) describe intense conflict and separation, Hunt and Michael (1983) point to "breakup," and Missirian (1982) refers to "termination."

These terms refer to tension and conflict that often arise when a protege has learned many of the mentor's skills, has developed strategic relationships of his own, and is ready to move ahead by himself. The mentor may envy the fresh opportunities that the protege's new abilities and youth allow, in addition to resenting the protege's wish to become independent. The mentor may feel disappointed and angry at what he considers the protege's lack of gratitude. Mentors are particularly likely to feel resentful if they are stuck themselves, if they see little opportunity for their own advancement. It looks to them as if they have simply prepared someone to displace them. Some mentors may begin to make more demands on their proteges while insisting they are not ready to go out on their own. Some may even take steps to block their proteges from leaving or finding new positions elsewhere.

Proteges, in turn, may simply feel constrained or may also feel disillusioned and disappointed with their mentors. They have seen their mentors turn from nurturers to stiflers. They resent what they interpret as deliberate efforts to keep them from moving on. In response to mentors' charges of ingratitude, they rail against duplicity: their mentors agreed to teach them, they served loyally, and now their mentors block their advancement (Collins, 1983; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kram, 1983, 1985; Levinson et al., 1978; Missirian, 1982; Phillips-Jones, 1982; Reich, 1986).

Reich quotes two women leveling such charges at their mentors. The first complains,

As I outpaced and outgrew the relationship my mentor grew defensive and fearful that I would make him look bad. Now instead of making me look good he calls me a know-it-all.

Pointedly, the second accuses, "My supervisor wanted a *clone*, not a protege" (1986, p. 53). A woman interviewed by Phillips-Jones says,

Ultimately, you get caught up in the feeling that you've got to be yourself, because I get so angry at people who are unable to differentiate me from her (1982, p. 118).

Some proteges are realistically angry at mentors who stifle their development. However, it is difficult to be certain about all the meanings of conflict between mentors and proteges because the mentoring literature is not psychoanalytic. For example, neither writers nor their interviewees carefully distinguish or connect proteges' anger toward their mentors and proteges' anger toward themselves. Nevertheless, proteges' comments suggest two themes consistent with earlier analysis of the meanings of sexual relationship between mentors and proteges.

First, many proteges are both angry and disillusioned. The obvious fact that they are angry toward another person is not trivial. The protege is angry against a mentor whom he or she regards as a separate person. The mentor, in contrast, apparently wants to maintain the ideal one-person "relationship" in which the protege is simply a clone. Not only has the protege himself lost the ideal relationship in which he was merged with a wonderful parentlike mentor, but the now separate mentor is not even good enough to help the protege advance.⁸

At the same time, Phillips-Jones' interviewee suggests a protege's own conflicts about this transition. When she says she is "caught up in the feeling" she must be independent, she hints that the "people" at whom she is "angry" include herself. It is necessary but painful to be separate. She may experience anger against herself as depression, and the anger toward "people," including, undoubtedly, her mentor, probably expresses rage against her for depriving her of the narcissism of the ideal mentoring relationship.

Envy and jealousy introduce a second theme. Klein (1975) associates envy with a two-part relationship, where one person attributes some good quality to another, sees him- or herself lacking it, admires but also resents the other for having it, and wishes to rob or harm the other. One example of such a two-part relationship is the idealizing one-person pseudo-relationship described earlier. In contrast, jealousy is part of a three-person relationship, in which one person loves another and fears loss of that person to a third (see also Joffe, 1969; Kets de Vries, 1988; Spielman, 1971).

Unfortunately, the mentoring literature makes no such distinction between envy and jealousy. Although writers do not associate envy with the idealized mentoring relationship, there is no reason to doubt that proteges envy the mentors whom they also idolize. Thus, the idealization that defends against organizational dangers may have this cost, and proteges who resent their seemingly perfect mentors may unconsciously try to debase them and bring on the "realistic" disillusionment that follows idealization (Klein, 1975).

Yet, much of the “envy” reported in the literature has all the characteristics of three-person jealousy. In the background of the relationship between a mentor and his protege lies the mentor’s own relationship with someone powerful higher up. Just as the mentor may begin to worry that his protege will leave him and displace him with his own superior partner, the protege may start to wish and plan to establish his own relationship with an organizational superior.

Levinson et al. (1978) observe that men who have men for mentors may unconsciously formulate and re-enact the relationship in terms of an Oedipal conflict with their father. Along these lines, some writers argue that conflict is more likely in male–male mentoring relationships than in male–female relationships (for example, Collins, 1983; Reich, 1986). Thus, a male protege may be jealous of his mentor’s access to organizational bounty (unconsciously associated with the father’s possession of the mother) and think of learning his skills and knowledge as the means to displacing him.

Two aspects of this account are important. First, although the Oedipus complex is joined by and raises issues of both sexuality and aggression (Rangell, 1972), only the aggression is apparent in male–male mentoring relationships. Not only is the homosexual aspect of the relationship unacknowledged, but little is said about the protege’s attraction to others in the organization to whom the mentor apparently blocks access. Second, as is clear, the sex of mentor and protege matters. Unlike in the idealized one-person “relationship,” where both male and female mentors seem like mothers, in the real three-person relationship, males seem like fathers, and females seem like mothers. Proteges seem distinctly like sons or daughters, rather than genderless infants.

Differences between Male and Female Proteges

Thus, a common view of male–male mentoring is that initial attractions give way to rivalries that rend the relationship. Male–female relationships (usually male mentors and female proteges) are described in contrasting terms. In general, conflict is less common (for example, Collins, 1983; Reich, 1986). But, even when jealousy emerges, conflict is often succeeded by resolution that continues the relationship. Several writers report that a reconciliatory stage is “often” part of a “complete” mentoring relationship. Kram (1983, 1985) finds “separation” succeeded by “redefinition,” Phillips-Jones (1982) sees “parting” followed by “transformation,” and Hunt and Michael (1983) report that “breakup” often ends in “lasting friendship.” Hunt and Michael write,

The final phase of the complete mentor–protege relationship is one of redefinition. After a period of separation, mentors and proteges who reestablish contact go through a period in which their relationship is significantly changed. It may become a more peer-like friendship. . . . Now a mutual or perhaps equal status and reciprocal relationship exists between mentor and protege (1983, p. 483).

Although these writers portray this final stage as part of a general mentoring model, their, and others’, examples often involve women with male mentors.⁹ Missirian, studying businesswomen, observes that for them “the [mentoring] relation never ends” (1982, p. 69). Reich (1986), surveying executives, found significant differences in the course of men’s and women’s mentoring relationships. Sixty-seven percent of women proteges, in contrast with 42% of men, reported their mentoring relationship developed into a close friendship, and 69% of women, in contrast with 59% of men, continued to have a close relationship with their mentor. Collins (1983), after interviewing women executives, concluded that, when their relationships with mentors do end, the reasons are different from those in male–male relationships, where conflict is the primary cause of breakup. Of the four-fifths no longer involved with their mentor, 57% say the reason is that he moved away geographically, 26% say he moved away within the company, 8% say he died, and only 9% say conflict was the cause of the separation. In short, these women might have continued the relationship if their mentor had not left them. Consistently, Missirian found the relationship changed largely as a result of changes in the organizational positions of mentor and protegee.

Thus, jealousy and conflict are more likely in male–male mentoring than in male–female relationships. The presence of these conditions in the former relationships can be interpreted as a transference of Oedipal conflicts to mentoring.¹⁰ Their absence in the latter may have a similar root. Significantly, Collins observes,

Men seem to understand more than women that the relationship is temporary, shorter-lived, and will come to an end. Women hold on to their mentors longer than men do, and, according to my survey, often longer than is good for their careers (1983, p. 97).

Somehow, men “understand” that the mentoring relationship must end, and this knowledge seems to be based on something other than a simple realistic appraisal of their career requirements. At the least, women develop expectations that conflict with their career realities.

Men’s “understanding” is consistent with what they would unconsciously remember about the course of their relationship with the Oedipal father. Rivalry led to conflict which was resolved only by the son’s agreement to give up jealous competition and accept the parents’ moral values in return for peace and their love. Women would lack such an “understanding” from their relationship with the Oedipal father. What they would unconsciously understand, and anticipate of mentoring, instead, is that the relationship would be affectionate and that, indeed, it need have no definite ending in crisis. It might continue for a long time until succeeded by another with someone in many ways similar.

Descriptions of the course of women’s relations with male mentors following the initial idealization support the view that these relations are shaped by

Oedipal memories. As with men, women experience the relations as three-person relationships, including the mentor, the organizational resources to which he is attached, and the protegee. Also as with men, the real sex of the mentor matters. However, protegees' and researchers' accounts emphasize the affectionate or sexual aspect of the relationship and say relatively little about aggression. Not only are there fewer jealous conflicts with mentors, but there is also little rivalry with anyone else for the mentor's affection. The absence of rivalry is consistent with the female Oedipal relationship, in which daughter-mother rivalry is normally less intense than son-father rivalry.¹¹ It also fits organizational reality: it makes little sense for a protege to spurn the possibility of her own attachments to higher-ups, though memories of the Oedipus complex may, as Collins suggests, unconsciously encourage her to resist those higher up and to stay longer with her mentor than reasonable.

Thus, the appearance of aggression in mentoring relationships is significant in two respects. First, it marks a break with narcissistic idealization of the mentor and recognition of the mentor as a separate person. In addition, the association of aggression with male-male relationships signals a transference of Oedipal assumptions to the mentoring relationship. The protege's unconscious regressions are progressing closer to reality. In particular, the willingness to act aggressively prepares the protege to assert him- or herself instrumentally in the organization.

The End of the Mentoring Relationship

Some mentoring relationships, perhaps particularly those between men and men, end decisively. Others, perhaps especially those between men and women, continue for a while, gradually diminishing in force. In either case, at some point, the relationship moves from active reality to memory. "The excitement," as Kram puts it, "is replaced [for many] with gratitude and realism" (1983, p. 620).

Descriptions of subsequent relations between mentor and protege emphasize three developments. First, most noticeably, the structure of the relationship changes. Childlike relations to a parentlike mentor give way to relative equality in adulthood. Hunt and Michael's observation quoted earlier records typical impressions: "It may become a more peer-like friendship" (1983, p. 483). Kram says, "the relationship becomes, primarily, a friendship," with "more equal footing" and "peer status" (1983, p. 620). While former proteges feel "gratitude" for past help from a more experienced senior, now they "realistically" recognize they can move out and up on their own.

A second development involves a source of this equality: the protege has learned what the mentor could teach. The protege has gained the experience and contacts to make independent judgments and take initiatives. Kram describes how both mentor and protege see this change:

For the senior manager, the young manager is proof of effectiveness in passing on important values, knowledge, and skills; there is pride in seeing the young manager move on to greater responsibility and career advancement. Both individuals acknowledge that what was is no longer; they also recognize a new bond that is more responsive to their current needs. . . . For the young manager, the ability to relate in a more peerlike fashion with the senior manager and the ability to function effectively in new settings without the immediate support of the relationship reflect greater competence, self-confidence, and autonomy (1983, pp. 620-621).

A third development involves changes in the psychodynamic relationship between mentor and protege which enable the latter to feel like the former's equal. After aggressively and perhaps sexually challenging the mentor, the protege makes peace with him. Hunt and Michael describe this change simply: "The former protege *takes on* some of the best qualities of his or her mentor, and an amicable friendship continues" (1983, p. 483, emphasis added). The protege comes to see the mentor as neither fantastic nor threatening, but as admirably competent, and the protege "takes on" the mentor's good qualities - becomes like the mentor in realistically beneficial ways. Becoming like the mentor in these ways permits an "amicable" equality.

But, as Levinson et al. argue, the process of "taking on" is both conscious and unconscious:

Following the separation, the younger man may *take* the admired qualities more fully *into* himself. He may become better able to learn from himself, to listen to the voices from within. His personality is enriched as he *makes the mentor a more intrinsic part of himself*. The *internalization* of significant figures is a major source of development in adulthood (1978, p. 101; emphasis added).

Missirian (1982), too, emphasizes the "internalization" of the mentor. Kram interviewed a woman who describes the ambiguous position of her former mentor, both separate from her and yet part of her:

Well to me he will always be the boss. Like I don't really see myself so much as his peer because he was the boss for so long. I will probably always look toward him for advice because I have a lot of respect for him. . . . We are peers now, but to me *he will always have a part as the boss* - even if I were to get promoted and he weren't (1983, p. 620; emphasis added).

The psychological "internalization" of the mentor represents a conclusion to the social mentoring relationship. It is most successful when it accompanies resolution of aggressive or sexual conflicts between mentor and protege. The mentor must recognize that the protege has the knowledge and skills necessary for autonomous practice. But, further, the protege must acknowledge the mentor's intellectual and organizational authority, and the mentor must

agree that the protege has appropriate values to be trusted to practice alone. Then the protege can identify the mentor's "admired qualities" with himself. The former protege can then "look toward him for advice" by "listening to the voices from within." Consciously and unconsciously, the protege asks himself, "What would my mentor do in this situation?" and his internalized mentor offers an answer. Where this inner dialogue which replaces external discussion is generally "amicable," the mentor is strengthened in confronting the former mentor and others as equals at work.¹²

This process has two unconscious meanings. First, following extended confrontation with a mentor, the internalized mentor represents a more realistically supportive ego ideal than earlier fantastic idealizations. It enables the former protege to feel equal to the mentor in competence. But there is a second meaning to identifying with the mentor's "best qualities," namely, accepting his or her "values." In exchange for the mentor's authorization to practice autonomously, the protege internalizes the mentor's ethics as part of his or her superego, or conscience. In this way, the former protege can feel the mentor's moral equal, sanctioned to act as competently as possible.

These developments are analogous to the child's resolution of the Oedipus complex and venturing into latency by sublimating, or redirecting, aggressive and libidinal wishes into socially valued work skills (Erikson, 1963, 1968). The protege gives up enough of the fantasies that the parentlike mentor is perfect and omnipotent to engage organizational reality and develop an appropriate "sense of industry." The former protege can now begin to develop his or her own "sense of identity" as a member of the organization (Baum, 1990). When successful, mentoring enables a protege to be "reborn."

Mentoring Failures

Mentoring may fail in two ways. Mentor and protege may become so involved with one another that they become isolated from the rest of the organization and the protege never emerges as an independent worker. This possibility is likely when the pair prefer the apparent perfection of the idealized relationship or the sexuality of the Oedipally framed relationship to the limits and disappointments of work. Alternatively, even with a mentor's encouragement to advance, a protege may be so anxious about the aggression, or the sexuality, of the latter stage in the relationship as to avoid dealing with differences and conflicts. As a result, he or she will be unable to master organizational reality.

Whether a mentoring relationship is successful or not depends on the maturity of the protege. For example, has he relatively successfully mastered narcissistic and Oedipal challenges in his childhood? Does he already have a sense of competence and identity elsewhere? In addition, the success of the relationship depends on the maturity of the mentor. For example, does

he already have experience in rearing children or supervising people, or, at least, is he prepared to meet the challenges of what Erikson (1963, 1968) calls "generativity" (see Baum, 1990)? A mentor who cannot both hold a protege and let go appropriately will force the protege to do some of the mentor's work as well, and probably not very well.

Organizational psychological structure also matters: every organization's social structure encourages typical patterns of conscious and unconscious feelings and assumptions among members, and some patterns are more conducive to mentoring than others (Baum, 1987). The "good enough" mentor, like the "good enough" mother (Levinson et al., 1978; Winnicott, 1965), permits the protege to make a transition from idealizing dependence to realistic acceptance of a separate existence and independence. However, bureaucracy, where authority is hierarchical and where those who exercise the most authority are often invisible and inaccessible, arouses in many workers an Oedipal anxiety about the power and punitiveness of everyone in authority (Baum, 1987). Encountering others, particularly those with authority, feels like an aggressive act likely to be punished.

Insofar as bureaucratic work or politics evokes anxieties about Oedipal relationships, proteges will have special difficulty giving up idealizing the mentor or will become enraged on discovering his shortcomings and then cynically consider normal organizational politics a second-best state of existence. Bureaucracy does not inevitably defeat mentoring, and former proteges can become productive and politically effective, but bureaucracy can interfere with developing working relations with others based on empathic, realistic appreciation for them. In particular, proteges may feel moved and free to treat those separate, imperfect others as targets for the rage of their disillusionment. Moreover, they may find venting their rage sometimes more important than getting work done. Or else, finding anger and conflict so frightening, they may idealize the mentor still more intensely. Some formal mentoring programs encourage idealization by couching the relationship as an instrumental exchange of information.

Conclusions

There are both realistic and fantastic aspects to mentoring relationships. Realistically, a mentor can provide a protege with knowledge, skills, protection, and access that launch the latter's career. Proteges (and mentors) unconsciously bring fantastic meanings to these relationships for the same reasons that people think unconsciously anywhere in life. First, regressive fantasies, particularly the idealization of the mentor and the relationship, defend the protege against real dangers in entering and advancing in an organization.

In addition, these fantasies which lead away from reality can also assist in engaging reality; they can be regressions in the service of ego interests.

Nonpsychoanalytic reporters on mentoring relationships produce an account which clearly resembles not just narcissistic regression, but progression to an Oedipus-like relationship, and then latency and the establishment of a realistic social identity. Unconsciously, proteges seem to believe that a pattern of development which worked in the past can serve them again when they enter an organization. The ego ideal, in offering perfection and love, is regressive, but it is also the beginning of a path toward realistic ambition.

Implications for organizational policy are clear. If managers value mentoring, they must accept the private, potentially subversive nature of the relationship. They must allow protege and mentor the time and space to initiate and work through a passionate relationship that may temporarily interfere with work. At the same time, managers must give up the illusion that formal mentoring programs can reap the gains of successful mentoring while avoiding these risks. Formal programs may facilitate mentoring, but they cannot lead to maturity and independence in new workers without allowing them emotional space for development. An organization that nurtured mentoring would be quite an innovation.

Notes

1. It is possible that income and career advancement are associated with being mentored because ambitious competent people are especially likely to seek mentors. Note also Strober's (1982) finding that being mentored was not significantly correlated with total annual salary and was significantly slightly negatively associated with job satisfaction among MBA graduates she studied. In short, the role of mentoring in a personal career is more complicated than most studies consider.
2. Phillips-Jones suggests the extraordinary character of mentors in the introduction to her book on mentoring: "About three years ago, I rediscovered Jesus Christ, a mentor I once had and then ignored for some years. His effect on my life has been tremendous. My husband, Dr. G. Brian Jones, is the most comprehensive human mentor I've had. . ." (1982, p. 11).
3. Levinson et al. refer in passing to "homosexual meanings that are actually involved or that may be attributed" to a mentor by others (1978, p. 237).
4. See Schwartz (1990) on the "organization ideal," a projection of the ego ideal onto a workplace and its managers. Schwartz argues that the narcissistic wish to regain perfection encourages workers to substitute identification with an idealized manager for realistic assessment of an organization and instrumental action.
5. Levinson et al. (1978) call attention to "parallels" between a man's relationship with a mentor and that with a special woman.
6. There has been little research on how frequently sexual relations have developed from mentoring relations. Fitt and Newton (1981) found sexual involvement among 10% of a sample of 30 women executives. Collins (1983) reports sexual involvement among 20% of a sample of 400 women executives and professionals. Probably women underreport their involvement in these relationships, in which one or both partners may be married and which, at any rate, are often disapproved of by co-workers or company norms.
7. Calculated sexual exploitation, which is another possibility, particularly on the part of the mentor, is not puzzling, theoretically or otherwise.

8. Winnicott (1965) observes that a child's growth depends on a mother who is "good enough" to permit and help him to move securely from feeling completely dependent on her to being independent of her. Levinson et al. (1978) argue that a mentor must work analogously.
9. A minority of these women have women mentors, but data are often presented in a way that makes it impossible to distinguish the course of the two types of relationships.
10. For other examples of transference in organizations, see Baum (1987); Hirschhorn (1988); Hodgson, Levinson, & Zaleznik (1965); Kets de Vries & Miller (1984).
11. For discussion of male and female differences in Oedipal relationships, see Fenichel (1945); Freud (1920/1977; 1924/1989; 1925/1989; 1933/1965); Heimann (1959); Klein (1928/1948; 1945/1948), and Tyson (1989).
12. If the conclusion of the mentoring relationship is not amicable, a former protege, feeling both gratitude or affection and anger or resentment toward the mentor, may internalize a tormentor, an inner voice which ridicules, belittles, or discourages. In this case, the internal dialogue may lead the former protege to doubt his or her ability to act and cause the protege to become immobilized, certain he or she is not the mentor's equal. Schafer (1968) discusses the variations in internalization processes.

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Role of Protégé Personality in Receipt of Mentoring and Career Success

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Mentoring is a set of role activities, including coaching, support, and sponsorship, that upper-level managers provide to protégés (Kram, 1985). Recent research indicates that mentoring enhances the compensation, promotions, and pay satisfaction of the employees who receive it (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992; Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991). Although research has identified outcomes of mentoring, we know very little about the initial formation of mentoring relationships (Ragins & Cotton, 1993). Much of the scholarly and popular writing on mentoring appears to assume that mentors seek out protégés, yet little research has investigated the formation of mentoring relationships. Nonetheless, as Hunt and Michael (1983) noted, certain individuals may attempt to initiate relationships with possible mentors. We addressed calls in the literature to investigate whether protégés' characteristics influenced the mentoring they received (Fagenson, 1989; Ragins & Cotton, 1993). Specifically, we proposed that individuals' personality characteristics influence the extent to which they report attempts to initiate mentoring relationships, which is, in turn related to their reports of mentoring received. We also investigated whether mentoring received is related to career attainment and perceived career success and whether protégé gender is related to attempts to initiate mentoring relationships and to receipt of mentoring.

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Background and Hypotheses

Protégé Personality Characteristics

Although many possible personality characteristics might influence people's attempts to initiate mentoring relationships, the personality characteristics investigated should (1) influence perceptions of and reactions to an individual's environment and (2) have acceptable measurement instruments. The personality characteristics we chose to investigate – locus of control, self-monitoring, and emotional stability, measured as self-esteem and negative affectivity – met both those criteria. Further, we chose to investigate these personality characteristics because they appeared to be indicators of proactive behaviors leading to interactions with others in an environment, and therefore would be expected to influence the initiation of mentoring.

Locus of control. Locus of control measures the extent to which individuals believe that rewards and outcomes are controlled by their own actions or by external forces in their environments (Rotter, 1966; Spector, 1982); the former individuals have been labeled "internals," the latter, "externals." Evidence indicates that internals are more likely to attempt to influence their environments, to obtain job-relevant information, and to expect that effort will lead to rewards (Spector, 1982). Additionally, as Noe (1988a) noted, because internals are more likely than externals to believe that they can improve their skills, they are more likely to participate in developmental activities, such as mentoring relationships.

Self-monitoring. Self-monitoring measures the extent to which individuals vary in their sensitivity to social cues and in their ability to adapt their behavior to the requirements of a situation (Snyder, 1987). Individuals high on self-monitoring are sensitive to social cues, can modify their behavior using those cues, are concerned with behaving in a situationally appropriate manner, and change their behaviors on the basis of what they believe is appropriate for a situation. Those low on self-monitoring lack either the ability or the motivation to change their behavior to fit situations, rely less on social cues to regulate their behavior, and therefore behave more consistently across situations. Because "high self-monitors" are more sensitive to interpersonal and social cues than "low self-monitors," the former are likely to be more aware of the value of mentoring for success in organizations. Therefore, we expected that self-monitoring would be positively related to initiating mentoring experiences.

Emotional stability. We measured emotional stability, one of the "big five" personality dimensions (Digman, 1990), in terms of self-esteem and negative affectivity. Self-esteem refers to how favorably individuals evaluate themselves; high-self-esteem individuals evaluate themselves more positively and believe they are more capable and competent than low-self-esteem

individuals (Brockner, 1988). Self-esteem influences behavior in such a way that low-self-esteem individuals are more likely to withdraw from esteem-threatening situations like challenging tasks, have less confidence in their abilities to accomplish challenging assignments, are less likely to seek feedback, and see themselves as less appealing partners (Brockner, 1988; Campbell, 1990). Negative affectivity is a relatively stable dimension of individual differences characterized by a tendency to experience negative emotional states (Levin & Stokes, 1989; Watson & Clark, 1984). High-negative-affectivity individuals tend to focus on negative aspects of other people and themselves, to feel nervous, tense, and dissatisfied, to report stress, and to be hostile, demanding, and distant. Emotional stability is indicated by high self-esteem and low negative affectivity.

Because mentoring relationships involve, in part, a mentor helping a protégé obtain assignments that are highly visible to upper-level managers and then providing feedback to the protégé, we expected that individuals with low emotional stability would be less likely to initiate mentoring relationships because such individuals, who lack confidence, will not seek out challenging assignments and will not want to increase their level of nervousness and tension by establishing relationships with upper-level managers.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals who are internals in locus of control, high on self-monitoring, and high in emotional stability will initiate more mentoring relationships than individuals who are externals, low on self-monitoring, and low in emotional stability.

Initiating Mentoring and Mentoring Received

Very little research has investigated why some individuals receive more mentoring than others (Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1992). We extended earlier efforts by hypothesizing that individuals who initiate mentoring relationships will report receiving more mentoring. Although this hypothesis seems almost self-evident, because very little research has investigated potential protégés' ability to influence the formation of mentoring relationships, we empirically examined whether reports of initiating mentoring relationships were related to the reported amount of mentoring received. Additionally, if, as discussed earlier, individuals with certain personality characteristics are more likely to initiate mentoring, such individuals would be expected to receive more mentoring than those without such characteristics. We expected, however, that protégé personality characteristics would not influence the mentoring received directly, but would do so indirectly, by influencing the initiation of mentoring. Although protégés with certain personality characteristics may be more likely to be chosen by mentors, we investigated the characteristics that might lead people to attempt to initiate mentoring relationships, rather than focusing

on characteristics that might lead potential mentors to choose protégés. Therefore, we expected initiation of mentoring to mediate the relationship between personality characteristics and the mentoring received.

Hypothesis 2: Protégés' initiation of mentoring will be related positively to the mentoring they receive and will mediate the relationship between their personality traits and the mentoring received.

Career success. Recent evidence indicates that mentoring experiences are related to career success (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992; Whitely et al., 1991). We replicated and extended those studies by investigating the relationship between mentoring, career attainment, and perceived career success. Career success has typically been measured with relatively objective measures such as salary and promotions (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992; Whitely et al., 1991). Researchers have argued, however, that definitions of career success should also incorporate individuals' perceptions of their career success, which might not parallel objective measures (Collin & Young, 1986; Cox & Harquail, 1991; Hall, 1976). Therefore, heeding calls for the use of both objective and subjective career success measures (Collin & Young, 1986), we measured both respondents' perceptions of their success and career attainment, defining the latter as salary and promotions. We expected that the mentoring individuals received would positively influence both their career attainment and perceived career success and that career attainment would positively influence perceived career success.

Hypothesis 3: The mentoring received by an individual will be related positively to his or her career attainment and perceived career success.

Hypothesis 4: Career attainment will be related positively to perceived career success.

Protégé gender. Because there are more men at high levels of organizations and therefore more potential male mentors than female ones, often a woman who desires a mentoring relationship must acquire a mentor of the opposite sex. Scholars have, however, suggested that women face many barriers to establishing cross-gender mentoring relationships, because women may be less likely than men to initiate mentoring relationships and others in an organization may view such relationships as sexual (Clawson & Kram, 1984; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Noe, 1988b; Ragins, 1989; Ragins & Cotton, 1991). We found no study that investigated gender differences in initiating mentor relationships, although some evidence indicates no differences between men and women in mentoring received (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Ragins & Cotton, 1991; Whitely et al., 1992). Making no specific predictions about protégé gender, we investigated whether it influences the initiation of mentoring and the amount of mentoring received.

Methods

Respondents and Setting

We mailed surveys to 550 graduates of a large midwestern university who had obtained bachelor's degrees in management during the years 1979 to 1988, obtaining addresses from the alumni association. For years in which the number of available addresses was less than 50, we mailed surveys to all the graduates, and for years in which the number of addresses was greater than 50, we mailed surveys to at least 52 graduates. The number of surveys mailed ranged from 42 to 61 across the years of data collection, and 94 percent of the available addresses were used. Of the 550 surveys mailed, 9 were undeliverable and 197 were returned, for a response rate of 36 percent. We eliminated individuals who reported working fewer than 35 hours per week, who were self-employed or worked in family-owned businesses, or who had missing data on any of the measures. The 147 respondents averaged 29 years of age; 49 percent were women ($N = 72$), and 64 percent were married.

Our respondents were representative of the individuals to whom we mailed surveys for gender and year of graduation: $\chi^2(1, N = 541) = 1.85, p \geq .05$ and $\chi^2(9, N = 541) = 5.82, p \geq .05$.

Variables

Locus of control. We heeded calls to use a domain-specific measure rather than Rotter's (1966) general locus-of-control scale and measured locus of control using Spector's (1988) work locus-of-control measure with a seven-point response scale. Spector (1988) presented reliability and validity data for the instrument; for the current data, this 16-item measure had a coefficient alpha of .79. Lower scores indicate higher internality.

Self-monitoring. Self-monitoring was measured with Snyder's (1987) 18-items measured on seven-point response scales ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" ($\alpha = .81$).

Emotional stability. Self-esteem and negative affectivity were used as indicators of emotional stability. Applicants' global self-esteem was measured with ten items ($\alpha = .82$) adapted from Rosenberg (1965) and measured on seven-point scales. Negative affectivity was measured with 21 items ($\alpha = .87$) from Levin and Stokes (1989).

Initiation of mentoring relationships. Respondents indicated, on seven-point scales, the extent to which they had (1) sought to become acquainted with higher-level managers, (2) made personal efforts to have their work become visible to higher-level managers, (3) taken the initiative to seek counseling and advice from higher-level managers, and (4) taken the initiative to find mentors in their organizations. The mean of these items

($\alpha = .82$) measured the extent to which respondents initiated mentoring relationships.

Mentoring received. Mentoring received was measured with 18 items from Dreher and Ash (1990) and introduced by the stem “Consider your career history since graduating from our program and the degree to which influential managers have served as your sponsor or mentor (this need not be limited to one person).” We conducted a principal components analysis with varimax rotation. Application of the scree test and the eigenvalues-greater-than-1.0 criterion yielded three factors that accounted for 66 percent of the variance of the items. Scales were created as the means of items that had factor loadings greater than .40 for that factor only. The first factor, psychosocial mentoring, included nine items ($\alpha = .93$) reflecting psychosocial functions; examples are “conveyed empathy for the concerns and feelings you have discussed with him/her” and “conveyed feelings of respect for you as an individual.” The second factor, career-related mentoring, included four items ($\alpha = .88$), such as “given or recommended you for assignments that required contact with managers in different parts of the company” and “given or recommended you for assignments that increased your contact with higher level managers.” Finally, the third factor, protection and assistance, included these two items ($r = .48$): “protected you from working with other managers or work units before you knew about their likes/dislikes, opinions on controversial topics, and the nature of the political environment” and “helped you finish assignments/tasks or meet deadlines that otherwise would have been difficult to complete.”

Career attainment. Respondents reported the dollar amounts of their current salaries. In addition, we measured promotions as did Whitely and colleagues (1991), asking respondents to indicate the numbers of promotions they had received since graduation. In an attempt to verify our career attainment measures, we conducted phone interviews, approximately two and a half years after the surveys were completed, that asked a subgroup of the respondents their current salaries and the numbers of promotions they had received since graduation. We attempted to contact all respondents but did not have correct phone numbers for 79 of them. We were able to reach 33 of the remaining 68 respondents. We obtained promotion data from all 33 respondents, but for various reasons (a respondent was currently unemployed, in school, or the like), we obtained salary data from only 25. The correlation for promotions across the time period was .84, and for salary it was .80, both significant at the .0001 level. Such results provide evidence for the accuracy of the career attainment measures.

Perceived career success. Perceived career success was measured with these four items ($\alpha = .87$): “How successful has your career been?” “Compared to your coworkers, how successful is your career?” “How successful do your ‘significant others’ feel your career has been?” and “Given your age, do

you think that your career is on ‘schedule,’ or ahead or behind schedule?” The items we used, adapted from Gibson (1989), are similar to those used by Munson and Posner (1980). Further, Lawrence (1984) found that perceptions of being behind, on, or ahead of schedule were related to satisfaction with career progress and to work attitudes such as commitment.

Control variables. We controlled for seven variables thought to influence salary and promotions (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Whitely et al., 1991). Education level was coded 1 for a bachelor’s, 2 for a master’s, and 3 for a doctoral degree; work history was coded 1 for noncontinuous and 2 for continuous; years since graduation was the difference between the year a respondent received the bachelor’s degree and 1991; functional area (e.g., financial, sales-purchasing) was coded using five categories described by Whitely and colleagues (1991); and organization size was measured with eight categories ranging from 1–50 employees to 50,000+ employees. Finally, each respondent identified his or her gender (1 = man, 2 = woman) and marital status (1 = married, 2 = single).

Analyses and Results

Method Variance Analyses

We conducted two analyses to investigate possible effects of method variance. First, we conducted a principal components analysis that included the initiation of mentoring, the mentoring received, and the perceived career success items to investigate the measures’ discriminant validity. Results indicated that the items measuring mentoring received loaded on the same three factors as when they were analyzed separately, the initiation-of-mentoring items formed a single factor, and the perceived-career-success items formed a single factor, providing some support for the discriminant validity of these measures. Additionally, using a procedure discussed by McFarlin and Sweeney (1992), we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis, creating a single-factor model in which all our measures loaded on one factor, a method variance factor. The single-factor model did not fit the data as well as our theoretical model, as is discussed further below.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations of the variables. With the exception of the strong negative correlation between negative affectivity and self-esteem ($r = -.71$), the correlations among the personality measures were of low to moderate strength. The correlations among the three scales of mentoring received ranged from .30 to .52.

Table 1: Means, standard deviations, and correlations^a

Variables	Means	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1. Education level	1.25	0.47																					
2. Continuous work history	1.67	0.47	-.06																				
3. Years since graduation	7.16	2.76	.27	.02																			
4. Financial position	1.03	0.18	-.02	-.11	-.01																		
5. Sales-purchasing position	1.10	0.31	-.14	-.08	-.32	-.07																	
6. Other professional position	1.29	0.46	.04	-.03	-.04	-.12	-.22																
7. Technical position	1.05	0.21	.15	-.05	-.01	-.04	-.08	-.14															
8. Organization size	5.20	2.15	.14	.21	.04	.05	-.13	-.14	.10														
9. Gender	1.49	0.50	-.03	-.13	-.17	.12	.05	.09	.04	.08													
10. Marital status	1.36	0.48	-.07	.01	-.23	.02	.15	-.05	-.03	-.06	.09												
11. Locus of control	2.96	0.65	-.15	-.05	-.03	.05	.07	-.05	-.15	.02	-.07	.24	(.79)										
12. Self-monitoring	4.07	0.73	.05	.03	-.07	-.18	.07	-.05	.08	.15	-.08	-.07	-.13	(.81)									
13. Self-esteem	6.07	0.67	.24	.02	.01	-.10	-.11	.03	.07	.12	.03	-.20	-.40	.01	(.82)								
14. Negative affectivity	2.91	0.69	-.21	-.03	.04	.10	.06	-.07	.06	-.06	.06	.20	.39	-.10	-.71	(.87)							
15. Initiation of mentoring	4.23	1.27	-.01	.17	.05	-.12	-.09	.02	-.03	.01	.07	-.24	-.21	.31	.24	-.22	(.82)						
16. Psychosocial mentoring	4.20	1.33	.11	-.12	.10	-.09	-.04	-.16	.18	-.06	.09	-.06	-.28	.13	.20	-.13	.47	(.93)					
17. Career-related mentoring	4.58	1.32	.24	.11	.17	.05	-.21	-.12	.23	.18	.12	-.19	-.19	.10	.14	-.19	.50	.52	(.88)				
18. Protection and assistance	2.87	1.29	.02	.06	.09	.05	-.07	-.01	.10	.06	.02	.05	-.12	.21	.02	.06	.42	.45	.30	(.64)			
19. Number of promotions	2.95	2.01	.01	.19	.23	.10	-.25	-.16	-.03	.08	-.07	-.05	.00	.06	.09	-.10	.19	.16	.30	.06			
20. Salary	33,808	13,536	.27	.28	.46	-.11	-.24	-.13	-.01	.30	-.25	-.18	-.16	.13	.10	-.16	.14	.17	.35	.10	.41		
21. Perceived career success	4.96	1.10	.27	.05	.20	-.10	-.11	-.05	.10	.08	-.04	-.15	-.38	.25	.43	-.41	.33	.42	.42	.14	.39	.51	(.87)

^aN = 147. The numbers in parentheses on the diagonal are coefficient alphas. Correlations greater than or equal to .16 are significant at the .05 level.

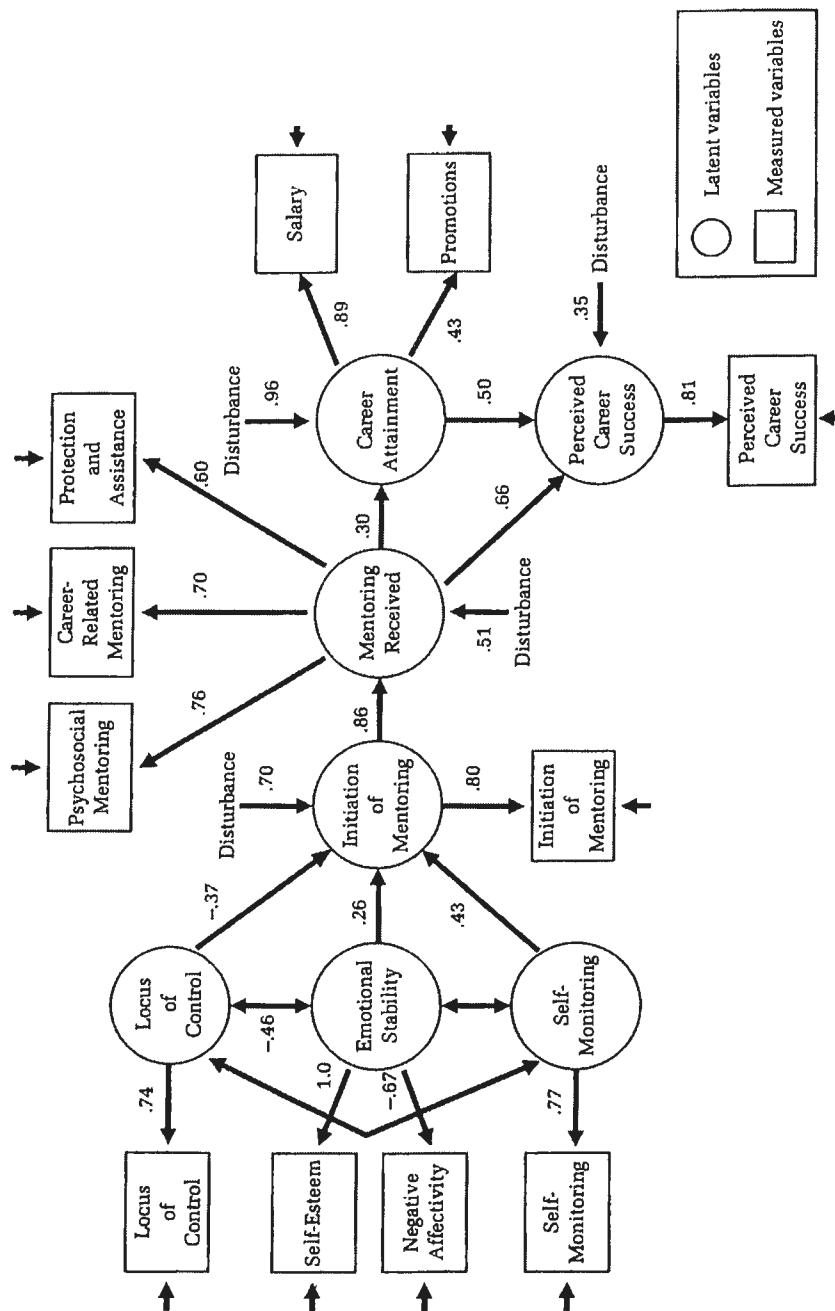
Gender Research Questions

The results of a *t*-test indicated that protégé gender was unrelated to initiating mentoring ($t_{145} = -.84$). Additionally, gender was not related to psychosocial mentoring ($t_{145} = -1.1$), career-related mentoring ($t_{145} = -1.4$), and protection and assistance ($t_{145} = -.26$). Such results indicate no differences between men and women in attempts to initiate mentoring relationships and in mentoring received. We therefore combined the data from men and women to investigate our hypotheses.

Structural Equation Model

We used structural equation modeling to investigate the proposed relationships among personality characteristics, initiation of mentoring, mentoring received, career attainment, and perceived career success. Structural equation modeling simultaneously investigates relationships and provides both an overall assessment of the fit of a hypothesized model to the data and tests of individual hypotheses. In order to estimate the latent variables measured with single indicators (locus of control, self-monitoring, initiation of mentoring, and perceived career success), we took into account the effects of random measurement error by setting the error variance at 1.0 minus alpha-squared times the variance of a given variable (Bollen, 1989; Hayduk, 1987). Additionally, we regressed salary and promotions on the seven control variables and saved the residualized values, each of which reflects an individual's salary and number of promotions after removal of the effects of the control variables. The structural equation modeling analyses were conducted using the covariance matrix with the residualized salary and promotions and the generalized-least-squares estimation technique.

Following procedures discussed by various authors, we estimated several models and compared them to a null model (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Marsh, Balla, & McDonald, 1988). We estimated (1) a null model, which was used as a baseline model, (2) an uncorrelated-latent-variables model in which the manifest variables loaded on the latent constructs and there were no paths between the latent variables, (3) the theoretical model presented in Figure 1, and (4) the theoretical model with additional paths from the personality variables to mentoring received, which provided a test of whether the personality characteristics had direct effects on mentoring received above and beyond the indirect effects through initiation of mentoring. We assessed the overall fits of the models to the data with chi-square, the goodness-of-fit index (*GFI*), the Bentler-Bonett (1980) normed-fit index (*NFI*), and the Tucker-Lewis (1973) index (*TLI*). In general, values for those three indexes range from 0.0 to 1.0, and although there are no absolute values considered to constitute an acceptable fit (Marsh et al., 1988), larger values indicate a better fit of a model to data.



*Statistics are standardized path coefficients. All coefficients are significant at $p < .05$, one-tailed test.

Figure 1: Structural model^a

As can be seen by examining Figure 1, all the personality constructs influenced initiation of mentoring in the directions predicted by Hypothesis 1. Additionally, in support of the first part of Hypothesis 2, initiation of mentoring influenced mentoring received. Mentoring received positively influenced career attainment and perceived career success, in support of Hypothesis 3. Finally, career attainment positively influenced perceived career success, providing support for Hypothesis 4. The theoretical model fit the data moderately well; although the chi-square was significant ($\chi^2[40, N = 147] = 69.30, p \leq .0028$), the ratio of chi-square to the degrees of freedom, 1.73, was below the recommended 2.00, and the goodness-of-fit index was .91, the normed-fit index was .59, and the Tucker-Lewis index was .64. Although the latter two values were not large, the goodness-of-fit value and the chi-square-to-degrees-of-freedom ratio suggest the model does fit the data relatively well. Further, the theoretical model provided a significantly better fit than the null, uncorrelated-latent-variables, or one-factor models, and the fit indexes were considerably larger for the theoretical model than for the alternatives. For example, the results for the one-factor model ($\chi^2[45, N = 147] = 132.6, p \leq .0001, GFI = .83, NFI = .21, TLI = .05$) indicate that the theoretical model provides a better fit to the data than a model that has all variables loading on a single factor. Results indicate that initiation of mentoring mediates the relationship between the personality characteristics and mentoring received. We added paths from the personality characteristics directly to mentoring received to test for effects beyond the mediation through initiating mentoring. The addition of these three paths did not lead to a better fit ($\chi^2[3, N = 147] = 3.35, p \geq .05$), suggesting that, in support of the second part of Hypothesis 2, initiation of mentoring completely mediates the relationship between these personality constructs and mentoring received.

Discussion

Our results provide insight into the initial formation of mentoring relationships in organizations. Results indicate that protégés can influence the amount of mentoring they receive. Specifically, individuals with internal loci of control and high self-monitoring and emotional stability were more likely to initiate and therefore to receive mentoring. Additionally, mentoring received was related to both career attainment and perceived career success, and career attainment also influenced perceived career success. Finally, protégé gender was not related to initiating mentoring or to mentoring received.

Although much of the research on mentoring has assumed that mentors choose protégés, our results indicate that individuals who engage in proactive behaviors to initiate mentoring report receiving more mentoring. Further, our results suggest that certain personality characteristics are related to the proactive behavior of initiating mentoring relationships. The view of employees

as proactive agents who attempt to influence their environments – here, by initiating relationships with prospective mentors – corroborates recent research in areas such as socialization (Morrison, 1993) and feedback-seeking behavior (Ashford & Cummings, 1983) that has also found that employees engage in proactive behaviors in attempts to control environments. Our results must be viewed with caution, however, because we obtained self-reports of attempts to initiate mentoring and mentoring received rather than measures of actual behaviors. Nonetheless, in our results individuals with certain personality characteristics reported more proactive behaviors in initiating mentoring and reported receiving more mentoring.

Our results suggest that protégés' personality characteristics are important determinants of the amount of mentoring they receive through influencing their attempts to initiate mentoring relationships. Future research should identify and investigate additional protégé personality traits related to attempts to initiate mentoring experiences. Additionally, research should investigate whether mentors are more likely to seek out protégés with certain personality traits. For example, mentors may avoid employees high in negative affectivity. Another important question is the extent to which personality influences the desire to become a mentor. As those studying mentoring have noted (Ragins & Cotton, 1993), scholars know very little about the formation of mentoring relationships, although this is an important research area, given the benefits of mentoring.

Our results suggest that personality characteristics have an indirect influence on career attainment through influencing initiation of mentoring and mentoring received. Such results extend Howard and Bray's (1988) findings that personality characteristics influence career success by describing one mechanism through which personality influences success. Clearly, however, personality influences success in ways other than through mentoring. Recent evidence indicates that personality is related to job performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Day & Silverman, 1989). Additional research should investigate mechanisms through which personality influences job performance and career attainment.

Protégé gender did not influence either the initiation of mentoring or the mentoring received. Such results, although corroborating other recent findings of no gender effects for mentoring received (Dreher & Ash, 1990), are contradictory to propositions that women are less likely to initiate mentoring relationships or to obtain mentoring experiences (Noe, 1988b; Ragins, 1989). Therefore, although recent empirical evidence suggests that men and women do not differ in the extents to which they seek out or receive mentoring, future research might investigate whether the quality of mentoring relationships differs for men and women. For example, the intensity and dynamics of mentoring relationships may be different for the two.

In support of earlier evidence, we found a positive relationship between mentoring received and career attainment (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura,

1992; Whitely et al., 1991). Additionally, we extended earlier research and found that mentoring received was positively related to perceived career success and that career attainment was positively related to perceived career success. Given the recent evidence for the benefits of mentoring, we now need to more closely examine how mentoring influences career success. For example, mentoring may influence success because mentors recommend their protégés for challenging and visible assignments or because mentors model, or demonstrate, behaviors that are important for the protégés' success.

We acknowledge certain limitations of our study. First, our respondents were management-major graduates of one university, and therefore the generalizability of the results is unknown. Further, our response rate was not as high as we would have liked, and although we found no evidence of response bias, we cannot rule out the possibility that our respondents were not representative of the population from which we sampled. Additionally, respondents may have inflated their salaries in order to appear successful. Although we found a correlation of .80 for salary across a two-and-a-half-year period, and Dreher (1977) found self-reports of salary were highly correlated ($r = .91$) with company records, we were unable to verify respondents' actual salaries. The initiation-of-mentoring items were developed specifically for this study and need additional psychometric analyses. Further, research is needed to replicate the three mentoring-received factors indicated by the factor analyses. Although the psychosocial and career-related factors are recognized in the mentoring literature, the protection and assistance factor was new. Although mentors are thought to provide protégés with protection and assistance (Kram, 1985), replication of the factor analyses is necessary to corroborate that these mentoring functions form one factor.

Because the data were collected at one point in time with a single instrument, method bias may have inflated the relationships. Nonetheless, the factor analysis results indicating that the items measuring initiation of mentoring, mentoring received, and perceived career success all loaded on separate factors argue against method variance and provide some support for the discriminant validity of these measures. Additionally, using a technique described by McFarlin and Sweeney (1992), we found that a single-factor model did not provide a better fit to the data than our theoretical model. Finally, although we cannot discount common method variance, it seems unlikely that it is an alternative explanation for the pattern of relationships we found using structural equation modeling.

In summary, our results underscore the critical role protégés play in their receipt of mentoring and in their subsequent career success. Further, our results add to existing evidence suggesting that protégé gender is not an important determinant of the receipt of mentoring. Given the benefits of mentoring demonstrated by recent studies, we urge researchers to attempt to further specify the mentoring construct and to continue to develop measures of it. Additionally, researchers need to know more about how mentors and protégés

choose one another. Researchers are beginning to investigate aspects related to willingness to mentor (Ragins & Cotton, 1993); however, very little is known about how mentors choose protégés. Mentoring is an important developmental activity for protégés and mentors. Future research should attempt to delineate aspects of mentoring relationships that are beneficial for both parties.

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Managers and Leaders: Are They Different?

Abraham Zaleznik

What is the ideal way to develop leadership? Every society provides its own answer to this question, and each, in groping for answers, defines its deepest concerns about the purposes, distributions, and uses of power. Business has contributed its answer to the leadership question by evolving a new breed called the manager. Simultaneously, business has established a new power ethic that favors collective over individual leadership, the cult of the group over that of personality. While ensuring the competence, control, and the balance of power relations among groups with the potential for rivalry, managerial leadership unfortunately does not necessarily ensure imagination, creativity, or ethical behavior in guiding the destinies of corporate enterprises.

Leadership inevitably requires using power to influence the thoughts and actions of other people. Power in the hands of an individual entails human risks: first, the risk of equating power with the ability to get immediate results; second, the risk of ignoring the many different ways people can legitimately accumulate power; and third, the risk of losing self-control in the desire for power. The need to hedge these risks accounts in part for the development of collective leadership and the managerial ethic. Consequently, an inherent conservatism dominates the culture of large organizations. In *The Second American Revolution*, John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, describes the conservatism of organizations:

Source: *Harvard Business Review* (1997): 67–78.

"An organization is a system, with a logic of its own, and all the weight of tradition and inertia. The deck is stacked in favor of the tried and proven way of doing things and against the taking of risks and striking out in new directions."¹

Out of this conservatism and inertia organizations provide succession to power through the development of managers rather than individual leaders. And the irony of the managerial ethic is that it fosters a bureaucratic culture in business, supposedly the last bastion protecting us from the encroachments and controls of bureaucracy in government and education. Perhaps the risks associated with power in the hands of an individual may be necessary ones for business to take if organizations are to break free of their inertia and bureaucratic conservatism.

Manager vs. Leader Personality

Theodore Levitt has described the essential features of a managerial culture with its emphasis on rationality and control:

"Management consists of the rational assessment of a situation and the systematic selection of goals and purposes (what is to be done?); the systematic development of strategies to achieve these goals; the marshalling of the required resources; the rational design, organization, direction, and control of the activities required to attain the selected purposes; and, finally, the motivating and rewarding of people to do the work."²

In other words, whether his or her energies are directed toward goals, resources, organization structures, or people, a manager is a problem solver. The manager asks himself, "What problems have to be solved, and what are the best ways to achieve results so that people will continue to contribute to this organization?" In this conception, leadership is a practical effort to direct affairs; and to fulfill his task, a manager requires that many people operate at different levels of status and responsibility. Our democratic society is, in fact, unique in having solved the problem of providing well-trained managers for business. The same solution stands ready to be applied to government, education, health care, and other institutions. It takes neither genius nor heroism to be a manager, but rather persistence, tough-mindedness, hard work, intelligence, analytical ability and, perhaps most important, tolerance and good will.

Another conception, however, attaches almost mystical beliefs to what leadership is and assumes that only great people are worthy of the drama of power and politics. Here, leadership is a psychodrama in which, as a precondition for control of a political structure, a lonely person must gain control of him or herself. Such an expectation of leadership contrasts sharply with the

mundane, practical, and yet important conception that leadership is really managing work that other people do.

Two questions come to mind. Is this mystique of leadership merely a holdover from our collective childhood of dependency and our longing for good and heroic parents? Or, is there a basic truth lurking behind the need for leaders that no matter how competent managers are, their leadership stagnates because of their limitations in visualizing purposes and generating value in work? Without this imaginative capacity and the ability to communicate, managers, driven by their narrow purposes, perpetuate group conflicts instead of reforming them into broader desires and goals.

If indeed problems demand greatness, then, judging by past performance, the selection and development of leaders leave a great deal to chance. There are no known ways to train "great" leaders. Furthermore, beyond what we leave to chance, there is a deeper issue in the relationship between the need for competent managers and the longing for great leaders.

What it takes to ensure the supply of people who will assume practical responsibility may inhibit the development of great leaders. Conversely, the presence of great leaders may undermine the development of managers who become very anxious in the relative disorder that leaders seem to generate. The antagonism in aim (to have many competent managers as well as great leaders) often remains obscure in stable and well-developed societies. But the antagonism surfaces during periods of stress and change, as it did in the Western countries during both the Great Depression and World War II. The tension also appears in the struggle for power between theorists and professional managers in revolutionary societies.

It is easy enough to dismiss the dilemma I pose (of training managers while we may need new leaders, or leaders at the expense of managers) by saying that the need is for people who can be *both* managers and leaders. The truth of the matter as I see it, however, is that just as a managerial culture is different from the entrepreneurial culture that develops when leaders appear in organizations, managers and leaders are very different kinds of people. They differ in motivation, personal history, and in how they think and act.

A technologically oriented and economically successful society tends to depreciate the need for great leaders. Such societies hold a deep and abiding faith in rational methods of solving problems, including problems of value, economics, and justice. Once rational methods of solving problems are broken down into elements, organized, and taught as skills, then society's faith in technique over personal qualities in leadership remains the guiding conception for a democratic society contemplating its leadership requirements. But there are times when tinkering and trial and error prove inadequate to the emerging problems of selecting goals, allocating resources, and distributing wealth and opportunity. During such times, the democratic society needs to find leaders who use themselves as the instruments of learning and acting, instead of managers who use their accumulation of collective experience to get where they are going.

The most impressive spokesman, as well as exemplar of the managerial viewpoint, was Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. who, along with Pierre du Pont, designed the modern corporate structure. Reflecting on what makes one management successful while another fails, Sloan suggested that “good management rests on a reconciliation of centralization and decentralization, or ‘decentralization with coordinated control’”.³

Sloan’s conception of management, as well as his practice, developed by trial and error, and by the accumulation of experience. Sloan wrote:

“There is no hard and fast rule for sorting out the various responsibilities and the best way to assign them. The balance which is struck . . . varies according to what is being decided, the circumstances of the time, past experience, and the temperaments and skills of the executive involved.”⁴

In other words, in much the same way that the inventors of the late nineteenth century tried, failed, and fitted until they hit on a product or method, managers who innovate in developing organizations are “tinkerers.” They do not have a grand design or experience the intuitive flash of insight that, borrowing from modern science, we have come to call the “breakthrough.”

Managers and leaders differ fundamentally in their world views. The dimensions for assessing these differences include managers’ and leaders’ orientations toward their goals, their work, their human relations, and their selves.

Attitudes toward Goals

Managers tend to adopt impersonal, if not passive, attitudes toward goals. Managerial goals arise out of necessities rather than desires, and, therefore, are deeply embedded in the history and culture of the organization.

Frederic G. Donner, chairman and chief executive officer of General Motors from 1958 to 1967, expressed this impersonal and passive attitude toward goals in defining GM’s position on product development:

“. . . To meet the challenge of the marketplace, we must recognize changes in customer needs and desires far enough ahead to have the right products in the right places at the right time and in the right quantity.

“We must balance trends in preference against the many compromises that are necessary to make a final product that is both reliable and good looking, that performs well and that sells at a competitive price in the necessary volume. We must design, not just the cars we would like to build, but more importantly, the cars that our customers want to buy.”⁵

Nowhere in this formulation of how a product comes into being is there a notion that consumer tastes and preferences arise in part as a result of what manufacturers do. In reality, through product design, advertising, and

promotion, consumers learn to like what they then say they need. Few would argue that people who enjoy taking snapshots *need* a camera that also develops pictures. But in response to novelty, convenience, a shorter interval between acting (taking the snap) and gaining pleasure (seeing the shot), the Polaroid camera succeeded in the marketplace. But it is inconceivable that Edwin Land responded to impressions of consumer need. Instead, he translated a technology (polarization of light) into a product, which proliferated and stimulated consumers’ desires.

The example of Polaroid and Land suggests how leaders think about goals. They are active instead of reactive, shaping ideas instead of responding to them. Leaders adopt a personal and active attitude toward goals. The influence a leader exerts in altering moods, evoking images and expectations, and in establishing specific desires and objectives determines the direction a business takes. The net result of this influence is to change the way people think about what is desirable, possible, and necessary.

Conceptions of Work

What do managers and leaders do? What is the nature of their respective work?

Leaders and managers differ in their conceptions. Managers tend to view work as an enabling process involving some combination of people and ideas interacting to establish strategies and make decisions. Managers help the process along by a range of skills, including calculating the interests in opposition, staging and timing the surfacing of controversial issues, and reducing tensions. In this enabling process, managers appear flexible in the use of tactics: they negotiate and bargain, on the one hand, and use rewards and punishments, and other forms of coercion, on the other. Machiavelli wrote for managers and not necessarily for leaders.

Alfred Sloan illustrated how this enabling process works in situations of conflict. The time was the early 1920s when the Ford Motor Co. still dominated the automobile industry using, as did General Motors, the conventional water-cooled engine. With the full backing of Pierre du Pont, Charles Kettering dedicated himself to the design of an air-cooled engine, which, if successful, would have been a great technical and market coup for GM. Kettering believed in his product, but the manufacturing division heads at GM remained skeptical and later opposed the new design on two grounds: first, that it was technically unreliable, and second, that the corporation was putting all its eggs in one basket by investing in a new product instead of attending to the current marketing situation.

In the summer of 1923 after a series of false starts and after its decision to recall the copper-cooled Chevrolets from dealers and customers, GM management reorganized and finally scrapped the project. When it dawned on

Kettering that the company had rejected the engine, he was deeply discouraged and wrote to Sloan that without the “organized resistance” against the project it would succeed and that unless the project were saved, he would leave the company.

Alfred Sloan was all too aware of the fact that Kettering was unhappy and indeed intended to leave General Motors. Sloan was also aware of the fact that, while the manufacturing divisions strongly opposed the new engine, Pierre du Pont supported Kettering. Furthermore, Sloan had himself gone on record in a letter to Kettering less than two years earlier expressing full confidence in him. The problem Sloan now had was to make his decision stick, keep Kettering in the organization (he was much too valuable to lose), avoid alienating du Pont, and encourage the division heads to move speedily in developing product lines using conventional watereooled engines.

The actions that Sloan took in the face of this conflict reveal much about how managers work. First, he tried to reassure Kettering by presenting the problem in a very ambiguous fashion, suggesting that he and the Executive Committee sided with Kettering, but that it would not be practical to force the divisions to do what they were opposed to. He presented the problem as being a question of the people, not the product. Second, he proposed to reorganize around the problem by consolidating all functions in a new division that would be responsible for the design, production, and marketing of the new car. This solution, however, appeared as ambiguous as his efforts to placate and keep Kettering in General Motors. Sloan wrote: “My plan was to create an independent pilot operation under the sole jurisdiction of Mr. Kettering, a kind of copper-cooled-car division. Mr. Kettering would designate his own chief engineer and his production staff to solve the technical problems of manufacture.”⁶

While Sloan did not discuss the practical value of this solution, which included saddling an inventor with management responsibility, he in effect used this plan to limit his conflict with Pierre du Pont.

In effect, the managerial solution that Sloan arranged and pressed for adoption limited the options available to others. The structural solution narrowed choices, even limiting emotional reactions to the point where the key people could do nothing but go along, and even allowed Sloan to say in his memorandum to du Pont, “We have discussed the matter with Mr. Kettering at some length this morning and he agrees with us absolutely on every point we made. He appears to receive the suggestion enthusiastically and has every confidence that it can be put across along these lines.”⁷

Having placated people who opposed his views by developing a structural solution that appeared to give something but in reality only limited options, Sloan could then authorize the car division’s general manager, with whom he basically agreed, to move quickly in designing water-cooled cars for the immediate market demand.

Years later Sloan wrote, evidently with tongue in cheek, “The cooper-cooled car never came up again in a big way. It just died out, I don’t know why.”⁸

In order to get people to accept solutions to problems, managers need to coordinate and balance continually. Interestingly enough, this managerial work has much in common with what diplomats and mediators do, with Henry Kissinger apparently an outstanding practitioner. The manager aims at shifting balances of power toward solutions acceptable as a compromise among conflicting values.

What about leaders, what do they do? Where managers act to limit choices, leaders work in the opposite direction, to develop fresh approaches to longstanding problems and to open issues for new options. Stanley and Inge Hoffmann, the political scientists, liken the leader’s work to that of the artist. But unlike most artists, the leader himself is an integral part of the aesthetic product. One cannot look at a leader’s art without looking at the artist. On Charles de Gaulle as a political artist, they wrote: “And each of his major political acts, however tortuous the means or the details, has been whole, indivisible and unmistakably his own, like an artistic act.”⁹

The closest one can get to a product apart from the artist is the ideas that occupy, indeed at times obsess, the leader’s mental life. To be effective, however, the leader needs to project his ideas into images that excite people, and only then develop choices that give the projected images substance. Consequently, leaders create excitement in work.

John F. Kennedy’s brief presidency shows both the strengths and weaknesses connected with the excitement leaders generate in their work. In his inaugural address he said, “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

This much-quoted statement forced people to react beyond immediate concerns and to identify with Kennedy and with important shared ideals. But upon closer scrutiny the statement must be seen as absurd because it promises a position which if in fact adopted, as in the Viet Nam War, could produce disastrous results. Yet unless expectations are aroused and mobilized, with all the dangers of frustration inherent in heightened desire, new thinking and new choice can never come to light.

Leaders work from high-risk positions, indeed often are temperamentally disposed to seek out risk and danger, especially where opportunity and reward appear high. From my observations, why one individual seeks risks while another approaches problems conservatively depends more on his or her personality and less on conscious choice. For some, especially those who become managers, the instinct for survival dominates their need for risk, and their ability to tolerate mundane, practical work assists their survival. The same cannot be said for leaders who sometimes react to mundane work as to an affliction.

Relations with Others

Managers prefer to work with people; they avoid solitary activity because it makes them anxious. Several years ago, I directed studies on the psychological aspects of career. The need to seek out others with whom to work and collaborate seemed to stand out as important characteristics of managers. When asked, for example, to write imaginative stories in response to a picture showing a single figure (a boy contemplating a violin, or a man silhouetted in a state of reflection), managers populated their stories with people. The following is an example of a manager's imaginative story about the young boy contemplating a violin:

"Mom and Dad insisted that junior take music lessons so that someday he can become a concert musician. His instrument was ordered and had just arrived. Junior is weighing the alternatives of playing football with the other kids or playing with the squeak box. He can't understand how his parents could think a violin is better than a touchdown.

"After four months of practicing the violin, junior has had more than enough, Daddy is going out of his mind, and Mommy is willing to give in reluctantly to the men's wishes. Football season is now over, but a good third baseman will take the field next spring."¹⁰

This story illustrates two themes that clarify managerial attitudes toward human relations. The first, as I have suggested, is to seek out activity with other people (i.e. the football team), and the second is to maintain a low level of emotional involvement in these relationships. The low emotional involvement appears in the writer's use of conventional metaphors, even clichés, and in the depiction of the ready transformation of potential conflict into harmonious decisions. In this case, Junior, Mommy, and Daddy agree to give up the violin for manly sports.

These two themes may seem paradoxical, but their coexistence supports what a manager does, including reconciling differences, seeking compromises, and establishing a balance of power. A further idea demonstrated by how the manager wrote the story is that managers may lack empathy, or the capacity to sense intuitively the thoughts and feelings of others. To illustrate attempts to be empathic, here is another story written to the same stimulus picture by someone considered by his peers to be a leader:

"This little boy has the appearance of being a sincere artist, one who is deeply affected by the violin, and has an intense desire to master the instrument.

"He seems to have just completed his normal practice session and appears to be somewhat crestfallen at his inability to produce the sounds which he is sure lie within the violin.

"He appears to be in the process of making a vow to himself to expend the necessary time and effort to play this instrument until he satisfies himself that he is able to bring forth the qualities of music which he feels within himself.

"With this type of determination and carry through, this boy became one of the great violinists of his day."¹¹

Empathy is not simply a matter of paying attention to other people. It is also the capacity to take in emotional signals and to make them mean something in a relationship with an individual. People who describe another person as "deeply affected" with "intense desire," as capable of feeling "crestfallen" and as one who can "vow to himself," would seem to have an inner perceptiveness that they can use in their relationships with others.

Managers relate to people according to the role they play in a sequence of events or in a decision-making process, while leaders, who are concerned with ideas, relate in more intuitive and empathetic ways. The manager's orientation to people, as actors in a sequence of events, deflects his or her attention away from the substance of people's concerns and toward their roles in a process. The distinction is simply between a manager's attention to *how* things get done and a leader's to *what* the events and decisions mean to participants.

In recent years, managers have taken over from game theory the notion that decision-making events can be one of two types: the win-lose situation (or zero-sum game) or the win-win situation in which everybody in the action comes out ahead. As part of the process of reconciling differences among people and maintaining balances of power, managers strive to convert win-lose into win-win situations.

As an illustration, take the decision of how to allocate capital resources among operating divisions in a large, decentralized organization. On the face of it, the dollars available for distribution are limited at any given time. Presumably, therefore, the more one division gets, the less is available for other divisions.

Managers tend to view this situation (as it affects human relations) as a conversion issue: how to make what seems like a win-lose problem into a win-win problem. Several solutions to this situation come to mind. First, the manager focuses others' attention on procedure and not on substance. Here the actors become engrossed in the bigger problem of *how* to make decisions, not *what* decisions to make. Once committed to the bigger problem, the actors have to support the outcome since they were involved in formulating decision rules. Because the actors believe in the rules they formulated, they will accept present losses in the expectation that next time they will win.

Second, the manager communicates to his subordinates indirectly, using "signals" instead of "messages." A signal has a number of possible implicit positions in it while a message clearly states a position. Signals are inconclusive and subject to reinterpretation should people become upset and angry, while

messages involve the direct consequence that some people will indeed not like what they hear. The nature of messages heightens emotional response, and, as I have indicated, emotionally makes managers anxious. With signals, the question of who wins and who loses often becomes obscured.

Third, the manager plays for time. Managers seem to recognize that with the passage of time and the delay of major decisions, compromises emerge that take the sting out of win-lose situations; and the original “game” will be superseded by additional ones. Therefore, compromises may mean that one wins and loses simultaneously, depending on which of the games one evaluates.

There are undoubtedly many other tactical moves managers use to change human situations from win-lose to win-win. But the point to be made is that such tactics focus on the decision-making process itself and interest managers rather than leaders. The interest in tactics involves costs as well as benefits, including making organizations fatter in bureaucratic and political intrigue and leaner in direct, hard activity and warm human relationships. Consequently, one often hears subordinates characterize managers as inscrutable, detached, and manipulative. These adjectives arise from the subordinates’ perception that they are linked together in a process whose purpose, beyond simply making decisions, is to maintain a controlled as well as rational and equitable structure. These adjectives suggest that managers need order in the face of the potential chaos that many fear in human relationships.

In contrast, one often hears leaders referred to in adjectives rich in emotional content. Leaders attract strong feelings of identity and difference, or of love and hate. Human relations in leader-dominated structures often appear turbulent, intense, and at times even disorganized. Such an atmosphere intensifies individual motivation and often produces unanticipated outcomes. Does this intense motivation lead to innovation and high performance, or does it represent wasted energy?

Senses of Self

In *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, William James describes two basic personality types, “once-born” and “twice-born.”¹² People of the former personality type are those for whom adjustments to life have been straightforward and whose lives have been more or less a peaceful flow from the moment of their births. The twice-borns, on the other hand, have not had an easy time of it. Their lives are marked by a continual struggle to attain some sense of order. Unlike the once-borns they cannot take things for granted. According to James, these personalities have equally different world views. For a once-born personality, the sense of self, as a guide to conduct and attitude, derives from a feeling of being at home and in harmony with one’s environment.

For a twice-born, the sense of self derives from a feeling of profound separateness.

A sense of belonging or of being separate has a practical significance for the kinds of investments managers and leaders make in their careers. Managers see themselves as conservators and regulators of an existing order of affairs with which they personally identify and from which they gain rewards. Perpetuating and strengthening existing institutions enhances a manager’s sense of self-worth: he or she is performing in a role that harmonizes with the ideals of duty and responsibility. William James had this harmony in mind – this sense of self as flowing easily to and from the outer world – in defining a once-born personality. If one feels oneself as a member of institutions, contributing to their well-being, then one fulfills a mission in life and feels rewarded for having measured up to ideals. This reward transcends material gains and answers the more fundamental desire for personal integrity which is achieved by identifying with existing institutions.

Leaders tend to be twice-born personalities, people who feel separate from their environment, including other people. They may work in organizations, but they never belong to them. Their sense of who they are does not depend upon memberships, work roles, or other social indicators of identity. What seems to follow from this idea about separateness is some theoretical basis for explaining why certain individuals search out opportunities for change. The methods to bring about change may be technological, political, or ideological, but the object is the same: to profoundly alter human, economic, and political relationships.

Sociologists refer to the preparation individuals undergo to perform in roles as the socialization process. Where individuals experience themselves as an integral part of the social structure (their self-esteem gains strength through participation and conformity), social standards exert powerful effects in maintaining the individual’s personal sense of continuity, even beyond the early years in the family. The line of development from the family to schools, then to career is cumulative and reinforcing. When the line of development is not reinforcing because of significant disruptions in relationships or other problems experienced in the family or other social institutions, the individual turns inward and struggles to establish self-esteem, identity, and order. Here the psychological dynamics center on the experience with loss and the efforts at recovery.

In considering the development of leadership, we have to examine two different courses of life history: (1) development through socialization, which prepares the individual to guide institutions and to maintain the existing balance of social relations; and (2) development through personal mastery, which impels an individual to struggle for psychological and social change. Society produces its managerial talent through the first line of development, while through the second leaders emerge.

Development of Leadership

The development of every person begins in the family. Each person experiences the traumas associated with separating from his or her parents, as well as the pain that follows such frustration. In the same vein, all individuals face the difficulties of achieving self-regulation and self-control. But for some, perhaps a majority, the fortunes of childhood provide adequate gratifications and sufficient opportunities to find substitutes for rewards no longer available. Such individuals, the “once-borns,” make moderate identifications with parents and find a harmony between what they expect and what they are able to realize from life.

But suppose the pains of separation are amplified by a combination of parental demands and the individual’s needs to the degree that a sense of isolation, of being special, and of wariness disrupts the bonds that attach children to parents and other authority figures? Under such conditions, and given a special aptitude, the origins of which remain mysterious, the person becomes deeply involved in his or her inner world at the expense of interest in the outer world. For such a person, self-esteem no longer depends solely upon positive attachments and real rewards. A form of self-reliance takes hold along with expectations of performance and achievement, and perhaps even the desire to do great works.

Such self-perceptions can come to nothing if the individual’s talents are negligible. Even with strong talents, there are no guarantees that achievement will follow, let alone that the end result will be for good rather than evil. Other factors enter into development. For one thing, leaders are like artists and other gifted people who often struggle with neuroses; their ability to function varies considerably even over the short run, and some potential leaders may lose the struggle altogether. Also, beyond early childhood, the patterns of development that affect managers and leaders involve the selective influence of particular people. Just as they appear flexible and evenly distributed in the types of talents available for development, managers form moderate and widely distributed attachments. Leaders, on the other hand, establish, and also break off, intensive one-to-one relationships.

It is a common observation that people with great talents are often only indifferent students. No one, for example, could have predicted Einstein’s great achievements on the basis of his mediocre record in school. The reason for mediocrity is obviously not the absence of ability. It may result, instead, from self-absorption and the inability to pay attention to the ordinary tasks at hand. The only sure way an individual can interrupt reverie-like preoccupation and self-absorption is to form a deep attachment to a great teacher or other benevolent person who understands and has the ability to communicate with the gifted individual.

Whether gifted individuals find what they need in one-to-one relationships depends on the availability of sensitive and intuitive mentors who have a vocation in cultivating talent. Fortunately, when the generations do meet and the

self-selections occur, we learn more about how to develop leaders and how talented people of different generations influence each other.

While apparently destined for a mediocre career, people who form important one-to-one relationships are able to accelerate and intensify their development through an apprenticeship. The background for such apprenticeships, or the psychological readiness of an individual to benefit from an intensive relationship, depends upon some experience in life that forces the individual to turn inward. A case example will make this point clearer. This example comes from the life of Dwight David Eisenhower, and illustrates the transformation of a career from competent to outstanding.¹³

Dwight Eisenhower’s early career in the Army foreshadowed very little about his future development. During World War I, while some of his West Point classmates were already experiencing the war firsthand in France, Eisenhower felt “embedded in the monotony and unsought safety of the Zone of the Interior . . . that was intolerable punishment.”¹⁴

Shortly after World War I, Eisenhower, then a young officer somewhat pessimistic about his career chances, asked for a transfer to Panama to work under General Fox Connor, a senior officer whom Eisenhower admired. The army turned down Eisenhower’s request. This setback was very much on Eisenhower’s mind when Ikey, his first-born son, succumbed to influenza. By some sense of responsibility for its own, the army transferred Eisenhower to Panama, where he took up his duties under General Connor with the shadow of his lost son very much upon him.

In a relationship with the kind of father he would have wanted to be, Eisenhower reverted to being the son he lost. In this highly charged situation, Eisenhower began to learn from his mentor. General Connor offered, and Eisenhower gladly took, a magnificent tutorial on the military. The effects of this relationship on Eisenhower cannot be measured quantitatively, but, in Eisenhower’s own reflections and the unfolding of his career, one cannot overestimate its significance in the reintegration of a person shattered by grief.

As Eisenhower wrote later about Connor, “Life with General Connor was a sort of graduate school in military affairs and the humanities, leavened by a man who was experienced in his knowledge of men and their conduct. I can never adequately express my gratitude to this one gentleman. . . . In a lifetime of association with great and good men, he is the one more or less invisible figure to whom I owe an incalculable debt.”¹⁵

Some time after his tour of duty with General Connor, Eisenhower’s breakthrough occurred. He received orders to attend the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, one of the most competitive schools in the army. It was a coveted appointment, and Eisenhower took advantage of the opportunity. Unlike his performance in high school and West Point, his work at the Command School was excellent; he was graduated first in his class.

Psychological biographies of gifted people repeatedly demonstrate the important part a mentor plays in developing an individual. Andrew Carnegie owed much to his senior, Thomas A. Scott. As head of the Western Division

of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Scott recognized talent and the desire to learn in the young telegrapher assigned to him. By giving Carnegie increasing responsibility and by providing him with the opportunity to learn through close personal observation, Scott added to Carnegie's self-confidence and sense of achievement. Because of his own personal strength and achievement, Scott did not fear Carnegie's aggressiveness. Rather, he gave it full play in encouraging Carnegie's initiative.

Mentors take risks with people. They bet initially on talent they perceive in younger people. Mentors also risk emotional involvement in working closely with their juniors. The risks do not always pay off, but the willingness to take them appears crucial in developing leaders.

Can Organizations Develop Leaders?

The examples I have given of how leaders develop suggest the importance of personal influence and the one-to-one relationship. For organizations to encourage consciously the development of leaders as compared with managers would mean developing one-to-one relationships between junior and senior executives and, more important, fostering a culture of individualism and possibly elitism. The elitism arises out of the desire to identify talent and other qualities suggestive of the ability to lead and not simply to manage.

The Jewel Companies Inc. enjoy a reputation for developing talented people. The chairman and chief executive officer, Donald S. Perkins, is perhaps a good example of a person brought along through the mentor approach. Franklin J. Lunding, who was Perkins's mentor, expressed the philosophy of taking risks with young people this way:

"Young people today want in on the action. They don't want to sit around for six months trimming lettuce."¹⁶

This statement runs counter to the culture that attaches primary importance to slow progression based on experience and proved competence. It is a high-risk philosophy, one that requires time for the attachment between senior and junior people to grow and be meaningful, and one that is bound to produce more failures than successes.

The elitism is an especially sensitive issue. At Jewel the MBA degree symbolized the elite. Lunding attracted Perkins to Jewel at a time when business school graduates had little interest in retailing in general, and food distribution in particular. Yet the elitism seemed to pay off: not only did Perkins become the president at age 37, but also under the leadership of young executives recruited into Jewel with the promise of opportunity for growth and advancement, Jewel managed to diversify into discount and drug chains and still remain strong in food retailing. By assigning each recruit to a vice president

who acted as sponsor, Jewel evidently tried to build a structure around the mentor approach to developing leaders. To counteract the elitism implied in such an approach, the company also introduced an "equalizer" in what Perkins described as "the first assistant philosophy." Perkins stated:

"Being a good first assistant means that each management person thinks of himself not as the order-giving, domineering boss, but as the first assistant to those who 'report' to him in a more typical organizational sense. Thus we mentally turn our organizational charts upside-down and challenge ourselves to seek ways in which we can lead . . . by helping . . . by teaching . . . by listening . . . and by managing in the true democratic sense . . . that is, with the consent of the managed. Thus the satisfactions of leadership come from helping others to get things done and changed – and not from getting credit for doing and changing things ourselves."¹⁷

While this statement would seem to be more egalitarian than elitist, it does reinforce a youth-oriented culture since it defines the senior officer's job as primarily helping the junior person.

A myth about how people learn and develop that seems to have taken hold in the American culture also dominates thinking in business. The myth is that people learn best from their peers. Supposedly, the threat of evaluation and even humiliation recedes in peer relations because of the tendency for mutual identification and the social restraints on authoritarian behavior among equals. Peer training in organizations occurs in various forms. The use, for example, of task forces made up of peers from several interested occupational groups (sales, production, research, and finance) supposedly removes the restraints of authority on the individual's willingness to assert and exchange ideas. As a result, so the theory goes, people interact more freely, listen more objectively to criticism and other points of view and, finally, learn from this healthy interchange.

Another application of peer training exists in some large corporations, such as Philips, N.V. in Holland, where organization structure is built on the principle of joint responsibility of two peers, one representing the commercial end of the business and the other the technical. Formally, both hold equal responsibility for geographic operations or product groups, as the case may be. As a practical matter, it may turn out that one or the other of the peers dominates the management. Nevertheless, the main interaction is between two or more equals.

The principal question I would raise about such arrangements is whether they perpetuate the managerial orientation, and preclude the formation of one-to-one relationships between senior people and potential leaders.

Aware of the possible stifling effects of peer relationships on aggressiveness and individual initiative, another company, much smaller than Philips, utilizes joint responsibility of peers for operating units, with one important difference. The chief executive of this company encourages competition and

rivalry among peers, ultimately appointing the one who comes out on top for increased responsibility. These hybrid arrangements produce some unintended consequences that can be disastrous. There is no easy way to limit rivalry. Instead, it permeates all levels of the operation and opens the way for the formation of cliques in an atmosphere of intrigue.

A large, integrated oil company has accepted the importance of developing leaders through the direct influence of senior on junior executives. One chairman and chief executive officer regularly selected one talented university graduate whom he appointed his special assistant, and with whom he would work closely for a year. At the end of the year, the junior executive would become available for assignment to one of the operating divisions, where he would be assigned to a responsible post rather than a training position. The mentor relationship had acquainted the junior executive firsthand with the use of power, and with the important antidotes to the power disease called *hubris* – performance and integrity.

Working in one-to-one relationships, where there is a formal and recognized difference in the power of the actors, takes a great deal of tolerance for emotional interchange. This interchange, inevitable in close working arrangements, probably accounts for the reluctance of many executives to become involved in such relationships. *Fortune* carried an interesting story on the departure of a key executive, John W. Hanley, from the top management of Procter & Gamble, for the chief executive officer position at Monsanto.¹⁸ According to this account, the chief executive and chairman of P&G passed over Hanley for appointment to the presidency and named another executive vice president to this post instead.

The chairman evidently felt he could not work well with Hanley who, by his own acknowledgement, was aggressive, eager to experiment and change practices, and constantly challenged his superior. A chief executive officer naturally has the right to select people with whom he feels congenial. But I wonder whether a greater capacity on the part of senior officers to tolerate the competitive impulses and behavior of their subordinates might not be healthy for corporations. At least a greater tolerance for interchange would not favor the managerial team player at the expense of the individual who might become a leader.

I am constantly surprised at the frequency with which chief executives feel threatened by open challenges to their ideas, as though the source of their authority, rather than their specific ideas, were at issue. In one case a chief executive officer, who was troubled by the aggressiveness and sometimes outright rudeness of one of his talented vice presidents, used various indirect methods such as group meetings and hints from outside directors to avoid dealing with his subordinate. I advised the executive to deal head-on with what irritated him. I suggested that by direct, face-to-face confrontation, both he and his subordinate would learn to validate the distinction between the authority to be preserved and the issues to be debated.

To confront is also to tolerate aggressive interchange, and has the net effect of stripping away the veils of ambiguity and signaling so characteristic of managerial cultures, as well as encouraging the emotional relationship leaders need if they are to survive.

Notes

1. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd., *The Second American Revolution* (New York: Harper-Row, 1973), p. 72.
2. Theodore Levitt, "Management and the Post Industrial Society," *The Public Interest*, Summer 1976, p. 73.
3. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., *My Years with General Motors* (New York: Doubleday & Co. 1964), p. 429.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
5. *Ibid.* p. 440.
6. *Ibid.* p. 91.
7. *Ibid.* p. 91.
8. *Ibid.* p. 93.
9. Stanley and Inge Hoffmann, "The Will for Grandeur: de Gaulle as Political Artist," *Daedalus*, Summer 1968, p. 849.
10. Abraham Zaleznik, Gene W. Dalton, and Louis B. Barnes, *Orientation and Conflict in Career*, (Boston: Division of Research, Harvard Business School, 1970), p. 316.
11. *Ibid.* p. 294.
12. William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Mentor Books, 1958).
13. This example is included in Abraham Zaleznik and Manfred F.R. Kets de Vries, *Power and the Corporate Mind* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975).
14. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 136.
15. *Ibid.* p. 187.
16. "Jewel Lets Young Men Make Mistakes," *Business Week*, January 17, 1970, p. 90.
17. "What Makes Jewel Shine so Bright," *Progressive Grocer*, September, 1973, p. 76.
18. "Jack Hanley Got There by Selling Harder," November, 1976.

Transference, Countertransference and Mentoring: The Ghost in the Process

M.J. McAuley

Introduction: Mentoring and Transference, an Unacknowledged Relationship

The purpose of this paper is to explore some of the dynamics of the mentoring relationship through a psychoanalytic gaze, with particular reference to the theory of transference in order to develop an understanding of some of the issues of power and authority, of resistance and affiliation that are present in the relationship.

We have accepted the sorts of definition of mentoring that suggest that it is a relationship that provides career and psychosocial developmental functions for the mentee (e.g. Aryee & Chay, 1994) and emotional gains for the mentor (e.g. Aryee *et al.*, 1996), whilst acknowledging the inadequacy of 'explaining mentoring through a single, universal and prescriptive definition, or "type"' (Gibb, 1994, p. 47). The mentor is characteristically older than the mentee, more 'expert' and 'knowledgeable' than the mentee (as in, for example, 'the ways that exceptional performers can help develop the highest potential of others'; Gibb, 1994, p. 58), and usually has ascribed seniority in the organisation. There is also a suggestion in the literature that the mentor is representative (albeit independent) of the organisation within which the mentoring relationship takes place. Garvey (1999) suggests that in collectivist organisations mentoring is valued because it is seen to be developmental and also it helps to maintain the organisational status quo; whereas in organisations that tend

to be individualist the mentor 'provides remedial help for the mentee' (p. 52). Mentoring has also been characterised, from a Foucaultian perspective, as a disciplinary technology of avowal through personal revelation in which power, control and resistance are inextricably intertwined (Covaleski *et al.*, 1998). Carden (1990) has pointed out that the 'benefits and hazards of mentoring have an eye-of-the-beholder quality' (p. 295) about them so that benefits for one may be dysfunctional for another in the relationship.

In recent years, there has been discussion of, on the one hand, the view that transference and countertransference are characteristics of the psychoanalytic encounter and are not found outside that arena, and on the other, that transference and countertransference may be found in everyday situations (McAuley, 1989). In this paper we have taken the position that mentoring is a situation in which the ebb and flow of transference and countertransference may be found. In looking at definitions of transference and countertransference there are a number of common threads. De Vries and Miller (1984) suggest that transference occurs when an individual, usually unconsciously, treats a current relationship as though it were an important relationship from the past (p. 8). Phillips (1995) discusses transference as the 'unwitting recreation and repetition of earlier family relationships' (p. 2). Thus when the transference is flowing from mentee to mentor, it could be suggested, the parties are entering a process by which the former can transfer his or her positive or negative affections to the confidant (Symington, 1990); the mentee projects onto the mentor feelings evoked within the mentee. In the mentoring situation, transference is a resource that helps 'the mentee to become aware of themes and situations which are likely to replay, often contrary to the mentee's well being or conscious attention' (O'Brien, 1995, p. 53). Sometimes, as Symington points out, these positive or negative feelings are evoked by the substantive behaviours of the confidant but sometimes these feelings are evoked by a fantasy that the mentee has about the other. Lacan suggests that 'positive transference is when you (the client) have a soft spot for the therapist, and the negative transference is when you have to keep an eye on him/her' (1979, p. 124).

In this sense, both negative transference and positive transference, when they are working for the benefit of the mentee and the mentor, are important resources in developing self-understanding. In the mentoring situation positive transference enables the mentee to develop respect for, and understanding of, the mentor; negative transference enables a degree of useful scepticism to creep in and for the mentee at the appropriate time to assert independence. However, there is another side to the coin. This is when there are dysfunctional elements in the relationship of the mentee to the mentor. Thus positive transference when it is dysfunctional means that there is over-dependence on the mentor; negative transference when it is dysfunctional would mean a desire to attack or destroy the mentor.

The other aspect of the relationship, countertransference, may be seen as the living response to the transference (Racker, 1968, p. 18). It is the mentor's response to the mentee. However, it is not a mirror image of the transference

from the mentee. Because the mentor has his or her own inner life, the evocations in the countertransference can result in responses that are asynchronous with the transference (Klauber, 1986). In traditional psychoanalysis, 'the analyst allows the patient to be sucked up into his outer personality structure' (Symington, 1990, p. 31). Symington suggests that this process of knowing and understanding the other's position enables interpretation to take place. Although the countertransference in the psychoanalytic encounter is more highly charged than in everyday life, the authority vested in the mentor's role invests it with an air of privileged insight. In this sense, then, countertransference may be seen as the response of the mentor to the mentee; in psychoanalytic terms it may be seen as the controlled empathetic response of the analyst to the patient (Klauber, 1986, p. 30). This empathetic response could be either positive, affirming of the other, or it could be 'intense and negative' (Klauber 1986, p. 30) – but either way it is an important resource in helping the client to achieve self-understanding where the analyst is aware of the transference issues as they are occurring, and is able to interpret and communicate them to the client in a manner that the client can understand.

When the countertransference is benign and positive it gives the mentee 'good enough' regard, respects the position of the mentee and is generally supportive in an encouraging manner. However, when the countertransference is positive but dysfunctional the mentor will 'fall in love' with the mentee, will collude with their every word, will not want to separate from him or her. When the countertransference is benign but negative the mentor will disagree with the position of the mentee, will challenge fondly held mindsets, even express well-controlled irritation. When the countertransference is negative and also dysfunctional the mentor will wish to attack or destroy the mentee, and will 'give the mentee a hard time' (but for the, usually unstated, purpose of revenge). O'Brien discusses, by way of example, a transference situation in which the mentee attempts to 'unwittingly coach the mentor to behave' in ways that confirm the mentee's negative self-identification. Here the mentor's countertransference (monitored through close supervision [1]) is a resource that helps examine the relationship and thereby evoke uncomfortable memories that 'might also be replaying in present relationships at work' (O'Brien, 1995, p. 53).

These functional and dysfunctional aspects of positive and negative aspects of transference and countertransference as they occur in the mentoring relationship are summarised in Fig. 1.

The theory of transference and countertransference is not unproblematic. Within the modern tradition of psychoanalysis, most writers see the transference relationship as crucial, the heart of the matter. Therapy can only be successfully resolved when the transference relationship is actually resolved. Indeed Gellner (1985), with rebarbative intent, characterises transference as the 'covenant, the bond, the social cement, the social contract of (the psychoanalytic) movement' (p. 55). Other writers, particularly within the Rogerian tradition, see transference as a phenomenon that is one-way and inappropriate

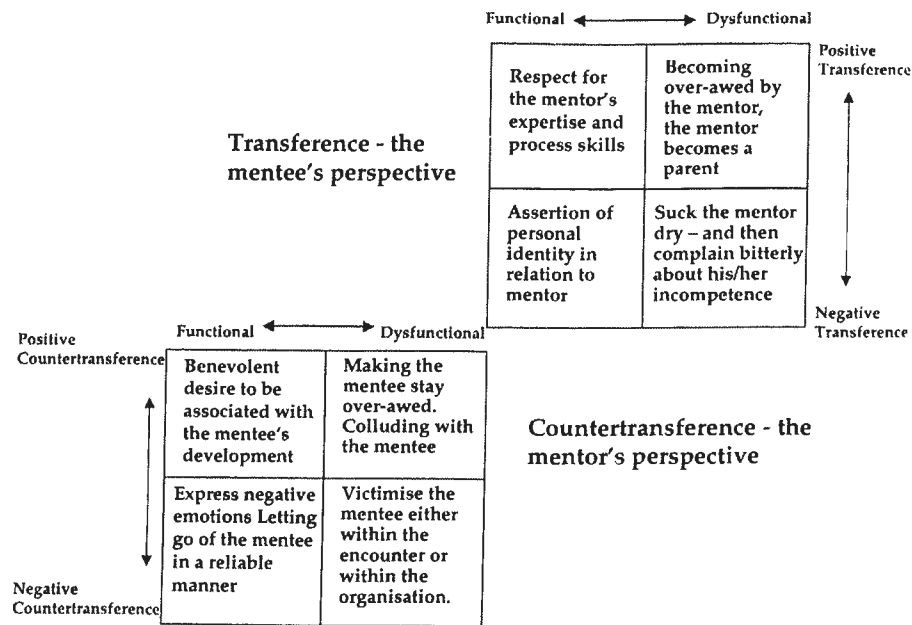


Figure 1: Transference and countertransference in the mentor-mentee relationship (adapted from McAuley, 1989)

to the realities of the situation – it is an assertion of power by the therapist or mentor. Thus, evocation of the transference is something to be avoided, to be replaced by a relationship which is an expression of the underlying commonality of experience between two human beings, a feeling of accord which enables the client 'to reduce the tension and fear involved in facing life' (Rogers, 1961, p. 82). In this sense, playing the transference card in the relationship can be seen as playing god, engaging in a confessional ritual in which the client, or mentee, becomes open to victimisation (Webster, 1995, p. 354).

We would suggest, however, that transference is a phenomenon that will not go away, and in the remainder of this article will explore it both in relation to its functional and dysfunctional aspects. This exploration will look at transference as it occurs within the relationship between mentor, mentee and the organisation to cast light on issues of authority embedded in mentoring. We shall then explore issues of the process of mentoring and of the relationships as they are found in the mentoring process.

The Relationship between Mentor and Mentee and the Organisation

It is generally accepted that the relationship between mentor and mentee is rooted in the organisation in which the parties are employed, and that the relationship serves organisational purposes. Conger (1999) suggests that

although the evidence on the effectiveness of formal mentoring programmes is equivocal, formal mentoring may be more cost-effective than executive coaching in the development of middle- and junior-level managers. Aryee and Chay (1994) suggest 'mentoring is a potential strategy that organisations could use to enhance the work commitment of employees' (p. 248). Garvey *et al.* (1996) maintain that 'what we often think of as the personal qualities of the mentor – integrity, judgement, wisdom and self-knowledge – are, to some extent at least, functions of the organisation' (p. 10). The suggestion here is that an organisation which supports mentoring will evoke these qualities in the mentor; and by implication, in an organisation which does not support mentoring, then these qualities will remain latent within its members. A link is also made between mentoring and organisational viability, 'whether this is seen as a matter of competitive advantage, quality of service, corporate longevity or some other criterion' (Garvey *et al.*, 1996, p. 10). A somewhat less benign view is that mentoring can be understood as a managerially driven programme designed to develop the mentee as clones of the desired organisational configuration of the desirable employee (Covaleski *et al.*, 1998).

This process of creating alignment between the purposes of the mentor, the mentee and the organisation requires, it is argued, a number of core characteristics of the mentor. Thus Collin (1979) suggests that in matching the needs of the individual mentee with those of the organisation that:

'the mature man (sic) (the mentor), as he discovers the younger man's capabilities, potentials and inclinations will lead him through the roles which are both appropriate to his apprentice and essential to the company's effective functioning . . . The mentor acts as the leading edge in the process of socialisation in which the individual adapts to the needs and *ambience* of the company whilst retaining his own individuality and thereby achieves his own style of managerial development' (p. 3).

There is however an ambivalence about the degree of affiliation of the mentor to the organisation. Garvey *et al.* (1996) suggest that, 'for the mentoring process to succeed, knowledge of the organisation is of crucial importance . . . You (the mentor) will feel committed to the organisation', although they add that the good mentor is not a 'company man or woman' but that the 'wider perspective, a commitment to underlying ethical values, is good for the mentor; it is also good for the mentee . . .' (p. 12). Furthermore, Aryee *et al.* (1996), in their discussion of the background motivations of mentors found that 'individuals high in organisation-based self-esteem . . . may not appreciate the problems faced by organisational newcomers' (1996, p. 272) and therefore not take up mentoring as an activity. Collin (1979) places the mentor within the informal organisational structure, but at the same time the mentor 'personifies the organisation's psychostructure and acts as the mid-wife in the process of socialisation'. She sees mentoring as integral to management, but not imposed by 'the formal and conceptual structure of the organisation' (1979, p. 3).

From a transference perspective, the interesting issue is the extent to which the mentor can claim to be detached from and yet integrated into the organisation, and the extent to which the mentee can sceptically understand the mentor's position. The transference issue is that the mentor carries with the role the *attributed authority* of the organisation through the process of projective identification. Although, as we have seen, transference is normally associated with the unconscious evocation of the past in a present relationship, it can also stem from what is happening in the present when confronted by a person perceived to be in an authority position (no matter how benign). The process of projective identification occurs when the subject, here the mentee, creates a fantasy about the relationship with, and the nature of, the other, the mentor, and projects that fantasy onto the other (Stapley, 1996). What we are suggesting is that, given the relationship of the mentor to the organisation, there is an inevitability that there will be, on the part of the mentee, a blurring of the boundaries between the mentor and the organisation.

This ambiguity can be functional (at least for the organisation) in that it enables crucial aspects of mentoring to proceed. Projective identification, when it is positive, can, for example, attribute to the mentor the authority to help the mentee understand what Garvey and Alred (2001) suggest are the elements and aspects of complex organisational situations and to understand the complexity of their own situations. It is also a means by which the mentee can focus on what Townley (1993) suggests is a key purpose of mentoring – the process of tying the self (and being tied) into the norms and values of the organisation. Negative projective identification, on the other hand, can enable the mentee to act out his or her negative fantasies about the organisation, using the mentor as symbolic representation as of the organisation as relatively bad object. That is to say, the mentee treats the work of the mentor with a degree of scepticism and sees the mentor as a representative of an authority system that needs to be treated with a degree of caution and detachment.

At a dysfunctional level, however, on the positive side of projective identification, the mentee can use the situation to create and sustain a narcissistic total engagement (Schwartz, 1990) with the organisation. The mentor is seen as an organisational ideal, the very model of what it is to be successful in the organisation. Dysfunctional negative projective identification occurs where the mentor is seen to symbolise all that is 'totally bad' about the organisation.

The Mentoring Process

Bennetts (1996a) makes an explicit linkage between the process of mentoring and the counselling relationship, although she is clear that they are not the same undertaking. She cites Rogerian (Rogers, 1961) principles, including

empathy with the learner, the ability to be genuine and care openly for the learner and the ability to communicate these benevolent features in the relationship to the learner, as characteristic of informal mentoring relationships. Gibb (1994) makes a distinction between systematic and process approaches as ends of a continuum of mentoring. In the systematic approach the psychological contract is such that roles and boundaries are clearly established; in the process approach roles and boundaries are negotiated and emergent. In terms of the flow of transference the former is closer to the traditional psychoanalytic setting in that it creates an arena in which the transference flows and the transference issues are there on the table for those who wish to see them. There are, however, features of the situation, in Gibb's research, which militate against this interpersonal richness. Systematic mentoring tends to be based on sporadic meetings and tends to be short-term and action-centred. It is only in process mentoring that the relationship is regular, longer-term and focuses on the personal. However, in process mentoring, transference issues are likely to become muted and even confused during the processes of negotiation and emergence.

There are, however, ways of bridging the systematic and process approaches. Ritchie and Connolly (1993) see an analogy between mentoring and the process of supervision in social work. This clarifies the relationship between the mentor, the mentee and the organisation in that supervision in social work, which is at the core of professional development, is inextricably intertwined with accountability. This illustrates the notion that 'control and development issues are seen as complementary' (1993, p. 272), although there is a dynamic conflict between them. It is an arena in which the transference issues are clear, if attention is paid to them.

Bennetts (1996a) suggests that there are generally three stages to the development of the mentoring relationship. These are initiation, development and maintenance. Kram (1983) suggests that there are also phases of separation and redefinition. These different phases, taken together, have all the characteristics of Lewin's (1951) formulation of unfreezing, movement and refreezing.

At the initiation stage, Bennetts (1996a) suggests that there can be three approaches at play, each of which has its different dynamics. Thus if initiation of the process is through the mentor, the mentor displays 'an accurate insight into the learner's behaviour and world by direct experience from their own life' (p. 2). When the relationship is initiated by the learner, it happened because the person is 'asking for help, either by direct request, or by behaving in ways that drew attention to themselves'. When the relationship is jointly initiated it is through a realisation that the two parties 'had mutual interests' and they began to see each other in a rather different light from their previous experience of each other. This would be sparked off, Bennetts suggests, by 'personal disclosure on the part of the learner or the mentor' (1996a, p. 2).

Kram (1983) hints at the transference implications of this initiation phase. The young managers in her study recollected, 'a strong positive fantasy emerges in which the senior manager is admired and respected' (p. 614). There are also premonitions of mirror countertransference as 'a request for assistance or a volunteered criticism of the department is interpreted as proof of the young manager's assertiveness and competence' (p. 616).

At the development stage, Alred *et al.* (1998) analogise the development of the relationship as a dance in which the parties 'dance around the themes of the conversation, getting closer to new learning . . . as they go' (p. 311). There are different phases to this conversation – exploration, led by the mentor, refocusing based on a new understanding on the part of the mentee and movement all generated, the writers suggest, through a non-directive process. In a somewhat more prescriptive tone, Collin (1979) sees it as a process in which 'the function of the mentor appears to be to inform and guide the novice manager. . . . The mentor often becomes a model to be followed. Later the individual learns to stand upon his own feet and . . . in his time becomes a mentor to a younger man'. Kram (1983) refers to this phase as 'cultivation'. She suggests that for some mentees, as the boundaries are established, there is not as much in the relationship as they had originally thought. The mentee experiences negative transference and becomes either sceptical of the situation (which could be functional) or actively disparaging of the situation (which is potentially dysfunctional). For other mentees, the 'relationship is far richer than anticipated' (p. 617) so that, we would suggest, there is a maintenance of a functional transference relationship that may be for the most part positive but which maintains a useful degree of negative transference. For the mentor, Kram (1983) suggests, the main gains during this phase are 'empowerment . . . the capacity to support and to nurture . . . to open doors . . . to transmit values and skills' (p. 617). So the mentoring dance proceeds with a clear leader and follower. Although the process might *technically* be non-directive, it might be suggested that the flow of the transference and countertransference *actually* generates a powerful internal structure as the relationship unfolds.

These transference processes extend into the periods of separation and redefinition. During the separation period there is evidence, at least on the part of the mentee of separation anxiety but also of the growth of autonomy as both mentor and mentee reassess the relationship. When this is working well there is negative transference and negative countertransference working functionally. At the same time, Kram (1983) discusses mentees who found that they needed to return to the mentor, but (perhaps more ominously from a perspective of power) that there were some mentors who 'resist the separation by blocking promotional moves' (p. 619). The crucial element here, as far as the mentor is concerned, is that he or she engages in functional negative countertransference that places a distance between the mentor and the mentee.

What the Parties Can Gain from the Relationship, Transferentially and Countertransferentially Speaking

Bennetts (1996a) characterises a traditional mentoring relationship as an 'intimate learning relationship which appears to happen naturally and which occurs in any life setting' (p. 2), although most writers would see the relationship as having boundaries. There are a number of general issues that appear in the relationship. Alred *et al.* (1998) suggest that the relationship and shared understanding between mentor and mentee 'enable the conversation to be respectful and purposeful' (p. 312).

With a closer lens, aspects of the relationship may be seen from the perspective of the mentor and the mentee. The mentor is generally characterised as a person who is older than the mentee. Levinson *et al.* (1974), for example, maintain that an age difference of 15–18 years is critically important in the context of continuing adult development. Garvey *et al.* (1996) suggest that the motivation of the mentor to take on the role comes out of 'helpful relationships in their own past' (p. 11), and that, when a person becomes a mentor, there will be feelings of being 'flattered . . . a form of recognition that another has faith in you and feels that you have something to offer' (p. 11). Bennett suggests that from the mentor's point-of-view, entering into a fruitful relationship is 'the ultimate aim of their learning cycle' and that it provides a '*raison d'être*, a sense of achievement, the feeling of handing on a torch'.

In terms of the implications for countertransference issues between the mentor and the mentee there are significant issues. The development of self-esteem and the level of responsibility involved in the relationship represent an appeal to the narcissistic aspects of the self. The roots of narcissistic pressures, according to Freudian theory, lie within childhood paradoxes of, on the one hand, encouragement and growth, and on the other, frustration and feelings of impotence so that imbalances between these features will be experienced as psychologically damaging (Kets De Vries, 1993). In this sense, narcissism can be seen as 'essentially a defense against aggressive impulses rather than self-love' (Lasch, 1980). In a general way, Kets de Vries suggests, 'a certain amount of narcissistic behavior may be necessary for organizational success . . . a moderate dose contributes to effective organizational functioning. A leader's theatrical quality, confidence and purposefulness can be contagious. . . . (T)hese executives let their followers share their vision and expertise . . .' (Kets De Vries, 1993, p. 35). These are characteristics that could be aligned to the behaviour of the mentor working actively with the mentee; the countertransference in the relationship is generally benign.

This emphasis on the benign and positive can, however, be problematic. Watson and Clark (1984), cited in Aryee *et al.*, (1996) suggest that the 'tendency to experience negative and positive affect reflects a stable, ongoing disposition' (1996, p. 263) where the term affect refers to the general emotional state of the person, their propensity to either experience the world in a positive,

approachable social sort of way or in a rather more negative, isolated manner. Aryee *et al.* (1996) demonstrate that people with a positive affect are more likely to be motivated towards taking on a mentoring role. This means, in terms of their countertransference, that what they are likely to pick up from the mentee are those experiences that are positive, and if the mentee is acting in a persistently negative manner the impulse in the countertransference from the mentor would be to offer help as 'the benign parent' (p. 19). The lesson from psychoanalysis is that 'when the countertransference is overwhelmingly empathic in nature, it reduces the objectivity of the analyst's thought processes' (Issacharoff, 1984, p. 94). By denying the benign negative aspects of affect in the countertransference, the mentee does not have available a helpful critical stance in relation to issues brought to the meeting.

However, within this relationship there are also the possibilities for deeper levels of dysfunction. In the psychoanalytic encounter, Fromm (1980) pointed to the pervasive danger for the analyst of falling prey to his or her own narcissistic impulses. Without suggesting that the situation between the analyst and the mentor is the same, there are interesting analogies. At an individual (although socially sanctioned) level, one of the consequences of narcissistic aspects of the personality is the tendency to 'retreat into a world of their own' (Kets De Vries, 1993, p. 94). The possibility for narcissistic dramatisation of the self, in the countertransference, potentially lies in an aspect of the character of the mentor that is commented on in the literature. It is claimed that one of the key motivations for becoming a mentor is altruism (Aryee *et al.*, 1996). Psychoanalytic thought tends to be suspicious of claims to altruism. It can be seen as a narcissistic response to anxiety about the self such that 'one's own wishes are made over to other people and one becomes devoted to getting gratifications from others instead of oneself' (Guntrip, 1982, p. 109). And it may be that in the process of gaining a sense of self in this way one comes to believe in one's altruistic omnipotence – that one's altruism entitles the self to be the guide through all the mentee's troubled waters. Kram (1983), obliquely, provides evidence for this feeling of omnipotence. She discusses some mentors who found it very difficult to separate from their mentees. These were, characteristically, senior managers whose own opportunities for promotion had become blocked. They projected onto their mentees this trouble – they would suggest that the mentees themselves would not gain promotion and, as a self-fulfilling prophecy, delayed structural separation. In a paradoxical way, the mentor becomes all that he/she wishes not to be – 'myopic, self-opinionated, and not given to soliciting or accepting advice from others' (Kets De Vries, 1993, p. 94) – whilst still believing in their own altruism.

These narcissistic impulses, both functional and dysfunctional, may also be seen from the perspective of the transference in the relationship. De Vries and Miller discuss two manifestations of positive transference, both of which may be seen as possibilities in the mentoring encounter. Of the positive transference, they write of idealising transference. Applied to a mentoring relationship, a

mentee would recreate an imagined wonderful past by having a relationship with a mentor who is seen to be omnipotent and powerful. They also discuss the phenomenon of mirror transference, in which a mentee would recreate an imagined wonderful past by having a relationship with a mentor who recreates an image of the mentee's self as perfect and all-powerful.

These kinds of issues do not figure to any great extent in the mentoring literature; they remain, we argue, the ghost in the process. However, there are exceptions. For example, Bennetts (1996b), on the basis of her study of mentoring relationships in organisational settings, found that respondents 'described the overriding emotion within the relationship as one which ranged from deep affection, warmth and intimacy; to one of love'. For some the word 'love' was used in an holistic way; for some it was used as part of their spiritual philosophy; but for others it was a mixture of both plus a strong emotional attachment which led to being 'in love' (p. 10). From a transference perspective, falling in love represents a regression to a childhood state so that 'when we fall in love we are remembering how to fall in love. And by retrieving these earlier versions of ourselves we achieve a kind of visionary competence' (Phillips, 1994, p. 39). Phillips suggests, 'falling in love is a problem of knowledge . . . (F)alling in love is not a good way of getting to know someone. Psychoanalysis offers us instead the romance of disillusionment . . . a more realistic appreciation of the self and the other person' (1994, p. 40). An understanding of the transference process would assist development of both positive and negative aspects of these emotional states as they occur in mentoring relationships.

Concluding Comment

It has been commented that interest in the radical exploration of organisation and management known as Critical Theory lies uneasily between the 'promotion and development of more humane forms of management', and 'a more or less complete disengagement with managerial practice' (Fournier & Grey, 2000). Psychoanalysis has been characterised by Habermas (1987) as an example of Critical Theory in action. It recognises 'neurotic symptoms' that cause disruption through, for example, the language games in which members of an organisation can engage. It also helps the member become aware of the repression contained within the language in use.

What we have argued in this paper is that the ambivalence in mentoring – the manner in which it is poised between more humane organisational practice but also supports the notion of management – generates a number of tensions and, further, that an understanding of the processes of transference would enable better understanding of these tensions. O'Brien (1995) suggests that understanding of transference theory can be used in individual mentoring to 'yield substantial benefits in the area of the mentee's life. In the

work arena, patterns of troubled relationships with bosses, peers, and team members, can be transformed. Such is the substance of culture transformation' (p. 53). This seems to suggest that culture change starts from the individual, and that the organisation is in some sense neutral. This view is problematic in the sense that individual change and organisational change need to be in alignment (Senge, 1990).

Habermas suggests that awareness is not enough; there is also a need for the person to prepare for systemic action. In Critical Theory the crucial matter is to be able to make causal connections between different neurotic activities of the client system (individual, organisational and social) through reference to a general theory of neurosis. From a mentoring perspective this suggests a somewhat deeper agenda. It involves the ability of the mentor to engage with the mentee in a deeper discussion of organisational and personal dysfunction than is generally the case in what is characterised as a benign encounter.

Note

- [1] The mentors discussed by O'Brien are external to the organisation in which they undertake their work. They are 'typically masters level counsellors, counselling psychologists, or psychotherapists, with dual business qualifications and experience' (1995, p. 52) who also undertake regular supervision and training.

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Mentors' Motivations at Work as Predictors of Protégés' Experiences in a Formal Mentoring Program

Melenie J. Lankau, Robert R. Hirschfeld and Chris H. Thomas

Introduction

More than two decades of organizational studies on mentoring have shown that employees who are mentored in their organizations generally experience various developmental benefits (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Noe, Greenberger & Wang, 2002; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Nevertheless, recent research also suggests that the existence of mentoring does not result in uniform experiences and outcomes among protégés, because of variations in the mentoring provided by different mentors (Allen et al., 2004; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000).

Given the benefits of mentoring identified in the literature, many organizations are implementing formal mentoring programs. Yet, very little empirical research has examined the nature of formal mentoring experienced by protégés (Noe et al., 2002; Wanberg, Welsh, & Hezlett, 2003). Formal mentoring programs may be especially susceptible to low levels of mentoring because individuals who participate as mentors in formal programs may not have the motivation to mentor effectively (Ragins et al., 2000). While a few recent studies have examined individuals' motives for mentoring others (Allen 2003; Allen, Poteet, & Burroughs, 1997; Allen, Poteet, Russell, & Dobbins, 1997), research is needed on individuals' general motivations at work as predictors of their effectiveness as formal mentors (Noe et al., 2002).

The purpose of our study is to examine work motivation concepts as predictors of the extent of mentoring experienced by protégés in a formal organizational mentoring program. In particular, we investigate whether mentors' strivings toward three types of workplace goals positively or negatively influence three mentoring functions experienced by protégés, as well as the amount of time mentors spent interacting with their protégés.

Theory and Hypotheses

In this study, we explore mentors' strivings toward three types of workplace goals: communion, status, and achievement. *Communion striving* is the desire to obtain acceptance in personal relationships and to get along with other people in the workplace (Barrick, Stewart, & Piotrowski, 2002), *status striving* is the desire to obtain power and dominance within a status hierarchy in the workplace (Barrick et al., 2002), and *achievement striving* is the desire to push oneself and achieve challenging personal standards of performance excellence or mastery in the workplace (Costa & McCrae, 1992; Kanfer & Heggestad, 1997).

Research suggests that there are three principal types of functions that mentors potentially provide to their protégés: vocational support, psychosocial support, and role modeling (Kram, 1985; Scandura & Ragins, 1993). *Vocational support* by mentors typically includes job-related functions, such as sponsoring protégés for desired promotions, assigning challenging tasks, exposing protégés to important people in the organization, coaching protégés on how to perform tasks well, and protecting the protégé from threats to career progress in the organization (Kram, 1985). *Psychosocial support* by mentors includes offering counseling, friendship, and acceptance to protégés, which helps protégés develop a sense of competence and belonging in the organization (Kram, 1985). Lastly, *role modeling* by mentors occurs when protégés regard their mentors as role models of desired behaviors, attitudes, and values that they wish to emulate (Scandura, 1992).

Another important facet of a protégé's experience in a mentoring relationship is actual time spent together in developmental activities. Mentors and protégés in formally assigned mentoring relationships typically face the challenge of finding opportunities to interact. When interaction time between formal mentors and protégés is insufficient, mentoring programs can become ineffective (Arnold & Johnson, 1997). Below, we theorize mentors' striving for communion, status, and achievement as predictors of mentoring functions provided to protégés and total hours of interaction time with their protégés.

Mentors' communion striving as a predictor. Intuitively, this type of motivational orientation would seem to be an important determinant of whether individuals in organizations would make effective mentors in formal

programs. However, the leadership literature suggests that individuals who are more relationship-oriented may have difficulty in authority positions (House & Aditya, 1997; McClelland & Burnham, 1976). According to the leadership motive profile, a *high* level of this type of motivation would seemingly be *undesirable* in positions of influence because it motivates individuals occupying such positions to be concerned about being disliked by others rather than what is best for promoting success (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982).

A mentor's primary role is to contribute to the confidence and competence of the protégé in the workplace. In providing a high level of vocational support, mentors may have to influence important decision-makers to favor the protégé, provide constructive criticism regarding performance, or compete with others in the organization to secure opportunities and plum assignments for their protégés (Kram, 1985; Scandura, Tejada, Werther, & Lankau, 1996). Mentors with high communion striving may be relatively unlikely to engage in some of the essential activities that exemplify vocational support.

In formal mentoring programs administered by organizations, mentors may not get to actively choose their protégés. As a result, it is likely that the mentor and protégé are not initially familiar with each other. For psychosocial support to develop properly in any type of mentoring relationship, the social distance between the mentor and protégé must be reduced by repeated interactions over time. Less time and effort devoted to personal interaction would hinder the ability of the mentor and protégé to develop mutual caring and loyalty (Scandura et al., 1996).

We suggest that mentors with high communion striving may have a greater number of close relationships they consider important to maintain, and thus have less time available to spend with their formally assigned protégés. Individuals who strive for communion are more likely to engage in activities that promote one's popularity with peers (Hogan & Shelton, 1998). A communion striving mentor may prioritize time to existing relationships, thus leaving little time for developing a new relationship with a formal protégé.

We believe that protégés may admire their mentors regardless of their mentors' communion striving, as it is typically the mentors' competence in the organization that protégés wish to emulate (Kram, 1985). Accordingly, we offer the following three-part hypothesis:

H1: Mentors' communion striving will be negatively related to the extent of (a) vocational support, (b) psychosocial support, and (c) total interaction time experienced by their protégés.

Mentors' communion striving and job level as interactive predictors. While we hypothesize that mentors' communion striving is negatively related to protégés' developmental experiences, there may be differences in the strength of this relationship due to the mentors' job level in the organization. Among mentors who are high on communion striving, those who occupy

lower levels of the organization may be even less likely to provide effective mentoring in comparison to mentors who occupy higher levels. Managers at lower levels in the organizational hierarchy are likely to be concerned with their own upward mobility in the organization. They may even be protégés themselves in informal mentoring relationships with more senior managers. As such, mentors at lower levels in the organization may prioritize their time and resources toward their own developmental networks. Accordingly, we offer the following:

H2: Mentors' job level moderates the negative relationships between mentors' communion striving and (a) vocational support, (b) psychosocial support, and (c) total interaction time experienced by protégés, such that the negative relationships are stronger for mentors at lower job levels.

Mentors' status striving as a predictor. Individuals who strive for status do so as a means of attaining valuable resources or to experience the emotions associated with higher status as an end in itself (Frank, 1988; Loch, Yaziji, & Langen, 2001). Kram (1985) suggested that mentors may receive personal benefits from successfully contributing to developing a protégé. Ragins and Scandura (1999) identified recognition from others and a loyal base of supporters as two of several benefits that individuals may expect to gain from providing mentoring.

Providing coaching, visibility, and sponsorship are ways in which mentors exercise influence and elevate their own status (Ragins & Scandura, 1999). According to literature on the leadership motive profile, a *high* level of status striving would seemingly be desirable in positions of influence because it motivates those occupying such positions to help their followers perform better in their jobs (McClelland & Burnham, 1976). By mentoring others to be successful, individuals may facilitate their own hierarchical advancement by developing successors and increasing their power base in the organization (Allen et al., 1997).

We propose that mentors with higher status striving may provide greater vocational support to their protégés than would mentors with lower status striving. We also propose that greater role modeling will occur in relationships with mentors who have higher status striving. Given that protégés participating in a formal mentoring program presumably possess a desire to enhance their professional and career development, protégés may be likely to admire and want to emulate the behavior of status-seeking mentors. Lastly, mentors' status striving may be associated with the total amount of time devoted to interacting with formal protégés, as mentoring interactions represent opportunities to obtain recognition from their protégés and visibility from others in the organization (Loch et al., 2001; Ragins & Scandura, 1999). We do not offer a prediction for the relationship between status striving and psychosocial support. Providing affirmation and counseling to protégés may not be

an important function for mentors who desire greater status, but this may depend on whether establishing close relationships with protégés is viewed favorably by other influential people in the organization. Thus, we offer the following three-part hypothesis:

H3: Mentors' status striving will be positively related to the extent of (a) vocational support, (b) role modeling, and (c) total interaction time experienced by their protégés.

Mentors' achievement striving as a predictor. Individuals' desire for achievement encompasses a concern for doing particularly well in one's endeavors (McClelland, 1985). The process of actively coaching others enables mentors to share their own expertise, and in doing so also extend their own learning and mastery (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). In addition, through active listening and the development of a close personal relationship with a protégé, mentors may gain useful information for improving their own job performance (Mullen, 1994; Ragins & Scandura, 1999). Hence, mentors high on achievement striving may provide greater vocational and psychosocial support, as these functions are means for exercising skills and acquiring information of relevance for attaining personal excellence. In addition, mentors with high achievement striving are likely to view mentoring as an opportunity for personal accomplishment and, therefore, seek to establish a high level of competence as a formal mentor. Lastly, mentors with high achievement striving demonstrate a strong work ethic and desire for building competence. As such, protégés would likely view these mentors as compelling role models. Lastly, we posit that individuals high on achievement striving will spend more time interacting with their protégés, stemming from their work ethic and a desire to attain competence as a mentor. Therefore, we offer the following four-part hypothesis:

H4: Mentors' achievement striving will be positively related to the extent of (a) vocational support, (b) psychosocial support, (c) role modeling, and (d) total interaction time experienced by their protégés.

Method

Sample. Respondents were participants in a formal mentoring program in a regional office of a large insurance company. The mentoring program was nine months in duration. Complete survey data were available for 61 dyads. The sample of 61 dyads represents 19.3 percent of the 316 formal mentoring pairs in the program. The mentors who took part in this study were on average 39.05 years old, and had an average tenure in the organization of 14 years. Of the 61 mentors, 35 were women (57%) and 26 were men (43%). Although most of the mentors were Caucasian (64%), a notable number of

them were African-American (21%). Most of the mentors were college graduates (85%). The protégés in this study were on average 34.45 years old and averaged 7 years of tenure with the organization. Of the 61 protégés, 44 were women (72%) and 17 were men (28%). As was true of the mentors, most of the protégés in the sample were Caucasian (64%), yet a notable number of them were African-Americans (23%). Over half of the protégés were college graduates (57%).

Measures. All responses were scored on a five-point scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” (scored as 1) to “Strongly Agree” (scored as 5). To assess mentors’ communion striving and status striving at work, we used Barrick et al.’s (2002) communion striving measure (10 items) and status striving measure (12 items). To measure mentors’ achievement striving at work, we used the measure of achievement striving (10 items) from the International Personality Item Pool (2001). We slightly modified the wording of items that did not refer to any context by adding an explicit reference to work. To assess the extent of mentoring experienced by protégés, we used Scandura and Ragins (1993) mentoring functions scale. Six items measure vocational support, four items measure psychosocial support, and four items were used to assess the extent of mentor role modeling experienced by protégés. Protégés were also asked to estimate how many total hours of developmental interaction they experienced with their mentor during the mentoring program. All scales had acceptable reliabilities (greater than .70).

Results

Results of the hierarchical regression analysis revealed that Hypothesis 1(a) was supported in that mentors’ communion striving was negatively related to vocational support ($\beta = -.33, p = .01$). Hypothesis 1(c) was also supported as communion striving ($\beta = -.34, p = .01$) was negatively related to total interaction time with protégés. However, Hypothesis 1(b) was not supported as mentors’ communion striving was not related to psychosocial support.

The Communion Striving \times Mentor Job Level interaction term explained an additional 11% ($p = .003$) of the variance in vocational support and an additional 5% ($p = .08$) of the variance in total interaction time. To explore the nature of the interactions, we used the approach of Aiken and West (1991) to compute the slopes of simple equations and test the statistical significance of the slopes. Whereas no relationship existed between communion striving and vocational support at *high* mentor job level ($\beta = -.11, p = .56$), a strong negative relationship existed between communion striving and vocational support at *low* mentor job level ($\beta = -.62, p < .001$). Hence, hypothesis 2(a) was supported. A strong negative relationship existed between communion striving and total interaction time at *high* mentor job level ($\beta = -.65, p = .002$),

but no relationship existed between communion striving and total interaction time at *low* mentor job level ($\beta = -.14, p = .40$). The form of the interaction, therefore, is the opposite of what was designated in hypothesis 2(c). Hypothesis 2(b) was not supported. Mentor job level did not moderate the relationship between communion striving and psychosocial support.

Results revealed that Hypothesis 3(b) was supported as mentors’ status striving was positively related to role modeling ($\beta = .40, p = .01$). Hypotheses 3(a) and 3(c) were not supported, however, as mentors’ status striving was not related to vocational support or total interaction time. An unexpected finding was that mentors’ status striving had a marginal positive relationship with psychosocial support ($\beta = .24, p = .07$).

Results indicated that Hypotheses 4(b) and 4(c) were supported as mentors’ achievement striving was positively related to psychosocial support ($\beta = .26, p = .04$) and role modeling ($\beta = .24, p = .05$). Hypotheses 4(a) and 4(d) were not supported, however, in that mentors’ achievement striving was not related to vocational support or total interaction time.

Discussion

The results from our study demonstrate that different motivations among individuals at work have good and bad consequences for their effectiveness as mentors in a formal mentoring program. Our findings suggest that high levels of status and achievement striving are beneficial for mentors to possess in terms of facilitating positive developmental experiences for their protégés. These motivations, however, did not contribute to greater vocational support for or time devoted to assigned protégés. Mentors who were high on status and achievement striving may have allocated their efforts more toward their own vocational development, or to developing individuals with whom they had more established relationships (e.g. subordinates).

In addition, our study showed that selecting individuals who strive to be “nice and friendly” to become formal mentors may have detrimental consequences for protégés. A strong desire to get along well with others, especially for individuals at lower job levels in the organization, may prevent individuals who serve as formal mentors from engaging in the sometimes contentious tasks of coaching, protection, and sponsorship. Given that we explored formal mentoring, it is unknown whether the negative relationship between communion striving and vocational support will hold for informal mentoring. Nevertheless, other empirical evidence has shown that affiliation tendencies are negatively related to leadership success and group learning (Ellis et al., 2003; Hogan & Shelton, 1998; McClelland, 1985). Future research should examine whether the patterns found in our study generalize to informal mentoring.

Notably, the results of our study also suggest that contextual variables may affect relationships between mentors’ workplace motivations and

protégés' experiences. Mentors' job level made a difference in whether mentors' communion striving had negative relationships with protégés' experience of vocational support and total interaction time with protégés. For mentors at lower levels in the organization, higher communion striving was strongly associated with less vocational support experienced by protégés, but not related to total interaction time. While high-communion-striving mentors at lower levels did not spend less time with their assigned protégés (as hypothesized), their orientation toward establishing and preserving harmonious relationships may have limited their willingness to address the vocational development needs of their protégés.

While we hypothesized that mentors' communion striving would have a stronger negative relationship with total interaction time for mentors at lower job levels than at higher job levels, the actual form of the interaction was in the opposite direction. A reasonable explanation for this unanticipated finding is that employees at higher levels in the organization typically have more significant responsibilities and are involved in a broader network of relationships inside and outside the organization. As such, they may be more constrained than employees at lower ranks in the organization with regard to scheduling interaction time with their formal protégés.

Several limitations of our research should be noted. Our research was conducted within one organization and the results may not necessarily generalize to other formal programs. We also relied on the use of self-report measures to obtain data from mentors and protégés. However, with the use of matched dyads, we were able to avoid common method bias by examining mentors' reports of their workplace motivations and protégés' reports of their mentoring experiences. Lastly, our sample size of 61 dyads is small and this may have limited the power to detect existing relationships.

The results of our study have meaningful implications for administering formal mentoring programs. By understanding that mentors' broader motivations at work are predictive of protégés' experiences, practitioners may be able to improve selection and training of mentors in ways that facilitate the development of successful formal relationships. Human resource practitioners should consider that individuals who place importance on getting along well with others may not feel comfortable in a formal developmental role, and this may be especially true for potential mentors who occupy lower ranks in the organization. In addition, program administrators should inform potential mentors of general motivations at work which may (or may not) align with mentoring functions and offer training to mentors who may benefit from learning how to provide functions more effectively.

*For missing references, please contact authors.

Mentoring – A Relationship Based on Trust: Qualitative Research

Ferda Erdem and Janset Özen Aytemur

In line with developments in the area of human resources, the mentoring relationship has increasingly become a subject for research. So far, research has concentrated primarily on the nature (formal or informal) of the relationship and its function (vocational development and psychosocial development). Yet an important area of research must be the levels of reciprocal trust between protégés and mentors, as trust is a strong factor in determining whether the relationship will be positive or negative.

The mentoring relationship within academic organizations differs in nature from similar relationships in other organizations in terms of its mission, its duration, and its effects. The existence of an academic organization is linked inextricably to its human resources. This predicament elevates the importance of the mentoring relationship to a more critical level, and it also necessitates thorough research into all dimensions of the academic mentoring relationship. The most important points overlooked in studies on this subject is the prerequisite that both the protégé and the mentor have to trust each other and that protégés have to identify with their mentors as a figure they can trust.

Mentoring and the Function of Trust in Mentoring

Mentoring can be described as the provision of guidance, knowledge, opportunities and support by a senior experienced member of an organization (the mentor) for a younger, inexperienced member (the protégé) for as long as

required to help the advancement of a protégé.¹ These expectations from the mentoring relationship point toward two important functions: (1) career development or vocational support and (2) psychosocial support. Career development support is provided by mentors through sponsorship, coaching, and exposure to challenging assignments. The psychosocial function of mentoring is provided through friendship, confirmation, and counseling.² The behaviors and attitudes of a mentor provide the role modelling aspect of this relationship.³

The mentoring relationship is longer in duration and more traditional in academic organizations than it is in other settings. As a vital element of academic culture, mentoring is a one-to-one learning relationship between senior and junior academics based on dialogue and the provision of a role model.⁴

The career development function of mentoring in academic organizations is to facilitate the protégé's socialization to his or her role in the academic and organizational culture. It is stated that in academia, a protégé becomes more desirable to colleagues when he or she is chosen by a mentor because the mentor brings the protégé into a collegial network and facilitates joint projects and friendships. Moreover, mentors provide emotional support by assuming psychosocial functions, such as developing, encouraging, and maturing their protégés' self-esteem and self-motivation.⁵

Satisfaction with a mentoring relationship depends on the nature of the interaction between mentor and protégé. Mentoring is an extremely powerful human relationship, and just as in all personal relationships, trust is key component. According to Ralph, "a critical factor for building a mentoring relationship is that both mentor and protégé establish a sense of trust and commitment."⁶ Similarly, Young and Perrewé stated that when mentors engage in sufficient levels of social support behaviors to meet a protégé's expectations, a protégé will form higher perceptions of relationship effectiveness and trust for the mentor.⁷

Trust in relationships is based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviors of another.⁸ Trusting the other party is linked with considering that person to be competent, consistent, benevolent, interested, and open to communication. Moreover, in vertical relationships, trust increases with the fairness and the readiness of the person with wider resources (i.e., the executive or senior academic) to share responsibilities and control. As a consequence, the evolution of a mentoring relationship into a positive experience for both sides (mentor and protégé) depends strongly on the level of trust that develops between the two parties. In this study, the trust felt for mentors in academic organizations was defined by the researchers as the protégé's belief that his or her mentor is competent, consistent, benevolent, interested, open to communication, fair, and prepared to share responsibility.

Previous work on personal relationships has drawn attention to certain dimensions of people's personalities and behavior that can have a restricting or a facilitating influence on the level of trust in a relationship. Whitener et al.

defined these dimensions as social values, organizational values, personal characteristics and values of the person trusted in, and characteristics of the person trusting.⁹ In the study described in this article, the researchers explored the trust felt for the mentor and the effects of these dimensions of relationships to determine how they influence trust.

Method

The success of mentoring in academic organizations is closely related to the establishment of a trusting relationship between the mentor (experienced academic) and protégé (young academic). Accepting this, the researchers conducted an interview-based study of protégés in academic mentoring relationships in an attempt to answer the following questions:

- Which dimensions of professional relationships influence the trust a protégé has in one's mentor?
- Of the dimensions that influence trust in one's mentor, which make that trust stronger?
- What are the results of the trust felt for the mentor in terms of the function of mentoring?

The main constraint of this study was that it dealt with the trust relationship only from the point of view of the protégé.

According to the findings of a preliminary questionnaire-based study in 2002 by the same researchers, protégés have a high degree of trust in their mentors.¹⁰ For this study the researchers opted for structured interviews so they could explore the subject more deeply. It is well known that structured interviews are well suited to accessing people's personal worlds and points of view and to understanding people's experiences, attitudes, ideas, intentions, comments, perceptions, and reactions, all of which are difficult to pick up through other methods of research.¹¹

The interview form used consisted of two parts. The first part included general questions on the characteristics of mentors and protégés and the functions of mentoring. The second part included 24 questions specifically designed to examine the dimensions underlying the trust protégés felt toward their mentor. These dimensions specifically investigated were competence, consistency, communication, interest taken in the protégé, fairness, and sharing of control. There was also one question on the interview form that asked protégés' about their attitudes toward university life.

While putting together the research sample, the researchers tried to reach all the protégés who took part in the 2002 study (89 people); however, just 32 protégés agreed to take part in the structured interviews.

It was estimated that the average time needed for each interview would be an hour. Some interviews ran longer than that, however, so the total time spent on interviews was 35 hours.

Findings

The protégés interviewed are continuing their postgraduate studies in three faculties and one high school of Akdeniz University, and they are also working as research assistants. Fifteen of the protégés are women, eight are postgraduate students, and 24 are studying for their doctorate. The doctoral candidates have been in a mentoring relationship for long periods of time. It can therefore be deduced that these protégés' evaluation of the mentoring relationship goes beyond the superficial. Because four of the protégés interviewed share mentors, information was collected for only 27 mentors.

The most important question in the first half of the interview explored, in general terms, the ways in which the mentoring relationship was developing and benefiting the protégé. A large proportion of respondents (23 protégés) stated that the mentor's support was most evident in the area of career development (e.g., the preparation and presentation of scientific studies, access to professional networks, lecturing) and that when it came to personal development (e.g., developing self-confidence, strengthening personal motivation, establishing an open line of communication, developing social relationships), the mentors' contributions were small. However, mentors' contribution to professional development was not deemed to be of a very satisfactory level either. On the other hand, nearly all the protégés stated that rather than accepting their mentor as a complete role model, they picked and chose certain characteristics as examples of how to act themselves.

The information gathered on protégés' levels of trust in their mentors, which makes up the most important part of the interview notes, was subjected to content analysis. Sticking rigidly to the three-stage procedure of the content analysis, the data was first coded by subject matter (see Table 1), then arranged according to these themes, and finally interpreted.

Protégés' principal misgiving about their mentors appeared to be that the mentor lacked scientific competence (23 people). The point emphasised most often on this subject was that mentors were not up to date in following the literature in their scientific discipline. This problem was related directly to the fact that mentors were unable, due to their administrative duties, to dedicate sufficient time to keeping up with ongoing developments in their field. Protégés stated that their mentors relied on knowledge accumulated in the past and at a time when they were more productive to maintain their expertise in their chosen field. Consequently, mentors had not necessarily been able to provide effective guidance to protégés on the subjects the latter choose to do their theses on. It was stressed that as a result of this, protégés were very often left feeling isolated.

Table 1: The content of protégés' interviews, grouped by dimensions of relationships that influence trust in their mentors

<i>Competency</i>	<i>Consistency</i>	<i>Sharing of control</i>	<i>Fairness</i>	<i>Communication</i>	<i>Showing interest</i>
Properly capable in his/her field	Predictability of behaviors	Giving responsibility	Sufficiently acknowledging protégés' contributions to, and fairly sharing of outputs of, joint projects	Open communication/feedback	Benevolence
Following of literature	Keeping to the same principles or course of action	Participation in decision making	Keeping clear of favouritism	Willingness to inform without loss of time	Sensitivity to personal problems
Expertise		Democratic approach		Empathy	Protecting/guarding
Scientific guidance		Protecting/			

The second element examined in terms of perception of trust was the consistency of the mentor. The interviews of protégés revealed equal levels of positive and negative perceptions in this area (14 versus 15, respectively). In particular, protégés who had more negative perceptions of their mentors' consistency stated that their mentors were easily affected by internal faculty power struggles and politics and, as a result, were unable to act with any consistency and could easily change their attitudes toward their protégés. Protégés from several different faculties voiced their negative opinions on this subject and also stated that they could not foresee an easy solution to this problem due to entrenched values within the organization.

The third element dealt with was fair behavior. Fair behavior is an important factor in building trust, especially in relationships like those involving a mentor and a protégé in which the parties do not enjoy equal levels of power. The number of interviewed protégés who felt their mentors were behaving fairly were higher than the number of those who did not. Of the protégés who felt that their mentor's behavior was not fair, most felt that their mentors did not sufficiently acknowledge their contributions to joint research projects.

Within the area of communication, interview responses were separated into statements regarding mentors being open to communication, mentors sharing knowledge, and mentors being willing to understand protégés' opinions (empathy). It was seen that the most negative perceptions were in the area of willingness to understand (15 protégés). Protégés explained this situation in terms of a far greater number of negative situations encountered by their mentors when they themselves were seeking support from their own mentors in the past. To this end, mentors did not appear to consider that problems arising from protégés' existing circumstances were that important. Other

possible reasons cited for mentors not being able to empathise with their protégés were mentors' excessive perfectionism and, consequently, their low tolerance for mistakes.

To assess the interest mentors showed in their protégés, the interview included questions about protection mentors had provided protégés, mentors' sensitivity to protégés' personal problems, and mentors' readiness to help. In all three areas, the protégés expressed satisfaction and disappointment in equal numbers. Several of the protégés emphasised that they did not have the necessary experience to be able to answer these questions. Several protégés also responded by saying that it was unnecessary to share personal issues with one's mentor, and that it was important to maintain a formal relationship.

The last relationship dimension evaluated was the sharing of control. Protégés' perceptions of this, gauged through questions about their participation in decision making with their mentors and their ability to take initiative, were mainly positive (24 protégés). A recurrent theme was that, at the outset of the mentoring relationship, mentors behaved in a way that could be considered authoritarian, but with the development of the relationship and the passing of time, mentors adopted a more democratic toward working with their protégé. This finding matches well with the general understanding that protégés in doctorate programs would be expected to show an increasing amount of initiative and also would be consulted more regularly about their opinions regarding decisions that would affect them.

Evaluation of Findings

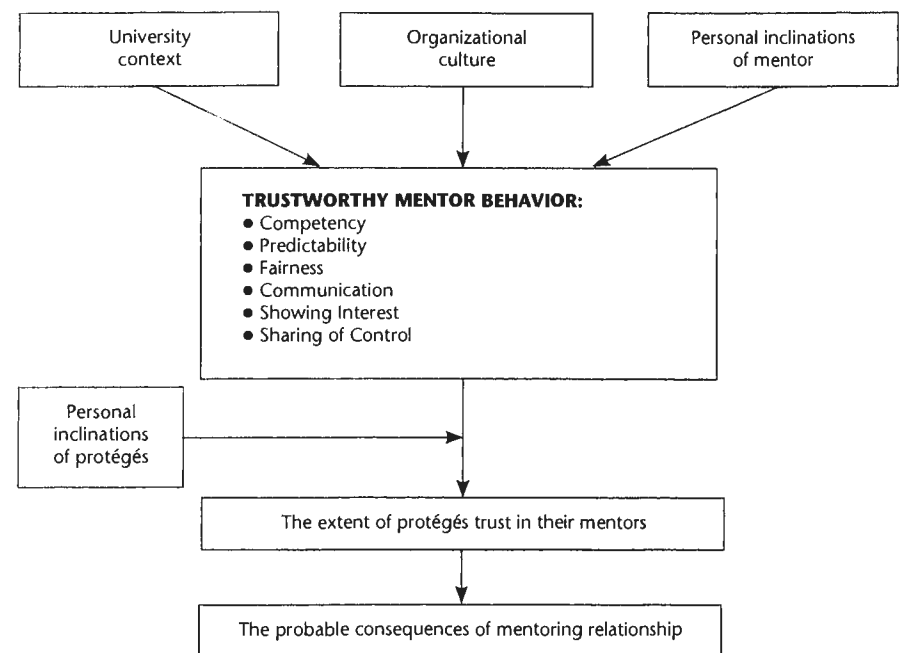
The interviews showed that of all the relationship dimensions that influence the development of trust in one's mentor, sharing of control and fair behavior appeared to be areas where protégés had the most positive perceptions and experiences. On the other hand, the study determined that the scientific competence of mentors was deemed to be inadequate in terms of following relevant literature and providing guidance in new areas of study. This problem results in protégés, particularly at the dissertation-writing stage of their development, experiencing frustration and feelings of isolation. Perceptions regarding communication, consistency, and interest cannot be described as homogenous due to the near equal split between positive and negative experiences protégés reported. Detailed findings in terms of the dimensions influencing trust and protégés' explanations on these matters can be found in Appendix 1.

Another important finding in terms of positive and negative perceptions was that protégés identify their positive perceptions more with the personal efforts of their mentor. Negative perceptions were related to factors such as faculty and university culture, legal matters and regulations, law and

regulations creating rigid university procedures, and mentors' and protégés' personal characteristics.

The last question put to the interviewees examined the extent to which the mentoring relationship affected protégés attitudes toward university life. The protégés responses to this question were rather interesting. For protégés who had relatively problem-free relationships with their mentors, the mentoring relationship had not had an effect on their perception of the university. In other words, protégés with experiences of positive mentoring relationships did not always have an equally positive perception of academic life, but protégés who had a negative experience of mentoring uniformly had negative perceptions about academic life. One of the main reasons for protégés wanting to discontinue their academic studies and their antipathy toward academia was based that they had had a negative mentoring relationship. This finding indicates that the mentoring relationship, whose quality is largely dependent on the trust protégés have in their mentor, can be accepted as a protecting factor for protégés, but it also indicates that mentoring alone cannot provide sufficient feelings of fulfilment with university life.

All of the information acquired during the protégé interviews was adapted to a model of relationships built on interpersonal trust to show how successful mentoring relationship work in academic organizations (see Figure 1). When



Adapted from "Managers as Initiators of Trust: An Understanding of Managerial Trustworthy Behavior," by E. M. Whitener, et al., 1998), *Academy of Management Review*, 23.

Figure 1: Mentoring as a relationship based on trust in academic organizations

considering the model's broader applicability, it is important to keep in mind that the model incorporates only the findings of this research. It will be necessary to reexamine certain relationships in the model in light of findings from other research.

Finally, the interviewees came up with suggestions for how problems experienced in the academic mentoring relationship may be overcome. First, for the relationship to function effectively, it was deemed of utmost importance that mentors make sufficient time for their protégés. Protégés noted that mentors who take on other duties within their university should make schedules for meeting with protégés and choose to give one-to-one training to fewer students. Other suggestions for reducing problems were that mentors should be monitored through a formal system and that certain methods that may be effective in evaluating the performance of mentoring should be opened to debate. In particular, it was suggested that feedback on these matters should be solicited from the protégés.

Conclusion

It can be seen that achieving desired results from a mentoring relationship, which has particular significance for academic organizations, depends on the professional competence of the mentor, their consistency, their ability to communicate, their interest, and their readiness to share control. Each dimension determines to some extent the trust protégés feel for their mentors. Undoubtedly, the protégé is also responsible for the success of the relationship, and the trust mentors hold for their protégés plays an important role. However, the levels of responsibility are not equal; the mentor holds more authority and, therefore, heavier responsibility for building trust.

On the other hand, despite a mentor's well-meaning efforts, conditions do exist that affect the mentor's guiding relationship. A university's regulations, its culture, the mentor's personal values, and the protégé's characteristics are all factors that can facilitate or complicate the establishment of trust. Indeed, for the protégés participating in this study, the mentoring experience was not satisfactory in all aspects, and the situations indicated above represent the reasons for this. What's more, the protégés who did not benefit from strong mentor support had generally negative opinions about university life. Therefore, academic organizations must consider it important to frequently review inadequacies in the mentoring system and to implement restructuring to address those inadequacies. At the same time, mentors' performance should be periodically evaluated, and it should become institutional policy to acquire regular information on this subject from protégés.

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Appendix 1. Explanations Related to the Underlying Elements in the Trust Felt toward Mentors

Competency	Found Competent: 9 Found Incompetent: 23
Definition of problem	Explanation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mentors' inability to follow publications • Low number of publications from mentors • Inability of mentors to keep up with current trends in their scientific discipline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative duties • Large amounts of extra-university activity (e.g., projects, consultancies)
Consistency	Consistent: 14 Inconsistent: 15
Definition of problem	Explanation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mentors' personal characteristics group dynamics, relationships) • Inadequacies in university-related legal matters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Easily influenced by others' points of view and changing attitudes • Inability to defend issues they would be expected to defend, due to indecision • Politics/political behavior

(Continued)

Appendix 1: (Continued)

Communication	Open Communication: 12 No Open Communication: 6
<i>Definition of problem</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preference for formal channels of communication only
	Satisfactory Levels of Information: 18 Unsatisfactory Levels of Information: 8
<i>Definition of problem</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Delayed sharing of information related to official matters (e.g., the duration of thesis review) Delayed announcements about congresses, symposia, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Burden of administrative duties, delayed sharing of information due to lack of time
	Empathy: 11 Lack of Empathy: 15
<i>Definition of problem</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not taking seriously problems encountered by protégés 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mentor having had worse experiences resulted in inability/unwillingness to accept protégé's actual situation as a problem Perfectionism Personality clashes Other (e.g., wish of mentors to keep their distance from their students, delegating to the student work arising from mentors' administrative duties)

Part 2: Coaching

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

The Negative Side of Positive Psychology

Barbara S. Held

Although positive psychologists claim to study what is good or virtuous in human nature and call for a separate and distinct science to do so (e.g., Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003a; Seligman, 2002a, 2002b; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, 2001; Seligman & Peterson, 2003; Sheldon & King, 2001; Snyder & Lopez et al., 2002), there nonetheless is within that movement a negative tendency, or what I will call a “negative side.” In this article, I explore three senses or meanings of this so-called negative side of positive psychology. First, the negative side is construed as the negative side effects of the positive psychology movement, especially of its dominant, separatist message. These side effects have been enumerated before (e.g., Bohart & Greening, 2001; Guignon, 2002; Held, 2002a; Woolfolk, 2002), and so about these I will be brief. Second, the negative side is construed as the *negativity* that can be found within the positive psychology movement. Here I elaborate on the negative or dismissive reactions of some (but not all) positive psychologists, especially of some spokespersons for the movement, to ideas or views that run counter to the dominant message of the movement – in particular, (a) negativity about negativity itself, which I explore by way of research in health psychology and coping styles; and (b) negativity about the wrong kind of positivity, namely, allegedly unscientific positivity, especially the “unscientific positivity” that Seligman (Seligman, 2002a, 2002b; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, 2001) purports to find within humanistic psychology and that has been discussed in the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*’s special issue on positive psychology (e.g., Greening, 2001, p. 4; Rathunde, 2001, pp. 146–147; Resnick, Warmoth, & Serlin, 2001, pp. 78–80; Taylor, 2001,

pp. 22–24). This is an epistemological position that contributes to “reality problems” for positive psychologists, problems that call for further consideration. In my conclusion, I consider the implications of positive psychology’s so-called “Declaration of Independence” (Snyder & Lopez et al., 2002) from the rest of psychology for the much discussed fragmentation woes within psychology. I also appeal to the wisdom of William James (1902), both directly and as interpreted by Rubin (2000), for guidance in finding a third, more positive meaning of positive psychology’s negative side. This more positive meaning can be gleaned from a not-yet-dominant, more integrative message emerging within the movement.

My aim is not to challenge the empirical findings that constitute the positive psychology movement; there are, in my view, important contributions to psychological science being made within the movement’s ranks. Nor do I challenge the study of human strengths in general, which, needless to say, is not necessarily done in the movement’s name. Rather, my critique – or “discourse analysis” – focuses upon the way in which those who have heretofore spoken most vociferously on behalf of the positive psychology movement present/promote the movement to the public and to the profession of psychology. This “dominant discourse,” or dominant Message with a capital “M,” as I now call it, is contrasted with a not-yet-dominant discourse, or message with a lowercase “m,” just emerging within the movement – or so I argue. This “second-wave” message, as I now call it, challenges the dominant Message in ways sometimes quite consistent with challenges made by humanistic psychologists in these pages.

Meaning 1: The Negative Side Effects of the Positive Psychology Movement – The Tyranny of the Positive Attitude and Positive Psychology’s Dominant Message

The Tyranny of the Positive Attitude

On a panel at the American Psychological Association (APA) convention in 2000 entitled “The (Overlooked) Virtues of Negativity,” Held (2002a) lamented what she dubbed the “tyranny of the positive attitude,” a problem that, she claimed, dominates the contemporary American mind-set. By this she meant that our popular culture and now – owing to the dominant, separatist Message of some spokespersons for the positive psychology movement (e.g., Seligman, 2002a, 2002b; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, 2001; Seligman & Peterson, 2003; Snyder & Lopez et al., 2002) – our professional culture are saturated with the view that we must think positive thoughts, we must cultivate positive emotions and attitudes, and we must play to our strengths to be happy, healthy, and wise.

The tyranny of the positive attitude lies in its adding insult to injury: If people feel bad about life’s many difficulties and they cannot manage to

transcend their pain no matter how hard they try (to learn optimism), they could end up feeling even worse; they could feel guilty or defective for not having the right (positive) attitude, in addition to whatever was ailing them in the first place. This is a possible unintended consequence of trumpeting positivity, whether in popular or professional circles (see Held, 2001, 2002a, pp. 969, 986–987). For according to the wisdom of our popular culture, what ails one in the first place might have been avoided, or at least ameliorated, with positive thoughts. This popular message is certainly reinforced by extensive research findings that reliably demonstrate that optimism and positivity are linked to health and longevity, whereas pessimism and negativity have the opposite effect (e.g., Brennan & Charnetski, 2000; Byrnes et al., 1998; Larsen, Hemenover, Norris, & Cacioppo, 2003; Peterson & Bossio, 2001; Peterson, Seligman, Yurko, Martin, & Friedman, 1998; Raeikkonen, Matthews, Flory, Owens, & Gump, 1999; Taylor, Kemeny, Reed, Bower, & Gruenewald, 2000). About this, more later

Positive Psychology’s Dominant Message and Challenges to It

Whether research about the salutary effects of positivity has been done in the name of positive psychology, some who speak for the movement deploy that research without nuance or ambiguity in their dominant, polarizing Message: Positivity is good and good for you; negativity is bad and bad for you. (Indeed, Seligman’s call for a separate and distinct science of positive psychology rests on this foundational assumption.) Farewell to individual differences; one size fits all. Or so the dominant Message – especially as articulated by Seligman, whom I quote in due course – appears to me, but evidently not only to me: An emerging but still nondominant message of some members of the movement (I take them to be members in virtue of their authorship of chapters in edited books about – or issues of the *American Psychologist* devoted to – the movement’s progress) gives evidence of the dominant Message by expressing dissatisfaction with it. This discernable but not-yet-unified voice of protest suggests to me a desire for a more nuanced and integrative – a less separatist or polarizing – message, one that makes contact though only implicitly, with some of the postulates of humanistic psychology set forth in every issue of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. Consider the following statements made by authors of chapters in Aspinwall and Staudinger’s new edited book entitled *A Psychology of Human Strengths: Fundamental Questions and Future Directions for a Positive Psychology* (2003a), and note among them the dialogical impulse for the integration, holism, dialectic, realism, engagement, and contextuality that characterizes the responses of humanistic psychologists to positive psychology’s dominant, separatist Message of polarization (e.g., Greening, 2001; Rathunde, 2001; Resnick et al., 2001; Rich, 2001).

In their own chapter, editors Aspinwall and Staudinger (2003b) give advance notice of the emerging message:

In trying to define and study human strengths, it is crucial to acknowledge contextual dependencies. . . . Another central task for a psychology of human strengths is to understand whether and how positive and negative experiences depend on each other and work together. Thus, a call for the scientific study of . . . positive states . . . should not be misunderstood as a call to ignore negative aspects of human experience. That is, a psychology of human strengths should not be the study of how negative experience may be avoided or ignored, but rather how positive and negative experience may be interrelated. . . . Indeed, some philosophical perspectives suggest that the positive and negative are by definition dependent on each other; that is, human existence seems to be constituted by basic dialectics. (pp. 14–15)

It would be a major mistake to assume that all that is positive is good. . . . Instead, efforts to understand when positive beliefs are linked to good outcomes, when they may not be, and why will yield a more realistic and balanced view. (p. 18)

In a chapter entitled “Three Human Strengths,” Carver and Scheier (2003) stated,

The picture of human strength as reflected in persistence and performance is a familiar one. . . . Commitment and confidence interact to foster persistence and perseverance, even in the face of great adversity. These ideas form the cornerstone of a good part of what is touted as “positive psychology” (e.g., Ryff & Singer, 1998; Seligman, 1999; Snyder & Lopez, 2002; Taylor, 1989). . . . Discussions of these theories usually emphasize the positive – the idea that continued effort can result in attaining desired goals. . . . Put simply, the attempt is to turn pessimists into optimists. . . . [However,] a critical role in life is also played by doubt and disengagement – by giving up. (pp. 88–89)

Even perseverance and giving up, which seem so antithetical, may not be. . . . A psychology of human strengths is no less than a psychology of human nature. (p. 98)

In a chapter subtitled “On the Virtues of the Coactivation of Positive and Negative Emotions,” Larsen et al. (2003) wrote,

Given that negative emotions do affect health outcomes, it is likewise understandable that [traditional] lines of research have treated negative emotions as something to be avoided or at least diminished, rather than dwelled on. . . . The thesis of this chapter, however, is that this discomfiting mode of coactivation [of positive and negative emotions] may allow individuals to make sense of stressors, to gain mastery over future stressors, and to transcend traumatic experiences. (pp. 212–213)

Although positive psychology has made it clear that an exclusive focus on negative emotions [i.e., “negative psychology”] is insufficient, the present perspective implies that an exclusive focus on positive emotions may also ultimately prove insufficient. (p. 222)

In a chapter entitled “Ironies of the Human Condition,” Ryff and Singer (2003) stated,

Recently, we have witnessed a drumroll on behalf of positive psychology. Chastised for its preoccupation with human failings, the field of psychology has been admonished to attend to human strengths. . . . However, we also underscore the need to move beyond false dichotomies that separate positive and negative features of the human condition. [We argue for an appreciation of] inevitable dialectics between positive and negative aspects of living. (pp. 271–272)

Human well-being is fundamentally about the joining of these two realms. . . . Positive psychology will fulfill its promise not by simply marking what makes people feel good, hopeful, and contented, but by tracking deeper and more complex processes. . . . We propose that these challenges of “engaged living” are the essence of what it means to be well. (pp. 279–282)

And last but not least, in a chapter section entitled “What’s Wrong With a ‘Positive’ Psychology Movement?,” Carstensen and Charles (2003) wrote,

Readers may expect that we’d be delighted by the prospect of positive psychology. But we see as many problems as advantages. Deconstructing the scientific status quo and revealing evidence that negative presumptions have guided much of the research is one thing. Carrying a banner for a movement forcing the pendulum to swing in the other direction is quite another. . . . The lesson in this is not to . . . join a movement to be more “positive.” Rather, it is to generate an even-handed characterization of the problems and strengths associated with aging. Scientific psychology should not have an objective to prove or disprove positive aspects of life. It should instead seek to understand psychological phenomena in their totality. . . . We cannot do it by succumbing to a polemical movement to search for the positive. . . . Social scientists must study the strengths of older people, but just as surely they must understand the problems of older people. (pp. 82–84)

The second-wave/nondominant message contained in the above quotations makes common cause with the message contained in the following quotations of contributors to the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*’s special issue on positive psychology. Laura King’s quotation is especially noteworthy, given her receipt of a Templeton Positive Psychology Prize in 2001:

Another pitfall of focusing on positive emotional experience as definitive of the good life is the tendency to view any negative emotion as problematic. Thus, the experience of distress, regret, and disappointment are often

viewed as negative experiences, certainly to be avoided. How realistic is it to expect that adults will weather all of life's storms with nary a regret? . . . Yet, the focus on the maximization of positive affect and the minimization of negative affect has led to a view of the happy person as a well-defended fortress, invulnerable to the vicissitudes of life. . . Perhaps focusing so much on subjective well-being, we have missed the somewhat more ambivalent truth of the good life. (King, 2001, pp. 53–54)

Humanistic psychology is also nondualistic. From its holistic perspective, polarizing psychology into “good” and “bad” splits the fullness of the paradox . . . and therefore misses the complexity and nuances of the phenomenon. Holistic, humanistic psychology understands that the good, or the positive, takes its meaning from its dialogical relationship to “the bad” or “the negative.” (Resnick et al., 2001, p. 77)

If we take all of the above quotations from Aspinwall and Staudinger's (2003a) edited book in concert as a discernable message, we may be tempted to think (with optimism) that the rapprochement some humanistic psychologists have called for (e.g., Rathunde, 2001; Resnick et al., 2001; Rich, 2001) is in reach.¹ I myself am not quite so optimistic, especially since positive psychology leaders Seligman and Peterson (2003) reiterated the movement's dominant Message, with all its rhetoric of separatism/polarization, in *their* chapter (entitled “Positive Clinical Psychology”) in Aspinwall and Staudinger's (2003a) book:

The science of positive psychology, as we see it, has three constituent parts: the study of positive subjective experience, the study of positive individual traits, and the study of institutions that enable the first two (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). In this chapter we shall discuss possible changes that a science of positive psychology, if successful in becoming a discrete approach within the social sciences, would likely wreak on the field of clinical psychology. (p. 305)

The professional press of *APA Online*, the *Monitor on Psychology*, and the *American Psychologist* has reinforced the dominant Message (not least through announcements of Templeton Positive Psychology Prize winners). So has the extensive popular press coverage of positive psychology, where, for example, the positive psychology movement made the cover of the September 3, 2001, issue of the *U.S. News and World Report* and the September 16, 2002, issue of *Newsweek*. The professional press is seemingly no accident: As Eugene Taylor (2001) boldly proposed, “Seligman appeals to science but relies on public support through the prestige of his position in the APA” (p. 26). In due course, I give more examples of the press coverage. Just here note that in the science section of the *New York Times* on November 19, 2002, there was an article entitled “Power of Positive Thinking Extends, It Seems, to Aging.” The “it seems” is a clue; although one would never guess from this headline

that about half of the article was devoted to research with opposite findings: for example, “cheerfulness . . . was linked to shorter-than-average life span” (attributed to Dr. Howard S. Friedman), “older pessimists were less likely than the optimists to suffer from depression” (attributed to Dr. Derek M. Isaacowitz), “cantankerousness . . . has been found to be a protective characteristic among the elderly. . . . Those who were ornery and argumentative with the nursing home staff members lived longer than those who were not” (attributed to Dr. Morton A. Lieberman).

Is it fair to hold the movement's leading members responsible for the way the press presents their message? I know of no objections from them to any of the press coverage, although some may be trying to mitigate the “tyrannical” tone of the dominant Message by claiming that the science that supports it is merely descriptive, not prescriptive (e.g., Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003b, p. 18; Seligman, 2002a, pp. 129, 303). This, despite Seligman's (2002a, pp. 130, 261) prescriptive inclinations. In any case, Snyder & Lopez et al. (2002) expressed concern about media hype in the final chapter of the *Handbook of Positive Psychology*:

In the excitement that may be associated with this new and invigorating approach, it may be tempting to overextrapolate so as to convey a sense of the progress that is being made. This can be even more possible when a person from the news media is almost putting words in our mouths about the supposed discoveries and advances that already have occurred. Contrary to this “breakthrough” mentality, however, science typically advances in the context of slow, incremental increases in knowledge. Therefore . . . researchers must be very careful to make appropriate inferences from their data. Claims that go beyond the data are never appropriate, and they can be especially damaging to the credibility of a new field. When one positive psychologist makes an unwarranted claim, this undermines the trustworthiness of all positive psychologists and the “movement” more generally. Accordingly, we must carefully monitor both our colleagues and ourselves. (pp. 754–755)

Which positive psychologists have made unwarranted claims? The authors do not say, but they sound like they have some in mind. At the least, they sound worried.

Aspinwall and Staudinger's edited book nonetheless gives hope that a less separatist incarnation of the movement may be on the horizon. Chapters by Aspinwall and Staudinger, Carstensen and Charles, Cantor, Carver and Scheier, Ryff and Singer, and Larsen et al. all find virtue in giving negativity of one sort or another its due – for example, finding value in a focus on problems as well as strengths, in (defensive) pessimism, in giving up, or in the coactivation of positive and negative emotions. These authors are critical of the dominant Message, as the quotations of them provided earlier indicate. But their more nuanced message is not, by my lights, the movement's dominant Message,

at least not just yet: For example, in *Authentic Happiness*, Seligman (2002a) himself finds little use for negative experience; there he remains a stance lacking in nuance, a stance I discuss in due course. And so, a fundamental question for some positive psychologists remains a technical one: how to get the negatively inclined (by nature, nurture, or both) to develop more positivity – for their own good. Yet some positive psychologists sometimes seem to have difficulty taking their own advice. As Taylor (2001) put it in discussing Seligman's now famous dismissal of humanistic psychology (see Greening, 2001, p. 4; Seligman, 2002a, 2002b; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, 2001), "Seligman may have to cultivate a more positive attitude toward the very movement he now wishes to exclude" (p. 27). In his review of the *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, M. Brewster Smith (2003) summed up the negativity to be found in positive psychology succinctly: "A substantial part of the message of positive psychology is negative" (p. 160).

Meaning 2: The Negativity of Positive Psychologists

I am coming to believe that lurking within the positive psychology movement there exists a dark side – a shadow of sorts – owing to a failure to acknowledge (its own) negativity. Because a case has been made for "The (Overlooked) Virtues of Negativity," first by critics of positive psychology (Held & Bohart, 2002) and now by a second-wave message from within the ranks of the positive psychology movement (e.g., Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003b; Carstensen & Charles, 2003; Carver & Scheier, 2003; King, 2001; Larsen et al., 2003; Ryff & Singer, 2003), this is not necessarily bad. Negativity is, after all, a normal and at times adaptive aspect of human nature, and so the negativity even of positive psychologists may be said to have its virtues. The question, rather, is this: What are some positive psychologists negative about? To be sure, some are negative about negativity itself. And some are also negative about the wrong *kind* of positivity. I call these "Negativity Type 1" and "Negativity Type 2," respectively.

Negativity Type 1: Negativity about Negativity

On the surface, it appears that prominent positive psychologists hold balanced views about positivity and negativity. In *Learned Optimism*, Martin Seligman (1990) said one should not be a "slave to the tyrannies of optimism. . . . We must be able to use pessimism's keen sense of reality when we need it" (p. 292). In *Authentic Happiness*, Seligman (2002a) said, "Positive Psychology aims for the optimal balance between positive and negative thinking" (pp. 288–289). And he recently reported that, among the elderly, "extreme optimists may be more at risk for depressive symptoms than pessimists when faced with negative life events" (Isaacowitz & Seligman, 2001, p. 262). Christopher Peterson

(2000) warned of the risks of unrealistic or blind optimism. He resolved that "people should be optimistic when the future can be changed by positive thinking but not otherwise" (p. 51). Lisa Aspinwall said, "It would be premature – and likely incorrect – to say that all positive beliefs and states are salutary" (Snyder & Lopez et al., 2002, p. 754). She later stated,

A second caution [in developing a psychology of human strengths] involves the possibility that there are situations and contexts where attributes or processes that work as strengths in one setting may be liabilities in another, and vice versa. . . . Among certain people . . . and in some non-Western cultures . . . pessimism has been found to be adaptive rather than dysfunctional, because it promotes active problem solving. (Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003b, p. 18)

Despite these nods to negativity (and acknowledgment of the limits of positivity), when Seligman reportedly said in the *Monitor* that the positive psychology movement "does not replace negative social science and psychology, which are flourishing enterprises that I support" (Kogan, 2001, p. 74), his pledge of support failed to reassure. First, his professed support for so-called negative psychology is not the same as finding virtue in the experience of negative events and the expression of negative thoughts and feelings, virtue which is found by various authors in Aspinwall and Staudinger's (2003a) edited book, who seem to be in search of a more dialectical approach to positive psychology. Finding virtue in the experience/expression of life's negatives is not accomplished by Seligman, who sticks to the movement's nondialectical dominant Message in *his* chapter in that same book: "Positive emotion undoes negative emotion. In the laboratory, movies that induce positive emotion cause negative emotion to dissipate rapidly (Fredrickson, 1998)" (Seligman & Peterson, 2003, p. 306). Compare this message with the one given in Larsen et al.'s (2003) chapter, where the independence of positive and negative emotional systems is emphasized (Seligman himself acknowledges this elsewhere [2002a, pp. 56–57]), as is our need for an optimal balance in the coactivation of positive and negative emotional systems to attain beneficial health and coping outcomes when faced with stressors.

In *Authentic Happiness*, Seligman (2002a) reinforces his negative views about negativity, including the (defensive) pessimism and/or negative emotion in which Aspinwall and Staudinger, Cantor, and Larsen et al. find virtue. For example, he says, "Pessimism is maladaptive in most endeavors. . . . Thus, pessimists are losers on many fronts" (p. 178); "Positive emotion . . . has consequences that are broadening, building, and abiding. Unlike negative emotion, which narrows our repertoire to fight the immediate threat, positive emotion advertises growth" (p. 209); and "Depression readily spirals downward because a depressed mood makes negative memories come to mind more easily. These negative thoughts in turn set off a more depressed mood, which in turn makes even more negative thoughts accessible, and so on" (p. 210).

He then goes on to make the case for an “upward spiral of positive emotion” (pp. 210–211). Larsen et al. (2003), by contrast, say we must keep negative emotions and memories of negative events in working memory long enough to organize and integrate them, which may allow individuals to “transcend traumatic experiences” and “transform adversity to advantage” (p. 213). This sounds to me like the potential for growth from engaging the negative that Seligman denies over and over.

Health psychology and longevity. One “trump card” of the positive psychology movement is the empirical link between positive affect and attitudes, on one hand, and health/longevity, on the other hand. Indeed, as described earlier, this research forms one foundation of the movement’s dominant Message: Positivity is good (for you), negativity is bad (for you). Even Larsen et al. (2003), in setting up their argument on behalf of the health and mental health benefits of the coactivation of positive and negative emotions, state that “one of positive psychology’s most impressive lines of research has examined the beneficial effects of optimism on health and well being” (p. 219). For instance, an article in the *Monitor* reported that Barbara Fredrickson, winner of the top Templeton Positive Psychology Prize in 2000, found that “positive emotions help undo the detrimental effects of negative emotions on the cardiovascular system” (Azar, 2000). And an *APA Online* (“Psychologists Receive,” 2002) press release reported that the top Templeton Prize in 2002 went to Suzanne Segerstrom, who found that “optimistic dispositions and beliefs” are linked to the “functioning of the immune system.” Here we find no hint of the second-wave, integrative message, such as the one given by Larsen et al. (2003). Exemplary of the popular press is this headline from the *Maine Sunday Telegram* (February 27, 2000): “Happier Means Healthier: Optimists Live Longer, and Optimism Can Be Cultivated.” And recall the *New York Times* (November 19, 2002) piece entitled “Power of Positive Thinking Extends, It Seems, to Aging.”

Particularly prominent are the much heralded findings of Shelley Taylor’s research team: Unrealistic optimism predicts greater longevity. According to Taylor et al. (2000),

HIV-seropositive gay men who were *unrealistically* [italics added] optimistic about the future course of their infection were better adjusted and coped more actively with their situation than those who were less optimistic. . . . *Unrealistically* [italics added] optimistic beliefs are associated prospectively with somewhat greater longevity. (pp. 102–103)

And so optimism, especially unrealistic optimism, is to be endorsed. (About the realism of the optimism, more later.) This, says the hermeneutic philosopher Charles Guignon (2002), is a good example of a particular strategy for justifying value claims:

Positing some set of nonmoral goods, such as physical health, longer life or subjective feelings of well-being, and then trying to show that the ideals in question are conducive to achieving or sustaining those goals. . . . Thus, a great deal of research on optimism, hope, altruism . . . aims at showing that there are clearly defined and precisely measurable outcomes from expressions of these traits. (p. 90)

To be sure, the waters are deeper than they seem, for there also exists research which contradicts the well-supported link between positivity and health/longevity. We have already considered Larsen et al.’s (2003) “coactivation model of healthy coping” (p. 217). Another example is Hybels, Pieper, and Blazer’s (2002) finding that older women who are mildly depressed (i.e., they have a subthreshold level of depression) are more likely to live longer than nondepressed or more highly depressed women ($p = .002$). The relationship did not hold for men, although Friedman et al. (1993), who used a data set from a seven-decade longitudinal study begun in 1921 by L. M. Terman (Terman & Oden, 1947), reported that people (especially men) who were conscientious as children lived longer, whereas those who were cheerful as children (defined as optimism and sense of humor) died younger (also see Martin et al., 2002). Moreover, Friedman et al. (1993) emphasized the importance of attending to individual differences, by cautioning “against overgeneralizing from short-term studies of coping to long-term (life span) styles for reacting. Rather, analyses of the particular challenges faced by particular individuals during their life may provide better information about what it means to be healthy” (p. 184). Even positive psychologists David Watson and James Pennebaker (1989) questioned the link between positivity and health/longevity when they said that people high in “trait negative affect”

complain of angina but show no evidence of greater coronary risk or pathology. They complain of headaches but do not report any increased use of aspirin. . . . In general, they complain about their health but show no hard evidence of poorer health or increased mortality. (p. 244)

Given the large body of data that links positivity of various kinds to health and longevity (and negativity to illness), it would be foolish to make too much of these contradictory findings, except to question how such contradictory evidence is handled by spokespersons for the positive psychology movement. My point is that findings such as these tend not to become part of the dominant Message, which seems to me and others to eschew the dialogical impulse found in the movement’s more nuanced/dialectical second-wave message and in the response of some humanistic psychologists to the dominant Message. Moreover, if longevity is, as Guignon (2002) suggests, positive psychologists’ criterion for cultivating certain tendencies, then these new data should be taken seriously by positive psychologists. But given Seligman’s negativity about negativity, I would be surprised if Hybels et al. (2002) or Friedman

et al. (1993) were to be considered for a Templeton Positive Psychology Prize for finding that some forms of negativity, or at least the absence of positivity, may be conducive to longevity.

Coping styles: The case of defensive pessimism. In her many research articles and in her book *The Positive Power of Negative Thinking*, Julie Norem (2001a, 2001b) provides compelling evidence for the benefits of the coping strategy known as “defensive pessimism.” Defensive pessimists set their sights unrealistically low and think about how to solve potential problems in advance of the daunting task. Most important, Norem has found that defensive pessimism can work to enhance task performance for those riddled with debilitating anxiety. Her data are conclusive: Trying to make defensive pessimists function like strategic optimists, who set their sights high and prefer not to think about potential problems, erodes the functioning of defensive pessimists, as does trying to make strategic optimists function like defensive pessimists. In short, one size does not fit all. Because constructive coping is one of the positive psychology movement’s alleged interests, one might expect positive psychologists to celebrate Norem’s breakthrough findings as a positive contribution to coping. But celebration has hardly been their response.

Instead, Norem has typically either been ignored – she is not even cited, let alone given a chapter, in the *Handbook of Positive Psychology* (Snyder & Lopez, 2002) – or she has been dismissed explicitly. For example, in the *Handbook*, Carver and Scheier (2002) and Watson (2002) speak of the possibility of changing those with negative temperaments (whether caused by genes, early environment, or both). Watson advocates focusing outward – doing rather than thinking, perceiving our goals to be important, and understanding the cycles of energy and lethargy we all experience (p. 116). Carver and Scheier cautiously advise cognitive behavioral therapies to call attention to, challenge, and eradicate the irrational, “unduly negative,” “automatic thoughts” in the minds of pessimists (p. 240). As they say, “Once the [pessimistic] beliefs have been isolated, they can be challenged and changed” (p. 240). (Although Carver and Scheier, 2003, also seem to question “the attempt to turn pessimists into optimists” [p. 89].) Never mind that Norem’s defensive pessimism has been demonstrated reliably to be a constructive coping strategy; Carver and Scheier incline toward an affirmative answer to their own question, “Is optimism always better than pessimism?” (p. 239). Although, to be fair, they seem here to be speaking of *dispositional* pessimism (which is trait like) rather than *defensive* pessimism (which is a domain-specific strategy to cope with anxiety). (Still, the two – dispositional pessimism and defensive pessimism – are moderately correlated, according to Norem, 2001a). In a previous article, Scheier and Carver (1993) certainly acknowledged that “defensive pessimism does seem to work,” in that defensive pessimists perform better than “real [i.e., dispositional] pessimists, whose negative expectations are anchored in prior failure” (p. 29). But they also went on to say that “defensive pessimism never

works better than optimism” and has “hidden costs”: “People who use defensive pessimism in the short run report more psychological symptoms and a lower quality of life in the long run than do optimists. *Such findings call into serious question the adaptive value of defensive pessimism* [italics added]” (p. 29)

Norem readily admits that there are benefits and costs of *both* strategic optimism and defensive pessimism (Norem, 2001b; Norem & Chang, 2002). So we may ask why the negatives of defensive pessimism are considered *true* negatives, whereas the negatives of strategic optimism tend to be ignored by positive psychologists who compare *defensive* pessimism to *dispositional* optimism, instead of to *strategic* optimism, which is what Scheier and Carver appear to do in the quotations of them just above. After all, comparing defensive pessimism to strategic optimism would be the more appropriate comparison, given that Norem’s constructs are more situation specific than dispositional. Moreover, to appreciate the virtues of defensive pessimism, Norem and Chang (2002) say we must acknowledge the presence of the trait (or dispositional) anxiety that *precedes* the use of defensive pessimism. That is, although “strategic optimists tend to be more satisfied and in a better mood than defensive pessimists,” it would be mistaken to “conclude that strategic optimism is clearly better than defensive pessimism, even if defensive pessimists often perform well,” because this conclusion “ignores the crucial point that people who use defensive pessimism are typically high in anxiety” (p. 996). Thus, they say, we must “compare defensive pessimists to other people who are anxious but do not use defensive pessimism” (p. 997). When Norem and Chang make that comparison, they find that

Defensive pessimists show significant increases in self-esteem and satisfaction over time, perform better academically, form more supportive friendship networks, and make more progress on their personal goals than equally anxious students who do not use defensive pessimism. . . . This research converges with that contrasting strategic optimism and defensive pessimism to suggest quite strongly that taking away their defensive pessimism is not the way to help anxious individuals. (p. 997)

Yet taking away their defensive pessimism is what Scheier and Carver (1993, p. 29) seem to me to imply, in the spirit of the dominant Message.

There is cause for optimism nonetheless in the more integrative, less dismissive second-wave message: Editors Aspinwall and Staudinger (2003a) include a chapter by Nancy Cantor (2003), who cites the benefits of the defensive pessimism she herself researched with Julie Norem. Still, positive psychologists who continue to deliver the dominant Message of polarization to which humanistic psychologists rightly object (e.g., Resnick et al., 2001, p. 77) advocate the use of cognitive therapy to challenge and change the allegedly automatic *unrealistic negative* thoughts of pessimists. Seligman (2002a) himself advocates the “well-documented method for building optimism that consists of recognizing and then disputing pessimistic thoughts” (p. 93): “The

most convincing way of disputing a negative belief is to show that it is factually incorrect. Much of the time you will have facts on your side, since pessimistic reactions to adversity are so very often overreactions" (p. 95). But what about the (automatic) *unrealistic positive* thoughts of optimists? (More about this in the next section.) These are not the target of challenge for positive psychologists. Indeed, Seligman extols the virtues of "positive illusions" (p. 200), owing to their salutary consequences: "It is [the job of Positive Psychology] to describe the consequences of these traits (for example, that being optimistic brings about less depression, better physical health, and higher achievement, *at a cost perhaps of less realism* [italics added])" (p. 129). Thus, the realism of the thoughts is evidently not the determining factor in this matter. And yet, positive psychologists of all stripes tout their dedication to rigorous science, with all the realism and objectivity such science bestows upon their claims. Moreover, Seligman, though actively promoting the power of positive illusions, also finds a "reality orientation" (p. 142) in everyday knowing to be virtuous. It therefore appears that there is equivocation about realism itself, or "reality problems," as I shall now call them, among positive psychologists.

Negativity Type 2: Negativity about the Wrong Kind of Positivity: "Unscientific Positivity" and Positive Psychology's "Reality Problems"

The charge of unscientific positivity and the response of humanistic psychologists. Positive psychologists ground their quest for positivity in a modern/conventional science of psychology – with all the warrant and conviction that scientific realism and objectivity impart. As Sheldon and King (2001) define it in their introduction to the special section on positive psychology in the *American Psychologist*, "[Positive psychology] is nothing more than the scientific study of ordinary human strengths and virtues" (p. 216).² They liken the science of (positive) psychology to other "natural and social sciences" (p. 216). And in his introductory chapter in the *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, Seligman (2002b) says, "[Positive psychology] tries to adapt what is best in the scientific method to the unique problems that human behavior presents in all its complexity" (p. 4). In both quotations, the science of (positive) psychology is set forth in conventional terms. There is, for example, no special antirealist/antiobjectivist or postmodern meaning given to (positive) psychological science.

Moreover, the now-famous dismissal by positive psychologists of another movement grounded in positivity, owing to that movement's alleged failure to attain scientific grounding, makes the point. In their introductory article in the January 2000 issue of the *American Psychologist* devoted to the positive psychology movement, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) acknowledged and appeared to praise the "generous humanistic vision" (p. 7) of the humanistic psychology movement. But they then went on to dismiss humanistic psychology

as unscientific, lamenting its allegedly seminal role in the nonscholarly, nonscientific, and narcissism promoting literature of the self-help movement that regrettably now dominates the psychology sections of our bookstores: "Unfortunately, humanistic psychology did not attract much of a cumulative empirical base, and it spawned myriad therapeutic self-help movements. In some of its incarnations, it . . . encouraged a self-centeredness that played down concerns for collective well being" (p. 7).

Bohart and Greening (2001) responded to this charge persuasively, by calling attention to the scientific research tradition and empirically warranted knowledge base of humanistic psychologists. About the charge of self-centeredness, they replied,

We wish that Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) themselves had done a more scholarly job of investigating humanistic psychology. Neither the theory nor practice of humanistic psychology is narrowly focused on the narcissistic self or on individual fulfillment. A careful reading of Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow would find that their conceptions of self-actualization included responsibility toward others. . . . Blaming them for misinterpretations of their ideas makes no more sense than blaming Seligman for potential misinterpretations of his ideas on optimism (e.g., one could misuse this idea to blame the victim for not having the proper optimistic attitude to achieve self-improvement in the face of massive social oppression or injustice.³ (p. 81)

In their rejoinder, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2001) repeated their dismissal of humanistic psychology nonetheless by emphasizing positive psychology's dedication to "replicable, cumulative, and objective" science (p. 90): "We are, unblushingly, scientists first" (p. 89). Seligman (2002b, p. 7) reiterates this message in his introductory chapter in the *Handbook of Positive Psychology*: "They [Allport, 1961; Maslow, 1971] somehow failed to attract a cumulative and empirical body of research to ground their ideas." And he does so again in *Authentic Happiness* (2002a): "The reasons for [humanistic psychology] remaining a largely therapeutic endeavor outside of academic contact probably had to do with its alienation from conventional empirical science" (p. 275). As Smith (2003) put it in his review of the *Handbook*, "He [Seligman] refers to the emphasis on positive functioning by Allport (1961) and Maslow (1971) but otherwise ignores humanistic psychology as not adequately based in research" (pp. 159–160). In my opinion, this dismissal can be understood in the context of positive psychology's dominant, separatist Message: If one claims that one's movement constitutes a "discrete approach within the social sciences" (Seligman & Peterson, 2003, p. 305), then one must eliminate competing approaches that can challenge that distinction. Because humanistic psychology cannot be eliminated on the basis of its focus on human potential and growth, another basis must be found. And so one was: its alleged failure to constitute a scientific enterprise.

In the special issue of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* devoted to positive psychology, Eugene Taylor (2001) rebutted "Seligman's Three Marks Against Humanistic Psychology" (p. 17), namely, that humanistic psychology "generated no research tradition" (pp. 17–21), that it "has created a cult of narcissism" (pp. 21–22), and that it is "antiscientific" (pp. 22–24). Regarding the latter, Taylor made this point:

After 1969 . . . the content and methods of humanistic psychology were appropriated by the psychotherapeutic counterculture, causing the humanistic movement in academic psychology to recede. . . . Seligman mistakes this group for the original personality theorists who led the humanistic movement for more than a quarter of a century in the academy and were concerned first and foremost with generating a "rigorous" research tradition – variously called personality, personology, and a science of the person (Allport, 1968; Rogers, 1964). (p. 23)

Along with Taylor, some in that same issue of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* defend the scientific status of humanistic psychology by challenging Seligman's/positive psychology's allegedly "reductionistic/positivistic" approach to knowledge acquisition, and by calling for more epistemological discussion/debate and self-reflection about how science should be conducted (e.g., Rathunde, 2001; Resnick et al., 2001). Although he lauds Seligman's placement of the "discriminating person above the blind dictates of science" (p. 25), Taylor (2001) takes Seligman to task for failing to grasp the contradiction (of "injecting a value judgment into an allegedly value-free system") that this placement carries in the context of his alleged adoption of a "reductionistic determinism" (p. 25):

The crux of the matter appears to be whether the scientist's model of reality is a better substitute for reality than one's personal experience. According to the humanistic viewpoint, one can only acquiesce to the equal power of both objective analysis and subjective experience when one's theory becomes self-reflexive in a reexamination of what constitutes objectivity. Reductionistic epistemology may be required to launch a science, but in its mature phase, all sciences, even the most exact ones, must confront the underlying philosophical issues of the fundamental relation of the subject to the object. Seligman's theories about positive psychology contain no such reflexive elements as yet, so the theory must be judged as still being in its infant stages.⁴ (pp. 23–24)

This call from humanistic psychologists for positive psychologists to reflect upon their own epistemological (and ontological) assumptions will be addressed in due course – although just here I confess little optimism about a positive response from Seligman to the humanists' call. In any case, the message of positive psychologists, both dominant and second-wave, is clear: A conventional/modern scientific realism/objectivism is central to positive

psychology's claim to a new and improved approach to studying what is good or virtuous in human existence.

Positive psychology's "reality problems." Despite the call for a conventional scientific realism and objectivism and the dismissal of humanistic psychology owing to its alleged failure to adhere to that standard, some leaders of the positive psychology movement proclaim the virtues of having *unrealistic* optimism/expectations. Recall, for example, Taylor et al.'s (2000) report of the correlation between unrealistic optimism and greater longevity in HIV patients. Here, then, we may begin to explore the "reality problems" of positive psychologists: Positive psychologists stand their movement on the rock of scientific realism and objectivity when they make their truth/reality claims with all the conviction that scientific realism and objectivity warrant. But at the same time, they sometimes tout the benefits of holding beliefs that are themselves unrealistic. Although no contradiction emerges just yet, a double epistemic standard surely does: The standard of securing objective/unbiased evidence is necessary for warranting *scientific* knowledge but not *everyday* knowledge, which requires only a pragmatic standard of warrant, namely, whether one's beliefs have beneficial consequences (see Held, 2002b).

Positive psychologists could reply that the venerated scientific objectivity is limited to the empirical relationships that obtain between holding certain beliefs on one hand and well-being/longevity on the other hand. So it does not matter whether the (beneficial) *beliefs themselves* are objectively true or unbiased, so long as the *scientific findings* are assuredly so. In short, they might simply say (as in effect they do) that it is scientifically/objectively true that people benefit from holding beliefs that are themselves biased or not objectively true. (To the extent that scientific knowing depends upon objectivity in everyday knowing [see Held, 1995; Pols, 1992], what is to prevent the endorsed positive illusions from infecting their scientific knowledge?) *But if the double epistemic standard poses no reality problems for positive psychologists, then why, we may ask, do they work hard to convince us that the positive illusions/optimistic bias they propound are not at odds with epistemological realism? What might motivate these efforts?*

Two answers to this psychological question seem possible, and they are not unrelated. First, by claiming that positive illusions/optimistic bias can be realistic, or at least not all that unrealistic, (a) the standard for *everyday* knowing then squares with (b) the standard for *scientific* knowing; the latter is, after all, what is said (repeatedly) to distinguish the movement from prior "positive psychology" movements, which are judged inferior scientifically. The double standard, though not itself contradictory, may also create discomfort by way of its link to a bona fide contradiction, one which provides a second possible answer to the psychological question of why positive psychologists insist on the realism of positively biased beliefs: (a) on one hand, positive psychologists proclaim the benefits of positive illusions and (unrealistic)

optimism in the context of *everyday* knowing. Recall Seligman's (2002a, p. 129) claim that optimism is good for us, even at a "cost perhaps of less realism." Yet, (b) on the other hand, he also says that "learned optimism . . . is about accuracy" (p. 96) and that having a "reality orientation" in the context of *everyday* knowing is good. Seligman (2002a, p. 142) lists "judgment" and "critical thinking" as strengths (in *everyday* knowing) that give rise to the virtues of wisdom and knowledge: "By Judgment, I mean the exercise of sifting information objectively and rationally. . . . Judgment . . . embodies reality orientation. . . . This is a significant part of the healthy trait of not confusing your own wants and needs with the facts of the world." Of course, part (b) of the second possible answer to my psychological question contradicts not only part (a) of that same answer, but also generates conflict between the objectivity that is required for scientific knowing and the positive (pragmatic) bias that is preferred for *everyday* knowing.

Here, evidence of arguments about the alleged realism of positive illusions and optimistic bias is in order. Snyder, Rand, King, Feldman, and Woodward (2002), for instance, say that if their "high-hope people" (who, according to Snyder, Sympson, Michael, & Cheavens, 2001, share some, but not all, features of optimists) are unrealistic, it is only mildly or slightly so:

We believe that high-hope people do make use of positive illusions that influence their views of reality . . . but that they do *not* [italics added] engage in *blatant* [italics added] reality distortion. . . . [Rather, they] *slightly* [italics added] bias that reality in a positive direction. It is useful to examine this "bias" in the context of Taylor's (1983) work on positive illusions. . . . These *slight* [italics added] positive illusions include overly positive self-conceptions, an exaggerated perception of personal control, and an overly optimistic assessment of the future. (p. 1005)

Snyder et al. (2002) go on to say, "Having high hope means that a person may have a *slight* [italics added] positive self-referential bias, but *not an extreme* [italics added] illusion that is counterproductive" (p. 1007). Here, the qualifiers "slight," "not blatant," and "not extreme" are emphasized, whereas in the quotation of Taylor et al. (2000, pp. 102–103) presented earlier, no such qualifiers are used. There, Taylor et al. speak of "unrealistic optimism," not of "slightly unrealistic optimism." Moreover, Taylor and Brown (1988) spoke of "positive illusions" and "overly positive self-evaluations." Contrary to Snyder et al. (2002), Taylor and Brown referred to these as "substantial biases" (p. 200). On the other hand, Taylor herself has also spoken of a "situated optimism," one that stays within "reasonable bounds": "Optimism, even unrealistic optimism, is not unreasonably so" (Armor & Taylor, 1998, p. 349). There evidently is some equivocation about just how unrealistic "unrealistic optimism" is. For example, Sandra Schneider (2001), in seeking a conceptual basis for "realistic optimism," casts Taylor's optimism on the extreme or unrealistic end of the spectrum, whereas Baumeister's optimism

is characterized by her as occupying a "middle ground," owing to his call for "an optimal margin of illusion" (pp. 250–251). (To be sure, the question of just how much people distort reality positively, and the correlation between the degree of that distortion and optimal functioning, is, as Taylor and Brown demonstrate, an empirical one.)

Other positive psychologists have dealt with impending reality problems by going further: Those who have an optimistic bias are found not only to be realistic without qualification but also to have more wisdom. For example, Segerstrom said, "[Some say] optimists are naïve and vulnerable to disappointment when they come face to face with reality. My evidence suggests that optimists are not naïve; they are however, wiser in expending their energies" ("Psychologists Receive," 2002). In the *Handbook of Positive Psychology* (Snyder & Lopez et al., 2002), Lisa Aspinwall, who won a Templeton Positive Psychology Prize for her reformulation of optimism (Azar, 2000), said, "Happier and Wiser: Optimism and Positive Affect Promote Careful Realistic Thinking and Behavior" (p. 754), although she also acknowledged that not "all positive beliefs and states are salutary" (p. 754).

Even if it is indeed the case that an optimistic bias is pragmatically useful in coping with life, the psychological question remains: Why do positive psychologists work hard to convince that an optimistic bias and epistemological realism/objective knowing are not at odds? I have suggested two possible reasons, which may be summed up in this way: If positive illusions and optimistic bias are shown to be realistic in *all* senses – that is, they are not only *pragmatically useful* but are also objectively grounded – then reality problems owing to the double standard between *everyday* and scientific knowing are eliminated. So too is the contradiction of finding virtue (within the context of *everyday* knowing) both in having positive illusions and in having a reality orientation, because these then allegedly become one and the same. That is, if an optimistic bias is compatible (enough) with an objectivist epistemology, then any contradiction arising from the endorsement of objectivity in *everyday* knowing *and* the endorsement of a positive bias in *everyday* knowing can be said to be lessened, if not eliminated altogether.

Should Positive Psychology Adopt a (Quasi) Postmodern "Solution" to Its Reality Problems?

In an article entitled "In Search of Realistic Optimism: Meaning, Knowledge, and Warm Fuzziness," which appeared in the March 2001 section of the *American Psychologist* dedicated to positive psychology, Sandra Schneider took the bull of positive psychology's reality problems by the horns. To me, she sounds slightly postmodern, although I am quite certain that was not her intent. Her stated intent was to preserve the conceptual distinction between realistic and unrealistic optimism, and so, I think, to solve the reality problems I have

just set forth. I do not think she succeeds in her intended mission, however, because she challenges the idea of objectivity itself, at least implicitly, a challenge that undermines the scientific realism/objectivism of positive psychology. Of course, many postmodernists, especially radical social constructionists and constructivists, also challenge the idea of objectivity. But unlike Schneider and other positive psychologists, they reject all scientific realism and objectivity. Indeed, they happily dismiss even the possibility of objective knowledge of reality, often preferring a pragmatic standard of warrant (e.g., see Held, 1995, 1998, 2002a, 2002b).

Contrary to any such postmodern doctrine, Schneider (2001) commits herself to a form of realism both by affirming a conventional psychological science and by seeking a realistic form of optimism, an optimism that expressly incorporates attention to reality's constraints (which constraints are for her and others in the movement [e.g., Taylor, Aspinwall, Segerstrom], unlike for radical postmodernists/constructionists, presumably knowable with some objectivity). The latter she attempts by pleading the distinction between "fuzzy meaning," which "arises from interpretive latitude" (p. 252), and "fuzzy knowledge," which "arises from factual uncertainty or lack of information" (p. 253). But in defining realistic optimism, she conflates *epistemology* (which concerns the nature of knowledge and of knowing) with *ontology* (which concerns the nature of being or existence – of reality itself). Her conflation derives from insisting sometimes that *reality itself* is fuzzy (an ontological matter about existence), and at other times that *knowledge of reality* is fuzzy (an epistemological matter about knowing), or both. Regarding "fuzzy reality," she speaks of "the fuzzy nature of reality" (p. 251), "the fuzzy boundaries of reality" (p. 257), and of how "reality can be fuzzy" (p. 252). Regarding her conflation of "fuzzy reality" (ontology) with "fuzzy knowledge" (epistemology), she says that "reality is fuzzy in these instances [where we lack complete causal models] because of our uncertainty about the situation of interest" (p. 253). Notice here that it is our lack of *certainty/knowledge* (an epistemological matter) that literally *makes* reality itself fuzzy (an ontological matter).⁵ And she goes on to say, "One specific, objectively verifiable state of affairs may not exist and . . . even if it did [a (partly) ontological matter about existence], people might lack the necessary tools to become completely aware of it [an epistemological matter about knowing]" (p. 252).

Thus, Schneider makes her case for realistic optimism either by (a) eroding the concept of *reality itself* (p. 253), (b) diminishing our *cognitive access* to any existing reality (fuzzy or not), or (c) both of these maneuvers. In seeing reality itself as so fuzzy/in flux that we often cannot get (nonfuzzy) access to it (p. 252), Schneider seems to align herself somewhat with the much more extreme philosophy of postmodernists/constructionists, some of whom (e.g., Fishman, 1999, p. 130⁶) defend their epistemological antirealism (the doctrine that we can have no objective or knower-independent knowledge of reality whatsoever) on the basis of their ontological views. But to whatever extent she

leans in their direction, she also undermines the realism/objectivity necessary for the nonfuzzy knowledge (of nonfuzzy reality) that she uses to support her own truth/reality claims about the objective existence of a realistic form of optimism! Indeed, she subverts the objectivity of the modern/conventional psychological science claimed by positive psychologists to ground their movement (Held, 2002a).

To be fair, many postmodernists go much further than Schneider by seeming to eliminate all or much of reality's constraints in their quest for liberation and transcendence. The philosopher Charles Guignon (1998) summarized the appeal of such a radical constructionist/antirealist epistemology succinctly: "Part of the appeal, no doubt, lies in the exhilarating sense of freedom we get from thinking that there are no constraints on the stories we can create in composing our own lives. Now anything is possible, it seems" (p. 566). For example, constructionist therapist Michael Hoyt (1996) said, "The doors of therapeutic perception and possibility have been opened wide by the recognition that we are actively constructing our mental realities rather than simply uncovering or coping with an objective 'truth'" (p. 1) (for more quotations, see Held, 1995, 1998, 2002a).

Optimistic, anti objectivist claims like the one quoted just above are not incompatible with reasons given by Schneider for a realistic form of optimism. However, there is more direct evidence of a convergence between positive and postmodern psychologies. One exemplary indication of positive psychologists' inclination to incorporate the postmodern psychology movement into their own appears in the *Handbook of Positive Psychology* (Snyder & Lopez, 2002), which contains a chapter by constructivist movement leader Michael Mahoney (2002) entitled "Constructivism and Positive Psychology." There, Mahoney finds much in common between the two movements despite constructivism's explicit rejection of (and positive psychology's embrace of) the objectivist or realist epistemology of modern (psychological) science. The editor of the *Journal of Constructivist Psychology* was clear about this when he said, "Like SC [social constructionism], constructivism takes as its point of departure a rejection of 'objectivist' psychologies, with their commitment to a realist epistemology, correspondence theory of truth, unificationist philosophy of science" (Neimeyer, 1998, p. 141). And working it the other way around, postmodernists Steven Sandage and Peter Hill (2001) explicate the ways in which an "affirmative" brand of postmodernism can help the positive psychology movement make its alleged "constructive move beyond some of the limitations of modernist psychology" (p. 242). Whether positive psychologists stand ready to accept this postmodernist antiobjectivist "help" remains to be seen. What strange bedfellows they would make! And so it seems odd indeed that in the *Handbook* (Snyder & Lopez, 2002) we find a chapter by a leading proponent of postmodern antirealism but not by any humanistic psychologists, some of whose epistemologies would surely be more compatible with what positive psychologists propound (see Smith, 2003, p. 160) and to

whose tradition positive psychology owes a debt.⁷ Of course, Seligman (2002a, 2002b; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, 2001) did not criticize postmodern psychology as he did humanistic psychology. In any case, I do not foresee him reversing himself by reaching for the helping hand that humanistically inclined psychologists have held out to positive psychologists, whether in a dialogical spirit of holism, dialectic, integration, cooperation, inclusion, and rapprochement (e.g., Follette, Linnerooth, & Ruckstuhl, 2001; Rathunde, 2001; Resnick et al., 2001; Rich, 2001) or with a modicum of indignation (e.g., Taylor, 2001, pp. 26–27).

Positive Psychology's "Declaration of Independence": More Fragmentation for Psychology?

Prescriptions for psychology's unification in response to its alleged fragmentation problem abound (e.g., Henriques, 2003; Slife, 2000; Staats, 1999; Sternberg & Grigorenko, 2001; Wertz, 1999). Michael Katzko (2002) diagnoses psychology's fragmentation problem on two levels. On one level, science is viewed as a method of knowledge acquisition. Here, epistemic values prevail in the form of "implicit values concerning proper scientific conduct" (p. 263). One example he gives of an epistemic value is the current tendency among researchers to emphasize the uniqueness or distinctiveness of their findings, a tendency that, Katzko says, results in relabeling phenomena in novel terms and thus in an exaggerated sense of theoretical disorder or fragmentation. On the second level, science is viewed as a society in which theories function as "a process of group formation" (p. 267). Here, for instance, ideology and social cohesion – the power of the movement – supplant the epistemic value of (open-ended) inquiry. This is a social/political, not an epistemic, value, and Katzko likens its expression more to religion and war than to science (cf. Gist & Woodall, 1998). He calls those who adopt this social value "scientist-warriors" rather than the "archetype of the scientist-explorer" (p. 268) in search of truth (cf. Haack, 1996). Katzko (p. 269) suggests it is important to keep the two values distinct rather than hiding behind the epistemic value while enacting the social value.

Although Seligman pays at least lip service to what he calls "negative psychology" and there is no reason to deny the honest search for truth among the legions of "scientist-explorers" within the positive psychology movement, he nonetheless heads a movement with great determination. He and other spokespersons for the movement have worked hard to differentiate their movement not only from humanistic psychology but from the rest of psychology (and social science) as well. Recall the separatist, polarizing rhetoric of his chapter in Aspinwall and Staudinger's (2003a) edited book, where in the spirit of the dominant Message he defines positive psychology as a "discrete approach within the social sciences" (Seligman & Peterson, 2003, p. 305),

even as authors of other chapters broadcast their more dialogical, second-wave message of holism and integration. So it should come as no surprise that in their concluding chapter of the *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, editors Snyder and Lopez literally declared positive psychology's independence: The chapter is entitled "The Future of Positive Psychology: A Declaration of Independence" (Snyder & Lopez et al., 2002, p. 751). There they speak of "Breaking Away" (pp. 751, 753, 764) and refer to what used to be the discipline of psychology as either the "weakness model" or the "pathology model," in contrast to the "strength model" of positive psychology:

It is our view . . . that the first stage of a scientific movement – one that we would characterize as a declaration of independence from the pathology model – has been completed. The broader field now realizes that the positive psychology perspective exists. This handbook, which is built on our belief that a vital science and practice of positive psychology should grow alongside the science and practice of the pathology model, is yet another marker of this declaration of independence. (p. 752)

The chapters themselves may contain nuance – for example, in their chapter, Niederhoffer and Pennebaker (2002) say, "It is somewhat ironic that the writing [about traumatic experiences] paradigm is discussed as a feature of positive psychology. . . . Our paradigm encourages participants to dwell on the misery in their lives. We are essentially bringing inhibited or secret negative emotions to the forefront" (p. 581). But one would never glean this (dialectical) nuance from the editors' rhetoric, which supports the dominant Message to which Niederhoffer and Pennebaker themselves seem to respond. Smith (2003) responded to the movement's rhetoric of polarization more directly in his review of the *Handbook*:

Spokespersons for the movement naturally exaggerate its novelty. I think that advocates of primary prevention of mental illness had quite similar overlapping objectives in view, although their focus on mental illness sets off alarm bells to the more doctrinaire advocates of positive psychology. And here I have trouble with the way the latter polarize the contrast between their positive model and what they call the pathological, weakness medical model or ideology. . . . The repeated reference to the pathological, medical ideology in this handbook strikes me as evidence that the advocacy of some [of] the positive psychologists is more ideological than rational. (p. 162)

The rhetoric of some of positive psychology's spokespersons sounds to me like what we might well hear from Katzko's (2002) "scientist-warrior": "A movement is defined by appropriating sets of beliefs as its exclusive domain" (p. 267), in which the staking and defending of territory rather than the search for similar meanings or "descriptive generalization" obtains (pp. 266, 268). Recall that so-called negative psychology and the weakness/pathology model did not exist *as such* until Seligman, in a bold act of social construction, so

labeled and separated a large segment of the field. This zealotry of some spokespersons for the movement may in part account for what some perceive as the movement's excessive or tyrannical aspects, especially its polarizing negativity about negativity and about all that went before (see Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003b; Bohart & Greening, 2001; Carstensen & Charles, 2003; Held, 2002a; Smith, 2003; Taylor, 2001).

Meaning 3: The Wisdom of William James

In *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, William James (1902) devoted two lectures to "The Religion of Healthy-Mindedness." This religion is surely one forerunner of the positive psychology movement and, in my view, of the "tyranny of the positive attitude" in general, which may be a side effect of both culturewide and professional negativity about negativity, or Negativity Type 1 (Held, 2002a). These two lectures are followed by two lectures on "The Sick Soul." Near the end of the second of these two lectures, James struggles with a difficult question:

We can see how great an antagonism may naturally arise between the healthy-minded way of viewing life and the way that takes all this experience of evil as something essential. To this latter way, the morbid-minded way, as we might call it, healthy-mindedness pure and simple seems unspeakably blind and shallow. To the healthy-minded way, on the other hand, the way of the sick soul seems unmanly and diseased. . . . What are we to say of this quarrel? It seems to me that we are bound to say that morbid-mindedness ranges over the wider scale of experience, and that its survey is the one that overlaps. The method of averting one's attention from evil, and living simply in the light of good is splendid as long as it will work. It will work with many persons; it will work far more generally than most of us are ready to suppose; and within the sphere of its successful operation there is nothing to be said against it as a religious solution. But it breaks down impotently as soon as melancholy comes; and even though one be quite free from melancholy one's self, there is no doubt that healthy-mindedness is inadequate as a philosophical doctrine, because the evil facts which it refuses positively to account for are a genuine portion of reality; and they may after all be the best key to life's significance, and possibly the only openers of our eyes to the deepest levels of truth. (pp. 162–163)

Positive psychologists might claim they do not deny "evil facts" of any sort, that they indeed look reality right in the eye when, for example, they strive to find "meaning in bereavement." This meaning is alleged to be all the more virtuous, owing to the link between finding meaning (in adversity) and longevity (Taylor et al., 2000, p. 106). Positive psychologists might therefore agree that the unexamined life is not worth living, not least because it may mean a shorter life, if not a meaningless one. But if they face the negative rather than

deny it with "positive illusions," as they now claim to do when they redefine their optimism as actually being quite realistic (Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003b; Snyder et al., 2002; Snyder & Lopez et al., 2002), or when, in the emerging nondominant second-wave message, some embrace the potential for coping, health, and growth to be found in negative experiences (e.g., Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003b; Carstensen & Charles, 2003; King, 2001; Larsen et al., 2003; Ryff & Singer, 2003), then how (we may ask) are positive psychologists different from the negative psychologists from whom spokespersons for the positive psychology movement openly declare their independence? After all, when so-called negative psychologists study what is wrong with us, they do so in the positive hope of better living too. Whether negative psychology as construed by Seligman consists in (a) studying what is wrong with us or (b) finding virtue in the experience and expression of the negatives of life, if at least some positive psychologists have begun to advocate its inclusion in positive psychology, as I hope to have demonstrated, then perhaps those who disseminate this second-wave message are neither positive psychologists nor negative psychologists, but rather positive negative-psychologists or negative positive-psychologists. In either case, why not just call them psychologists? As Smith (2003) concluded about the movement, "Its success should result in its demise: Psychology in good balance would not need advocates for positive psychology" (p. 162).

William James found virtue in negative experience, as does his interpreter Jeffrey Rubin (2000), especially in discussing James's "Three Principles That Provide an Alternative to Pathologizing" (p. 209) and his "Three Principles That Can Be Used When Pathology Terms Are Employed by Others so That the Negative Effects Associated With Their Usage Can Be Reduced" (p. 213). Of most relevance is Principle 2 of the latter: "When pathology terms are employed by others, argue against the simplistic notion that experiences assigned a pathological label by the pathologizers are really 'bad' experiences" (p. 215). Here Rubin describes the "valued fruits" that James found in what was taken to be negative or pathological. Rubin's advice can be applied not only to Seligman's term *negative psychology* and to his tendency to pathologize negative experiences in general, but also to my own term *the negative side of positive psychology*. Accordingly, I can now find in the movement's second-wave message a third and more positive meaning of positive psychology's "negative side" – namely, the open acknowledgement and appreciation of the negative side of human existence/nature, a side that has heretofore been denied or dismissed by promoters of the movement's dominant Message. In this we have the inclusive, integrative, dialectical approach many psychologists have advocated since William James. And so this newer message gives me hope, including the hope that positive psychology will eventually acknowledge its debt to humanistic psychology (among other traditions) without equivocation, just as some positive psychologists now advocate the incorporation of negative human emotion and thought in the movement's science.

But if our field must remain divided along positive and negative lines, I prefer (apropos of James) to cast my lot with the negative psychologists. After all, Shakespeare's tragedies are no lesser plays than are his comedies, and his nuanced understanding of human nature, with all its seeming contradiction, has hardly gone uncredited.⁸ Making lemonade out of life's many lemons is certainly one way to make life meaningful, but it is surely not the only way.

Notes

1. I am not claiming that the ideas expressed in Aspinwall and Staudinger's (2003a) edited book did not exist prior to their publication there, but rather that in virtue of their collection in this volume they have attained a critical rhetorical mass, one that rises to the level of a discernable message from some "faction" within the movement.
2. Sheldon and King (2001) seem to think that the focus on problems/negativity they find in conventional psychology results from "psychology's reductionist epistemological traditions, which train one to view positivity with suspicion, as a product of wishful thinking, denial, or hucksterism" (p. 216). They fail to see that reductionism favors neither positivity nor negativity, but rather (at least in its conventional meaning) the search for fundamental components/causes, which are often believed to be (molecular) biological or even particle physical. That is, the doctrine of reductionism is independent of any wish to emphasize human strengths or weaknesses. Moreover, they imply that positive psychology breaks out of psychology's "reductionist epistemological traditions," in virtue of studying strengths. But as Eugene Taylor (2001) argued, positivism (which he says underlies "the reductionistic epistemology of modern experimental science") is one of "Seligman's three meanings" of the word *positive* and constitutes a standard "Seligman invokes . . . regularly" (p. 15).
3. See Held (2002a, pp. 970–971) for more discussion of potential unintended consequences of positive psychology.
4. See Pols (1998) and Held (2002b) for discussion of how a type of self-reflection, that is, an inward agentic turn in the act of knowing, can help justify the human capacity for objective knowledge.
5. Schneider (2001) could defend this by claiming that our *knowledge* of reality (e.g., our discourse) determines or affects the reality we ultimately *get* (see Held, 1998), but she does not make this social constructionist argument.
6. As Fishman (1999) says about the pragmatic philosophy he propounds,

Philosophical pragmatism is founded upon a social constructionist theory of knowledge. The world that exists independently of our minds is an unlimited complex of change and novelty, order and disorder. To understand and cope with the world, we take on different conceptual perspectives, as we might put on different pairs of glasses, with each providing us a different perspective on the world. The pragmatic "truth" of a particular perspective does not lie in its correspondence to "objective reality," since that reality is continuously in flux. Rather, the pragmatic truth of a particular perspective lies in the usefulness of the perspective in helping us to cope and solve particular problems and achieve particular goals in today's world. (p. 130)

7. Apropos of this, in the issue of *JHP* devoted to positive psychology, there are articles by Laura King; by Kennon Sheldon, who like King won a Templeton Positive Psychology Prize and who with King coedited a section of the *American Psychologist* entitled "Why

Positive Psychology Is Necessary" (Sheldon & King, 2001); and by Kevin Rathunde (2001), who "remains active in the positive psychology research network" (p. 135). Yet to my knowledge there are no chapters or articles by humanistic psychologists (writing *as such*) either in edited books about positive psychology or in special issues of the *American Psychologist* devoted to positive psychology.

8. According to literary critic William Watterson (personal communication, July 17, 2002), Shakespeare's comedies differ from his tragedies not by way of character but by way of generic principles governing closure: The tragedies end with destruction, disintegration, and death for the protagonist, whereas the comedies end with wealth, marriage, and living happily ever after.

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The Psychological Influences on Coaching and Mentoring

Bob Garvey

In this book so far the issue of discourse has been a regular theme. There are many discourses in coaching and mentoring and one which deserves a chapter in its own right is the psychological debate.

As outlined in previous chapters, many people lay claims to coaching and this seems to be allied to the human need for control. In my view this yet again raises questions about the motivations of those who seek to claim (mainly) coaching and (to a lesser extent) mentoring as their own. This chapter will examine the various discourses within the psychology world.

What Is the Psychology of Coaching Discourse?

The coaching literature seems to be far more concerned with psychology than the mentoring literature does and the discourse is very different to that found in the mentoring literature. Within the coaching psychology discourse in general there is a more strident debate that is perhaps more about positioning theory than building it.

As raised in Chapter 4, there are pressures placed on people in the workplace to acquire and develop an array of personal and interpersonal skills. In a powerful article, Arnaud (2003) makes a link between the sporting philosophies found within the business sector that are based on a competitiveness

which is 'more bitter, individualistic and prevalent in the workplace now than ever before' (p. 1132). He goes on to say that the increased pressure to perform boosts the drivers for individual employability because poor job security then promotes a need for 'personalized counselling, both on the part of those most directly concerned . . . and on the part of the heads of organizations and top executives' (p. 1132). For Arnaud, this explains the rise of coaching with a psychological dimension and these approaches range from 'post-Rogerian techniques to clinical approaches' (p. 1132). In order to live, work and function in the modern capitalist world there are huge pressures on people that are very likely to have a psychological impact.

Many definitions and descriptions previously raised in this book place coaching in the domain of behaviouristic and humanistic psychology. Stober (2006) agrees that the philosophical foundation for coaching is within the discipline of humanistic psychology and suggests that change and human development are central concepts to its practice. A simple look at the sheer variety of models of coaching that are in the marketplace (see Garvey et al., 2009) suggests that many of the approaches to coaching – such as the person-centred approach, Gestalt, existentialism, and psychotherapy – all have their roots in this humanistic perspective. In *The Complete Handbook of Coaching* (Cox et al., 2010) of 29 chapters 14 are directly linked to various psychological and therapy based underpinnings. In fact the publishers classify the book under their psychology series. Garvey et al. (2009) suggest that these approaches or models of coaching are presented to the market as branded products.

The psychodynamic perspective largely stems from classic Freudian psychoanalysis which includes perspectives on individual experiences and unconscious mental processes. These may involve the mechanisms which impede or facilitate performance, a willingness to change and to learn. Within the coaching literature these issues tend to be presented non-pathologically or as attitudes, emotions and behaviours which create only mildly dysfunctional behaviour. These may include: dependency, defensiveness, aggression, attitudes towards authority figures and power, fight or flight, escapism, denial, passivity, sense of responsibility and commitment, assumptions, acceptance, control, security and insecurity, conflict, avoidance, confidence, anxiety and stress, projective identification, transference and counter-transference.

This illustrative list probably represents the most common issues discussed between coach and coachee in practice.

Another element of humanistic psychology is the concept and practice of positive psychology within coaching. There seems to be a closer integration of this element of psychology with coaching than other psychological ideas and the field appears to be growing. The linkage, according to Linley and Harrington (2005: 15), probably first appeared in 'Martin Seligman's 1998 Presidential Address to the American Psychological Association' and in the UK 'The Psychologist (Linley, Joseph & Boniwell, 2003) was devoted to the topic, and

the First European Positive Psychology Conference was held in Winchester in June 2002'. Linley and Harrington suggest that there are three clear links:

1. Positive psychology is concerned with performance enhancement.
2. It focuses, as its name suggests, on the positive side of human nature and locates this within the socially constructed arena – the environment is important.
3. It is interested in the notion of 'human strength'.

In general term, positive psychology has an interest in the following areas:

- Happiness;
- The good life – self-efficacy, personal effectiveness;
- Flow – intense concentration and awareness;
- Mindfulness – focusing on the immediate experience or being in the moment;
- The meaningful life – optimism, self talk, spirituality;
- Good work;
- Strengths and virtues – wisdom and knowledge; courage; humanity; justice; temperance; transcendence.

While there is much to admire in this philosophy, there are weaknesses in this approach that are potentially harmful. Of course, positive psychologists are likely to say that positive psychology is not the same as positive thinking (mmmm – not sure about that) but the real danger here is that people may start to feel that when bad things happen to them it is their own fault because they were not thinking positively enough! Also, there may be a risk that by focusing so much on the positive an individual may not address their problems and slip into denial. These are dangerous thoughts indeed!

This is exactly the point made in *Smile or Die: How Positive Thinking Fooled America and the World*, by Barbara Ehrenreich (2009). In this we hear how the positive approach taken by the health practitioners who surrounded her following her diagnosis of breast cancer was relentless in encouraging her to embrace the disease positively because it would aid recovery. There are many other claims in scientific journals that positive thinking is helpful to the biology of people (see, for example, Bandura, 1977; Fredrickson et al., 2000).

Many advocates of positive psychology also claim a scientific basis for their approach, particularly in coaching psychology. Biswas-Diener and Dean (2007), for example, clearly state that positive psychology is a science and support this with the comment that the research on the topic is published in 'high quality academic journals' (p. viii). There is no doubt that there is a large body of 'evidence' which suggests that there may be something in this, but as a biochemist herself Ehrenreich states:

My response when confronted with the 'positive attitude will help you battle and survive this experience' brigade was to rail against the use of militaristic vocabulary and ask how miserable the optimism of the 'survivor' would make the poor woman who was dying from her breast cancer. It seemed to me that an 'invasion' of cancer cells was a pure lottery. No one knows the cause. (Murray, 2010)

She goes on to suggest that America in general suffers from the delusion that *'all is for the best in the best possible worlds'* and this is potentially damaging. This is perhaps similar to the experienced doctor in Chapter 4 who felt inadequate when faced with more training. The best of intentions can be interpreted in several ways and positive psychology is not without its critics. So where does that leave the free choice to be what one wants to be? The *'because it's good for you'* argument strikes me as patronising and too simplistic here!

Held (2004: 12) seems to support my view when she challenges what she calls the *'dominant, polarizing Message: Positivity is good and good for you; negativity is bad and bad for you'*. She suggests that there is dominant discourse within the positive psychology movement that is divisive and polarising. She adds: *'The tyranny of the positive attitude lies in its adding insult to injury: If people feel bad about life's many difficulties and they cannot manage to transcend their pain no matter how hard they try (to learn optimism), they could end up feeling even worse; they could feel guilty or defective for not having the right (positive) attitude, in addition to whatever was ailing them in the first place'*.

Ehrenreich supports this position from her lived experience and noted there was no evidence that positive thinking did improve survival rates among cancer patients. What there are, however, are improved diagnosis and detection, better surgical techniques, an improved understanding of treatments and an improved targeting of these treatments and she argues that this is what makes the difference: positive thinking simply created for her *'an additional burden to an already devastated patient'* (Murray, 2010). I can see her point! It seems to me that positive thinking is normal, but then again so is negative thinking – it is what makes us human and, as discussed in Chapter 1, 'truth' and the evidence to support 'truthfulness' are often a matter of philosophical preference.

To return to the concept of alethic pluralism first raised in Chapter 1, as a scientist Ehrenreich looked for evidence that positive thinking improved survival rates for cancer sufferers. Her search for evidence seems to me to be based in both the Correspondence and Pragmatism versions of truth and these led to her rejection of the positive thinking philosophy. However, from a Coherence perspective, the arguments still did not make sense to her and she also rejected the Consensus position as *'mass delusion'*. My comment above that there is plenty of evidence links with the supporters of positive coaching psychology in a Consensus view of truth – so I'm at it as well!

On the plus side she states that she does not *'write in a spirit of sourness or personal disappointment, nor do I have any romantic attachment to suffering*

as a source of insight or virtue. On the contrary, I would like to see more smiles, more laughter, more hugs, more happiness . . . and the first step is to recover from the mass delusion that is positive thinking' (Murray, 2010). Perhaps in my language Position 3 thinking (see Chapter 3) offers a way forward.

Another discourse found in Grant's (2007) work is the question of whether coaching is merely a more socially acceptable form of therapy. This seems particularly important in an organisational context in which competitive pressure can create an environment where the confession of any form of psychological or internal conflict may be perceived as a weakness. Grant and Palmer (2002: 2), two big and well-respected names in coaching psychology, offer *'coaching psychology is for enhancing performance in work and personal life domains with normal, non-clinical populations, underpinned by models of coaching grounded in established therapeutic approaches'*.

Grant and Palmer are clearly unequivocal about the therapeutic grounding necessary for the coaching psychologist. Like other disciplines psychology has many branches, and to be fair they do not seem to make any judgement in this definitional statement that without a grounding in therapy coaching does not exist – they seem particularly careful to use the term *'coaching psychology'*. This adds clarity on their position that coaching psychology is one specific version.

It is also interesting that Grant and Palmer evoke the 'performance discourse' in their definition – perhaps as an attempt to match with the performance discourse which dominates management (see Chapter 5) or possibly the 'performative' dominated approach to learning and knowledge development as outlined in Chapter 1. Thus, potentially, in order to 'fit in' with a particular client base? However, it is interesting that Parsloe and Wray (2000) differentiate coaching from therapy when they assert that coaching is an action taking, results and performance-oriented process that produces and sustains change over time. This sounds like a Pragmatists' perspective aimed at appealing to the rational pragmatic manager. This view also contradicts Grant and Palmer's position and I may be naive but therapists might surely claim the same thing as Parsloe and Wray suggest? Allied to this is another discourse, articulated by Whitmore (1997), which suggests that coaching is proactive and therapy is reactive – another curious generalisation given that some therapeutic approaches (for example, cognitive behavioural therapy and rational emotive behavioural therapy) are quite proactive in approach. In addition Carroll (2003) suggests that counselling is a remedial activity, with Parsloe and Wray (2000) pointing out that therapy is grounded in extensive theory and therefore they would indicate that coaching is not about therapy. Are they saying that coaching is not grounded in theory and thus supporting Brunner's (1998: 516) position that coaching is *'a domain devoid of any fixed deontology'*?

A more plausible distinction from Grant (2001: 5) that supports Carroll (2003) suggests that coaching is essentially for a 'normal population' whereas counselling, *'regardless of differences in techniques and philosophies between*

psychotherapeutic schools, clinical psychotherapy per se is primarily remedial and concerned with repairing or curing dysfunctionality’.

Thus, perhaps therapy is for the dysfunctional with a ‘healing’ or ‘remedial’ agenda and coaching psychology is for the ‘worried well’! This may suit the coaching discourse which asserts very strongly that coaching is not remedial, despite it being used as such in a range of organisations (Berglas, 2002). However, Foucault (2006) argues very forcibly that mental health is a social construction and not a scientific fact! Society decides what is ‘normal’ and what is ‘deviant’ and this may vary from context to context.

There is another interesting discourse, in three parts, in the psychology of coaching world:

1. ‘There is not much empirical research on coaching!’ (Evers et al., 2006; Grant, 2003; Kampa-Kokesch & Anderson, 2001).
2. ‘There are academic papers on the subject!’ (Biswas-Diener & Dean, 2007; Law et al., 2007).
3. ‘A stronger research base is needed.’ (Cox & Ledgerwood, 2003).

I do this as well I must confess. (Garvey et al., 2009) with the notion of coaching in general rather than specifically linked to coaching psychology. There is a question here about what sort of research. Psychology has traditionally endorsed positivistic research – *‘most of modern psychology in the 20th century was devoted to the creation of this scientific foundation with its emphasis on mathematically testable hypotheses, reliable and valid controlled studies, clearly defined measures, and findings that can be challenged by colleagues who could repeat the reported experiments’* (Kilburg, 2004: 205).

I think herein lies a problem. Without getting into an analysis of all publications in psychological research for the last 100 years, it is clear that the results from the main body of psychological research are largely inconclusive, variable and mixed. Comparisons between various therapies and treatments have produced a zero result for the efficacy of one approach over the other (Wampold et al., 1997: 203) and yet the research continues in the same vein as research psychologists seek proof (Gotham, 2004) that one particular approach is superior to another! Kilburg (2004: 207) sums this position up very well – *‘I find it somewhat ironic, intellectually puzzling, and paradoxically reassuring that after a century of trying to specify the effectiveness of psychotherapy, the field now finds itself dealing with the major empirical conclusion that the differences between approaches would appear to be nil but nevertheless positive for patients across problem conditions’*. This does not mean that either the research or the intervention is wrong or does not work, but it does suggest that the common element is that human beings like to engage with each other, talk to each other, and help each other, and generally we find this therapeutic and beneficial. So what’s wrong with that?

For me, there seems a familiar chime within the coaching psychology world on research. I have recently examined three coaching PhD theses from

three different countries, all of which were positivistic studies from psychology departments and all of which had inconclusive conclusions that called for further research! Last year, I also examined a thesis on mentoring conducted in the same way with the same conclusion! So psychotherapy works and so does coaching and I really do think that they do – but not necessarily all the time and who decides what ‘works’ actually means?

Probably because of the increase in academic qualifications for coaches delivered by universities or accredited by universities, there is a growing body of research of varying quality beginning to emerge and this work is finding its way into coaching-based journals, general management journals, psychology journals, and books. It is, however, interesting that these new discourses are more forthcoming from the psychology of coaching world than from anywhere else.

To speculate for a moment, this may be because psychology is a recognised academic discipline and therefore a research base is necessary. It may also be an attempt to strengthen and differentiate the coaching psychology brand in a crowded marketplace. The dominant discourse of positivism as the only scientific way of proceeding is deeply embedded in this context and perhaps psychologists and coaching psychologists are stuck in a repetitive narrative.

I predict that in the next five years there will be a plethora of positivistic research of varying quality in the coaching and coaching psychology world and all of it will not be fully proven and inconclusive or at least open to critical debate and disagreement.

So where does that leave coaching education?

Berglas (2002: 89) thinks that a knowledge of psychology is necessary in coaching and asserts that only trained therapists should coach. However, his position seems split when he states:

My misgivings about executive coaching are not a clarion call for psychotherapy and psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysis, in particular, does not – and will never – suit everybody. Nor is it up to corporate leaders to ensure that all employees deal with their personal demons. My goal, as somebody with a doctorate in psychology as well as serving as an executive coach, is to heighten awareness of the difference between a problem executive, who can be trained to function effectively, and an executive with a problem who can best be helped by psychotherapy. . .’

So what does Berglas mean here? Is coaching informed by psychology or not? Should it be? Do we need ‘personal demons’ to benefit from it? Is he emphasising that having a doctorate strengthens his position and provides credibility?

Lee (2003) offers some help when he refers to ‘psychological mindedness’ as an important element of a coach’s practice. Bluckert (2006: 87) describes this as ‘people’s capacity to reflect on themselves, others, and the relationship in between’ and argues that this is best done with an understanding and awareness of psychological processes.

Dean and Meyer (2002: 12) are much more assertive in their statement that psychological training '*will assure that the coach has the basic knowledge and clinical skills needed to accomplish the objectives and goals*'.

On the other side of this debate Filipczak (1998: 203) believes that psychological training for coaches is '*potentially harmful*'. This is mainly because a psychologist may not have any understanding of the business environment and could have a tendency to see a business '*as another dysfunctional family that needs to be fixed*' (1998: 34) – a similar issue to the positive psychology debate, or if you '*only have a hammer everything looks like a nail*'! (This saying is attributed to Abraham Maslow but I cannot find any direct written reference.)

There is also the issue of fees. Bono et al. (2009) show that psychologists who coach charge higher fees than 'ordinary coaches' and receive up to 50% of their income from coaching. This seems to suggest that there are also commercial interests here as psychologists may see a way to increase their earning potential if they move into coaching: the calls for psychological training from psychologists may be protectionist in nature – another power play from a partisan group?

What Is the Psychology of Mentoring Discourse?

The psychological training and discourses coming from the psychology world are more muted within the mentoring literature. This is not to say that mentoring does not draw from psychology to help frame itself and create a body of knowledge. Within the mentoring discourse, psychological frameworks are often employed as part of theory building.

As first raised in Chapter 1, Kram stated that mentoring performs a 'psychosocial function' (1983: 616). This suggests that it offers both a socialising process within a specific social context and it develops selfinsight and psychological wellbeing. Kram and other US researchers, for example, Belle Rose Ragins, Terri Scanudra, Monica Higgins and Dawn Chandler, often examined the learning and development elements within mentoring, as have Alred et al. (1998), Johnson et al. (1999) and Moberg and Velasquez (2004).

Beech and Brockbank (1999) employ ideas drawn from psychosocial dynamics to look at issues of power within mentoring relationships. Aryree and Chay (1994) examine issues of commitment and career satisfaction within mentoring while McAuley (2003) employs the psychodynamic notion of transference and countertransference within mentoring relationships and presents these as issues of power dynamics within the relationship. Morgan and Davidson (2008) and Erdem and Aytemur (2008) look at various other issues that relate to relationship dynamics, for example trust and gender issues. Turban and Dougherty (1994) employ the concept of personality types within mentoring and Emmerik (2008) looks at the issue performance with

mentoring. Colley (2002) emphasises emotional support for mentees as a challenge for mentors who are engaged in and challenged by the emotional labour of mentoring. Several writers, for example Levinson et al. (1978), Ragins and Scandura (1994), Johnson et al. (1999), Moberg and Velasquez (2004), link mentoring activity to the psychological concept of 'generativity' (Erikson, 1978).

These are just a few examples of where mentoring employs psychological underpinning to build theory and explain this. For me, this places mentoring primarily within the developmental psychology domain and not within the domain that preoccupies the coaching literature – the psychotherapeutic.

Also, within the mentoring literature, a research base is more established. Much of this is US research – largely survey-based and positivistic studies. However, there are also many case studies and consultant-led studies that add to the overall discourse about mentoring. This provides a rich picture of mentoring activity and while, as outlined in previous chapters, mentoring activity is not without its challenges – for example, power issues, manipulation, dysfunctional and abusive behaviour and ethical issues – the concerns about psychological training for mentors are not present. Perhaps this is because mentoring are often positioned as voluntary, often without fees being involved, and allegedly altruistic as raised in Chapters 3 and 4.

Bringing Things Together

Within the domains of coaching and mentoring, the psychological concepts of meaning and sense making are central and this is what unites them. However, the psychology world has built its foundation on a positivistic, cause and effect philosophy that in my opinion is based on a medical model of research. Here is the problem; three major issues in this model of research govern its operation:

1. The researcher is neutral and objective.
2. It is important to isolate variables in order to know what you are testing.
3. Coaching, mentoring and psychotherapy are not static, they are dynamic processes and change occurs all the time.

With human activity, Skolimowski (1992: 42) sums up my position very well when he considers that objectivity in human affairs is '*a figment of our minds; it does not exist in nature*'. The second point creates huge problems in mentoring, coaching and psychological research. In many ways, isolating variables in human activity is virtually impossible and often this is fudged through the introduction of control group studies and clever statistical calculations – it is this that leads to inconclusive conclusions. The fact that human relationships are dynamic also creates a problem because positivism tends towards treating

human relationships as static and therefore the results often become a fixed point in time rather than a narrative for change.

Bruner (1990: 32), a psychologist himself, challenges the psychology world about its underpinning philosophy:

Psychology . . . deals only in objective truths and eschews cultural criticism. But even scientific psychology will fare better when it recognises that its truths about the human condition are relative to the point of view that it takes toward that condition.

He also states (1990: 33) that 'meaning' is a central notion within human psychology and suggests that *'we shall be able to interpret meanings and meaning-making in a principled manner only in the degree to which we are able to specify the structure and coherence of the larger contexts in which specific meanings are created and transmitted'* (1990: 64). We are social beings and the social environments we inhabit therefore influence our identity, attitudes, thoughts, feelings and behaviours. In other words, it is only possible to make any sense of the human condition if we take into account the context in which the individual or group is located: thus controlling the human dynamic variable is not possible.

Bruner (1996: 39) goes further in a later work when he states *'there appear to be two broad ways in which human beings organize and manage their knowledge of the world, indeed structure even their immediate experience: one seems more specialized for treating of physical "things" the other for treating of people and their plights. They are conventionally thought of as logical-scientific thinking and narrative thinking'*.

This is a clear acknowledgement that there cannot be only one-way and Bruner's two organising concepts are of equal significance and need to be taken into account when observing and interpreting human behaviour. Bruner (1990: 33) bases his assertion upon two linked arguments. Namely, that to understand people it is important to understand how their experiences and actions are shaped by their *'intentional states'* and that the form these take is realised through the *'participation in the symbolic systems of the culture'*. He states that it is the surrounding culture and external environment, and not biological factors, which shape the human life and mind. They do this by imposing the patterns inherent in the culture's symbolic systems *'its language and discourse modes, the forms of logical and narrative explication, and the patterns of mutually dependent communal life'*. Therefore, in any investigation into coaching and mentoring – social processes in themselves – it is crucial to interpret language, symbols and myths in the context of the environment in which they applied. If this is the case, the human understanding of universal 'truth' is challenged and the concept of alethic pluralism raised in Chapters 1 and 2 and discussed throughout starts to offer a way forward.

In practical terms alethic pluralism can inform the development of competencies, approaches to the education of coaches and mentors, evaluation

and research. For example, within the competency and educational arenas for coach and mentor development this could translate into a *'repertoire'* (Garvey et al., 2009) approach. This would mean that coaches and mentors would need more than one framework to work with and as suggested in Chapter 1 both coaching and mentoring draw on many subject disciplines and no one has a monopoly on good or best practice. Therefore to be psychologically minded seems appropriate as one element of coach/mentor development. Other disciplines (see Chapter 1) apart from psychology can contribute to avoid a *'one size fits all'* approach or a dominating discourse and, more importantly, this will enable the coachee or mentee to benefit from a tailored approach that is able to meet his or her needs. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, this alternative position remains a sadly weak discourse as the coaching and to some extent the mentoring worlds seem to want to differentiate position and brand.

In sum, with reference to psychology, within the coaching discourse there continues to be more positioning and differentiating going on than within the mentoring discourse where psychology is generally used to help build theory within a developmental discourse. This serves to further illustrate a social phenomenon raised in Chapters 1 and 3 that none of these discourses is neutral and by seeking to differentiate here – often by elevating one position and denigrating another – the diversity perspective is driven out to the detriment of mentoring and coaching practice.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF COACHING AND MENTORING

VOLUME VI

*Coaching and Mentoring Relationships,
Learning and Development*

Edited by
Bob Garvey



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Volume VI: Coaching and Mentoring Relationships, Learning and Development

Part 1: Mentoring

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 108. Dysfunctional Mentoring Relationships and Outcomes
<i>Terri A. Scandura</i> | 3 |
| 109. Reconceptualizing Mentoring at Work: A Developmental
Network Perspective
<i>Monica C. Higgins and Kathy E. Kram</i> | 25 |
| 110. Learning to Produce Knowledge – The Contribution of Mentoring
<i>Geof Alred and Bob Garvey</i> | 63 |
| 111. An Examination of the Role of Age in Mentoring Relationships
<i>Lisa M. Finkelstein, Tammy D. Allen and Laura A. Rhoton</i> | 77 |
| 112. Not All Relationships Are Created Equal: Critical Factors of
High-Quality Mentoring Relationships
<i>Troy R. Nielson and Regina J. Eisenbach</i> | 107 |
| 113. The Impact of Learning Goal Orientation Similarity on Formal
Mentoring Relationship Outcomes
<i>Toby Marshall Egan</i> | 127 |
| 114. The Role of Interpersonal Comfort in Mentoring Relationships
<i>Tammy D. Allen, Rachel Day and Elizabeth Lentz</i> | 141 |
| 115. Protégés' Learning in Mentoring Relationships: A Review of the
Literature and an Exploratory Case Study
<i>Sarah A. Hezlett</i> | 155 |
| 116. Mentoring for Transformative Learning: The Importance of
Relationship in Creating Learning Communities of Care
<i>Nancy L. Southern</i> | 177 |
| 117. "It's Not What I Expected": A Qualitative Study of Youth
Mentoring Relationship Failures
<i>Renée Spencer</i> | 187 |
| 118. It Is Not Only Mentoring: The Combined Influences of Individual-
level and Team-level Support on Job Performance
<i>I.J. Hetty van Emmerik</i> | 209 |
| 119. Trust as a Moderator of the Relationship between Mentoring and
Knowledge Transfer
<i>Michelle M. Fleig-Palmer and F. David Schoorman</i> | 231 |
| 120. A Review of Developmental Networks: Incorporating a Mutuality
Perspective
<i>Shoshana R. Dobrow, Dawn E. Chandler, Wendy M. Murphy
and Kathy E. Kram</i> | 249 |

Part 2: Coaching

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 121. The Coaching Network: A Program for Individual and Organizational Development
<i>Jennifer Bowerman and Gordon Collins</i> | 289 |
| 122. Facilitating Management Learning: Developing Critical Reflection through Reflective Tools
<i>David E. Gray</i> | 299 |
| 123. Coaching: A Process of Personal and Social Meaning Making
<i>Reinhard Stelter</i> | 321 |
| 124. I Doubt Therefore I Coach: Critical Moments in Coaching Practice
<i>Erik de Haan</i> | 335 |
| 125. I Struggle and Emerge: Critical Moments of Experienced Coaches
<i>Erik de Haan</i> | 353 |
| 126. Which Characteristics of a Reciprocal Peer Coaching Context Affect Teacher Learning as Perceived by Teachers and Their Students?
<i>Rosanne C. Zwart, Theo Wubbels, Theo Bergen and Sanneke Bolhuis</i> | 385 |
| 127. Optimizing the Learning in Action Learning: Reflective Questions, Levels of Learning, and Coaching
<i>Francesco Sofo, Roland K. Yeo and Jacqueline Villafañe</i> | 411 |
| 128. Organizational Investments in Social Capital, Managerial Coaching, and Employee Work-related Performance
<i>Andrea D. Ellinger, Alexander E. Ellinger, Daniel G. Bachrach, Yu-Lin Wang and Ays Banu Elmadağ Baş</i> | 429 |
| 129. Towards Co-constructed Coaching: Exploring the Integration of Coaching and Co-constructed Autoethnography in Leadership Development
<i>Steve Kempster and Marian Iszatt-White</i> | 451 |

Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 130. Conversational Learning
<i>Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson</i> | 475 |
|--|-----|

Part 1: Mentoring

Dysfunctional Mentoring Relationships and Outcomes

Terri A. Scandura

Mentoring has been discussed in the popular management literature for over two decades. The term “mentor” as it is currently used in the management literature refers to a more senior person who takes an interest in sponsorship of the career of a more junior person (Kram, 1985). Career success of individuals has been often attributed to having a mentor (Collins & Scott, 1978; Roche, 1979; Willbur, 1987). Hundreds of books and articles have been written on mentoring, most of them describing the benefits of mentoring to proteges, mentors, and organizations. Yet, mentoring relationships may become dysfunctional, and it is important to recognize the implications of negative aspects of these relationships for the development of human resources in organizations.

Popular interest in mentoring sparked research investigations of the possible benefits of the process. Mentoring has been related to career outcomes for proteges such as salary, promotions, and career satisfaction (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1989; Koberg, Boss, Chappell & Ringer, 1994; Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1992a; Whiteley, Dougherty & Dreher, 1992). Having a mentor may also increase a protege’s power and influence in an organization (Fagenson, 1988). In addition, benefits and costs of being a mentor have been studied (Ragins & Scandura, 1994). Wilson and Elman (1990) suggested organizational benefits of mentoring because employees who have mentors may “learn the ropes” faster and more effectively than those without mentors. Also, Scandura and Viator (1994) found a negative relationship between mentoring

and intentions to quit, suggesting that reduced turnover might be another organizational benefit of mentoring. Given these potential benefits, mentoring is considered a component of an effective training and development process in many organizations (Burke & McKeen, 1989; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Zey, 1988; Scandura, 1992b).

Perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of mentoring is Kram's (1980) study employing qualitative interviews with both mentors and proteges. Kram (1980) discovered a number of important aspects of mentoring relationships. Her research suggested that mentors provide both vocational career support to their proteges as well as psycho-social support in times of difficulty. Vocational support involves sponsorship and coaching on specific elements of the job or career. Psycho-social support includes counseling and friendship.

Kram (1983) also documented four phases in mentoring relationships: Initiation, Cultivation, Separation, and Redefinition. During initiation, the mentor and protege select one another, and initial interactions involve learning the other's style and working habits. During the cultivation phase, career and psycho-social mentoring functions peak and learning accrues to both mentor and protege. Proteges gain valuable knowledge from the mentor, and mentors gain the loyalty and support of the junior person, as well as a sense of well-being from being able to pass on knowledge to the next generation of managers (Levinson et al., 1978; Ragins & Scandura, 1994). During the separation phase, the relationship ends, often due to geographical separation (Kram, 1985; Ragins & Scandura, 1997). Finally, the redefinition phase is often marked by the mentor and protege relationship becoming more like a peer friendship. Quantitative research has supported the existence and processes of these phases suggested by Kram in her qualitative research (Ragins & Scandura, 1997; Tejeda, 1994). The mentoring literature is an excellent example of the interplay of qualitative and quantitative methodology in the investigation of an organizational process.

Despite hundreds of books and articles published on mentoring, little is written about relational dysfunction that may occur within mentoring relationships and what the outcomes of such dysfunction might be. As noted by Merriam (1983), "... there are no studies which attempt to document the prevalence or seriousness of the negative effects of mentoring . . . Only successful mentoring relationships have been reported" (p. 170). Yet, in Kram's (1985) work on mentoring, one of the eighteen mentoring relationships investigated was described as "destructive" (p. 10). Kram's work clearly indicates the potential for some relationships, even those that begin productively, to change over time and become "dissatisfying and destructive as individual needs and/or organizational circumstances change" (p. 10). Since mentoring relationships are often close personal relationships, the consequences of negative interactions could be detrimental to mentors, proteges, and the organization. For example, dysfunction in mentoring relationships may cause difficulties with performance appraisals. Also, ineffective mentoring processes may impede

the succession planning process when a protege is not properly coaching into his/her next position. Whereas other aspects of Kram's theory of mentoring relationships have been investigated further, most notably the existence of career functions, and the benefits of mentoring (primarily to proteges), the existence of dysfunction has received only scant research attention.

While one might argue that dysfunctional mentoring is a "low-base rate phenomenon" (i.e., poor relationships do not occur as often as good relationships), when dysfunctional mentoring does occur, its consequences might be quite serious. Similar to the issue of workplace violence, which fortunately does not occur often, the incidents that do occur are often tragic. The same is true for dysfunction in mentoring relationships. The personal damage that might be done in a relationship marked by jealousy or distrust could be substantial. The purpose of this paper is not to detract from the work that has clearly documented that mentoring relationships are beneficial, but rather to point out an underexplored area of mentoring research. The potential for destructiveness in mentoring relationships was noted in Kram's work, and yet did not receive the same amount of research attention as some of the more positive aspects of mentoring.

Formalizing the Mentoring Process

Since the benefits of mentoring have been so widely documented, there has been interest in formalizing the process (cf., Veale & Wachtel, 1996; Forret, Turban & Dougherty, 1996). The nature of informal and formal mentoring differs substantively, however. More formalized treatments of mentoring (cf., Murray, 1991) define it as "... a structure and series of processes designed to create effective mentoring relationships, guide the desired behavior change of those involved, and evaluate the results for the proteges, the mentors and the organization with the primary purpose of systematically developing the skills and leadership abilities of the less-experienced members of an organization" (p. 5). Despite the practitioner interest in developing formalized mentoring programs, the literature seems to suggest that both mentors and proteges prefer the informal process of mentoring over making the process "too formal" (Chao, Walz & Gardner, 1993; Noe, 1988a). Individuals in mentoring relationships prefer to let the process evolve naturally, and to select their own mentors/proteges (Scandura & Siegel, 1995). Green and Bauer (1995) showed that after controlling for student potential and commitment, mentoring by assigned advisors was not related to performance. Their results suggest that mentors do not make proteges better performers but perhaps that high performing proteges get mentored. Academic mentoring may be a unique situation (Busch, 1985; Jacobi, 1991), but Green and Bauer's results suggest that certain individuals are assigned mentors, but don't really need the process to succeed. The mentoring relationships that emerge in such situations might be superficial, or even dysfunctional if the high potential protege resents being assigned a

mentor in a formal mentoring program. To summarize, the jury is still out on the efficacy of formal mentoring programs. Despite continued practitioner interest in formalizing the mentoring process, the research literature indicates that such programs have limitations. It seems that any formalized mentoring program should allow both mentors' and proteges' input into the matching process and some mechanism for exit if the assigned mentoring relationship does not work out. Mentoring that occurs within formal supervisory relationships may face similar challenges.

Supervisors as Mentors

Sometimes the immediate supervisor is the mentor (Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994; Scandura, Tejeda, Werther & Lankau, 1996; Tepper, 1995). When this is the case, the above-described issues of power and dependency are even more salient. The supervisory mentor may have even greater control over assignments and career-enhancing developmental opportunities for the protege. Also, the mentor may perform the formal performance appraisal on the protege (Burke, 1996). Here, the mentor-protege relationship is not voluntary as in the naturally occurring informal mentoring relationship. The existence of a direct reporting relationship invokes a contractual employment contract between the protege and the mentor. Hence, the power dynamics within a supervisory mentoring relationship may give rise to different types of dysfunction within the relationship. Ultimately, the protege must remember that failure to meet the supervisor's demands (reasonable or unreasonable) could result in termination from employment. Given the potential consequences, the mentor-protege relationship overlaid on a boss-subordinate relationship is a special case of mentoring, in which relational distress may be more extreme, due to the fear of retaliation from the boss/mentor.

In this instance, the literature on Leader-member exchange (LMX) suggests that vocational mentoring by a boss may enhance protege career outcomes (Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994). However, the potential risks from a supervisory mentoring relationship may be greater as well. As noted by Tepper (1995), "formal supervisory proteges may experience relational conflicts that suppress their willingness to express felt emotions" (p. 1204).

Dysfunctional Mentoring Relationships

While researchers have only scratched the surface in attempting to understand dysfunctional mentoring, it is interesting that some practitioner-oriented articles in the literature address or describe dysfunction. As noted by Hennefrund (1986), some mentoring relationships run into trouble when the interests of the parties change, differences in judgement exist between mentors and proteges, or mentors and proteges have undue involvement in one another's

personal problems. Myers and Humphreys (1985) note that some mentors are tyrannical or selfish. Darling (1985) offers advice on what to do about "toxic" mentors in nursing administration. Natale, Campana and Sora (1988) discuss the role of envy in mentoring relationships which can result in proteges cloning themselves into images of their mentors or the mentor blocking the progress of a protege who is a "rising star" in the organization.

Burke and McKeen (1989) provide some very realistic suggestions for awareness of potential problems in the development of formal mentoring programs in organizations. Among the potential problems that may occur are idealized images of mentors and the mentoring process and the possible triangulation that may occur between a boss, subordinate and a mentor. Burke and McKeen also note that sometimes mismatches occur in formalized mentoring. This problem is echoed by Kizilos (1990) who notes that matching up mentors and proteges formally "... can fuel discontent, anger, resentment and suspicion" (p. 50).

We do know that some mentoring relationships end badly and that the termination phase may be marked by anger and frustration (Kram, 1985). Ragins & Scandura (1997) focused on relationships that had already ended in their study of the termination of mentoring relationships. Their assessment of psychological reasons for termination included both functional and dysfunctional reasons for termination. Among the dysfunctional reasons for termination identified by Ragins and Scandura were (1) highly destructive relationships characterized by jealousy and the mentor stifling the protege's advancement, (2) dependency and suffocation within the relationship and (3) lack of support and the mentor's unrealistic expectations. These relationships did not end due to physical separation (e.g., transfer or relocation) and had clear dysfunction at the time they were terminated. The results of this study support Kram's contention that some mentoring relationships become destructive. Despite these findings, little is known about dysfunction in mentoring relationships as it is occurring. The next step in this program of research would be to investigate how and why dysfunction occurs within mentoring relationships.

Most of the literature discusses dysfunction in mentoring in terms of negative personal interactions, however, it is also possible that a relationship can be considered dysfunctional in terms of goal attainment for one or both of the parties involved. This would occur when a mentoring relationship is characterized by pleasant interactions between the parties but fails to achieve the goals of the protege (career advancement), because the mentor does not have the necessary advice to give, despite good intentions. Although the protege might not see this as a negative interpersonal relationship, it is, in fact, dysfunctional, in the sense that his/her goals cannot be attained within it. The following model will incorporate this type of dysfunction, in addition to the negative interpersonal relations type of dysfunction that the literature speaks to more often.

Mapping Dysfunctions in Mentoring Process

It is important to define dysfunctional mentoring relationships. The literature on relationship development in close personal relationships, such as friendships and marriages, from the literature on social psychology provides some useful models for the examination of relationship dysfunction in close personal relationships at work. After all, friendship is one of the functions of mentoring identified in the mentoring literature (Kram, 1985). Mentoring relationships are close personal relationships that evolve in the work environment (Kram, 1985). Thus, the use of social psychological models of relationship development is appropriate to the task of uncovering some of the potential dysfunctions that may occur in close personal relationships at work. Dysfunction occurs when the relationship is not working for one or both of the parties. One or both of the parties' needs are not being met in the relationship or one or both of the parties is suffering distress as a result of being in the relationship. While the social psychology literature provides some useful points of departure for the study of dysfunction, the research in this area is still relatively recent as well. In the social psychology literature, as in the management literature, unpleasantness of any kind within relationships is understudied. Duck (1994) notes:

... when it is considered that real lives are richly entwined with begrudging, vengeful, hostile, conflictive tensions and struggles, it will perhaps begin to be realized that one must also start to look at the ways in which people cope with them in life and then to theorize about them. (p. 6)

Given this definition of dysfunctional mentoring, a "mapping" of its various manifestations is the next task. Relationship dysfunction may result in a continuum from disregard to disliking to even anger and hostility. This anger may be expressed or repressed, but results in psychological distress for the party experiencing such feelings. To clarify the nature of relational dysfunctions, a typology of dysfunctional behavior based on the social psychology literature and the few accounts of problems in the mentoring literature is developed next. An attempt has been made to be broad in this typology, however, it is only a starting point. Future research may uncover further dysfunctional behaviors. This "mapping" process of the range of behavior that the social psychology literature classifies as relationship dysfunction should, however, be a framework for researchers and practitioners to use for recognition of dysfunctional mentoring relationships should when they emerge.

Duck (1994) proposes that the "dark side" of close personal relationships can be conceptualized in a typology of four categories. He presents a 2×2 typology of whether the focal person has negative or positive intentions toward the other person or whether the relational process is inherent in the relationship pattern or emergent. Based upon the mentoring literature, inherent processes within developmental relationships are consistent with Kram's (1985)

	PSYCHO-SOCIAL	VOCATIONAL
BAD INTENT TOWARD OTHER	NEGATIVE RELATIONS (Bullies, Enemies)	SABOTAGE (Revenge; Silent Treatment; Career Damage)
GOOD INTENT TOWARD OTHER	DIFFICULTY (Conflict; Binds)	SPOILING (Betrayal; Regret; Mentor off Fast Track)

Source: Adapted from Duck (1994).

Figure 1: Four potential dysfunctions in mentoring relationships

depiction of "psychosocial" mentoring functions. Similarly, emergent processes in mentoring relationships can be characterized as "vocational mentoring", because these processes deal with the goals or outcomes of the relationship. With these modifications, Duck's (1994) typology becomes a useful way to view possible dysfunction in mentoring relationships. This revised typology is shown in Figure 1. The resulting quadrants indicate four possible types of destructive relationships (1) Negative Relations (Bullies, Enemies); (2) Sabotage (Needling, Revenge, Silent Treatment); (3) Difficulty (Conflict, Binds) and (4) Spoiling (Betrayal, Regret). This typology is a start toward specifying some dysfunctional aspects that may be present in mentoring relationships at the workplace.

Negative Relations. The notion of bullying within mentoring relationships has been suggested in the practitioner literature. The stereotypical tyrannical mentor who must have everything his or her way is described by Myers and Humphreys (1985) as the type of mentor that is exploitive and/or egocentric. Here, the power differential between the mentor and the protege is consciously reinforced by the behavior of the mentor. Depending upon the protege's response, such relationships can become abusive for the protege or the mentor and protege can become organizational enemies if the protege fights back. Either response entails negative consequences for the protege and he or she is in a dilemma in choosing to remain in an exploitive relationship or enter into conflict with the mentor (who is defined as a more senior and more powerful individual in the organization). Either alternative is unpleasant and potentially damaging to the protege emotionally.

Sabotage. Some relationships are characterized by taking revenge on the other person or ignoring the other to evoke a response (i.e., the "silent treatment"). For example, a protege ignoring a mentor because he/she did not recommend a promotion may cause misunderstanding and resentment when the mentor fails to respond. In terms of power, this behavior still places the protege in the victim role because he/she is expecting the mentor to make a promotion happen, rather than assertively taking charge of his or her own projects or career. The bad intentions of the mentor in relation to the vocational interests of the protege are overt in this instance, and may result in

career damage. When resentment builds to the point where the protege (or mentor) seeks revenge on the other, there is potential for the relationship to become abusive. Whether revenge is taken directly (such as verbal insults) or indirectly (such as an attempt to damage the other's career politically), the relationship has reached a level of intensity which may transcend issues related to the organizational situation and where professional intervention by a psychologist may even be required. As cautioned by Bragg (1989), "Be careful that mentors do not develop such a dependency on their protege that later become their assistants. When such proteges want to move on in the company, the senior manager may actually *sabotage* the move or delay it" (p. 63) (emphasis added). Hence, the mentoring literature makes explicit reference to the potential for sabotage to occur within dysfunctional relationships.

Difficulty. Duck (1994) describes difficulty as occurring when the person has good intentions toward the other and there are psycho-social problems in the way they relate to another. The absence of malice, however, does not mean that the relationship is free from dysfunctional behavior. Such relationships may be characterized by conflict, disagreement on the judgement of the other or the placing of the other in "binds". Binds occur when the ultimatums are given or the person demands that the other make a choice. For example, a mentor (male or female) that suggests that a female protege not have children to devote more time to her career is placing her in a bind in which she must make a choice between her career and her desire for a family. Here, the power differential is maintained, although it is a more subtle reminder that the protege wishes to deviate from the majority view of work and family in the organization. While such scenarios are not pleasant, they do occur, and despite the "good intentions" of such advice, the inherent problem in the relationship of the mentor imposing his/her own model of a successful career upon the protege may result in serious stress and/or anxiety for the protege.

Spoiling. When problems in the relationship are related to vocational issues and one or both of the parties have good intentions toward the other, the result can be the "spoiling" of a potentially positive relationship. The good relationship gone sour is one in which some act of betrayal has occurred (perceived or actual). Such betrayal evokes emotions of disappointment in the other or of regret. The party who has been betrayed may regret investing so heavily in the relationship only to be betrayed by the other. Often such betrayal occurs because there were problems in the relationship that impacted the career of the protege (vocational), yet were never surfaced and dealt with openly. Here, issues of power differential may not be openly expressed, but do have career implications. For example, a protege may feel that the mentor has been "stealing" his or her ideas and presented them to upper management without proper credit. The mentor assumed that the protege didn't mind. However, resentment of this behavior builds in the mind of the protege until he or she takes one of her ideas to another manager in the company, rather than the mentor. The mentor learns of this and feels betrayed, disappointed,

and regrets developing the protege. The result can be a spoiled relationship, when the protege's inherent feelings of being taken for granted result in overt behavior, perhaps even withdrawal from the field by quitting the organization. Underlying the protege's feelings of betrayal is a sense that he/she has not been treated fairly by the mentor. Such perceptions of violation of organizational justice (fairness) have implications for mentoring relationships (Scandura, 1997).

Spoiling may also occur when a protege is mentored by someone not on the fast track in the organization. For example, a protege might be mentored by a person who is not respected by upper management and eventually fired from the company. The protege's emulation of this mentor may do a lot of damage to his/her career opportunities. Here, the intent toward the protege was not bad, but the mentoring relationships had negative vocational outcomes, due to the mentor being on the wrong career track. This is another form of "spoiling", even though the parties to the dyad may not be aware of it.

It is not clear from the social psychology literature, exactly how and when a person makes the determination that another has betrayed him/her. In other words, when does a person decide that "enough is enough?" (Boon, 1994). However, we do know that such events have lasting impact on the person perceiving the betrayal (Hansson, Jones & Fletcher, 1990, as cited in Boon, 1994). Thus, mentoring relationships, given their power differentials, are quite possibly more potent in terms of the potential intrapsychic damage that might be done than the literature has acknowledged. While it is clear that individuals can recall dysfunctional terminations (Ragins & Scandura, 1997), future research needs to assess the impact of these memories on interpersonal functioning in current and subsequent mentoring (and other) work relationships.

While Duck's (1994) framework is a useful way to begin to map possible dysfunction in mentoring relationships, there are other unpleasant relational behaviors that can be added to this typology. The mentoring literature has suggested that some mentor-protege interactions can be viewed as dysfunctional behavior, although not always labelled as such. These involve submissiveness, deception, and harassment in various forms.

Submissiveness. As noted by Bushardt, Fretwell and Holdnak (1991) mentor-protege relationships imply imbalance in power, and some proteges may offer submissive behavior in exchange for relational and organizational rewards mediated by more powerful mentors. This identifies a possible relational problem in that mature work relationships are characterized by relatively balanced exchanges of support and resources (Graen & Scandura, 1987). Yet, the literature on mentoring is replete with reference to mentors as the "patrons" of their proteges (Kanter, 1977; Reich, 1985; Shapiro, Haseltine & Rowe, 1978; Thompson, 1976). Over-dependence on a mentor was identified as one of the reasons for termination of mentoring relationships by Ragins and Scandura (1997) as well. While the tyrannical mentor has been identified previously,

it is important to remember that the locus of these issues is the relationship, and that a submissive protege contributes to the tyrannical behavior of the mentor. Neither is at fault, the mentor-protege dyad is the unit of analysis, and the behavior must be examined within the context of the relationship. Parker and Kram (1993) pointed out the potential for mentoring relationships to be affected by unresolved parent-child or family conflicts. These “. . . subtle yet powerful forces . . .” (p. 43) may evoke real or irrational fears of being overwhelmed by more powerful persons who are seen as controlling career outcomes. This may result in submissive behavior by proteges who are not aware that early family development issues sometimes influence adult relationships at work (Shapiro & Carr, 1991).

Deception. Another dysfunction that may emerge in mentoring relationships is deception. Mentors (or proteges) may manipulate information to obtain compliance from the other. Aryee, Wyatt and Stone (1996) found that proteges’ ingratiation behavior with mentors was positively and significantly associated with career coaching. Some ingratiation behaviors, such as agreeing with the mentor’s opinion even if one doesn’t, flattery of the mentor, and self-presentation involve deception. Tepper (1995) found that some proteges “regulate” their conversations with supervisory mentors by waiting until the mentor was in a good mood, stretching the truth, talking only superficially, and even censoring or distorting communications. Also, he found that emotional displays were altered for effect such as not appearing “too ambitious” to the mentor or faking enthusiasm. Ingratiation behaviors are benevolent forms of deception where the goal is to influence or manipulate others (O’Hair & Cody, 1994). Yet, such behavior is dysfunctional in that the need for such behavior indicates relational difficulties inherent in the relationship. Further, deception may lead to the dissolution of the relationship (Duck, 1988).

Deception may also be related to sabotage. The parties may engage in lies to damage the other’s career or reputation or to set them up for failure. This form of deception is malevolent with the intent of hurting or harming others rather than preserving self image (O’Hair & Cody, 1994). When this form of deception is occurring, serious relationship dysfunction is emergent in the relationship.

Harassment. Harassment (including sexual harassment and gender or race discrimination) is an indication of serious dysfunction in mentoring relationships. By definition, the mentor-protege relationship is one that is imbalanced in power (Auster, 1984; Ragins, 1997). The potential in mentoring relationships for sexual harassment to occur has been recently discussed by Hurley and Fagenson-Eland (1996). Bushardt et al. (1991) discussed the possibility of underlying sexual themes in mentoring relationships and how the resulting relationship may be affected by this. The manifestation of sexual overtones within a mentor-protege relationship is clearly inappropriate and should be considered among the possible dysfunctional behavior that can occur. One popular article poses the question, “mentor or lover?” (Westoff, 1986). The

blurring of sex roles and mentoring has been evident throughout the literature on mentoring. Sexual issues in mentoring have been addressed in mentoring theory and research, yet have not been clearly identified as dysfunctional. Persons involved in these intense personal relationships sometimes lose sight of the fact that these are working relationships between professionals first and foremost. Issues of sexual harassment, when they emerge in mentoring, are clearly dysfunctional, since sexual harassment is about power more than it is about sex (Brown, 1993; Hurley & Fagenson-Eland, 1996).

The mentoring literature has done a commendable job of addressing issues of cross-gender (Burke, McKeen & McKenna, 1990; Clawson & Kram, 1984; Fitt & Newton, 1981; Noe, 1988b; Ragins, 1989) and cross-race mentoring (Klauss, 1981; Thomas, 1989; Ragins, 1997; Ragins & Cotton, 1996). Power-differentiation in mentor-protege relationships may be compounded by power differentials in gender or race within organizations, as suggested by Ragins (1997). While this is not by definition dysfunctional, it can become dysfunctional if organizational support for these power differentials are used to dominate or control the protege. For example, Thomas’ (1989) discussion of the role of racial taboos within mentoring relationships clearly indicates that the potential for dysfunction and psychological abuse in the white-male/black-protege relationship. However, the solution is not simply to end cross-gender or cross-race mentoring since women and minorities need access to powerful persons in their networks (Dreher & Cox, 1996; Ibarra, 1992; Ragins, 1989). Also, Parker and Kram (1993) noted that challenges due to parent-child issues emerge in same sex dyads as well.

The role that diversity issues may play in the emergence of dysfunction within mentoring relationships is an important area worthy of even further research attention. While the research has described clear dysfunction in some cross-gender or cross-race mentoring relationships, we have not yet labelled the behavior as such, nor conceptualized mentoring using relational dysfunction as a frame of reference.

Toward a Broader View of Mentoring

Take a look at the behaviors listed in Table 1 before reading further. These behaviors are *not* drawn from the mentoring literature. They are drawn from the literature in psychology on abusive relationships. In fact, Table 1 is based upon instruments developed by psychologists to assess psychological abuse in relationships (Marshall, 1994). This measure assesses “. . . psychological abuse as consisting of many types of subtle and overt acts occurring in everyday conflictual and nonconflictual interaction” (Marshall, 1994; p. 300). Given the previous discussion of the mentoring literature, it is evident that some mentors (and proteges) may engage in behavior that psychologists would clearly identify as “psychological abuse.” For example, controlling activities,

Table 1: Relational behaviors

Control – Activities	Fear & Anxiety – Physical	Omnipotence
Control – Emotions	Fights or Conflicts	Possessiveness
Control – Information	Humiliate	Punish
Control – Thinking	Induce Debility – Emotional	Reject
Corrupt	Induce Debility – Physical	Rules
Degrade	Induce Powerlessness	Sabotage
Denigrate	Intrude – Activities	Self-Denunciation
Dominate – Emotionally	Intrude – Privacy	Shift Responsibility
Double Binds	Isolate – Emotionally	Surveillance
Embarrass	Isolate – Physically	Threats – Emotional
Encourage Dependence	Jealousy	Threats – Physical
Exploit	Loyalty	Verbal Aggression
Fear & Anxiety – Mental	Monopolize Perception	Withdraw

Source: Marshall (1994)

information, emotions or the thoughts of others is evident in the tyrannical mentor identified in the literature and considered to be a “Negative Relations” form of dysfunction (Figure 1) (Darling, 1985; Myers & Humphreys, 1984). Placing the other person in double binds is evident when mentors force proteges to choose work over family, as depicted in Figure 1 as a “Difficulty” form of dysfunctional mentoring. The encouraging of dependence, inducing powerlessness and submissiveness in mentoring relationships has been noted (Auster, 1984; Bushardt et al., 1991). Fights or conflicts emerge in mentoring relationships that may escalate to levels of destructive behavior, and some mentoring relationships terminate for this reason (identified as “Sabotage” in Figure 1) (Kram, 1985; Ragins & Scandura, 1997). Sabotage is a possible aspect of soured mentoring relationships (Bragg, 1989). Exploitation (including sexual) has been identified as a possible issue in mentoring relationships (Hurley & Fagenson-Eland, 1996). Another form of exploitation could be when mentors take ideas from proteges without giving proper credit, which is considered to be “Spoiling”, based upon the typology in Figure 1.

The intent here is not to shock but to increase awareness that mentoring relationships, like all close personal relationships, have the potential for psychological abuse to occur. The behaviors in Table 1 range from moderate to severe forms of psychological abuse. Yet, based upon this review of the literature, some proteges have endured at least moderate psychological abuse. The question is why we have focused our research primarily on the positive aspects and benefits of mentoring at work.

Maintenance Processes in Dysfunctional Mentoring Relationships

One might ask why proteges (and/or mentors) do not just leave a dysfunctional relationship. Despite dysfunction, some relationships continue and do not

reach the termination/redefinition phases (Kram, 1985). While this may seem puzzling, Graziano and Musser (1982) offer the following explanation:

Relationships, especially in the maintenance period, may be conceptualized as a specialized kind of mutual addiction. The initial exposure of a perceiver to a target who satisfies some need operates as a novel UCS [unconditioned stimulus], eliciting a hedonically positive state . . . when the target is removed, some small withdrawal cravings occur. Since such cravings are unpleasant, and since the return of the target automatically eliminates the unpleasant state, the perceiver will attempt to regain contact with the target. (p. 94)

In terms of a dysfunctional mentoring relationship, this premise suggests that since relationships become mutually reinforcing, those that develop into negative patterns (such as a mentor who blames and a protege who feels guilty) will stay in that pattern rather than disengage and suffer the pain of withdrawal. In this example, the protege may fear retaliation by the mentor or may be overly dependent on the mentor for his/her career advancement, and this may reinforce the mentor's need for control.

The paradox in this, of course, is that the relationship “works” in that it mutually meets the needs of two parties, but it doesn't really work in terms of the development of the protege nor the effectiveness of the mentor. Over the long term, dysfunctional mentoring relationships may affect the work environment for others and even the effectiveness of the organization. The protege may not develop into an independent manager capable of making his/her own decisions. And the mentor may become accustomed to a mentoring style that is tyrannical and may transfer this to other mentoring relationships. Proteges who “learn” to be submissive in relationships with dominant mentors may have difficulty with self-esteem or assertiveness in other work relationships.

A Model of Dysfunctional Mentoring and Outcomes

Based upon this review of the literature, and attention to the social psychology literature on relationship dysfunction, the processes and outcomes of dysfunctional mentoring can be modelled as shown in Figure 2. Certain characteristics of mentors and proteges may contribute to the emergence of dysfunction in mentoring relationships. For example, personality characteristics such as dominance or submissiveness may result in the tyrannical behavior of mentors that is described in the mentoring literature. Also demographic characteristics such as age, sex or race may result in dysfunctional power struggles due to diversity issues in the relationship. Ineptitude or lack of skills in self-expression are one reason why close personal relationships run into difficulties (Duck, 1988). Poor relationship skills can result in dysfunctional relationships at work (Scandura & Lankau, 1996). Hence, characteristics of

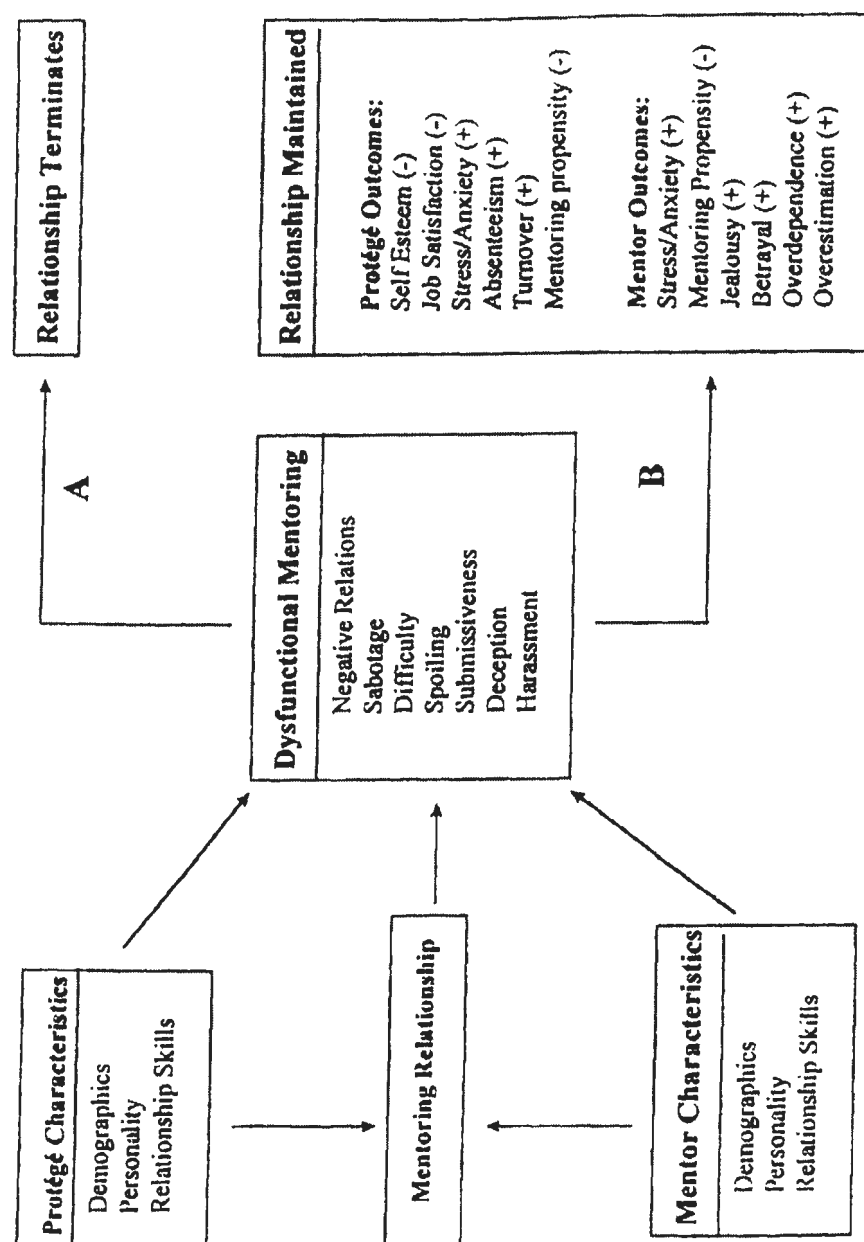


Figure 2: Dysfunctional mentoring and outcomes

mentors, proteges, and the structural aspects of their relationships can all potentially contribute to dysfunction within mentoring relationships. These characteristics may directly contribute to the emergence of dysfunction, but it may also be the interaction of the two that contributes, as shown in Figure 2. For example, both a protege and a mentor may have poor interpersonal skills and the interaction of the two is a stronger predictor of dysfunction than the characteristics of either individual.

One outcome of a dysfunctional mentoring relationship is that the relationship terminates or ends (Ragins & Scandura, 1997). This path is depicted as "A" in Figure 2. However, if the relationship is maintained in its negative state (Graziano & Musser, 1982), other outcomes might result (as shown by path "B" in Figure 2). Potential outcomes for both proteges and mentors are shown. Dysfunction in mentoring relationships may be negatively related to proteges' self esteem. Repeated interactions with "toxic" mentors, for example, can result in lowered perceptions of the self and lack of initiative to change the situation. Dissatisfaction with work may result from having to deal with a difficult relationship. Stress can result from dysfunctional mentoring, since coping with negative relationships can be a strain on emotional resources. Negative relationships can result in physical withdrawal from the workplace and result in absenteeism and turnover. Hence, it appears that dysfunctional mentoring can be costly to proteges and the organization. Mentors may also be affected by stress resulting from having to deal with negativity and conflict in a dysfunctional relationship. Their negative behaviors may result in peers and others being jealous of them (labelled "jealousy" in Figure 2). Also, proteges may betray them, become overdependent upon them and/or overestimate their contributions to projects sabotaging their work or career. Some might view this as the mentor getting what they deserve, but no one really wins when such conflicts continue. An outcome that is suggested for both mentor and protege is a possible decrease in their propensity to be a mentor in the future, which may harm developmental opportunities for others in the organization.

Implications for Research

Research on mentoring at work should continue to explore the nature of dysfunctional relationships. It seems that interviews might be a useful way to further elicit the nature of such relational problems, yet total anonymity could not be assured in an interview study. Surveys could be developed to measure the types of dysfunction in mentoring. For example, Ragins and Scandura (1997) developed a measure of dysfunctional termination in mentoring relationships that is in need of further construct validation. This measure was designed to measure aspects of relationships that had ended, but could be adapted to include current mentoring relationships.

Two key aspects of dysfunction in mentoring relationships based upon this literature review seem to be whether the mentor is an immediate supervisor and whether the mentoring relationship was perceived as being assigned. Studies are particularly needed in which formal and informal mentoring is examined to determine whether formalized mentoring is more likely to result in dysfunctional behavior. More research is needed on mentoring within leader-member dyads and the possible difficulties that may emerge in such relationships (Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994). The role that power plays in the emergence of dysfunction in mentoring relationships is yet another area that is worthy of further research.

The issues described in this paper are, admittedly, not pretty. But to not acknowledge the potential for abuse in what should be positive developmental experiences in organizations would be a greater disservice to the field. If we acknowledge that such events do sometimes occur, we can begin a program of study that may help understand the antecedents and consequences of relationships that do not work for one or both of the individuals in them. Better recognition of these issues may lead to the development of improved training programs, as well as intervention strategies that may alleviate the psychological distress due to unpleasant relationships at the workplace.

Perhaps we have not studied dysfunction in mentoring relationships because it is a "taboo topic" and most would prefer to focus on the positive side of relationships. However, this "dark side" of the mentoring process may ultimately help us to better understand and diagnose problems that occur as mentoring relationships evolve and corrective actions may be taken to avoid termination for dysfunctional reasons (Ragins & Scandura, 1997).

Implications for Practice

Negative mentoring relationships are costly to organizations in numerous ways. Energy channeled into maintaining difficult relationships could be spent in more productive ways. Also, difficulties in mentoring relationships could lead to absenteeism and turnover. By increasing understanding of relational difficulties and how they may affect the work environment, such costs might be avoided. The existence of negative mentoring relationships may make some individuals unwilling to engage in mentoring. The whole process might be tarnished by what appears to be a small, and yet very significant, percentage of mentoring relationships.

Implications of a better understanding of potentially dysfunctional mentoring styles to managers seem clear. Understanding the nature of interpersonal difficulties can lead to interventions to help avoid them. Training programs could begin to openly address relational difficulties and assist individuals in coping with dysfunctional mentoring relationships. Training for mentors should include understanding of what the boundaries of work relationships

are (including training in sexual harassment and diversity issues in relationship development).

Organizations interested in formalizing the process of mentoring or encouraging supervisors to do more mentoring and coaching must be aware that difficulties may emerge in "assigned" or supervisory mentoring relationships. As noted earlier, problems may emerge when the mentor-protégé relationship is arranged. It seems that an aspect of any form of assigned mentoring should acknowledge the potential for such problems to emerge and provide training in how to deal with these issues. Also, formal mentoring programs should provide an "out" for a mentoring relationship that is not working. According to Hurley and Fagenson-Eland (1996), supervisory mentoring relationships should be monitored carefully, due to the potential for harassment to occur. Human Resource professionals that are responsible for the development of executive talent have made conflict resolution interviews available to assist with difficulties in mentoring relationships. Also, providing training in coaching and mentoring skills for mentors is an important step in the development of better relationships. Also, protégés should be trained so that they have reasonable expectations regarding what mentors can do for their careers. Making mentoring part of the reward system for both mentors and protégés may also help to institutionalize the process so that feelings of jealousy are reduced.

Awareness of potential difficulties and the typology of possible dysfunctional behavior by those responsible for the mentoring program is an important first step in ensuring that negative behaviors don't occur. When and if they do, appropriate intervention must be provided by removing the mentor from the mentoring program and following up with counseling for the mentor and protégé, if necessary.

Conclusion

It is important to bear in mind that mentoring relationships are as fragile as any personal relationship that one enters into. Relational difficulties may cause a great deal of distress for the parties involved. Given such difficulty, it is fortunate that dysfunctional mentoring relationships don't occur as often as good ones. There are a lot of mentors in organizations doing a great job, including the development of women and minorities.

The benefits of effective mentoring are well documented in the literature. As noted by Arthur and Rousseau (1996), mentoring and networking will be even more important in newer types of careers that have been termed "boundaryless" because they will cross organizational boundaries. Mentors will be needed to fill the gaps in continuity that will be created by greater movement between organizations. Mentoring is a process that should be a positive learning experience that results in better socialized, more committed, and more productive employees. However, sometimes things do go wrong

in mentoring relationships. Based upon the literature review for this paper, it appears that we have perhaps been overlooking an important aspect of mentoring by focusing our studies on predominantly positive aspects of the mentoring process. The typology and model presented in this paper might serve as a guide for recognition of relational difficulties and future research on mentoring. It is time for the literature to address these issues more openly and begin to study the antecedents, process and consequences of dysfunctional mentoring. With such understanding, the process of mentoring in organizations might be improved.

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Reconceptualizing Mentoring at Work: A Developmental Network Perspective

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In much of the mentoring research of the past three decades, researchers have conceptualized mentoring as the developmental assistance provided by a more senior individual within a protégé's organization – that is, a single dyadic relationship. This focus reflects a stream of research on mentoring, beginning with Levinson and colleagues, who proposed that a mentor is “one of the most complex and developmentally important relationships . . . the mentor is ordinarily several years older, a person of greater experience and seniority . . . a teacher, adviser or sponsor” (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978: 97). Recently, however, scholars have begun to consider the limitations of focusing research and practice on a single or primary mentor and, instead, have begun to revisit Kram's (1985) original proposition that individuals rely upon not just one but multiple individuals for developmental support in their careers – a phenomenon she calls “relationship constellations” (e.g., Baugh & Scandura, 1999; Higgins, 2000; Thomas & Higgins, 1996).

This recent reconsideration of Kram's work has arisen from changes in the current career and employment context, as well as research on alternative forms of mentoring, as we describe in this article. This reconsideration has prompted much debate among mentoring scholars as to whether such a reconceptualization essentially waters down the original mentoring construct or, rather, whether it provides an important new lens through which to view mentoring at work. Here we argue the latter. We build upon Kram's original idea that individuals receive mentoring assistance from many people at any

one point in time, including senior colleagues, peers, family, and community members. In particular, we contribute to mentoring research by providing conceptual clarity and focus to this new lens by bringing in theory and methods from social network research to help us understand mentoring as a multiple developmental relationship phenomenon.

Our primary vehicle for doing this is the introduction of a typology of “developmental networks” that integrates social network theory and methods with research on mentoring. The two main dimensions of our typology are (1) the diversity of individuals’ developmental networks and (2) the strength of the developmental relationships that make up these networks. We have chosen to focus on these two dimensions because our literature review and observations of the new career context suggest that individuals are experiencing increasing variation in both the sources and strength of their developmental support. We describe how consideration of these two dimensions yields four prototypical developmental network structures, and we provide a framework for understanding the factors that shape the formation of such network structures. Finally, we offer propositions regarding the developmental consequences of having different types of developmental networks for the protégé and conclude with research strategies for studying individuals’ developmental networks.

We begin with a brief review of mentoring theory to date and with a consideration of the current career context in which mentoring occurs.

Background: Mentoring, Past and Present

A Traditional Perspective on Mentoring

Adult development and career theorists have long espoused the benefits of having a mentoring relationship for an individual’s personal and professional development (Dalton, Thompson, & Price, 1977; Hall, 1976; Kram, 1985; Levinson et al., 1978). Since these seminal studies, quite a lot has been learned about the nature and benefits of traditional forms of mentoring (for mentoring reviews, see Burke & McKeen, 1990; Mullen, 1994; and Ragins, 1997a). A “traditional” mentoring relationship is one in which a senior person working in the protégé’s organization assists with the protégé’s personal and professional development (e.g., Fagenson, 1989; Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1993; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). Moreover, the “mentor” generally provides high amounts of both career and psychosocial assistance (Thomas & Kram, 1988).

Studies on mentoring have provided insight into individual-level factors that account for the cultivation of such relationships, including protégé locus of control (Noe, 1988), sex-role orientation (Scandura & Ragins, 1993), and protégé and mentor race and gender (Ragins & Cotton, 1993; Thomas, 1990; Turban & Dougherty, 1994). In addition, we can now point to organization-level

factors that affect the growth of developmental relationships, such as organizational culture (Aryee, Chay, & Chew, 1996), hierarchical structure (Ragins & Cotton, 1991), and diversity (Ragins, 1997b). Further, although additional longitudinal work is needed, we understand some of the career consequences of having a traditional mentoring relationship; studies have shown that such a relationship is related to enhanced career development (Kram, 1985; Phillips-Jones, 1982), career progress (Zey, 1984), higher rates of promotion and total compensation (Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991), career satisfaction (Fagenson, 1989; Riley & Wrench, 1985; Roche, 1979), and clarity of professional identity and sense of competence (Kram, 1985). Finally, research of a clinical nature has provided valuable insight into the conditions under which the *processes* of mentoring affect the quality of the relationships and associated developmental outcomes for both parties (Kram, 1985; Thomas, 1993).

In all of these studies, the conceptualization of mentoring has been what we call traditional – the researchers focusing on a single or primary mentoring relationship or, in aggregate, on the amount of mentoring a protégé has received through a series of dyadic relationships over the course of his or her career. When researchers have focused on a primary mentoring relationship, their analyses generally have been based on the first named mentor; individuals beyond a primary senior person seldom have been considered (for an exception, see Baugh & Scandura, 1999). Studies that focus on the amount of mentoring received tap the sequence of mentoring relationships the respondent has experienced, rather than explore a configuration of relationships occurring simultaneously. Additionally, mentoring research has generally focused on the perspective of the protégé. Although some scholars have pointed out the developmental benefits to the mentor (Hall & Kram, 1981; Kram, 1985; Kram & Hall, 1996), research on the benefits to the mentor and/or on understanding why and/or how mentors become part of a protégé’s developmental network is still in its infancy (for exceptions, see Allen, Poteet, Russell, & Dobbins, 1997; Ragins & Cotton, 1993).

Underlying much of the prior research on mentoring has been the assumption that the effectiveness of a mentoring relationship lies in the amount of mentoring assistance provided. Studies have often focused on the amount of mentoring support provided as the dependent variable of interest, with researchers focusing in particular on how different characteristics of the protégé, mentor, and mentor-protégé relationship account for variation in the breadth and depth of mentoring assistance received (e.g., Koberg, Boss, Chappell, & Ringer, 1994; Turban & Dougherty, 1994). Still, if the “more mentoring is better” assumption holds, it seems relevant to consider alternative sources that might provide similar types of assistance.

In a few studies researchers have examined sources of mentoring support beyond a traditional or primary mentor. For example, Kram and Isabella (1985) examined peer relationships and the types of support they tend to provide.

They demonstrated that although different subcategories of help are provided by different types of peers, at a more general level, these forms of assistance are indeed career and psychosocial in nature and, thus, serve mentoring functions. In addition, recent theoretical work has suggested that alternative forms of mentoring relationships (e.g., lateral relationships, mentoring circles) may be more or less helpful to individuals in adapting to organizational change (Eby, 1997; Kram & Hall, 1996). Closer still to a developmental network perspective, Burke, Bristor, and Rothstein (1995) studied interpersonal *discussion* networks by explicitly soliciting names of a variety of people from both inside and outside the respondents' organization and from a wide range of social systems (family, friends, nonwork organizations); these scholars *then* assessed the extent to which these people provided career and psychosocial assistance. However, rarely have scholars directly solicited from protégés a set of concurrent relationships that are specifically developmental in nature and that include but are not limited to one's primary mentor, as Kram's relationship constellation construct originally proposed.

Perhaps reflecting this move toward a consideration of alternative forms of mentoring, the empirical work on mentoring has become less precise over the years (Chao, 1998; Mullen, 1998). The operational definition of a mentoring relationship has varied considerably in the past couple of decades. For example, as noted by Mullen, "We have yet to agree on whether a mentor can be one's immediate supervisor or if that type of relationship has different characteristics and outcomes than a mentor" (1994: 258), even though researchers have explored this topic (e.g., Burke, McKeen, & McKenna, 1993; Kram, 1983). Mentoring descriptions and name-generator devices vary considerably in recent empirical work; in some studies, participants are asked directly to name their mentors and, hence, do not distinguish between formal and informal relationships (cf. Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Fagenson, 1989; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). Also, in some studies, participants are told the purpose of the relationship in question (e.g., to aid a protégé's personal and professional development); in others they are not. Further, some definitions specify that the relationships be intraorganizational (e.g., Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992), whereas others (although few) do not (e.g., Higgins & Thomas, *in press*; Mullen, 1994).

Although the multitude of current mentoring definitions could lead one to conclude that we have yet to decide exactly what mentoring is and is not, it might be the case instead that we are simply studying different types of mentoring. The latter is our perspective. While there will always be a special place in the literature for studying the single and traditional "mentor" relationship – in the sense that Levinson et al. (1978) describe – the shift in mentoring studies toward considering alternative sources suggests there is a conceptual gap that needs to be addressed as well. In short, we are ready to consider mentoring as a multiple relationship phenomenon.

Mentoring in the New Career Context

In addition to this theoretical "readiness" to reconsider mentoring boundaries, changes in the current career environment also suggest that such a review of mentoring is needed. Career researchers such as Arthur and Rousseau (1996) and Hall (1996) have written extensively about the changing nature of the career environment. At the core of this work are four broad categories of change that affect the context in which individuals' careers unfold and that have direct implications for the nature of individuals' developmental relationships.

First, the employment contract between individuals and their employers has changed (Rousseau, 1995). Under increasing pressure to respond to competitive conditions and to meet ongoing customer demands, organizations have had to negotiate and renegotiate formal employment relationships and the psychological contracts or shared sense of obligations that underlies them (Robinson, 1996: 574). Job security has become a phenomenon of the past (Pfeffer, 1997), and organizational restructuring, globalization, and the externalization of work (Pfeffer & Baron, 1988) have become phenomena of the present. Organizational scholars have moved beyond Whyte's (1956) view of the organization man in favor of a "boundaryless" model of the work environment, in which firms no longer provide the sole or primary anchor for an individual's personal and professional identity (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 1996; Mirvis & Hall, 1994). Thus, individuals increasingly may need to look beyond the organization to multiple relationships that can provide valuable developmental assistance (Thomas & Higgins, 1996).

Second, the changing nature of technology has also affected the form and function of individuals' careers and career development. The rapid pace of change in information and digital technologies has increased the importance of knowledge workers – those who have specific rather than general competencies (Bailyn, 1993; Savage, 1990; Zuboff, 1988). Today, organizations increasingly place value on individuals who not only can adapt but can learn quickly (McCauley & Young, 1993) – indeed, who can learn how to learn (Hall, 1986). Unlike during Whyte's era, having seniority in an organization today does not necessarily provide "value" to an organization. Rather, being up to date on recent technological developments, operating on the edge of what is known (Mohrman, Cohen, & Mohrman, 1995), and having the flexibility to learn (Kram & Hall, 1996) by consulting with a variety of people about one's work (Perlow, 1999) are particularly salient in the current competitive environment. Consequently, individuals may need to draw on relationships from a variety of sources, not just senior-level, intraorganizational relationships, for developmental assistance.

Third, the changing nature of organizational structures affects the sources from which individuals receive developmental assistance. As organizations expand internationally, align and collaborate with other organizations in a variety of structural arrangements (e.g., joint ventures, licensing, outsourcing; see

Lawler, Mohrman, & Ledford, 1992, and Mirvis & Marks, 1992), and conduct so-called virtual business, employees will need to look beyond intraorganizational sources to others who can provide them with developmental assistance. Moreover, as organizations become fast, flat, and flexible (Hall, 1996), so too does the nature of the work individuals do, necessitating both constant reconsideration of how to develop professionally and where to look for assistance. From the mentor's perspective, offering advice also may be increasingly difficult, as the nature of organizational work for the protégé and for the mentor continuously changes. Additionally, from a pragmatic perspective, the changing nature of organizational structures may constrain the protégé's ability to rely on one mentor inside the organization, because the mentor may be subject to relocation, job redefinition, or organizational change.

Fourth, organizational membership has become increasingly diverse, particularly in terms of race, nationality, and gender, which affects both the needs and resources available for development (Blake, 1999; Kram & Hall, 1996; Ragins, 1997a). Research on the career development of minorities has clarified the benefits of developing multiple developmental relationships that extend beyond one's place of work (Thomas, 1990, 1993). Thomas and Gabarro's (1999) research on black and white managers and executives has shown that successful black executives tend to draw on multiple sources for career and psychosocial assistance, rather than a single or primary mentor. Organizational scholars have argued that there is much to be learned from these minority experiences: as careers become more boundaryless and individuals' work crosses organizational boundaries, so too will the sources from which both majority and minority individuals draw support in their careers (Thomas & Higgins, 1996). Table 1 summarizes past and present conceptualizations of mentoring.

This brief review of the literature on traditional forms of mentoring and on the changes in the current career environment suggests particular shifts in the sources and nature of mentoring relationships today. The phenomenon of mentoring – that is, the provision of career and psychosocial support – is still of primary interest, but *who* provides such support and how such support is

provided are now more in question. In particular, we expect increasing variance in what we call “developmental network diversity”: the range of social systems (e.g., community, employment, school) from which individuals draw mentoring support. Further, given the changing nature of work itself, we expect to find increasing variance in the amount of communication, emotional closeness, and level of reciprocity experienced in developmental relationships today – “developmental relationship strength.”

These two dimensions, developmental network diversity and developmental relationship strength, form the basis of the typology of developmental networks that we introduce. They are also consistent with core concepts in social network theory and research (for reviews, see Brass, 1995, and Ibarra, 1993). By focusing on these two dimensions and, more generally, by integrating social network research with prior mentoring research, we extend the mentoring literature beyond its traditional dyadic focus to emphasize the importance of multiple developmental relationships. We call this new approach to mentoring at work a “developmental network perspective.”

A Developmental Network Perspective

There are four central concepts to our developmental network perspective: the developmental network itself, the developmental relationships that make up an individual's developmental network, the diversity of the developmental network, and the strength of the developmental relationships that make up the developmental network.

Developmental Network

We define an individual's developmental network as the set of people a protégé names as taking an active interest in and action to advance the protégé's career by providing developmental assistance. This definition is consistent with prior research on mentoring (e.g., Thomas, 1990) and yet does not restrict the phenomenon to a single relationship within the protégé's organization, as has often been the case with mentoring research in the past. By developmental assistance, we mean two types of support studied by mentoring scholars: (1) career support, such as exposure and visibility, sponsorship, and protection, and (2) psychosocial support, such as friendship, counseling, acceptance and confirmation, and sharing beyond work (Kram, 1985; Thomas, 1993). Thus, the provision of developmental assistance defines the boundaries of the developmental network construct.

Consistent then with social network research that has focused on specific types of networks, such as “friendship networks” or “advice networks” (Brass, 1984; Krackhardt, 1990; Krackhardt & Porter, 1985; Lincoln & Miller, 1979), we focus on a specific type of network here: a developmental network. Hence, an individual's developmental network is a subset of his or her entire social

Table 1: Past and present conceptualizations of mentoring

<i>Phenomenological boundaries</i>	<i>Traditional mentoring perspective</i>	<i>Developmental network perspective</i>
Mentoring relationship(s)	Organizational Hierarchical Single dyadic relationship Focus on protégé learning Provided in sequence of relationships throughout career	Intra- and extraorganizational (e.g., profession, community, family) Multilevel Multiple dyadic/networked relationships Mutuality and reciprocity Provided simultaneously by multiple relationships at any given time in career
Functions served	Organization/job related	Career/person related
Levels of analysis	Dyad level	Network level and dyad level

network (cf. Burt, 1992); it does not consist of *all* of an individual's interpersonal relationships, nor does it comprise everyone with whom the protégé ever communicates about development. The developmental network consists of those relationships the protégé names at a particular point in time as being important to his or her career development; they are simultaneously held relationships, as opposed to a sequence of developmental relationships (e.g., Baugh & Scandura, 1999; Ragins & Cotton, 1999; Whitely & Coetsier, 1993). Finally, since this is a group of people the focal individual or "ego" identifies (as opposed to the researcher), a developmental network is what social network researchers would call an "egocentric network"; it is not the entire set of ties to and from specific individuals within a bounded social system, such as an organization (see Ibarra & Smith-Lovin, 1997, for a review). Therefore, consistent with the approach taken in mentoring research, we focus on developmental relationships that are known and identified by the protégé and do not consider individuals who may help a protégé without his or her knowledge.

Developmental Relationships

Distinctions among terms that apply to mentoring relationships – *mentor*, *sponsor*, *coach*, and *peer* – have all been made (Chao, 1998). Scholars have distinguished between true mentors, who provide high amounts of both career and psychosocial support, and sponsors, who provide high amounts of career support but low amounts of psychosocial support (Thomas & Kram, 1988). Rather than add to this list, we provide one overarching term for people the protégé names as providing developmental assistance (i.e., career and psychosocial support): *developers*. This is similar to calling the individuals in one's advice network "advisors" (e.g., Ibarra & Andrews, 1993). Thus, an individual's developmental network may include but is not limited to a single, traditional mentor relationship.

Developmental Network Diversity

In social network research, the concept of network diversity concerns the flow of information – in particular, the extent to which the information provided by one's network is similar or redundant (Burt, 1983, 1992; Granovetter, 1973). The less redundant the information provided by one's network, the greater the focal individual's access to valuable resources and information. There are two basic ways to define network diversity: (1) *range*, the number of different social systems the relationships stem from, and (2) *density*, the extent to which the people in a network (here, developers) know and/or are connected to one another (Brass, 1995; Burt, 1983; Krackhardt, 1994).

For example, a protégé who has one developer from an employer, one from school, one from a professional association, and one from a community organization (e.g., religious institution) will have a high-range developmental

network, whereas an individual with all four ties from the same social system (e.g., one employer) will have a low-range network. An individual who has five developers, all of whom know one another, will have a high-density network, whereas an individual with a similar set of developers who do not know each other will have a low-density network. In both instances the underlying mechanism – information redundancy – is the same. The greater the range of the developmental network, the less redundant the information provided. Similarly, the less "dense" or interconnected the developers in one's network, the less redundant the information provided.

Here we have chosen to focus on developmental network *range* as our specific conceptualization of developmental network diversity, since it most closely captures changes in the current career environment that prompt individuals to look outside the organization for developmental assistance. Therefore, we define developmental network diversity as *range* – the number of different social systems the ties originate from, such as one's employer, school, community, professional associations, and so on. We do not define network diversity in terms of differences between the protégé and his or her developers' race and/or gender (e.g., Ragins, 1997a). This diversity concerns the nature of the relationships held, rather than the attributes of the developers.

Relationship Strength

By relationship strength, we mean the level of emotional affect, reciprocity, and frequency of communication, as originally proposed by Granovetter (1973; see also Krackhardt, 1992). In a related fashion, in clinical research on adult development and the role of relationships in learning and identity formation, researchers have found that relationships with strong interpersonal bonds tend to be characterized by reciprocity, mutuality, and interdependence (Fletcher, 1996; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991; Miller, 1986). These types of bonds can be characterized as strong ties, and individuals in such relationships tend to be highly motivated to help each other (here, the protégé; Granovetter, 1982; Krackhardt, 1992). In general, ties may be characterized as either strong, weak, or indeterminate (as with casual contacts or strangers; Aldrich, 1999). Although developmental relationships are not ties with casual contacts or strangers, they may indeed be weak-tie developmental relationships if, for example, the protégé receives but does not offer much opportunity for learning or assistance to the developer in return. Thus, we distinguish between developmental networks that consist of, on average, weak versus strong ties.

Relationships among Concepts

Content-specific networks (e.g., friendship networks) tend to encompass up to four or five relationships (Podolny & Baron, 1997). Therefore, we expect that individuals' developmental networks will tend to be small in size. Also,

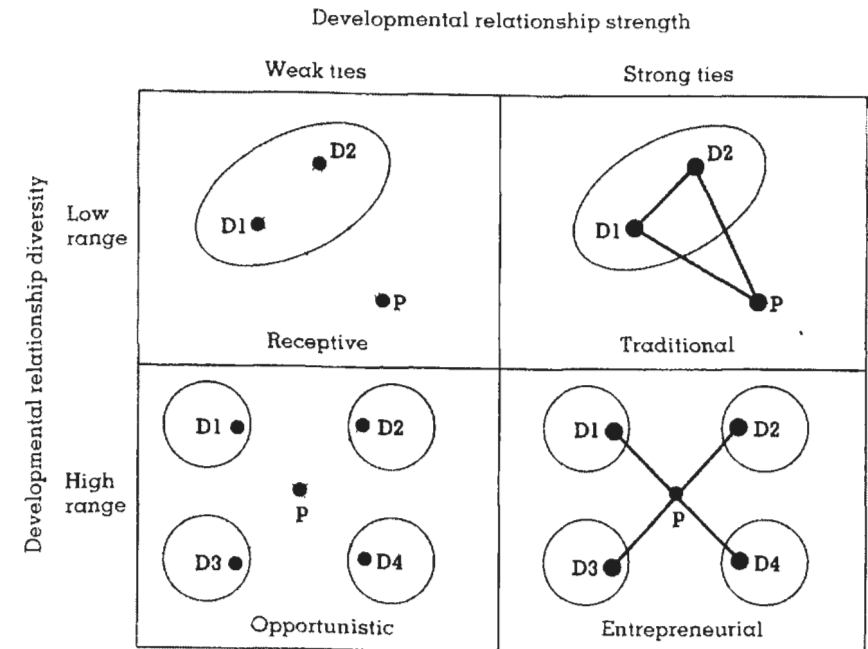
since high-range developmental networks tap into multiple social systems, they will tend to be larger than low-range developmental networks. Further, because of the relatively high frequency of interaction that is characteristic of strong-tie developmental relationships, we expect greater amounts of support to be provided by such relationships (Mullen, 1998). In particular, strong-tie developmental relationships should provide relatively more psychosocial assistance than weak-tie developmental relationships, owing to the emotional closeness between the protégé and his or her developer(s).

Developmental Network Typology

Developmental network diversity and developmental relationship strength are the two core dimensions of our typology. Together, these yield the following four categories of developmental networks: (1) high developmental network diversity, high developmental relationship strength (which we call “entrepreneurial”); (2) high developmental network diversity, low developmental relationship strength (“opportunistic”); (3) low developmental network diversity, high developmental relationship strength (“traditional”); and (4) low developmental network diversity, low developmental relationship strength (“receptive”).

Figure 1 depicts each category’s prototypical developmental network. We recognize that developmental network diversity and relationship strength are actually continuous rather than dichotomous dimensions. We treat the dimensions as dichotomous here so that we can begin to develop theory regarding the very basic or “ideal types” (Weber, 1947) of social structures of individuals’ developmental networks. Developers are identified with D1, D2, D3, and D4 and the protégé with P. Consistent with social network research, we depict the connections between an individual and his or her developers with a line: solid lines for strong relationships and dotted lines for weak relationships (Burt, 1983). We use circles to denote the boundaries of social systems.

As shown, our developmental network perspective considers both the protégé’s (P’s) relationships with his or her developers (D1, D2, D3, and D4, for example) and the relationships that the developers may have with one another. First, P’s relationship with D1 may be affected by P’s relationship with D2, D3, and D4. Rather than simply focus on the P-D1 relationship, as has been the case in traditional mentoring research, we consider as well the P-D2, P-D3, and P-D4 relationships. For example, it is possible that P may be less dependent upon a primary developer, D1, since he or she has access to such information as advice and counsel from another developer, D2. Second, P’s relationship with D1 may be affected by the extent to which P’s other developers – D2 and D3, for example – know or are connected in some fashion to D1 and so can jointly assist or influence the development of P. Therefore, unlike prior



Key: D, developer; P, protégé

Figure 1: Developmental network typology

research on mentoring, our developmental network perspective does not treat an individual’s primary developmental relationship in isolation.

Entrepreneurial Developmental Networks

Burt (1992) calls social networks that span multiple groups or subnetworks “entrepreneurial.” The strength of such wide-ranging networks derives from their ability to bridge otherwise unconnected clusters of people. For individuals with relatively low levels of organizational legitimacy, Burt shows that such network configurations can be valuable since they provide access to different sources of information. Individuals with social networks characterized by what he calls “structural holes” are found to be uniquely well positioned to act as brokers between otherwise unconnected parties – to serve as *tertius gaudens*, or the third party who benefits.

Our *entrepreneurial* category, as depicted, captures both the wide-ranging nature of the developmental network as well as the strength of the ties. While the strength of diverse networks lies in the variety of information such ties tap into, the advantage of strong ties stems from the motivation individuals have to act on behalf of a focal person (Granovetter, 1982; Krackhardt, 1992). As

Granovetter notes in reference to his seminal 1973 "The Strength of Weak Ties" article:

Lest readers of ["The Strength of Weak Ties"] . . . ditch all their close friends and set out to construct large networks of acquaintances, I had better say that strong ties can also have some value . . . strong ties have greater motivation [than weak ties] to be of assistance and are typically more easily available (1982: 113).

Indeed, empirical research on strong ties has shown that strong ties exhibit the highest levels of trust (Krackhardt, 1992) and are particularly helpful during times of uncertainty (Krackhardt & Stern, 1988). Thus, the entrepreneurial developmental network is made up of developers who are highly motivated to act on behalf of the protégé and who collectively provide access to a wide array of information.

The idea that individuals can benefit from simultaneously having strong ties and broad resources reflects more recent social network research. In the past, social network researchers have pointed out that tie strength and network density tend to be highly correlated, since like individuals tend to be attracted to and, thus, interact with like individuals; hence, people with whom an individual has strong ties will tend to be affiliated (Berscheid & Walster, 1978; Byrne, 1971). More recently, however, scholars have suggested that bridging ties are not necessarily weak ties (Gabbay, 1997; McEvily & Zaheer, 1999). High correlations are most likely found within bounded social systems, such as organizations. In the case of developmental networks, however, we have suggested that developmental ties may span organizational boundaries, thus reducing the possibility for interconnectedness. For example, although an individual may have a strong developmental relationship with a colleague, with a former boss, and with a neighbor, their being strong ties does not necessarily imply interconnection between them, since they emerge from very different social systems.

Opportunistic Developmental Networks

Opportunistic developmental networks differ from entrepreneurial developmental networks with respect to the strength of the relationships that make up the protégé's developmental network. Developmental relationship strength depends upon high levels of reciprocity, frequency of communication, and emotional closeness, all of which involve more than simply the receipt of mentoring assistance. If the protégé does not actively seek help from and cultivate developmental relationships, the multiple ties that he or she does happen to have are likely to be weak. Someone who is passively engaged in a developmental relationship may receive help when it is offered or may ask for help from others on occasion, but that individual may then refrain from reciprocating,

initiating further, or expressing himself or herself fully to help the relationship grow, thus thwarting the development of strong interpersonal bonds. The term *opportunistic* reflects both an individual's openness toward receiving developmental assistance from multiple sources and his or her generally passive stance toward actively initiating and cultivating such relationships.

Traditional Developmental Networks

Traditional developmental networks are made up of few developers who have, on average, strong ties to the protégé. We expect that the prototypical case will be an individual who has a strong-tie relationship with a primary developer that is characterized by mutual respect, trust, and sharing. In addition, there may be one or more other developmental relationships that come from the same social context, such as an employer. We use the term *traditional*, since having one strong primary relationship (denoted in Figure 1 as D1) is generally assumed to be the classic case of mentoring. Because traditional developmental networks are less likely to be as large as either opportunistic or entrepreneurial developmental networks, we have depicted the ideal type of traditional developmental network as composed of one strong tie to one social system and one additional tie associated with that same social system. Since the overall strength of the ties that make up this developmental network is strong, it is likely that the developmental relationship(s) other than the primary developmental relationship will also be strong or, at least, not all weak, as shown in Figure 1. Further, given that the ties are affiliated with the same social system, it is likely that there will be interconnection between them. That is, the likelihood of D1's knowing D2 is much greater in the traditional developmental network than it is in either the opportunistic or entrepreneurial developmental network configurations.

Whereas the information received from an opportunistic or entrepreneurial developmental network is likely to be nonredundant, the information received from a traditional developmental network composed of developers who come from the same social system is likely to be redundant or highly similar. Therefore, we expect to find relatively fewer differences in the types of developmental assistance provided by a set of developers making up a traditional developmental network, compared to an opportunistic or entrepreneurial developmental network.

Receptive Developmental Networks

Receptive developmental networks are made up of few weak-tie developmental relationships that come from the same social system. Since the relationships are based upon linkages to the same social system, the likelihood of D1 and D2's knowing one another is greater than would be the case for either the

opportunistic or entrepreneurial developmental networks – similar to the traditional developmental network. The relationships between the developers D1 and D2 may be strong or weak. However, given the similarity attraction hypothesis (Byrne, 1971), we expect receptive developmental networks made up of weak ties between the protégé and his or her developers to exhibit less clique-like structures composed of strongly linked individuals (Burt, 1980) than will traditional developmental networks.¹

As in the traditional developmental network, the developers in a receptive developmental network are more likely to provide similar information, including similar attitudes and cognitive judgments (Carley, 1991). Yet, unlike the traditional developmental network, the support provided to the protégé is less likely to be strong. Relatively consistent but weak support is the likely consequence of having a receptive developmental network. We use the term *receptive* to describe this developmental network, since it reflects the protégé's openness to receiving assistance and yet does not suggest that the protégé is actively initiating or cultivating developmental relationships.

Factors That Shape Developmental Networks

In line with structuration theory (Giddens, 1976), we expect that as patterns of developmental interaction emerge, they both constrain and facilitate individual-level action and behavior; this, in turn, affects the structural patterns of developmental interaction. The interactions that occur within the developmental network structure can modify that structure itself – as, for example, when an individual actively seeks to strengthen specific ties (cf. Monge & Eisenberg, 1987; Zeitz, 1980) – or work environment changes, such as organizational restructuring, can affect an individual's network structure (Burkhardt & Brass, 1990). Therefore, individuals can effect changes in their developmental networks and can simultaneously be constrained by their work environments in the types of developmental networks they are able to develop.

Figure 2 reflects these ideas. While we identify factors that shape developmental networks as “antecedents” and the implications for a protégé's career as “consequences,” we also recognize – given the dynamic nature of structuration – that causes and consequences will often be indistinguishable (Monge & Eisenberg, 1987). Similar to prior organizational researchers, we recognize that the combination of work environment factors and individual-level factors affect network formation (Ibarra, 1993). Further, the interaction between these factors is likely to be highly complex as individuals both shape and are shaped by their social networks (cf. Pescosolido, 1992).

Neither in social network research nor in mentoring research have there been multivariate studies that cross levels of analysis. More generally, organizational researchers tend to shy away from such endeavors (Klein, Dansereau, & Hall, 1994; Meyer, Tsui, & Hinings, 1993; Rousseau, 1985). Although our

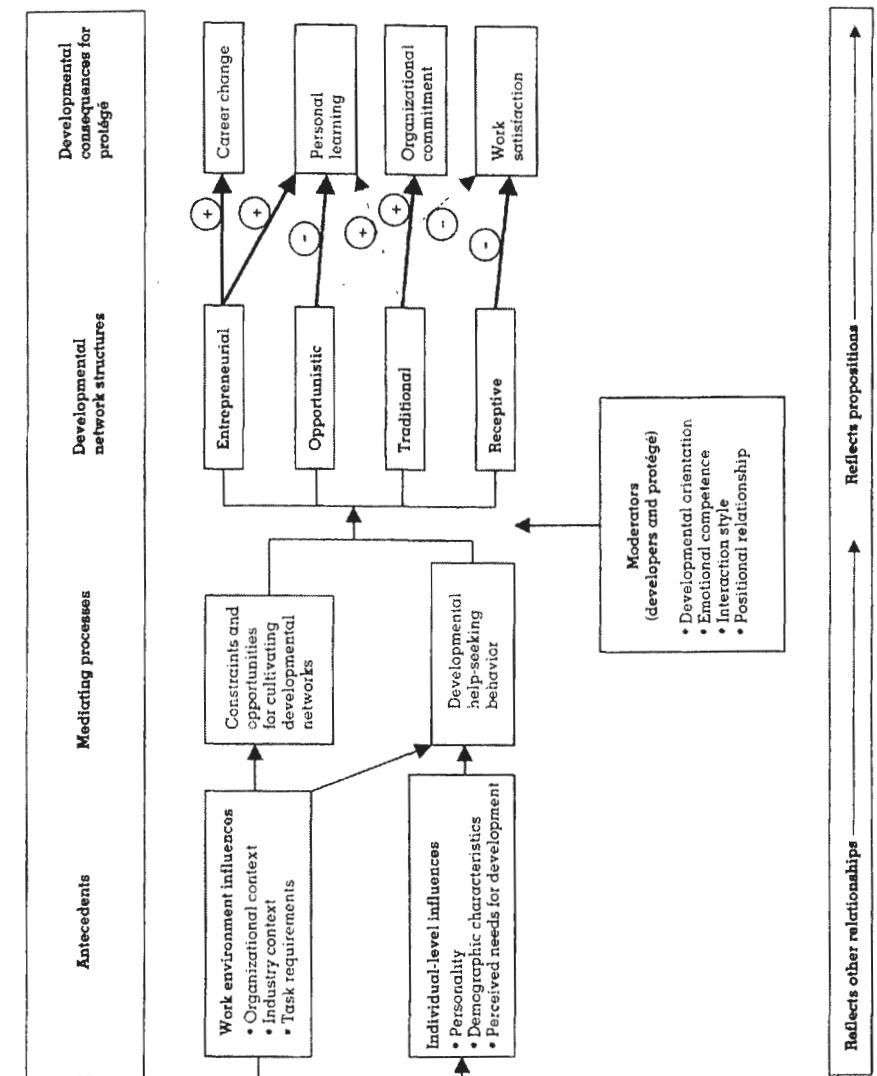


Figure 2: Antecedents and consequences of developmental networks

framework is not all inclusive, nor does it illustrate the full complexity of microlevel and macrolevel factors, it does highlight that both levels of analysis are essential to understanding the factors that shape developmental networks. Extending prior organizational research (e.g., Ibarra, 1993), we discuss the antecedents to the formation of a specific type of network – a developmental network – and we focus in particular on the consequences for protégés of having different types of developmental networks.

Work Environment Factors

Organization-level influences, such as the composition of an organization's workforce, can affect interaction patterns (Kanter, 1977) and, hence, an individual's opportunities and constraints for network development. Ibarra's (1992) study on men and women's networks in an advertising agency showed that women had social support and friendship ties with other women but instrumental ties with men, whereas men did not have such heterophilous ties and their ties were stronger. Underlying this work is the notion that the availability of similar ties in the formal structure of the organization affects constraints on network choices (Ibarra, 1993).

In other research, Burkhardt and Brass (1990) found that changes in organizational technology affected interaction patterns within an organization (see also Burkhardt, 1994). The availability of information technology, such as electronic mail, affects the accessibility and probability of interaction (Fulk, Steinfield, Schmitz, & Power, 1987), as well as the quality of interactions (Sproull & Kiesler, 1986). Also, research on physical and temporal proximity has long suggested that spatial proximity facilitates the initiation and maintenance of ties (Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950). Thus, we expect that many aspects of the formal organizational context, as well as the informal organizational context, such as the implicit values and norms that shape individual behavior, will affect an individual's opportunities and constraints on cultivating multiple developmental relationships, as depicted in Figure 2.

Beyond organization-level influences, we expect that aspects of the industry and/or task can shape the cultivation of developmental networks (Baker, 1992). Since developmental networks span organizational boundaries, such considerations are relevant. For example, working in a "cosmopolitan" or outward-focused (cf. Gouldner, 1957, 1958) industry like the entertainment industry can facilitate the development of multiple extraorganizational ties, increasing the diversity of one's developmental network (Ensher, Murphy, & Sullivan, 2000). Individuals who are working in rapidly changing and dynamic industries and/or are working on tasks that require ample time in extraorganizational activities, such as attending conferences and professional associations and/or engaging in client work, will naturally come in contact with a greater variety of potential developers. Similarly, individuals serving boundary-spanning roles (e.g., Daft, 1995) will have expanded opportunities

for network development. Such industry contexts and task characteristics should broaden rather than narrow an individual's work-related discussion network and, in turn, his or her opportunities for cultivating multiple, diverse developmental relationships.

Individual-level Factors

Whereas aspects of the work environment primarily affect an individual's constraints and opportunities for developmental network cultivation, individual-level factors affect developmental help-seeking behavior, as shown in Figure 2. Research on helping behavior has shown that individuals are more likely to seek help when they feel psychologically safe – that is, when there is minimal threat to one's ego or sense of self (Fisher, Nadler, & Whitcher-Alagna, 1982; see Wills, 1991, for a review). For example, Higgins (1999b) has shown that perceptions of evaluation during novel learning situations deter help-seeking behavior. Nadler and Fisher's (1986) work suggests that there are interactive effects associated with threats to the self and perceptions of control such that when the need for help is high and individuals enjoy perceptions of control, they will be more likely to seek out help; those who do not have these perceptions will enter a helpless state. Perceptions of control may stem from personality characteristics, such as self-esteem and achievement motivation (Nadler, 1991). Other researchers have found direct effects for such personality characteristics as shyness on help-seeking behavior (DePaulo, Dull, Greenberg, & Swaim, 1989).

In a related line of research, studies on feedback-seeking behavior have shown that feedback-seeking decreases as the organizational context in which the feedback is sought becomes more public and more evaluative (Ashford & Northcraft, 1992; see Levy, Albright, Cawley, & Williams, 1995, for a review). Similar to the help-seeking literature, the feedback-seeking literature indicates that there are competing motives at play, including the desire for feedback and the desire to maintain a positive impression (Ashford & Tsui, 1991; Morrison, 1993). When an individual's ability to cope with negative feedback is strengthened and the need to maintain positive self-esteem is lessened, the individual is more likely to seek feedback (Trobe & Neter, 1994). Specific aspects of the organizational context, such as supervisor supportiveness and peer reactions, have also been associated with feedback-seeking motives and behaviors (Williams, Miller, Steelman, & Levy, 1999). Therefore, research on both help-seeking and feedback-seeking has shown that individual-level factors, as well as some work environment factors, can engender feelings of threat that deter an individual from seeking out needed help and feedback.

In addition, individual-level demographic factors, such as nationality and gender, also may affect both the range of developers as well as the amount of developmental assistance sought. For example, Japanese workers tend to

prefer strong multiplex ties, whereas French employees tend to form weak ties at work (Monge & Eisenberg, 1987). In recent cross-national research, scholars found effects for nationality on help-seeking attitudes, beyond well-established factors such as gender: individuals from the United States and Israel were significantly more willing to seek help than were those from Hungary (Cohen, Guttman, & Lazar, 1998). These scholars stress the underlying importance of nationality in affecting the behavioral patterns and coping mechanisms individuals prefer that may be attributable to differential features of the cultures studied, such as religious and political orientation. There is also substantial evidence across help-seeking studies that women tend to seek help more often than men (e.g., Fischer, Winer, & Abramowitz, 1983).

Finally, an individual's perceived needs for developmental assistance, perhaps affected by prior experiences, may affect the likelihood that the individual will seek developmental assistance and the extent to which he or she will seek help broadly (Kram, 1996; Miller & Stiver, 1997). Individuals who have received helpful support in the past from colleagues may be more prone to turn to intraorganizational sources for developmental assistance. Alternatively, individuals with negative prior experiences may choose not to seek out developmental relationships at all, preferring to "go it alone."

Moderating Factors

Several factors may moderate the effects of both constraints and opportunities for cultivating developmental networks and individuals' developmental help-seeking behavior on the types of developmental network structures that result. We highlight four here – two that have been studied previously and two that are relatively new to the literature on careers and adult development. We offer propositions regarding the latter two moderating factors.

First, as prior social network scholars have suggested, an individual's interaction style can affect the types of networks and relationships the individual is able to form (Ibarra, 1993). If, for example, the protégé's interaction style leaves the developer feeling bothered, the protégé's help-seeking is unlikely to yield strong-tie relationships. And if, for example, the developer's interaction style leaves the protégé feeling patronized, a strong-tie relationship is also unlikely to form. Second, in prior social network research, scholars have found that the perceived and/or formal power of an alter (here, developer) affects the importance that ego (here, protégé) places on the alter's opinions (Brass, 1984). Therefore, the developer's positional relationship or "power" vis-à-vis the protégé may affect the quality of the developmental relationships that form (Ragins, 1997a).

Third, we expect the protégé's orientation toward career development to moderate the effects of help-seeking on the strength of the developmental relationships that result. Individuals who seek out developmental relationships for the primary purpose of furthering their own careers will tend to exhibit

help-seeking that can be described as instrumental, strategic, and, in the extreme instance, self-centered. However, individuals who actively engage in seeking out developmental relationships for both career and psychosocial assistance will tend to be focused on personal growth and learning that extend beyond immediate concerns regarding career advancement (Miller & Stiver, 1997). With the latter orientation, the protégé is more apt to fully express himself or herself with others (Kahn, 1990) and to act in an authentic (Baxter, 1982) and nondefensive manner (Gibb, 1961).

These two forms of engagement in developmental relationships reflect different perspectives on development. The latter, more expressive form of engagement closely resembles recent relational or intersubjective models of adult development (Jordan, 1997; Jordan et al., 1991; Miller, 1986). Originally based on research on women's psychology (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986), the perspective that individuals grow in connection to others has recently been touted as critical to understanding human development (Fletcher, 1996; Miller & Stiver, 1997). It is likely that both protégés and developers will have a primary approach to development, either emphasizing one or the other type or a combination of both. We speculate that when the latter, more expressive – as opposed to instrumental – form is enacted, the relationships that develop are likely to be quite strong. Thus, we offer the following proposition.

Proposition 1: When the protégé and his or her developers have an expressive as opposed to instrumental orientation toward career development, strong-tie developmental relationships are most likely to form, yielding either traditional or entrepreneurial developmental networks.

Fourth, we also expect that the protégé's emotional competence will affect whether the protégé's help-seeking behavior results in strong-tie relationships. Without essential social competencies, such as empathy and conflict management skills, relationships might be thwarted before a high level of trust and mutuality is established. Similarly, without the capacity for self-awareness, the protégé is unlikely to be able to build relationships that will be responsive to his or her developmental needs (Goleman, 1995; Kram & Cherniss, in press). Thus, many of the personal and social competencies originally defined by Goleman (1995, 1998) can enable individuals to cultivate and sustain relationships with developmental potential. In the absence of these competencies, protégés may seek out developmental assistance, but the ties they form will be unlikely to exhibit the mutuality and reciprocity that are characteristic of strong-tie relationships.

Further, without emotional competence on the part of the developer(s), strong-tie developmental relationships are unlikely to form. As Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs (1997) have found, people who are particularly high in other-oriented empathy are more likely to engage in mentoring relationships (see also Allen et al., 1997; Aryee et al., 1996; and Ragins & Cotton, 1993). The capacity for self-awareness may increase a developer's ability to benefit from the relationship,

leading to reciprocity and mutuality that characterize strong interpersonal relationships (Goleman, 1995; Miller & Stiver, 1997). Therefore, we expect the following to be true.

Proposition 2: The greater the protégé's and his or her developer(s)' emotional competence, the more likely strong-tie relationships will form, yielding either entrepreneurial or traditional developmental networks.

Although other moderating factors could be considered, the two we highlight here – developmental orientation and emotional competence – provide a useful complement to the social structural perspective we have proposed thus far. They suggest that in addition to social structural position vis-à-vis one another, the ways people interact play a critical role in how developmental relationships are likely to unfold (e.g., Kram, 1985; Thomas, 1993).

Implications for the Protégé's Career

Here we consider the implications for a protégé's career of having different types of developmental networks. As before, we note our dialectical position: while certain developmental networks and protégé career outcomes may tend to go together, we recognize that these tendencies reflect a continuous and interactive process (Zeitl, 1980). Thus, consistent with prior social network research, we consider "consequences" for protégés of having different developmental networks and yet recognize that protégés may act upon and change the structure of their developmental networks (cf. Brass, 1995).

We consider four protégé career outcomes that are of significance for the protégé's personal and professional development: career change, personal learning, organizational commitment, and work satisfaction. These are also important career outcomes for organizations since they concern the mobility and professional development of an employer's workforce (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 1996; Mirvis & Hall, 1994). Our propositions reflect both positive and negative associations among different types of developmental networks and protégé career outcomes. Although we note that these developmental outcomes are not orthogonal to one another, they are conceptually distinct and so may be considered separately. We focus on these four since we expect to find strong effects with respect to each, enabling us to differentiate one developmental network from another.

Career Change

Uncontrollable events, such as mergers, acquisitions, or downsizings, can lead to changes in an individual's career; we focus here on change that occurs as a result of the protégé's own initiative. Recent research has shown that the greater the range of developers an individual has, the more likely the individual

is to change careers – that is, to change organizations, to change jobs, and to believe that the move was a "career change" from what he or she did before (Higgins, 1999a). We propose that individuals with entrepreneurial developmental networks will be more likely to experience change along any one of the aforementioned dimensions. Further, we do not take a position as to whether the increasing occurrence of change will necessarily be positive or negative for the protégé; such evaluations likely will depend upon the protégé's subsequent experiences, developmental opportunities, and personal work/life situation.

Receiving career assistance from a variety of developers should increase the individual's information, resources, and access to a variety of career possibilities (cf. Burt, 1992). Moreover, since strong ties, as opposed to weak ties, are likely to be highly motivated to help the protégé (Krackhardt, 1992), we expect that the sort of exposure and visibility provided to the protégé will be significant, affecting not only the protégé's opportunities for change but the viability of such opportunities as well. Further, when this information is conveyed by strong-tie relationships, it is most likely to be influential because of the repeated interaction and emotional closeness associated with such ties (Rice & Aydin, 1991). Therefore, individuals with entrepreneurial developmental networks are also more likely to act on the advice they receive – to actualize the options provided to them by their developers (Higgins, 1999a).

Research on group decision making supports this association as well. Organizational scholars have found that diversity among group members leads to enhanced information processing that facilitates the consideration of alternative courses of action (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). Although a protégé's developmental network is certainly not a "real" decision-making group (e.g., Hackman, 1987), the underlying theory still applies. Even if the protégé does not receive actual job or career opportunities from his or her developers, the exposure to such different and strong perspectives is likely to lead to greater cognitive flexibility (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998) and, subsequently, to an increased probability that the individual will decide to change careers in the future. Just as diversity within teams has been associated with innovative decision making due to the variety of perspectives brought to the group by different individuals (Hambrick, Cho, & Chen, 1996), so, too, may diverse developmental networks increase the perspectives an individual is exposed to, affecting the likelihood of change. Thus, we offer the following.

Proposition 3: Individuals with entrepreneurial developmental networks are more likely to experience change in their careers than individuals who have opportunistic, traditional, or receptive developmental networks.

Personal Learning

Personal learning as a developmental consequence for a protégé is a larger umbrella term for the following outcomes: (1) increased clarity of professional identity (one's unique talents and contributions at work); (2) increased clarity

of personal values, strengths, and weaknesses; and (3) increased awareness of developmental needs, reactions, and patterns of behavior (Kram, 1996). Clearly, an individual can increase his or her own sense of clarity in these areas in a variety of ways, including reading books, engaging in research and writing, and receiving formalized feedback at work. Additionally, organizational scholars such as Mirvis and Hall (1994) have suggested that developmental relationships are critical to an individual's ability to find his or her own "path with a heart" (Peck, 1993): a process in which the individual integrates and learns from diverse work and life experiences. Trusted developmental relationships can serve as emotional anchors that facilitate this learning process.

First, we expect that individuals with strong-tie developmental relationships will experience more personal learning than those with weak-tie relationships. Strong-tie developmental relationships are most likely to provide significant amounts of psychosocial assistance because of the intimacy and frequency of communication that characterize such ties. Psychosocial functions, such as role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship, are critical to the protégé's own sense of competence, identity, and effectiveness in a professional role (Kram, 1985). Although career functions such as protection and sponsorship may aid an individual's career advancement, an individual's clarity of identity and understanding of developmental needs and personal values are most likely to be realized through developmental relationships that are characterized by mutual trust, interdependence, and reciprocity (Kram, 1996). Therefore, traditional and entrepreneurial developmental networks should generally be associated with greater personal learning than receptive or opportunistic developmental networks.

Second, since high levels of network diversity increase an individual's access to a variety of information and perspectives (Papa, 1990), we expect individuals with entrepreneurial developmental networks to experience greater learning than those with traditional developmental networks. So, although a protégé is likely to learn a great deal from engaging in a traditional developmental network, the lack of range among his or her developers may limit the exposure to and therefore the breadth of personal learning he or she experiences. (We indicate this weaker association between traditional developmental networks and personal learning with a dotted line in Figure 2).

Research on organizational demography as well as social networks supports this line of thinking. In general, scholars agree that the diversity of a group increases the range of knowledge, skills, and contacts available, thus enhancing problem-solving capabilities (e.g., Ancona & Caldwell, 1992; Buntel & Jackson, 1989; Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999; for a review see Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). In a similar fashion, organizational scholars have recently suggested that networks that are sparse and those that are rich in strong ties will positively affect performance on exploration (versus exploitation) types of tasks that involve acquiring new knowledge (Hansen, Podolny, & Pfeffer, 2000). Here, the greater the number of social systems represented by an individual's

developmental network, the greater the variety of exposure he or she has, increasing the range of knowledge obtained regarding different industries, jobs, organizations, or markets and, hence, the possibilities for learning. When this information is conveyed by strong-tie relationships, it is most likely to be based upon a greater understanding of the protégé's developmental needs due to the frequency of communication and emotional closeness between the two individuals, increasing the depth of personal learning. Therefore, protégés who have strong ties with a wide range of developers – that is, an entrepreneurial developmental network – should experience relatively high levels of personal learning.

Proposition 4: Individuals with entrepreneurial developmental networks are more likely to benefit in terms of their own personal learning than individuals with traditional, opportunistic, or receptive developmental networks.

In contrast, we expect that receiving developmental assistance from developers to whom a protégé does not feel emotionally close and who are from a diverse set of social systems will be detrimental to the protégé's personal learning. As recent social network research has indicated, there is no reason to assume that others are necessarily motivated to help the focal person (here, a protégé); this is only likely to be the case when the ties between the two individuals (here, the developers) are strong (Gabbay, 1997; Krackhardt, 1992). Receiving assistance from individuals who are not highly motivated to act on the protégé's behalf is unlikely to be as beneficial to the protégé's personal learning, since those individuals are less engaged in the developmental relationships themselves (Kram, 1996). In weak-tie developmental relationships, the lack of intimacy prevents the depth of information transferred regarding the protégé's own strength and weaknesses, since personal coaching and feedback require a certain level of trust and risk-taking behavior (Hall, Otazo, & Hollenbeck, 1999; Pryor, 1994). Further, the infrequency of communication and lack of shared heuristics for expressing thoughts and ideas characterizing weak-tie relationships reduce the developers' ability to help the protégé identify patterns of behavior and developmental needs (cf. Hansen et al., 2000). Individuals with such developmental networks may need to turn to alternative, less interactive sources (e.g., books) in order to experience significant personal learning.

Therefore, although an opportunistic developmental network may provide great breadth of information and resources to a protégé, with developers' limited understanding of what would truly help the individual grow and develop, these relationships might actually leave the protégé confused rather than increasingly clear regarding his or her own needs, values, strengths, and weaknesses. And with less mutuality and understanding on the part of the developers, the protégé will likely be less willing to be vulnerable and open to exploring different opportunities and identities with them (Miller &

Stiver, 1997). The capacity for self-reflection, empathy, and active listening are essential to an individual's ability to grow in connection with others (Fletcher, 1996; Jordan et al., 1991; Miller, 1991). Thus, receiving diverse information and access from individuals who are weakly tied to the protégé may hinder rather than facilitate personal learning.

Proposition 5: Individuals with opportunistic developmental networks are less likely to experience personal learning than individuals with entrepreneurial, traditional, or receptive developmental networks.

Organizational Commitment

We expect employees with traditional developmental networks to be relatively highly committed to the organizations in which they work. Organizational commitment refers to the psychological bond between a member and his or her employer that may be characterized by emotional, behavioral, and cognitive consistency (Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979). One of the key aspects of organizational commitment is a member's strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's goals and values (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982; Pratt, 1998). Both attitudes and cognitive judgments tend to be similar among actors with direct linkages and interaction (Burkhardt, 1994; Carley, 1991; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). By extension, we expect individuals with developers who come from the same social system, such as an employer, to possess relatively more similar information and attitudes and, hence, to provide more consistent messages and/or advice to the protégé than developers who come from different social systems.

In the case of the traditional developmental network, similar information is provided in strong-tie relationships, yielding relatively consistent guidance. Receiving high levels of developmental assistance has been found to be positively associated with intentions to remain with a firm and, in turn, to one's commitment to an employer in the long run (Higgins & Thomas, in press). To the extent that such assistance comes from developers who work in the protégé's own firm, as is likely the case with a traditional developmental network, the similarity in attitudes he or she experiences will tend to be aligned with the goals of that organization, increasing the protégé's normative commitment to the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990). Indeed, in prior research scholars have found that relational proximity – the extent to which individuals communicate directly and frequently with one another in a firm – is positively associated with organizational commitment (Hartman & Johnson, 1989). Thus, while it is possible that all of the protégé's strong-tie intraorganizational developmental relations might convey negative rather than positive organizational messages and, for example, suggest that the protégé leave the organization, we expect such instances to be rare. In general, we expect the similarity in developer attitudes to reflect positively on the organization, increasing the

protégé's positive regard for the firm and, hence, affective commitment as well (Meyer & Allen, 1984).

We also expect protégés with traditional developmental networks to be more involved in the organization, leading to behavioral forms of organizational commitment (Kiesler, 1971). Sponsorship, providing challenging work assignments, and exposure and visibility are all important forms of career assistance provided by developers who have a strong interpersonal bond with a protégé (Kram, 1985). Since all of the protégé's ties in the traditional developmental network are intraorganizational, such exposure and visibility are likely to lead to further ties within the upper echelons of the organization (Dreher & Ash, 1990), increasing the likelihood that the protégé will be ready and willing to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization – that is, behavioral organizational commitment (Mowday et al., 1982). Finally, since individuals with traditional developmental relationships are not likely to have extraorganizational ties, they should also have fewer opportunities to leave, increasing their perceived costs of leaving their firm – what scholars have called “continuance commitment” to an organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990).

Proposition 6: Individuals with traditional developmental networks will experience higher levels of organizational commitment than individuals with entrepreneurial, opportunistic, or receptive developmental networks.

Work Satisfaction

We expect protégés with receptive or opportunistic developmental networks to experience relatively lower levels of work satisfaction than individuals with traditional or entrepreneurial developmental networks. With weak-tie developmental relationships, a protégé is unlikely to experience the acceptance and confirmation of one's work that come through high levels of meaningful interaction with others (Kram, 1985). Having meaningful social connections with coworkers tends to increase an individual's “psychological presence” and engagement in the work he or she does (Kahn, 1990). Receiving high levels of psychosocial support, even from just a single developmental relationship, has been associated with high levels of satisfaction at work (Higgins, 2000). In receptive and opportunistic developmental networks, the protégé does not have even one such tie, which leads to low levels of work satisfaction.

Furthermore, we expect that those with receptive developmental networks will be even less satisfied at work than those who have opportunistic developmental networks (as shown in Figure 2). Satisfaction with one's work or job generally is positively associated with the individual's sense of the probability of goal success (Locke, 1976; see Roberson, 1990, for a review). Without high levels of career and psychosocial support from within one's own organization, individuals are likely to feel less confident that they are valued for their own abilities, thus decreasing their sense of potential (Higgins & Thomas,

in press). Indeed, we expect that having intraorganizational developmental relationships with people to whom one is *not* emotionally close might actually increase, rather than decrease, the amount of stress an individual experiences at work. The absence of psychosocial support that characterizes such weak intraorganizational ties may signal a lack of enthusiasm, or at least uncertainty, regarding the protégé's potential, increasing his or her stress at work. An individual who is stressed may become withdrawn and may not perform up to his or her potential (Jamal, 1984), leading to a negative spiral that decreases protégé satisfaction at work.

Proposition 7: Individuals with receptive developmental networks are more likely to experience lower levels of work satisfaction than individuals with traditional, entrepreneurial, or opportunistic developmental networks.

Conclusion

Our purpose in this article has been to stimulate research and thinking about the multiple relational sources from which individuals receive mentoring assistance in their careers. Our review of the theory and research on mentoring and careers suggests that a reconceptualization of mentoring is needed. In the mentoring literature we find a theoretical readiness to consider alternative forms of mentoring, and in the career research we find evidence to suggest that a reconsideration of the sources of developmental relationships and the context in which they occur is called for. In this article we capitalize on this momentum by offering theory and propositions in which mentoring is regarded as a multiple relationship phenomenon – as a developmental network. The typology we propose (Figure 1) offers a starting point for understanding different types of developmental networks individuals form as they navigate their careers. We believe that, in conjunction with existing research on mentoring, this conceptual framework has the potential to explain individual behavior in and across organizations.

Our framework, illustrating the multiple factors that shape the emergence of developmental network types (Figure 2), and our propositions, associated with different developmental network configurations, offer researchers a specific agenda for future research. In addition, our intent has been to define several new lines of inquiry. For example, we have focused on informal relationships in this article, but one could extend our propositions to consider the link between formal and informal developmental relationships as well. It might be that formal programs offer individuals opportunities to have weak-tie relationships that, over time, might develop into more mutually reciprocal, strong, and informal “mentor” quality relationships. In future research scholars could also examine the extent to which formal programs enhance an individual's sense of personal control, which, as we have suggested, can positively affect developmental help-seeking. Thus, one important benefit of

formal mentoring programs may be to affect how actively individuals seek out and cultivate multiple developmental relationships.

Further, although in the present research, as in prior research, we have emphasized implications for the protégé's career, researchers could employ our framework to study career implications for developers. Taking the developer's perspective, researchers could examine the extent to which different types of developmental networks facilitate a sense of generativity, personal satisfaction, and personal learning. Although not often studied, these career outcomes are likely to be more salient for developers than outcomes, such as advancement, that are often studied in research on mentoring. Moreover, examining whether the developer(s)' preferences for certain types of developmental networks complement the preferences of the protégé may lend insight into the extent to which developmental relationships grow into mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationships. Just as prior research has shown that similar communication strategies between a developer and a protégé lead to effective interaction (Thomas, 1993), it may be the case that similar preferences for developmental network structures affect the quality of protégé-developer interactions.

Additionally, one could explore other protégé career outcomes, such as protégé career advancement, that may be associated with certain types of developmental networks. Important contingencies may hold. For example, it could be that having a traditional developmental network in a start-up organization in a new market (such as e-commerce) might derail one's career, because such an environment would reward external affiliations. Moreover, since social network researchers have found that men and women benefit from having different types of social networks, gender may moderate the effects of developmental network structures on certain protégé career outcomes. In sum, there may be important factors that moderate the effects of developmental network structures on the career outcomes proposed here, as well as on other outcomes, such as career advancement. These possibilities remain for future research.

Organizational scholars could also engage in longitudinal research to understand if and how developmental network structures and protégé career outcomes change over time. Such work would enable researchers to attend to issues of causality that we, like scholars of social network research, have suggested are highly complex and difficult to tease apart (Brass, 1995). Even simply studying the stability of developmental network structures would further the present research. Only recently have scholars begun to tackle the issue of the dynamics of social networks (e.g., Morgan, Neal, & Carder, 1996; Wellman, Wong, Tindall, & Nazer, 1997). Our typology necessarily presumes some stability in social structures, and yet, consistent with prior social network research (Ibarra, 1993), we have acknowledged that individuals' networks are subject to constraints that are beyond the protégé's control. Understanding, for example, whether individuals tend to “replace” relationships at the

dyadic level and yet maintain a basic and preferred developmental network structure during different career stages would contribute to both mentoring and social network research (Wellman et al., 1997). Understanding if and how developmental networks change from, for example, opportunistic to entrepreneurial developmental networks may signify other different and yet important ways that protégés can personally learn.

While we have investigated strong- and weak-tie developmental relationships in this article, researchers could move further down our continuum to study dysfunctional developmental relationships. For example, one could study the conditions under which individuals cultivate relationships they perceive as developmental but that actually undermine their ability to learn or develop professionally (Higgins & Nohria, 1999). Or, in the more extreme case, one could study relationships that are actually unhelpful (Scandura, 1998) – those in which others intentionally derail a protégé's career – and the costs of such relationships in the context of an individual's having a particular type of developmental network.

In order to test the specific propositions set forth in this article and, more generally, to study mentoring as a multiple relationship phenomenon, researchers will need to attend to both network- and dyad-level considerations. At the dyadic level, similar to work on career development (e.g., Kram, 1985; Thomas, 1993) and on adult development (e.g., Jordan, 1997; Levinson et al., 1978; Miller & Stiver, 1997), researchers will need to assess different qualities of developmental relationships. However, to the extent that these developmental networks consist of *sets* of dyads, the composition of the entire developmental network must be accounted for, as social network research informs us. Thus, empirically studying mentoring from a developmental network perspective will require different and complementary research methods.

For example, identifying an individual's developmental network will require modifying traditional mentoring questions in at least three ways. First, respondents should be allowed, even encouraged, to offer multiple names of developers. Second, respondents should be encouraged to think broadly (i.e., beyond organizational boundaries) when identifying developers. Also, although we have emphasized cross-organizational developmental relationships as constituting developmental network "diversity" here, other boundaries may also warrant study: in large, highly diversified organizations, having developmental relationships that cross divisions or even countries may constitute the appropriate level of analysis. Third, consistent with social network research, the name-generator device should ask respondents to consider relationships they have had over the past year (Burt, 1992); such relationships may be considered "current" and, hence, provide the researcher with data on simultaneous (rather than sequential) relationships – that is, a network.

Although in some prior survey research scholars have made the first modification (e.g., Baugh & Scandura, 1999; Higgins & Thomas, in press), studies of the social structure of individuals' developmental *networks* have been

rare, as we discussed. This may be due, in part, to the lack of prior research methods for conducting such analysis. Today we are fortunate to be able to draw on social network tools and techniques to better understand the structure of individuals' multiple developmental relationships. Although we focus on one measure of developmental network diversity – range – in this article, other measures, such as network density, could be used that still tap into the underlying dimension of redundancy of information flow (for reviews, see Burt, 1983; Krackhardt, 1994; and Marsden, 1990).

Fully gauging the extent to which developmental relationships exhibit the mutuality and reciprocity that are characteristic of strong ties will require in-depth qualitative research, reflecting the research approach in some of the foundational work on mentoring (e.g., Kram, 1985; Levinson et al., 1978) and the clinical work underlying the development of relational theory (e.g., Jordan et al., 1991; Miller & Stiver, 1997). Interview questions could be used to generate accounts of how each of the protégé's relationships began and then to generate illustrative examples of how the protégé and his or her developers interacted, including openness to feedback-giving and -receiving. Additionally, survey methods could be used to assess the frequency of communication and affective closeness between the protégé and his or her developers, consistent with prior social network research (for a review see Marsden & Campbell, 1984).

We recognize that employing research strategies that cross levels of analysis places a greater burden on those who wish to conduct research on mentoring. Yet we believe the incremental costs incurred will provide tremendous value to individuals, organizations concerned with creating a developmental culture, and researchers alike. For individuals, understanding the opportunities and constraints involved in developing different developmental networks should lend insight into past behaviors and future career development opportunities that they might want to pursue in today's environment. Additionally, as suggested, individuals and organizations could gain insight into both positive and negative implications of developing or encouraging different developmental networks. Practical implications of regarding mentoring as a multiple relationship phenomenon are certainly more complex, yet at the same time more enlightening, as they point to multiple possible sources and configurations of support.

For researchers, this added complexity mirrors changes in other areas of research in organizational behavior. Scholars have noted that, in addition to the increasing pressure to respond to competitive conditions and to meet ongoing customer demands, organizations must now also contend with such complex organizational forms as virtual organizations, clashing cultures as merger and acquisition activity increases, expanding international and global economies, and the emergence of ever-changing and omnipresent information technologies. We expect that these changing conditions at the organizational

as well as market levels will have similarly frenetic implications for individuals and their careers. Individuals will increasingly look beyond organizational boundaries to multiple sources for mentoring support as they navigate their careers. There will always be an important place both in research and in practice for traditional mentoring relationships, but our review of the career and mentoring literature suggests that this traditional model is but one configuration individuals may expect to experience in their careers. Just as the boundaries of organizations and careers today have come under review, so too is it time to reconsider the boundaries of mentoring.

Note

1. For an in-depth discussion of tendencies toward network closure, please see Coleman (1990).

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Learning to Produce Knowledge – The Contribution of Mentoring

Geof Alred and Bob Garvey

Introduction

'What did you learn at school today, Steve?'

'We read a story, and played in the gym, and I did some writing about my holiday'.

'Yes, but what did you learn?'

'I finished a page in my maths book, and I've got a new friend, he's called Tom'.

'Yes, but did you learn anything?'

'Can Tom come to my house?'

Saying what you have learned from experience is not always easy. Describing what you have done comes more readily, but translating description into awareness of the lasting effects of experience is a challenge of a different order, one which could be seen as a central aim of formal education, if going to school is to prepare people for going to work in a world where knowledge is a key resource, and uncertainty a certain feature:

'What did you learn at work today, Steve'.

'Most of the morning was taken up with discussions with suppliers. After that, I finished the annual report, it was difficult and I could have done with

more time, but it had to be in today. I arranged an appraisal interview with my line manager and then couldn't stop thinking about it when I should have been getting on with the latest development project. And just before I was coming home, a colleague wanted some help with a customer.'

'Yes, but what did you learn?'

'That's the second time you've asked me that! I don't know really, it was a fairly ordinary day, much like any other. I suppose I was surprised the report took so long, and I was pleased to be able to make some helpful suggestions about dealing with the customer.'

'Yes, but what did you learn that was new, what knowledge did you produce?'

'What knowledge did I produce – that's a strange question! I don't know, but it has made me think about how I interact with customers. Why do you ask?'

In contrast to Steve the schoolboy, Steve the employee has more to say about the day's activities. He reveals some insight into how he learns, a sense of something he is good at, how he can be distracted, how he needs to give tasks sufficient time, his ability to work under pressure. This second snippet of conversation touches upon a number of issues that are the province of learning. These issues come to the fore in understanding organisations when they are looked at from the perspective of knowledge productivity. (Knowledge productivity is understood here as the development of knowledge, through situated (see Lave & Wenger, 1991) learning experiences, which is applied to add value to goods and services. This is not to imply that the not-for-profit sector is excluded.) These issues include for example, time management, relationships, communication skills and sharing what you know, problem solving, creativity, emotions, metacognitive skills and a capacity to reflect upon behaviour and experience. In a knowledge productive organisation, Steve will ask himself the question – *what did I learn at work today?* – and will have several answers.

This paper is a discussion of what is at stake as people and organisations move towards being knowledge productive, towards individual and shared perceptions of knowledge productivity, and the contribution of mentoring (as part of a general developmental strategy) but also to such organisational and individual change.

There are a number of starting points. One is the acceptance that knowledge productivity is a valid and valuable perspective – many, perhaps all, organisations can profitably be viewed through the lens of knowledge productivity (Kessels, 1996; Drucker, 1992; Hamel & Prahalad, 1989, 1991). Nonaka (1996) identifies two essential features of a knowledge productive organisation.

Firstly, the management of the creation of new knowledge 'depends on tapping the tacit and often highly subjective insights, intuitions, and hunches of individual employees and making those insights available for testing and use by the company as a whole' (p. 19).

Secondly, 'the key to the process is personal commitment, the employees' sense of identity with the enterprise and its mission' (p. 19). Knowledge, as opposed to information, arises as much serendipitously as through planning and standard practices. Learning to be knowledge productive is a potential present in all aspects of employees' experiences, motivated by personal commitment to the opportunities and demands encountered at work.

A further starting point is the concept of a corporate curriculum. As developed by Kessels (1996), this captures the complex, diverse nature of learning in organisations. The corporate curriculum, it is argued, leads to the production of knowledge. As a working hypothesis, and perhaps as more than that, the economic, organisational and psychological arguments for adopting the perspective of knowledge productivity are persuasive (Starkey, 1998).

Another starting point is that knowledge, if viewed as a product, is the result of the process of learning. Learning, in all its richness and manifestations, becomes the central activity in a knowledge productive environment. Hence a theory of learning is essential to make explicit how learning is perceived, understood, enhanced and applied. However, learning as a process, disembodied and general, does not go far enough. What is required is a view of learning that helps us talk about the *person* of the learner – the employer/employee as a learner, powerfully and constructively self aware and optimally engaged in the organisation's activities.

And lastly, 'it is groups, not individuals, that adapt to their environments and . . . this is the basis for the peculiar genius of the human species. We are a successful species because we cheat; we tell each other the answers' (Emler & Heather, 1980). One important 'answer' we learn is how to learn, and we do this essentially with the help of others. From birth onwards, we learn in the context of relationships, including acquiring the ability to learn independently.

An important type of learning relationship is mentoring. This is an increasingly common feature of modern organisations (Clutterbuck, 1995). A broad definition of mentoring indicates the depth and scope of this form of support for one person by another:

A nurturing process in which a more skilled or more experienced person, serving as a role model, teaches, sponsors, encourages, counsels, and befriends a less skilled or less experienced person for the purpose of promoting the latter's professional and/or personal development. Mentoring functions are carried out within the context of an ongoing, caring relationship between the mentor and protégé (Anderson, 1987).

The Corporate Curriculum – Brain or Landscape

Kessels (1996) uses two metaphors to explore learning that leads to knowledge productivity. The metaphor of the brain represents formal and/or instructor-led learning. It emphasises knowledge management from the centre, which, Kessels argues, is becoming increasingly obsolete, because the nature of knowledge productivity is such that it 'cannot be managed by purposeful planning, systematic arrangement, and control' (p. 7). Knowledge management will come to be seen as 'a period of transition to a new economic order in which the daily work environment is an authentic learning situation that highlights the role of the learner over that of the instructor' (p. 8). This leads to the richer, open and more complex metaphor of a landscape in which learning takes place.

According to Kessels, the features of the landscape represent the challenges and opportunities of a corporate curriculum, whose functions entail:

- acquiring subject matter expertise and skill directly related to the scope of the target competencies;
- learning to solve problems by using this domain specific expertise;
- developing reflective skills and metacognitive ability conducive to locating paths leading to new knowledge and means for acquiring and applying this asset;
- securing communication skills that provide access to the knowledge network of others and that enrich the learning environments within the workplace;
- procuring skills that regulate motivation and affections related to learning;
- promoting peace and stability to enable specialisation, cohesion and integration;
- causing creative turmoil to instigate improvement and innovation (p. 11).

This is an impressive list, and one that calls for a theory of learning that gives centre stage to the *person* of the learner, active within a complex of relationships, engagements and commitments with others.

Situated Learning

Hence, in theorising about learning in organisations, there is a need to appreciate the influence of the context or situation of being at work. It is also important to recognise that the knowledge produced, be it subject matter expertise leading to the design of a new product or procedure, or something less tangible, such as communication skills, or rapport with customers, or the ability to use turmoil creatively, starts out simply as an inevitable consequence of being at work, of doing the job.

The significance of the current emphasis on workplace learning is not that learning did not take place until this new emphasis came along, but lies in the recognition that learning can and should be made more explicit. It lies in the idea that people can become more aware, and hence, potentially at least, more in control, of *what* and *how* they learn.

New learning may be refined and elaborated by subsequent reflection and rumination (Kolb, 1984), but, learning *from* experience is at root, learning *as* experience. This is a central tenet of the theory of *situated learning* (Lave & Wenger, 1991), which provides an alternative way of talking about the 'rich landscape' of the corporate curriculum. If the concept of knowledge productivity is an aid to understanding and utilising the learning inherent in work, situated learning theory provides a mirror image, seeing learning as a form of participation:

Learning viewed as situated activity has as its central defining characteristic a process that we call *legitimate peripheral participation*. By this we mean to draw attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural processes of a community. . . . A person's intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant in a sociocultural practice. This social process includes, indeed it subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills. (p. 29).

The key notion is 'legitimate peripheral participation'. *Peripheral* contrasts with *full*, it is a positive term and its conceptual antonyms are *unrelatedness* and *irrelevance*. It is a dynamic concept, suggesting an opening, a moving forward to greater participation in a sociocultural practice. This aspect of the theory of situated learning provides a basis for critically challenging the role of formal training in organisations and at the same time it gives impetus to the value of informal, situated learning.

The consequences of situated learning are manifest in relationships with other members of the organisation. For example through engagement in the organisation's social practices, by contributing to the achievement of the goals and aspirations of the organisation, and in the ways in which people relate to their concept of *self*.

A positive outcome, in these terms, is a sense of belonging and being valued in the organisation, of diverse competence as an employee, and of confidence in being yourself at work. Lave and Wenger ground the theory in ethnographies of communities of practice such as Yucatec midwives in Mexico, and Vai and Gola tailors in Africa. As the following quote illustrates, the theory offers a powerful view of learning:

As an aspect of social practice, learning involves the whole person; it implies not only a relation to specific activities, but a relation to social communities – it implies becoming a full participant, a member, a kind of

person. In this view, learning only partly – and often incidentally – implies becoming able to be involved in new activities, to perform new tasks and functions, to master new understandings. Activities, tasks, functions, and understandings do not exist in isolation; they are part of broader systems of relations in which they have meaning. These systems arise out of and are reproduced and developed within social communities, which are in part systems of relations among persons. . . . To ignore this aspect of learning is to overlook the fact that learning involves the construction of identities. . . . learning is not merely a condition for membership, but is itself an evolving form of membership. We conceive of identities as long-term, living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice. Thus identity, knowing, and social membership entail one another. (p. 53).

Situated learning foregrounds the *person* of the learner, their sense of themselves as a learner, in relationship with others, and at large in the learning landscape where ‘personnel and teams find their way and construct knowledge’ (Kessels, 1996, p. 10). Furthermore, by tying learning into participation, situated learning highlights the importance of certain qualities of the learner, such as preparedness, tenacity, flexibility, resourcefulness and self-regulation. It also recognises the prevalence and importance of informal learning.

Learning is a way of being in the social world, not a way of coming to know about it, let alone an extra to the ‘real’ business of work. It is a disposition or a cast of mind. Learners are engaged both in the contexts of their learning and in the broader social world within which these contexts are produced. Without this engagement, there is no learning but where the proper, wholesome and full engagement is sustained, learning will occur.

Lave and Wenger recognise the importance of language and talk as a powerful medium of social practice. For example, they cite the importance of stories in becoming a Yucatec midwife, and make an important distinction between talk *within* a practice and talk *about* a practice. For people at work, the purpose is not primarily to learn *from* talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation, it is to learn *to* talk the language of the organisation as the key to legitimate peripheral participation.

The view of learning as situated acknowledges that motivation to participate goes beyond task knowledge and skill, i.e. being able to write more efficient software, or to develop new products. A deeper sense of the value of participation to the learner lies in *becoming* part of the organisation, and in moving towards a greater sense of identity and self-confidence within it.

The Contributions of Mentoring – Working in the Learning Landscape

As already stated, the key notion in the theory of situated learning is ‘legitimate peripheral participation’. What contributions can mentoring make to being a legitimate peripheral participant in a knowledge productive organisation?

[The organisation is understood here as one in which the seven elements of the corporate curriculum are valued and actively pursued, one in which an individual’s competence to contribute to the organisation’s goals is subsumed within his or her sense of themselves within the organisational environment and culture.]

This question can be formulated in terms of the definition of mentoring given above which, in common with other discussions of mentoring (e.g. Smith & Alred, 1992), makes explicit a relationship between a ‘more skilled or more experienced person’ and ‘a less skilled or less experienced person’. A mentor is more fully involved in the organisation, or some part of it, than the mentee, in terms of experience, maturity, competence, knowledge and (usually) power. As a consequence, he or she is able, personally and professionally, to assist the mentee to participate more fully in the legitimate activities of the organisation. Such assistance is broader and deeper than management, and qualitatively different from formal training. In these terms, a set of answers to the above question is as follows.

The mentor seeks to consolidate in the mentee a sense of confidence and interest in learning. He or she fosters self-esteem, by encouraging honest self assessment by the mentee, and by showing concern for all aspects of the mentee’s experience and behaviour at work.

Organisations can be ‘powerful and pervasive contexts in which people develop their sense of self . . . faced with powerful managers who are more able to define organisational reality, the individual is in danger of taking on a sense of self that is defined by others’ (Chiaramonte & Mills, 1993, p. 151). The space created by mentoring provides an opportunity for the mentee to be more themselves at work, to recognise and resist organisational pressures to be false to themselves.

It has been claimed that ‘we fake emotional display in around a quarter of all communications’ (Mann, 1997), usually to present the façade the organisation expects, for instance, to appear always enthusiastic and interested. This is unnecessary ‘emotional labour’ associated with stress and stress-related illness and which mentoring can help avoid and minimise.

Similarly, the mentor helps the mentee to face and deal with other, often inevitable, stresses that arise at work. Sources of stress come not only from external events, but also from changes in the mentee, as he or she comes to appreciate self beliefs and routinised behaviours that are obsolete in a knowledge productive environment – excess baggage that impedes fruitful exploration in the learning landscape.

A mentee may, for instance, discover that making mistakes can lead to new learning, rather than being a shameful mark of deficiency (Pearn *et al.*, 1995) or that working fewer hours is actually more productive than the dubious achievement of being first to the office every morning. Initially these may be uncomfortable discoveries which the mentee finds difficult to assimilate and learn from. This is because such knowledge may run counter to the dominant culture at work or indeed, challenge the mentees own belief system,

or sense of themselves. As situated learning theory highlights, task oriented learning taps into the sense the learner has of him or herself, and change of any sort, however minor, can be experienced as threatening. The mentor can help the mentee see what is at stake in seemingly small changes and discover the motivation to discard old habits, practices and attitudes. In addition, the mentor can offer support and encouragement as the mentee grapples with their new understanding.

A mentor encourages persistence and effort. One way of doing this is by helping the mentee focus on the process of learning and on progress made rather than on their ability to do the task in hand. 'A focus on ability judgements can result in a tendency to avoid and withdraw from challenge, whereas a focus on progress through effort creates a tendency to seek and be energised by challenge' (Dweck, 1986).

A mentor is sensitive to the emotional and intellectual aspects of the mentee's world. Offering empathy is a basis for establishing trust in the mentoring relationship, a condition for learning that goes beyond the routine and the instrumental. A mentor has a disposition to listen – a vital ingredient in a genuinely learning dialogue. The mentor stands between the individual and the organisation, he or she knows and respects the interests and priorities of both sides. The mentor is well placed to encourage personal commitment to the organisation.

Central to the mentor's role is a readiness and ability to exemplify the attributes of a good learner. It is widely recognised that mentors benefit from the mentoring relationship as well as the mentee (e.g. Clawson, 1996). There are a variety of reasons for this. One reason relevant in the present context is that being a mentor is in itself a provocation to learn, a reminder to oneself of the sensitivities, strategies and qualities central to being a learner. It is often this which leads an individual to become a mentor in the first place (Aryee *et al.*, 1996).

Another reason is that the mentor is both *part of* and *in* the learning landscape – a participant. He or she is still learning, still producing knowledge, still ready to benefit from mentoring and other learning-enhancing activities. 'Mentors do not need to be perfect, only human' (Claxton, 1989, p. 193).

In addition, the mentor is miserly with information and answers. Such *non-help* is appropriate and essentially *helpful* at times. Giving information, advice or answers is not a substitute for helping the mentee to discover his or her own answers and, strategically, to build up a personal map of the learning landscape of the organisation. It is often necessary for the mentee to know when and where to go for what, and to know what is required to get the best out of available resources. Above all, the mentor will help the mentee to come to see her or his learning in true situated fashion, as resulting from a cast of mind that fuses learning at work with being at work.

Mentors know that learning is 'seasonal, and that there is a time to lie fallow' (Claxton, 1989, p. 194). In the 3M organisation, an employee's time

is split 85% on organisational tasks and responsibilities and 15% on personal projects and ideas, using company facilities. 3M succeeds by being innovative ('a messy business', according to Ron Mitsch, Vice-Chairman of 3M, quoted in *The Guardian*, 27.10.97) and recognises the value of play and recreation within working time. A mentor will help a worker/learner recognise and work with the ebb and flow of knowledge productivity, in themselves and in others.

These potentials of the supportive developmental relationship of mentoring map closely onto the seven elements of Kessels' corporate curriculum, as presented above. In particular, mentoring is a robust, powerful resource for facilitating 'learning to learn' through focusing on reflective, metacognitive and regulative aspects of learning and being at work.

Mentoring also addresses the whole person. It links personal issues to workplace performance. Mentoring activity values the affective as well as the intellectual and technical dimensions of producing knowledge. It taps both the unconscious and the conscious responses to organisational conditions. It offers the possibility to expand the focus of management development beyond immediate goals, and specific competencies and skills, to promote balanced growth.

The self understanding that a practice such as mentoring can foster, far from being a transient or marginal aspect of organisational life, is widely recognised as a strong correlate of success and successful leadership. For example:

When we asked our 90 leaders about the personal qualities they needed to run their organisations, they never mentioned charisma, or dressing for success, or time management, or any of the glib formulas that pass for wisdom in the popular press. Instead, they talked about persistence and self-knowledge, about willingness to take risks and losses, about commitment, consistency, and challenge. But, above all, they talked about learning' (Bennis & Nanus, 1993, p. 187).

Uses, Misuses and Limits of Mentoring

The discussion so far has focused on the individual. The classical origin of mentoring in Homer's *Odyssey* stresses the value of mentoring in helping Telemachus, Odysseus' son, negotiate an important transition from youth to manhood, Prince to King. In a modern context the idea of transition remains relevant, be it of a psychosocial nature or a career change, such as induction into a profession, or a manager taking on new responsibility. Current interest in mentoring and extensive research has continued this emphasis.

The benefits of mentoring to organisations are well documented (e.g. Wilson & Elman, 1990, Garvey, 1995b). However, less discussed and researched is the contribution mentoring can make to organisations, rather than individuals, going through transitions, such as becoming more knowledge productive.

An exception is to be found in the use of mentoring to promote the interests and rights of particular groups of employees. The most obvious example is in

the area of equal opportunities where the career prospects and advancement of women, for instance, have been the focus. Antal (1993), for instance, reviews a number of formal mentoring schemes specifically for women employed in medium to large organisations. Among the conclusions she speculates that mentoring 'is more sensitive than other training activities to the corporate culture in which the individuals work'. She continues, 'unfortunately, many companies foster highly competitive behaviour and stress bottom-line results in a way that discourages supportive behaviour between members of the organisation' (p. 453).

Similarly, research into cross-gender mentoring reveals how cultural forces can distort the mentoring relationship, on occasions leading to unhealthy relationships and instances of sexual harassment (Hurley & Fagenson-Eland, 1996). Mentoring on its own cannot achieve equal opportunities.

In similar vein, mentoring is not a panacea that will guarantee that organisations will negotiate successfully the transition to being first and foremost knowledge productive. Recent research reveals that most companies that believe themselves to be knowledge intensive do not, in fact, use knowledge well – 'They do not capitalise on ideas and creativity. They lose knowledge through staff turnover and downsizing. They have knowledge assets they do not exploit. They buy in expertise that they already possess, because they do not know what they know' and 'No large organisation has effective knowledge management, let alone knowledge management practices, embedded throughout its organisation' (Skyrme & Amidon, 1997, *The Observer*, 28.11.97).

Moving towards knowledge productivity will require cultural change at all levels of the organisation, if the metaphor of a corporate curriculum as a landscape is to be more than just metaphorical.

Mentoring works with the dominant culture of the organisation. One source of evidence for this is provided by research that has investigated uses of mentoring that might be considered misuses, for example, mentoring that 'excludes the socially different, clones managers and administrators, and maintains a status quo based on 'accumulation of advantage' and replication of hierarchical systems' (Carden, 1990, p. 276).

Garvey (1994, 1995a) indicates that mentoring cannot be a 'cure-all' for organisational ills and is least effective when viewed as a 'new initiative' rather than a natural process and part of normal behaviour at work.

Such findings would suggest that mentoring, on its own, is neutral with regard to fundamental organisational change. It can either promote change or conserve the status quo.

A Challenge to Mentoring, the Challenge of Mentoring

A challenge to mentoring is to replace neutrality with a benign influence for positive change throughout the organisation, to flow with, facilitate and accelerate movement towards achieving the organisation's vision and goals.

The challenge of mentoring, as has been argued elsewhere (e.g. Caruso, 1995; Turban & Dougherty, 1994), is to recognise the need to synthesise individual and organisational aspirations as a central condition of organisational success. This coincides with the recognition by Nonaka (1996) of the importance of personal commitment in a knowledge productive organisation. Caruso maintains that:

... traditional mentoring and most structured programs assume top down – mentor to protégé – and frequently give no or inadequate consideration to the protégé's dream. Quite often the protégé's dream is replaced by either a mentor objective or an organisational goal.

He argues for a dispersed theory of mentoring, in which the qualities of learning, as conceptualised, for instance, in the theory of situated learning, and the potential benefits of mentoring, as discussed above, move outside the traditional one-to-one mentoring relationship to characterise interpersonal activities in the organisation as a whole. In practice, this means that a mentor can be 'a variety of individuals and/or institutions who provide help to a protégé' (Caruso, 1996). It then becomes appropriate to talk about a 'mentoring organisation'. This can be characterised by the compatibility of individual and organisational aspirations, high employee commitment, a focus on collaboration and team development, and a complex web of practices and relationships that is supportive and developmental, both of the individual and the organisation. Above all, a 'mentoring organisation' is populated by people who have a developed and enthusiastic sense of themselves as learners. When learning spreads in this way, knowledge is produced. The mentor is a champion of the corporate curriculum and mentoring is a significant feature of the learning landscape.

In current discussions of the future of organisations, complementary foci are the irreplaceable knowledge and experience of older employees (Prahalad & Bettis, 1996) and the indispensable abilities and imagination of newcomers. Paraphrasing, (Hamel 1997) Starkey (1998) identifies the essence of leadership as 'senior executives' ability to distinguish between knowing what they still have to contribute and recognising what they need to learn from others' (p. 534). There is a creative tension between learning from the past and unlearning for the future. Consistent with its classical origins in the *Odyssey*, mentoring is, in microcosm, the challenge facing organisations today and an arena in which the tension between a known past and an unknown future can be profitably exploited in a knowledge productive present.

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An Examination of the Role of Age in Mentoring Relationships

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A mentor is often described by researchers as a “a senior, experienced employee who serves as a role model, provides support, direction, and feedback to the *younger* [italics added] employee regarding career plans and interpersonal development” (Noe, 1988, p. 458). Indeed, early mentoring research characterized mentors as typically 8 to 15 years older than their protégés (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). Although older mentors paired with younger protégés may still be the norm, changes encompassing today’s workplace, such as multiple lifetime career paths and a protean approach to career development (Hall & Mirvis, 1995), will likely increase the occurrence of similar-age and reverse-age (i.e., mentor younger than protégé) mentorships (Allen, McManus, & Russell, 1999; Kram, 1996; Kram & Hall, 1996; Mirvis & Hall, 1996). Furthermore, interest in the development of alternative mentoring alliances, such as that among peers, signals a need to examine how age influences mentoring relationships (Allen et al., 1999; Eby, 1997; Kram & Isabella, 1985). However, there has been little research examining the effects of age diversity on the nature and outcomes of mentorships. This study was designed to stimulate research in this area.

Why Study Age?

Demographic forecasters predict the imminent “graying of America” as the largest segment of our population approaches old age (Barth, McNaught, &

Rizzi, 1993; Ramsey, 1993). This phenomenon, coupled with the demise of linear career paths as the norm (Mirvis & Hall, 1996), suggests that more people will have multiple jobs or even careers in a lifetime and that there is an increasing likelihood that organizational newcomers will be older (Kram, 1996). One mechanism suggested as a way for older people to remain active in the workforce is to become a mentor to a less experienced member of an organization (Capowski, 1994; Hunt & Michael, 1983). However, some older workers may be more likely to find themselves in *need* of a mentor as they enter new fields or organizations.

Changing demographics in the workforce have increased research attention on the role of age in the workplace. Although a complete review of the age and work literature is beyond the scope of this article, a brief review of relevant themes is warranted. In the last few decades, much of the industrial psychology research on aging has indicated that chronological age is not a reliable predictor of work performance, and that performance may even improve with age in some job types, as might be expected with the accrual of relevant experience (Warr, 1994). Furthermore, there is evidence that older employees may be more committed and less likely to exhibit voluntary absences and turnover than younger employees (Warr, 1994). However, despite both scholarly and popular articles touting the benefits of older workers, myths and stereotypes still abound that may influence employment-related decisions about older workers, especially when certain contextual and organizational factors are in place (Finkelstein, Burke, & Raju, 1995; Perry & Finkelstein, 1999). Although research considering access discrimination (i.e., access to employment, training, etc.) continues to be of importance, it is also important to examine career-related issues for older workers (Hall & Mirvis, 1995; Greller & Stroh, 1995; Mirvis & Hall, 1996; Rosen & Jerdee, 1988). That is, once older people do get in the door of an organization or attain a new position, how does age influence factors such as day-to-day activities, interpersonal interactions, and career development? These issues loom large as organizations are increasingly faced with age diversity across organizational levels and departments.

Of particular relevance to mentoring relationships, researchers have also examined age issues in the workplace from a relational demography perspective. In their review of the organizational demography research, Tsui, Egan, and Xin (1995) defined relational demography as "an individual's similarity to or difference from others in a group on specific demographic attributes" (p. 198). Tsui and her colleagues noted that field research in this area has examined age with regularity and concluded that age heterogeneity may negatively affect communication and group cohesion. They noted, however, the need to be cognizant of the importance of the level of analysis at which diversity is examined. That is, age may be a more central issue at a dyad level, especially in regard to supervisor-subordinate dyads, because of norms and expectations for supervisors to be older than subordinates. Work by Perry, Kulik,

and Zhou (1999) expanded on this by noting the importance of considering status incongruence and violation of organizational age norms in making predictions regarding relational age effects.

We now narrow our focus to consider how mentoring relationships may be a key part of successful career development and more specifically why mentorships may be affected by age.

Age and Mentoring: What Do We Know?

As mentioned above, there has been little consideration of age diversity in mentoring relationships, most likely because the very notion of a mentor has been almost exclusively associated with being senior in age as well as experience. For example, Levinson et al. (1978) argued that ideally a mentor should be approximately half a generation older than a protégé (i.e., 8 to 15 years), because if the mentor is much older, the relationship may take on qualities of a parent and child relationship, and if the mentor is too close in age to the protégé, the pair may become more like friends or peers. Levinson et al. did entertain the notion of a successful mentor younger than a protégé, yet stated that special qualities would be required for this to work. However, the authors did not delineate these special qualities. Kram (1983) also assumed there will be challenges in creating mentorships when protégés are similar in age to or older than mentors and called for research to shed light on the nature of those challenges.

Some studies examining age as a control variable supported its importance in understanding mentoring relationships. For example, Ragins and McFarlin (1990) found that younger protégés were more likely to report that their mentor served in role modeling and parenting-type roles than were older protégés. Whitely, Dougherty, and Dreher (1992) also considered age to be of theoretical importance. Noting social norms for protégés to be young, they predicted and found support for the hypothesis that younger protégés would receive more career mentoring. They suggested that future research examine mentoring needs, nature, and quality to get a clearer picture of the role of protégé age. It should be noted that in both of these studies, there was no consideration of age diversity within the mentorship, nor was the age range provided. This provides us with an indication that the absolute age of a protégé may affect the nature of a mentorship, yet does not reveal the impact of age diversity in the partnership.

Feldman, Folks, and Turnley (1999) took a relational demography approach to examining the effects of age, gender, and race diversity in mentorships. They examined absolute amount of mentoring reported, and expected less mentoring as the age gap between the mentor and the protégé increased. No evidence was found for an age diversity effect. They suggested that perhaps age is not as important as other demographic variables, but noted that generalizability

might be limited due to the specific nature of their sample (international internships). Furthermore, although this study represented a step in the right direction by examining age diversity within a mentorship pair, only absolute age differences, not differences in direction, were considered.

Clearly there is a need to consider the role of age in mentoring relationships in a more comprehensive manner. Below, we summarize our theoretical rationale for hypothesizing influences of the absolute age of protégé as well as of age diversity on various mentoring outcomes. After giving our rationale, we present our hypotheses and exploratory research questions.

Theoretical Framework, Hypotheses, and Research Questions

Our examination of the role of age in mentoring relationships is couched largely in terms of Lawrence's organizational theory of age (Lawrence, 1987, 1988). The essence of this theory is that "age distributions drive the development of age norms that produce age effects" (Lawrence, 1987, p. 37). Age distributions are the patterns of employee chronological age within an organization or within a particular role. Both the actual and the perceived distribution of ages within an organization or role may lead to the development of age norms. Age norms are composed of shared assumptions concerning the "normal," or appropriate, ages of employees within a given organization or role. Developmental research has shown that there is fairly widespread agreement among individuals regarding what is "supposed to happen when" in regard to life events (Greller & Simpson, 1999). Expectations are violated when an individual is not in synch with the age norm associated with an organization or role. As Krueger, Heckhausen, and Hundertmark (1995) noted, "people are sensitive to social clocks and they use them to understand and judge others" (p. 91). The outcomes that occur in organizations as a result of employee age are broadly termed age effects by Lawrence (1987). Age effects can occur at a macro or micro level within an organization, and can be the result of either the direct, physiological processes of aging or social responses to the violations of age norms.

Lawrence's age norm theory can be readily extended to the context of mentoring relationships in organizations. Application of the theory would be an example of treating age effects at an individual level (affecting an individual's mentoring relationship) and due to indirect processes. The processes are indirect because there is no actual physiological reason why the mentors or protégés of atypical ages could not perform their roles, but instead there are normative expectations of the age that each should be in those respective roles. Because individuals tend to have shared perceptions regarding where people should be and what roles people should undertake in their career at particular ages, people are subject to judgment as to whether they are behind schedule, on track, or ahead of schedule (Greller & Simpson, 1999). Typically, mentoring others is viewed as a role taken on by someone senior who

is passing on years of experience and wisdom, whereas the protégé role is that of a novice looking to learn, grow, and advance. An individual younger than expected who is mentoring others would probably be viewed as a "fast tracker." On the other hand, a protégé older than what norms suggest might be seen as developmentally delayed or behind schedule (Krueger et al., 1995; Whiteley et al., 1992). Mentorships of reverse age (i.e., younger mentor paired with older protégé) may be marked by the perception of status incongruence (Perry et al., 1999), which could be uncomfortable to both parties. Because older people are normatively expected to be of higher status, when the higher status individual in the mentorship is younger and the lower status individual is older, the stage may be set for potentially negative age effects.

We can extend our theoretical framework further by drawing on the work of Perry and colleagues (Perry, 1997; Perry & Bouhris, 1998; Perry & Finkelstein, 1999) regarding the cognitive matching process between employee age and job stereotypes. Matching theory suggests that when employment decisions are made, there is a cognitive matching process that occurs such that perceived features of the applicant are matched with perceived requirements of the job. Positive decisions are most likely made when a match is perceived. Although sometimes matching is based on actual individual attributes exhibited by the individual and actual needs of the job – a best-case scenario – matching of attributes can be based on group membership stereotypes and also possibly stereotypes of the job. For example, jobs can become age typed or sex typed based on the characteristics of people typically associated with those jobs.

Perry and colleagues suggested that age discrimination for employment selection can occur at two levels (Perry & Finkelstein, 1999). Direct matching can occur when age is matched to the stereotype of the job and found to be inconsistent, such as when an older person is applying for a job that is considered a young person's job. Indirect matching can occur when age itself is not matched to the job, but when age elicits trait inferences that are then viewed as inconsistent with job information. For example, if age elicits a stereotype of being resistant to change and the job is one requiring being versed in new and changing technologies, a perceptual mismatch might occur.

Although this matching theory has been typically applied to access discrimination (e.g., hiring, promotions), it is also applicable to mentoring relationships. In this case, we are not talking about a job per se, but a role – the role of protégé. Because protégés have been typically younger, the role of protégé can be viewed as a young-typed role. Age effects (here in the view of a negative perception, and perhaps negative, or at least disparate, treatment of a protégé) could occur directly, in the sense that an older protégé does not match with the typical age of a protégé. It also could occur indirectly, such that the age of the older protégé may elicit negative stereotypes such as being resistant to change and hard to train, or perhaps even positive stereotypes such as being experienced. These stereotypes could then be matched to role information (e.g., the role of the protégé is to grow, learn, and advance). In this case, there

is a clear mismatch occurring between the protégé and the role, which could lead to negative perceptions of this older protégé as well as treatment different from what would be afforded to a protégé who fit the role.

Along the same lines, it is possible that a matching process may occur such that a younger mentor is not perceived as matching his or her role well. A younger individual may elicit stereotypes of being inexperienced and naive; this certainly does not fit the typical characteristics of a mentor. However, it must be cautioned that there is evidence in the literature that the age-matching process is not necessarily symmetrical (Perry, Kulik, & Bouhris, 1996). This also ties into Lawrence's age norm theory as described above. People who are older than what they "should" be for a particular role may be seen as lagging behind expectations, but people who are younger than they "should" be are often viewed positively. However, when one considers some of the adjectives used to describe younger people in these roles (e.g., "hot shots"; Ramsey, 1993), one can see how an older person as a protégé in a non-traditional relationship may possibly doubt the qualifications of a younger mentor, or be resentful of the mentor's status.

These two theoretical perspectives, quite similar in nature, together underscore that mentor-protégé relationships in which individuals do not fit age norms may be perceived in a negative manner by the members of the relationship as well as others. This could possibly have implications for the type of mentoring provided to protégés of varying ages as well as the outcomes for nontraditional age combinations. Hypotheses and research questions addressing these issues are outlined below.

Our predictions are organized first according to whether the focus is on the absolute age of the protégé or the age diversity in the protégé-mentor relationship. We present both theoretically derived hypotheses and exploratory research questions regarding (a) nature of mentoring, (b) characteristics of the mentorship, and (c) outcomes of mentoring. Finally, we also pose a question regarding the need for mentorship.

The Role of Protégé Absolute Age

Nature of relationship. Kram's (1983, 1985) seminal work concerning mentoring relationships identified two distinct, but related functions provided by mentors: career and psychosocial. Career functions include aspects of the mentorship that prepare the protégé for career advancement, such as sponsorship, exposure, visibility, coaching, protection, and challenging assignments. Psychosocial functions are aspects of the relationship that enhance the protégé's sense of competence and self-image, such as role modeling, providing friendship, counseling, acceptance, and confirmation. Subsequent work by Scandura and associates (Scandura, 1992; Scandura & Katerberg, 1988; Scandura & Ragins, 1993) suggested that role modeling be treated as a third unique mentoring function. Since people have been socialized to expect role models to be

our elders, there is also some similarity between role modeling functions and parental types of behaviors. Because of this, we expect that younger protégés will report receiving more role modeling than will older protégés (Hypothesis 1). To the degree that there are common myths that older people have less potential for career development or are not a viable investment for the future (Finkelstein et al., 1995; Hall & Mirvis, 1995), we would expect less career-related mentoring to be provided to older individuals. Furthermore, as reported above, Whitely et al. (1992) found that younger protégés reported receiving more career-related mentoring than did older protégés. Accordingly, we expect to replicate this finding (Hypothesis 2).

Characteristics of mentorship. Mentorships vary in characteristics in addition to the nature of the mentoring behaviors provided. For example, they differ in duration, frequency of interaction, organizational level of mentors and protégés, and formality of the relationship. Although each of these relationship characteristics is investigated or statistically controlled in our study, given the growing prevalence of formal mentoring programs within organizations, we are especially curious as to whether older protégés are more likely to be involved in formal or informal mentorships. A logical case can be made for either. First, if organizations view mentorships in traditional ways, only younger employees may be targeted for formal mentorship programs. Thus, we could see older protégés being more likely to be involved in informal relationships than formal ones. On the other hand, if older workers do not want to appear as if they need developmental support, they may be less likely to seek out informal mentorships or may only be involved in organizationally prescribed programs as a socialization requirement. Thus, we propose an exploratory research question: Will we find older protégés more often in formal or informal relationships than younger employees (Research Question 1)?

Mentoring outcomes. We believe that the age of the protégé may contribute to the overall quality of the mentoring relationship. Even if older protégés are in mentorships, they may feel uncomfortable in this nontraditional role. Being a protégé may make older employees feel as if they are not far enough advanced in their careers as they might have expected to be at that life stage. This struggle with the mismatch between expectations and the reality of their role could negatively affect the perceived quality of the relationship. Thus, we predict that older protégés will report a lower quality mentoring relationship than will younger protégés (Hypothesis 3).

The Role of Age Diversity

Nature of relationship. We noted that it is typically thought that the ideal age difference between a mentor and protégé is 8 to 15 years, with the mentor being older. Because the psychosocial functions of mentoring are close in nature

to a friendship, and similarity-attraction theory suggests that interpersonal attraction is strongly influenced by similarity (Byrne, 1971), we suggest that mentorships with less age diversity will be more likely to experience psychosocial functions than will mentorships with greater age diversity (Hypothesis 4). However, if there are strong norms regarding traditional age differences between mentors and protégés, it is possible that the career-related, psychosocial, and role modeling functions of mentoring would be subject to a curvilinear relationship with age differences, such that all may be reported as being provided less frequently when there is a large or a small age difference between the mentor and protégé (Research Question 2)? Furthermore, we examine whether the mentoring provided differs specifically in cases where the mentor is younger than the protégé (Research Question 3).

Mentoring outcomes. If there are indeed special challenges in mentorships consisting of nontraditional age combinations, then we would expect that protégés in mentorships with less age diversity would report a lower quality of relationship (Hypothesis 5). However, it is possible that if we were to consider a different type of relationship outcome measure, such as mutual learning (Allen, 1999), we would find that age might function differently. Specifically, if protégés are more similar in age to their mentors, a positive outcome might be that they learn more from each other (Kram, 1985). The traditional hierarchical nature of the mentoring relationship, with the mentor primarily in a teacher-like role, may not hold true in these nontraditional mentorships. Thus, we pose the following exploratory question: Will individuals involved in similar-age and reverse-age mentorships experience more mutual learning than will individuals in traditional hierarchical mentorships (Research Question 4)?

Need for Developmental Support

There is evidence in the literature on age stereotyping that a pervasive positive stereotype about older people is that they are experienced (Finkelstein, Higgins, & Clancy, 2000). Older people may internalize this and feel as if this experience label indicates they should not need guidance such as that afforded by a mentor. Furthermore, having likely been in the workforce longer than younger people, older people may make the assumption that they do not need developmental support, although perhaps in a new context developmental support may be quite beneficial. Conversely, it is more acceptable based on social norms for younger people to be inexperienced and therefore seek out developmental support. Due to these factors, we predict that younger individuals will report higher need for developmental support than will older individuals (Hypothesis 6).

Method

Participants and Procedure

A mailing list with the names and campus addresses of 635 professional-level (nonfaculty) employees of a large southeastern university was obtained from the university human resources department. Surveys were mailed to all 635 employees on the list. Completed surveys were returned directly to the researchers. Reminder postcards were mailed approximately 4 weeks after the initial mailing. Seven surveys were returned as not deliverable. Five other individuals returned surveys indicating they were unable to participate for assorted reasons.

A total of 88 employees returned completed surveys. Respondents held job titles such as Program Coordinator, Director of Health Administration, and Director of Financial Services. The overall sample consisted of 58 women, 26 men, and 4 respondents who did not report their gender. The participants ranged in age from 23 to 64 years ($M = 43.5$; $SD = 10.6$). The majority of respondents were White/Caucasian (88.6%). Median level of education was some graduate work. Average job tenure was 3.6 years ($SD = 4.7$) and average organizational tenure was 5.5 years ($SD = 5.8$). The data from all participants were used to test Hypothesis 6, concerning the need for developmental support. Of the 88 participants, 73 reported protégé experience and thus were included in all other analyses. This sample consisted of 47 women (66%), the average age was 43.3 years ($SD = 10.7$), and the median level of education was some graduate work. The majority were White/Caucasian (93%). Average job tenure was 3.6 years ($SD = 4.8$) and average organizational tenure was 5.5 years ($SD = 5.3$). The median number of mentors the protégés reported having was 2.

Although we have no way of ascertaining the percentage of nonrespondents who did have protégé experience, it appears that the low response rate is, in part, a function of the fact that individuals who did not have any experiences in mentorships did not reply. This is not viewed as a particularly serious problem since our intent was not to make comparisons among individuals with protégé experience versus those with no experience, nor were we trying to estimate any population means. Moreover, response rates of this proportion and lower are not uncommon with this type of research (Mullen, 1998). However, because the response rate was lower than desired, we estimated the critical response rate needed to ensure generalizability of our survey results to the total sample surveyed using the procedures developed by Viswesvaran, Barrick, and Ones (1993). The Viswesvaran et al. procedure is based on the same logic used to estimate a file drawer effect in meta-analysis (Rosenthal, 1979). In survey research, the researcher can assess the average response level of nonrespondents required to threaten conclusions inferred from the existing data. In other words, the researcher using this procedure can estimate

whether central tendencies are likely to have been significantly different if a higher percentage of participants had responded. First, the average response level that would have to exist in the nonrespondent sample to threaten the conclusions inferred from the existing data is estimated. Viswesvaran et al. provided a mathematical formula for determining this value, based on the total number of individuals surveyed, the number of respondents, the number of nonrespondents, the obtained average score of survey respondents, and the average score for inferring conclusions. In this study, we used the scale anchor midpoint to represent the average score for inferring conclusions. After computing the average response level of nonrespondents, the critical response rates (CRRs) were calculated for each of the dependent variables investigated. This determined the response rate needed to be confident in generalizing conclusions to the total sample surveyed. The equation for computing the CRR can be found in Viswesvaran et al. (p. 588). Conceptually, this involves equating the average response level in the total sample to the average score for inferring conclusions. None of the estimated CRRs obtained exceeded 10%. Since the response rate of this study was 14%, we can be confident that our sample exceeded the critical level required for representativeness.

Measures

Mentoring experience. Participants responded yes or no to the following question:

During your career, has there been an individual who has taken a personal interest in your career; who has guided, sponsored, or otherwise had a positive and significant influence on your professional career development? In other words, have you ever been a protégé?

These definitions are consistent with those used in previous research (e.g., Allen & Poteet, 1999).

Mentorship characteristics. In cases where participants had experience in more than one mentoring relationship, they were asked to describe their current or most recent relationship. Participants indicated whether the mentoring relationship was initiated informally (defined as based on mutual attraction/spontaneously developed) or formally (defined as based on an assignment made by someone else in the organization). The duration of the mentoring relationship was measured in years and months. Frequency of interaction was operationalized as amount of time spent together as an hourly average per month. Participants also responded yes or no concerning whether the mentor was the supervisor of the protégé. Finally, participants provided information concerning organizational-level difference between mentor and protégé (same organizational level, protégé one level below, protégé two levels below, or protégé three or more levels below).

Age. Participants indicated how old they were and how old their mentor was at the beginning of the mentorship. Participants also reported their current age.

Mentoring behaviors. Mentoring behaviors were measured with Scandura's 15-item mentoring functions scale (Scandura, 1992; Scandura & Ragins, 1993). The reliability and factor structure of this measure have been assessed in previous research (Scandura & Ragins, 1993; Scandura & Schriesheim, 1991). Six items measure career-related functions (e.g., "My mentor placed me in important assignments"). Cronbach alpha was .74. Five items measure psychosocial functions (e.g., "I have shared personal problems with my mentor"). Cronbach alpha was .85. Four items measure role modeling (e.g., "I try to model my behavior after my mentor"). Cronbach alpha was .78. All responses were provided on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of mentoring provided.

Mentorship quality. Quality of the mentoring relationship was measured with five items used by Allen (1999) (e.g., "My mentor and I enjoyed a high-quality relationship"). A 5-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree* was used. Higher scores indicated a higher quality mentoring relationship. Cronbach alpha was .81.

Mutual learning. Five items developed by Allen (1999) were used to assess relationship-based learning (e.g., "There was reciprocal learning that took place between my mentor and me"). A 5-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree* was used. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of learning occurred. Cronbach alpha was .79.

Need for developmental support. All participants (regardless of whether they had protégé experience) completed eight items developed for this study that assessed the extent the participant desired the support of a mentor (e.g., "I would like to have a mentor or coach to help me with my career"; "I believe I need to have a mentor in order to be as successful as possible on the job"). A 5-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree* was used. Higher scores indicated a greater desire for mentoring. Cronbach alpha was .86.

Open-ended questions. After completing the close-ended questions for each section, participants were asked to respond to a series of open-ended questions designed to solicit additional information concerning age issues in mentoring relationships. Participants were asked to indicate (a) yes or no regarding whether they had been mentored by someone very similar in age, (b) if yes, advantages to the relationship (expected advantages if no), and (c) if yes, disadvantages to the relationship (expected disadvantages if no). Participants were then asked to indicate whether they had ever been mentored by someone

younger than them. This question was followed by the same set of questions described above.

Results

Absolute Age of Protégé

Nature of relationship. We predicted that older protégés would report receiving less role modeling (Hypothesis 1) and less career mentoring (Hypothesis 2) from their mentorships than would younger protégés. Looking first at the zero-order correlations (Table 1), we see that there is no significant relationship between protégé age and role modeling ($r = -.14, p > .05$). However, in support of Hypothesis 2, there was a significant relationship between protégé age and career mentoring ($r = -.35, p < .01$).

To control for mentorship characteristics that might be related to mentoring functions, we performed hierarchical regression analyses, where the length of relationship, hours spent per week, origin of relationship (formal or informal), and whether the mentor was an immediate supervisor were entered into the first step of a regression equation. Protégé age was entered in the second step to see whether it predicted variance in role modeling and subsequently in career mentoring beyond the variance predicted by the control variables. As shown in Table 2, the overall regression equation does not significantly predict role modeling, and protégé age does not add any significant variance to the regression equation. With regard to career mentoring, after accounting for the control variables, protégé age adds significant variance in Step 2 (beta = $-.37$, change in $R^2 = .13, p < .05$), and the overall equation is significant ($F = 4.16, p < .05$).

Characteristics of relationship. We questioned whether older protégés would be found more often in formal or informal relationships. Responses indicated that as the age of the protégé increased, the relationship was more likely to be initiated informally rather than formally ($r = -.28; p < .05$).

Although specific predictions were not posed concerning other mentorship characteristics, we found that protégé age was related to hierarchical level ($r = .37, p < .01$), such that older protégés tended to be closer in level to their mentor. Furthermore, protégé age was related to the duration of the relationship ($r = -.25, p < .05$) such that older protégés reported their mentorships lasting for a shorter time period.

Mentoring outcomes. We predicted that older protégés would report a lower overall mentorship quality than would younger protégés (Hypothesis 3). At the bivariate level, there was no relationship between protégé age and overall quality of the relationship ($r = .00, p > .05$). This hypothesis was also tested

Table 1: Correlations between study variables

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Mentor age	43.3	9.8	1.00												
2. Protégé age	31.77	10.0	.36**	1.00											
3. Age difference	10.0	11.8	.55**	-.48**	1.00										
4. Hours per week	3.32	1.7	-.22*	-.19	.07	1.00									
5. Duration	7.27	3.6	-.15	-.25*	.08	.04	1.00								
6. Career	4.21	0.6	-.36**	-.35**	-.06	.14	.11	1.00							
7. Psychosocial	3.63	1.0	-.14	-.04	.00	.15	.51**	.23*	1.00						
8. Role modeling	4.41	0.6	-.16	-.14	-.02	-.10	.18	.26*	.29**	1.00					
9. Quality	4.30	0.6	-.18	.00	-.06	.06	.32**	.41**	.44**	.57**	1.00				
10. Learning	3.79	0.7	-.07	.21*	-.13	.03	.23*	.30**	.38**	.31**	.57**	1.00			
11. Level	1.38	0.7	.02	.37**	.24*	.20	-.05	-.13	.16	-.01	.06	.28**	1.00		
12. Formality	1.35	0.5	-.28**	-.03	-.16	.08	-.15	.19	-.12	.07	-.08	-.08	.05	1.00	
13. Supervisor	2.49	0.9	.39**	.04	.28**	-.26*	.18	-.29**	.20	.08	.04	.09	.00	-.25*	1.00

Note: Mentor age is the age of the mentor at the start of the mentoring relationship. Protégé age is the age of the protégé at the start of the mentoring relationship. Age difference is the protégé's age subtracted from the mentor's age. Hours per week is the approximate average number of hours per week spent with the mentor. Duration is the square root (to reduce skew) of the length of time in months the relationship lasted. Career is the average score on the career function scale. Psychosocial is the average score on the psychosocial function scale. Role modeling is the average score on the role modeling scale. Quality is the average score on the quality of relationship scale. Learning is the average score on the mutual learning scale. Level is how many levels above in the organizational hierarchy the mentor was from the protégé, where 1 = three or more above, 2 = two above, 3 = one above, and 4 = same level. Formality is whether the relationship was 1 = formal or 2 = informal. Supervisor is whether the mentor was the immediate supervisor, where 1 = yes and 2 = no.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 2: Hierarchical regression results predicting role modeling and career functions from protégé age

	Role modeling		Career	
	Beta Step 1	Beta Sep 2	Beta Step 1	Beta Step 2
Step 1 (controls)				
Formality	.17	.17	.12	.10
Supervisor	.04	.04	-.29*	-.30*
Duration	.17	.14	.17	.07
Hours per week	-.08	-.10	.14	.05
Step 2				
Protégé age		-.10		-.37**
Overall F	0.80	0.73	2.58*	4.16*
R ²	.06	.06	.16	.29
Change in R ²	.06	.00	.16	.13*

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.**Table 3:** Hierarchical regression analyses predicting relationship quality from protégé age

	Beta Step 1	Beta Step 2	Beta Step 3
Step 1 (controls)			
Formality	-.04	-.12	-.12
Supervisor	-.08	-.08	-.05
Duration	.30*	.07	.13
Hours per week	.11	.09	.14
Step 2 (functions)			
Career		.15	.24
Role modeling		.50**	.51**
Psychosocial		.28*	.22
Step 3			
Protégé age			.20
Overall F	1.59	8.53**	8.22**
R ²	.11	.55**	.58**
Change in R ²	.11	.44**	.03

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

using hierarchical regression analysis. The control variables were entered in Step 1, the mentoring function variables (i.e., career, role modeling, and psychosocial) in Step 2, and then protégé age in Step 3. As shown in Table 3, the results point to a marginal trend for protégé age to predict variance over and above the mentoring functions ($\beta = .20$, change in $R^2 = .03$, $p = .07$). However, the positive beta weight indicates a trend toward older protégés actually reporting a higher relationship quality than younger protégés.

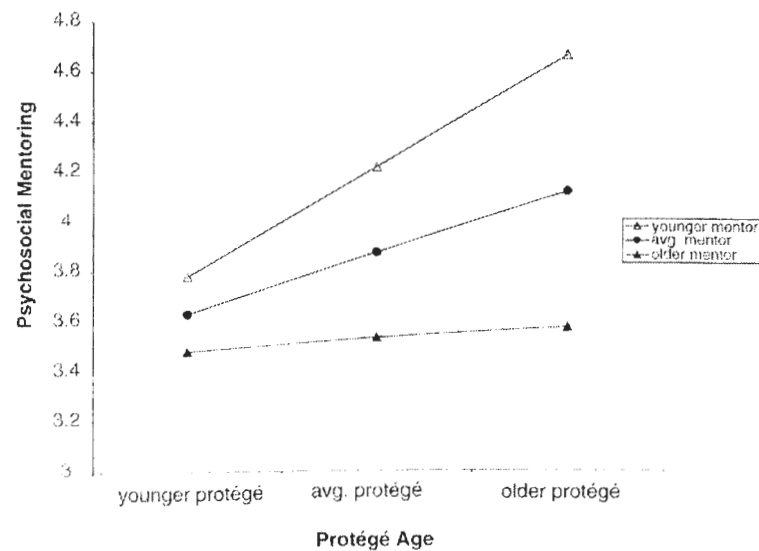
The curious finding that there was no simple correlation between protégé age and quality, and yet there was a significant beta weight, might be an indicator of suppression. Tabachnick and Fidell (1989) defined a suppressor variable as one that suppresses variance irrelevant to prediction of a dependent

variable (DV) due to its correlation with other independent variables (IVs). They noted that one should suspect suppression when the simple correlation between the IV and DV is much smaller than the beta weight for the IV (as in this case), and that the suppressor can be detected by in turn removing each other IV out of the equation and looking for changes in the regression coefficients for the incongruent IV. We proceeded with these instructions and found that after removing career functions from the equation, the beta weight for protégé age predicting quality drops to .16 from .20, with .16 being nonsignificant ($p > .10$). Thus, as Tabachnick and Fidell (1989) suggested, we can interpret career functions in this case as a variable that enhances the importance of protégé age by suppressing irrelevant variance.

Age Diversity

Nature of relationship. Hypothesis 4 predicted that in mentorships with greater age diversity, less psychosocial mentoring would be provided than in mentorships with less age diversity. To test this, we first created an age difference variable, such that protégé age was subtracted from mentor age. The zero-order correlation between age difference and psychosocial mentoring in the protégé sample was not significant ($r = .00$). However, due to problems with using difference scores in regression (Edwards, 1994), we employed an interaction approach similar to that used in previous research on age differences (Cleveland & Shore, 1992; Goldberg & Shore, 1994). This allowed us to test whether the interaction between protégé age and mentor age predicted variance in mentoring provided beyond protégé age alone. For this analysis, we entered the control variables in Step 1, the mentor and the protégé ages in Step 2, and the interaction between mentor and protégé age in Step 3. We looked for a significant change in R^2 at Step 3 to determine whether a significant interaction effect existed. Significant interactions were followed with simple slope analyses (Aiken & West, 1991). We performed this analysis to test Hypothesis 4 as well as for career mentoring and role modeling as exploratory analyses.

We found that the interaction between mentor age and protégé age significantly increased the prediction of psychosocial mentoring beyond their individual effects. Specifically, at Step 2 there was an R^2 of .33 ($F = 3.93$, $p < .01$). At this step, protégés with younger mentors on average reported more psychosocial mentoring ($\beta = -.29$). However, at Step 3 a significant increase in R^2 was observed (change in $R^2 = .09$, $p < .01$), with significant beta weights for protégé age (.30), mentor age (-.42), and the interaction term (-.32). Simple slope follow-up analyses revealed an interesting pattern of interaction (see Figure 1). It appears that protégés of younger mentors report more psychosocial mentoring; however, that pattern becomes increasingly pronounced as the age of the protégé increased. Our prediction that mentors



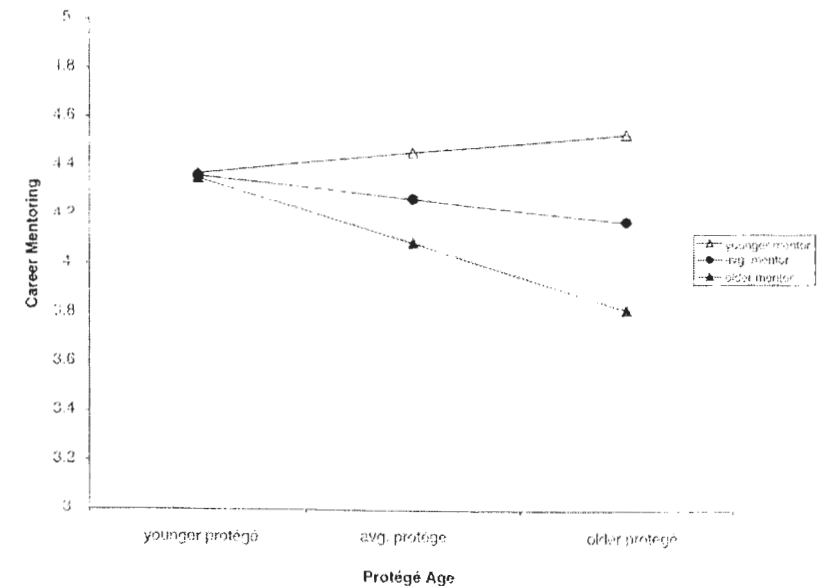
Note: The ages of protégé and mentor are represented by the age one standard deviation below the mean (younger), at the mean (avg.), and one standard deviation above the mean (older).

Figure 1: Psychosocial mentoring as a function of the age of the protégé and the age of the mentor derived through simple slope analysis

and protégés similar in age would have the most psychosocial mentoring was not supported.

Turning to the other mentoring functions, we found no significant differences in role modeling based on mentor-protégé age interaction. However, we did find evidence that career mentoring differed depending on the age combination of the pair. At Step 2, there was a significant R^2 of .32 ($F = 3.76, p < .01$). At this step, the age of the protégé had a significant effect on the amount of career-related mentoring (beta = $-.31$) such that on average younger protégés reported more career-related mentoring (as discussed previously). However, there was a significant change in R^2 at Step 3 (change in $R^2 = .09, p < .01$), with significant beta weights for mentor age ($-.34$) and for the interaction ($-.35$), but no longer significant for protégé age ($-.16$). Simple slope analyses revealed the pattern of interaction depicted in Figure 2. Regardless of mentor's age, younger protégés reported similar levels of career mentoring. On the other hand, as the age of the protégé increased, the level of career mentoring decreased as the mentors got older, with the least career mentoring provided between an older mentor and an older protégé.

Finally, we explored the possibility of curvilinear patterns as well as differences in mentoring functions in cases where the mentor was younger than the protégé. There were 8 reverse-age relationships, 14 relationships where the mentor was 0 to 5 years older than the protégé, 25 relationships where the



Note: The ages of protégé and mentor are represented by the age one standard deviation below the mean (younger), at the mean (avg.), and one standard deviation above the mean (older).

Figure 2: Career mentoring as a function of the age of the protégé and the age of the mentor derived through simple slope analysis

mentor was 6 to 15 years older than the protégé, and 19 relationships where the mentor was 16 or more years older than the protégé. We split the sample into these four groups and examined mean differences in career, psychosocial, and role modeling functions using a one-way ANOVA. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4. No significant differences among the groups were detected, yet due to the small number of nontraditional cases, we may have had insufficient power in this sample to adequately test this idea.

Outcomes. We predicted that as age in mentorship pairs became more similar (i.e., less age diversity), reported relationship quality would decrease (Hypothesis 5). This hypothesis was not supported ($r = -.06, p > .05$). Again, because of potential problems with relying solely on difference scores, we also examined the interaction between protégé age and mentor age using hierarchical regression analyses, entering controls in Step 1, functions in Step 2, age of mentor and age of protégé in Step 3, and the interaction term in Step 4. The interaction was not significant. We also examined whether mutual learning would be more likely to occur as age differences decreased between mentors and protégés. We found a nonsignificant correlation of $-.13$. Hierarchical regression analyses again yielded nonsignificant results (complete regression results are available upon request).

As an ad hoc analysis following the above test, we investigated whether the absolute age of the protégé would be related to perceived mutual learning.

Table 4: Means, standard deviations, and *F* ratios for comparison of mentor functions and outcomes by age difference groupings

	<i>Reverse age</i>	<i>Similar age</i>	<i>Traditional age</i>	<i>Large age gap</i>	<i>F Ratio</i>
Career	4.17 (0.74) [8]	4.29 (0.52) [13]	4.10 (0.72) [25]	4.29 (0.47) [19]	0.46
Psychosocial	4.12 (0.71) [8]	3.57 (1.07) [14]	3.55 (0.74) [25]	3.78 (1.20) [19]	0.84
Role modeling	4.53 (0.31) [8]	4.45 (0.57) [14]	4.30 (0.78) [25]	4.55 (0.46) [19]	0.70
Quality	4.46 (0.38) [7]	4.50 (0.45) [14]	4.15 (0.64) [25]	4.38 (0.45) [19]	1.63
Learning	4.00 (0.48) [7]	4.01 (0.43) [14]	3.85 (0.72) [25]	3.63 (0.68) [19]	1.18

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. Sample sizes appear in brackets.

Table 5: Hierarchical regression analyses predicting mutual learning from protégé age

	<i>Beta Step 1</i>	<i>Beta Step 2</i>	<i>Beta Step 3</i>
Step 1 (controls)			
Formality	-.04	-.08	-.08
Supervisor	-.00	-.02	.09
Duration	.17	.03	.15
Hours per week	.03	.00	.10
Step 2 (functions)			
Career		.14	.32*
Role modeling		.22	.24
Psychosocial		.17	.06
Step 3			
Protégé age			.42**
Overall <i>F</i>	0.44	1.36	2.36
<i>R</i> ²	.03	.16	.29
Change in <i>R</i> ²	.03	.13*	.15*

p* < .05. *p* < .01.

Although we did not originally hypothesize this, we could envision that older protégés may report more mutual learning, as they may feel more comfortable in a mentorship if it was more of a mutual relationship. The zero-order correlation of .21 (*p* < .05) indicates that as protégés got older, they reported a higher level of reported mutual learning. We also tested this using hierarchical regression analysis, as reported in Table 5. Indeed, the absolute age of the protégé added significant variance in mutual learning after accounting for the controls and the mentoring functions (beta = .42, change in *R*² = .15, *p* < .05). This yielded a marginally significant total *R*² of .29 (*p* < .10).

Need for Developmental Support

We predicted that younger individuals would report a higher need for developmental support than would older individuals. Current age of the participant was used in the analysis. In support of Hypothesis 6, the results indicated that older participants reported less need for developmental support than did younger participants (*r* = -.20, *p* < .05).

Content Analysis

The purpose of the content analysis was to categorize perceived and expected advantages and disadvantages of similar-age and reverse-age mentoring relationships. All responses were first transcribed verbatim by one of the researchers. Next, two coders independently reviewed all applicable comments and categorized and grouped those similar in meaning. One coder was a researcher associated with the study. The second coder was not associated with the study, but was a doctoral-level researcher with experience and training on content analysis. A criticism often leveled against qualitative methods is that the researcher's value system, beliefs, and academic interests may unduly influence conclusions drawn from the data (Van Maanen, 1979). It was thought that by having two individuals independently responsible for the initial identification of themes and classification of comments, the likelihood of undue bias influencing the direction of the analysis could be mitigated.

The unit of analysis for classification purposes was phrases. Phrases were used rather than sentences because some sentences contained two or more divergent ideas. As recommended by Weber (1990), we used a single- versus multiple-classification system such that each phrase was assigned to a single category. Rather than fit the comments into predefined categories, an inductive approach was used such that the categories emerged from the data. Once both coders had grouped all comments by common theme, the resulting "dimensions" were then provided a name to capture the meaning reflected in the group of comments (e.g., Similar Life Experiences).

The two researchers were in initial agreement concerning the categorization of 78% of the comments. In situations when the two researchers initially disagreed, they discussed the issue and came to an agreement. The nature of most disagreements was such that one coder had a set of comments grouped under one theme, whereas the second coder had those same comments split into two themes. In most cases, in the interest of parsimony, the two coders attempted to collapse dimensions with highly similar underlying themes. In cases where a dimension was represented by a single, stand-alone comment made by one participant and could not be collapsed with another dimension, the single-comment dimension was deleted from further analyses (*N* = 24 across all topics). Rationale for this decision was that we were more interested in comments/dimensions where multiple participants shared perceptions; hence, instances where only one subject reported a particular advantage or disadvantage were deemed less substantially meaningful.

Content Analysis Results

Of the 73 protégés in the study, 24 (33%) reported being mentored by someone similar in age and 6 (8%) reported being mentored by someone younger in age. Regarding advantages to being mentored by someone similar in age,

participants made a total of 38 comments, which were grouped into five dimensions. Protégés expressed the belief that similar life experiences were an advantage to similar-age mentorships (see Table 6). Other common responses were that similar-age mentorships provided good opportunities for learning and for relationship building. Regarding disadvantages to being mentored by someone similar in age, participants made a total of 27 comments, which were grouped into four dimensions (see Table 6). Disadvantages most often cited were concerns about the mentor's knowledge and experience and relationship boundary issues.

Participants made a total of 22 comments regarding advantages to having a younger mentor, which were grouped into four dimensions. The overwhelming benefit noted concerned the expanded knowledge and learning that a younger mentor could bring to the mentorship (see Table 7). Concerning disadvantages to having a younger mentor, participants made a total of 22 comments, which were grouped into three dimensions. The major disadvantage reported was that individuals would have concerns regarding a younger mentor's knowledge and experience (see Table 7).

Discussion

Our investigation of the role of age in mentoring relationships was based largely on theories of age effects in organizations (e.g., Lawrence, 1987; Perry, 1997) that have suggested that a mismatch in perceptions of the age of an individual in a role could lead to problematic age effects. Some of our findings lend support to these theories. Our content analysis revealed themes commensurate with the idea of an age mismatch for both protégés and mentors. For example, participants revealed beliefs that older protégés may feel discomfort being in the subordinate position of a mentoring relationship and that younger mentors may be perceived as incompetent. Our quantitative analyses pointed to mixed support for this theoretical foundation. Older protégés reported less career mentoring than younger protégés; this could be indicative of a mismatch between characteristics associated with age (e.g., less potential for development) and one part of the role of protégé (e.g., receive advice on advancement). Reports of role modeling and psychosocial mentoring did not differ by age of the protégés, however. Furthermore, our hypotheses regarding age differences between mentors and protégés were not supported. However, the findings were not entirely inconsistent with what might be predicted by matching theory. For example, more psychosocial mentoring was found in situations with younger mentors and older protégés than in situations with younger mentors with younger protégés. Perhaps when younger mentors are faced with older protégés there is pressure to compensate for expected perceptions of inexperience. Each of these findings is elaborated in more detail below. First, we discuss the findings based on the absolute age of the protégé and

Table 6: Results of content analysis for advantages and disadvantages to similar-age mentoring

Dimension	Number of comments	Sample comments
Advantages		
Shared experiences/common background	10	"Similar experiences in life stages, history, career trajectories"; "Had similar historic background, faced similar issues related to this stage in our lives"; "Similar experiences, background, training"
Opportunities for learning	10	"Learned a lot very quickly"; "Both the mentor and protégé will learn from each other"
Ability to relate	8	"Ability to relate was enhanced because of our similar age"; "Easier to connect on a personal level"
Similar interests and goals	7	"Shared goals and dreams"; "Similar interests/goals"
Easy to communicate	3	"It may be easier for the protégé to communicate certain issues if his/her mentor is of similar age"
No advantages		"None"
Disadvantages		
Concerns about knowledge and experience	9	"Blind leading the blind if not enough knowledge"; "I am tough to impress so I might not take their help as seriously as I should"; "May not respect as much"
Relationship boundary issues	8	"Sometimes friendship can get in the way of honesty"; "Sometimes it's difficult to maintain a professional environment because the protégé may begin seeing the mentor as more of a peer"
Competition	5	"She's a little moody and became jealous with my advancement"; "Competitiveness and insecurity could develop"
No disadvantages	5	"No disadvantages in similar age"

Table 7: Results of content analysis for advantages and disadvantages to reverse-age mentoring

Dimension	Number of comments	Sample comments
Advantages		
Expanded knowledge and learning	16	"New fresh ideas and lots of energy. May be an expert in a field I would know nothing about"; "Learn from different experience base"; "Someone of a different age group may have a different perspective on things and we could stand to learn from each other"; "Fresh, current appraisals of situations, trends"; "Aware of more recent professional developments and new ideas"
Contributes to positive atmosphere	2	"Good camaraderie"
Greater respect	2	"They may have respect for me because I'm older"
Networking opportunities	2	"Connections to different spheres of resources and people"
Disadvantages		
Concerns about knowledge and experience	15	"Lack of depth in experience and knowledge"; "Limited history in job experience"; "Not as much experience"; "I do think that age would be a problem for me unless the person had very specialized skills"; "Difficulty developing respect, the person would have to prove him/herself and be very mature"; "Potential for feelings of discomfort or lack of trust in experience and maturity"
Specific skill deficiencies	5	"Communication, motivation, closed-mind mentality – do it my way!"; "Can't keep him on track"
Jealousy	2	"Office jealousy"

point to implications of these findings as well as present ideas for exploring this area in more detail. Next, we discuss our unexpected findings regarding age diversity in mentorship pairs. Throughout, we integrate our qualitative and quantitative findings to set a future research agenda.

Protégé Age

Our hypotheses that older protégés would report receiving less career mentoring than would younger protégés was supported. This replicates work by Whitely et al. (1992) and bolsters support for the generalizability of this finding. This finding is also commensurate with the literature on age stereotyping. For example, a meta-analysis by Finkelstein et al. (1995) found that younger targets were rated more highly in potential for development than older targets. In the present study, the measure of career mentoring taps into mentor behaviors such as helping the protégé get ahead in his or her career. The finding that older protégés report less of this behavior in their relationships may indicate that mentors of older protégés did not see these individuals as having potential for development or advancement. An older person in the role of protégé may appear as not being at a typical or appropriate stage of career development, which could lead to this perception of lower potential. This could be a key finding if the lack of career mentoring contributes to age discrimination in promotion decisions. Future research is needed to explore the reasons that career mentoring might be less characteristic in mentorships where the protégé is older. Furthermore, the age diversity results provide a richer picture of this finding, in that mentor age may moderate this finding. We elaborate on this further in the next section.

Career mentoring was the only mentoring function related to protégé age. However, there are some questions that our data were not able to address that should be the focus of future study. Specifically, we do not know how much each of these specific mentoring functions were *desired* or *needed* by protégés of varying ages at the outset of the mentorships. It would be interesting to examine expectations and desires of mentoring relationships at the start of new mentorships to investigate variation as a function of age. For example, it may be that older protégés do not expect or seek out career mentoring from their mentors to the same extent as younger protégés. The idea that different forms of mentoring may be more or less needed by individuals at different career and life stages is an interesting topic for future research (Kram & Hall, 1996).

Results also indicated that older protégés were more likely to be found in informal than in formal mentorships. This can be viewed as somewhat encouraging if it indicates that older workers can readily seek out and be accepted into traditional mentorships despite any theorized obstacles. However, it

remains unclear whether older protégés were more likely to be in informal relationships because formal ones were not available or offered to them. Not all people have the skills necessary to seek out their own mentors, nor may they all have informal mentors available. Descriptive research examining extant formal mentoring programs is needed to determine whether certain age groups tend to be targeted as well as compare the percentage of older workers who are afforded formal mentorship opportunities compared to their younger counterparts. Access to formal mentoring programs may be especially important for older individuals who have made a major career change and are entering a new field or industry. An alternative explanation for these findings may be that older individuals are more reluctant to participate in formal mentoring programs. Our finding indicating that older participants expressed less need for developmental support than did younger participants supports this potential explanation. In making this prediction, we suggested that older people's levels of experience as well as their label as experienced individuals would lead them to believe they needed less support, or perhaps would lead them to feel less comfort in endorsing a need for support. Of course, we cannot tell from our data whether this finding is due to an actual lower level of need in older people or a social desirability factor whereby social norms may prohibit the expression of this need in older individuals.

With regard to the outcome variables studied, mentorship quality and mutual learning, we found that the age of the protégé predicted variance beyond mentoring provided in both quality and mutual learning, such that older protégés reported higher quality and more mutual learning than did younger protégés. The finding for overall quality was counter to our prediction, as we theorized that due to the discomfort of being in the more subordinate role of protégé, older protégés would report lower quality relationships. It may be that through their experience, older protégés are better skilled at cultivating an enriching mentorship. Alternatively, the mentorship quality measure is akin to a satisfaction measure. It is fairly well established that older people tend to report higher job satisfaction (Warr, 1994); perhaps this extends to mentorship satisfaction as well.

The finding that more mutual learning was reported by older protégés was expected. This suggests that the mentorship was more of a two-way street and that older protégés are able to utilize their own experiences to provide lessons to the mentor. This sentiment was clearly expressed in the open-ended comments concerning the advantages to similar-age and reverse-age mentorships. A major advantage noted was the opportunity for enhanced and mutual learning that could occur among reverse-age mentoring dyads. These findings also support the view of mentoring relationships within today's turbulent work environments as described by Kram and Hall (1996), where senior employees find themselves in the role of novice and mentors are colearners within the mentorship.

Age Diversity

None of our hypotheses regarding age diversity were supported, yet we uncovered some interesting unpredicted interactions between mentor and protégé age when predicting career and psychosocial mentoring. Younger protégés, on average, tended to report a similar level of psychosocial and career-related mentoring to older protégés. However, as the age of the protégé increased, so did the disparity in the degree of mentoring provided based on the age of the mentor. With psychosocial mentoring, the amount of mentoring provided by the younger mentor increased with the age of the protégé. With career-related mentoring, the amount of mentoring provided by the older mentor decreased with the age of the protégé. Overall, it appears that protégés reported that older mentors provided the least amount of both of these types of mentoring.

We offer several explanations for these unexpected findings. It is possible that younger mentors may feel they need to work extra hard to compensate for their youthfulness and to establish their credibility as a viable mentor. Further, this need might be heightened when working with an older protégé, who may doubt a younger protégé's mentoring capabilities. Conversely, older mentors may put forth less effort because they can rely on their experience. The finding that older mentors appear to provide the least amount of career mentoring to older protégés may reflect a belief that older protégés might not be in need of this type of mentoring.

The finding that younger protégés reported similar mentoring experiences across the board, whereas older protégés' experiences varied, may be due to the fact that a younger protégé is more prototypical and normative. Because a young protégé is expected, mentors may have developed shared schemas of the needs of a typical protégé. However, the needs of an older protégé, who does not fit the protégé prototype, may be less obvious, and thus we find more variance in how mentors approach this relationship. Obviously these are ad hoc speculations and must be subject to empirical scrutiny with larger numbers of mentoring pairs. An alternative suggestion, posed by an anonymous reviewer, is that it may be that older individuals are more discerning or better able to discriminate among different levels of mentoring. Although we are not aware of any research suggesting that older individuals are more perceptive than younger individuals, this might be an interesting topic to explore in future research.

The qualitative data point also to additional fruitful areas in which to expand future investigations of age diversity in mentoring. In her work concerning diversified mentoring relationships, Ragins (1997a) suggested that the development of mentoring relationships is related to identification, perceived competence, and level of interpersonal comfort among the mentorship partners. Each of these issues is reflected in the themes identified through the content analysis. The results suggest that the development of similar-age

mentorships may be aided by the greater opportunity for identification and interpersonal comfort. The qualitative results underscored that a distinct advantage to similar-age mentorships was similarity in backgrounds and experiences, which would aid in the identification process and the greater ease for friendship development and interpersonal communication. It should also be noted, however, that participants mentioned that reverse-age mentorships could create situations of discomfort for an older individual seeking guidance from a junior organizational member. Reverse-age mentorships may still be relatively rare because younger individuals feel embarrassed, intimidated, or threatened by the prospect of mentoring older employees. It will be important for organizations to establish a climate of mutual trust and respect among all employees to help nontraditional mentorships flourish.

The major disadvantage noted from our analyses related to the issue of perceived competence. Participants frequently noted the difficulty that similar-aged or younger mentors might have concerning a lack of experience and skills and gaining the respect needed to effectively mentor others. Future studies may examine the extent that the issues identified in the content analyses affect the relationship between age and mentoring outcomes. For example, problems associated with gaining respect and understanding boundary issues in the relationship may detract from the quality and effectiveness of similar-age and reverse-age mentorships. On the other hand, common background and experiences as well as ease of communicating with each other may serve as relationship enhancers. It is important to note that it is possible that a large majority of mentoring relationships are still traditional in composition not because of inhibiting forces in the environment, but because many individuals are still in traditional career stages, despite the changing nature of careers. However, as mentorships of various age compositions become more common, it will become important to examine the specific factors that help or hinder these relationships.

Strengths and Limitations

Particular contributions of this study include its multimethod and multiperspective approaches. For example, examining absolute age as well as age diversity is an advance in this area. Furthermore, examining qualitative responses provides a further understanding of the quantitative data and also points out avenues for future quantitative research. Of course there are some shortcomings of this investigation worth noting. First, we only report findings from the protégés' perspective. Further explication of our findings could be made by collecting data from mentors and protégés in same-age or reverse-age dyads. Another limitation associated with the study is the low response rate. Although, as we noted, the response rate is not unusual for this type of voluntary mail-out survey, a larger sample that was evenly representative of the age spectrum

would allow us to explore the issues of age diversity at different locations on that spectrum (e.g., are there differences in reverse-aged mentorships when the protégé is relatively young compared to when the protégé is relatively old?). Finally, any cross-sectional investigation of age differences is limited in that it cannot ascertain any intrapersonal differences due to the aging process, but instead compares groups of people of different ages at one point in time. We cannot disentangle effects due to age itself or to those due to cohort (i.e., generation).

Future Directions

Future studies may want take into account the protégés' age relative to others in the working environment (aside from the mentors' age). Researchers have noted the importance of considering the age context of the work environment and the age type of the job when hypothesizing age effects (e.g., Cleveland, Festa, & Montgomery, 1988; Cleveland & Shore, 1992; Finkelstein, et al., 1995). For example, in an environment where older newcomers are the norm, less face saving may be present than in a situation where older people are not typically assumed to need a mentor.

Although age-based models of adult development such as Levinson's (1986) generally take the view that individuals pass through career stages in chronological order, in today's dynamic career environment, it is less likely that career stages follow such an orderly pattern (Sullivan, 1999). Since age and career stage may not match, future research should attempt to operationalize career stage and disentangle possible effects of chronological age and career stage.

Moreover, future research consisting of larger samples of both men and women is needed to examine how gender influences the relationships observed in this study. Because the career paths of women tend to follow a different timetable than the career paths of men (Powell & Mainiero, 1992; Sullivan, 1999), women may be more likely to be in similar- and reverse-age mentorships than men. For example, due to family responsibilities, women may enter the workforce or resume a career at a later age. Another possibility is that because of status concerns, older men may be more reluctant than older women to enter into a mentoring relationship as a protégé or believe that they have a need for mentoring.

In sum, diversity issues concerning mentoring relationships have primarily focused on gender and race (e.g., Ragins, 1997b). This study broadens this area of inquiry by focusing on age and age diversity within mentoring relationships. This seems important given that age has recently been touted as the "new diversity issue" in the workplace (Capowski, 1994; Waldrum & Niemira, 1997). Even the small sample of this study demonstrates that mentoring of various age compositions currently exists. Researchers need to broaden their

conceptualization of mentors and protégés to encompass pairs of varying age compositions. In doing so, future research is needed that focuses on pinpointing and alleviating the potential challenges of various mentorship age combinations as well as on highlighting and capitalizing on their unique strengths.

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Not All Relationships Are Created Equal: Critical Factors of High-Quality Mentoring Relationships

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Theoretical Background and Hypotheses

A traditional definition of mentoring, which will be used in this research, is that mentoring consists of a unique developmental relationship between two individuals, a mentor and a protégé. The mentor is generally a higher-ranking employee who has advanced organizational (or industry) experience and knowledge and who is committed to providing guidance and support to the protégé's career development. This definition has been used often in mentoring research (e.g., Fagenson, 1989; Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1992).

Academic research on the mentoring process has proliferated in the past decade. Studies have reported that mentors provide career development, psychosocial support, and role modeling functions for protégés (e.g., Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988; Scandura, 1992). Consistent findings on the benefits of mentoring for protégés include receiving more promotions (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Scandura, 1992) and having higher incomes (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991). Furthermore, protégés report higher career satisfaction (Turban & Dougherty, 1994), job satisfaction (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992), socialization (Chao et al., 1992), and lower turnover intentions (Scandura & Viator, 1994) than nonprotégés.

Most mentoring research contains an implicit assumption that once an informal relationship has formed, it will be productive and satisfying to the participants. However, research and personal experience inform us that not all relationships are equally productive (Baum, 1992; Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1998; Thomas, 1990), especially in formal mentoring programs (Chao et al., 1992). And despite recent research on mentoring networks (Higgins & Kram, 2001), and mentoring quality (Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000), there is still insufficient empirical research about factors that contribute to the quality of mentoring relationships. There have been valuable qualitative studies of mentoring relationships that have provided important insights about relationship quality and the role of conversation and dialogue in those relationships (e.g., Alred, Garvey, & Smith, 1998; Borredon, 2000; Clutterbuck & Megginson, 1999). Nevertheless, we felt it important to further examine, using an empirical approach, relationship quality and factors that improve the relationship. In this study, we defined mentoring productivity as the amount of mentoring functions (career development, psychosocial support, and role modeling) that are provided and received over the duration of the relationship. The few empirical studies that have examined relationship factors and their impact on mentoring productivity have focused on demographic characteristics.

Demographic Factors and Mentoring Productivity

The three demographic variables that have been reported to influence mentoring productivity include: (1) relationship duration, (2) relationship type (formal vs. informal), and (3) demographic composition of the dyad (i.e., gender and racial composition).

Relationship duration and type (formal or informal). These two factors are discussed together because of their interconnectedness in previous research. Informal mentoring relationships have been found to last significantly longer and to provide more career development functions than formal mentorships (Chao et al., 1992). Informal proteges reported significantly higher levels of career-related activities than formal proteges.

Demographic composition. According to Ragins (1997), the demographic composition of the relationship will impact the amount of career development, social support, and role modeling functions that are produced in the relationship. For example, minority mentors will likely have less organizational power and will be less able to provide career development opportunities to proteges. Psychosocial and role modeling functions have been found to be higher in same-gender and same-race mentoring dyads than in diversified relationships (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990; Thomas, 1990). Racial diversity in the relationship has also been shown to be negatively related to the amount of psychosocial support provided by the relationship (Thomas, 1990). Thomas (1993) has also demonstrated that cross-racial relationships can be highly

productive when both mentor and protege have similar attitudes for dealing with their racial differences.

This study goes beyond demographics and examines four distinct categories of relationship factors – relationship quality, interaction characteristics, source valence, and communication characteristics – that are expected to influence the productivity of the mentoring relationship.

Relational Quality: Key to Mentoring Productivity

Although demographics and power may explain some variance in the productivity of mentoring relationships, it can be argued that they are insufficient predictors of mentoring productivity. We submit that the quality of the relationship is the critical (and mostly neglected) factor leading to the amount of mentoring that actually occurs. A recent study showed that protege satisfaction with the mentoring relationship significantly contributed to positive work and career attitudes by the protege (Ragins et al., 2000). However, this research stopped short of exploring possible antecedents to mentoring relationship quality. We developed a model (see Figure 1) that hypothesizes three critical antecedents of mentoring relationship quality: interaction frequency, source valence, and communication characteristics.

The central premise of this model, which has its roots in interpersonal relationships literature, is that when a relationship is viewed by both parties as satisfying and of high quality, they are more likely to help each other and produce what is desired by each party. Research on interpersonal relationships has identified four dimensions of relationship quality that influence relationship outcomes: trust, control, intimacy, and satisfaction (e.g., Canary &

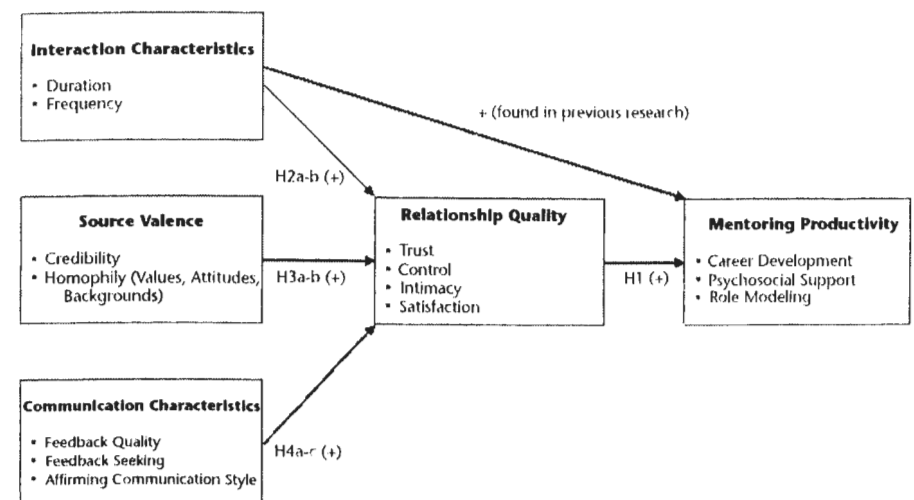


Figure 1: Theoretical model of factors influencing productivity in mentoring relationships

Spitzberg, 1989; Millar & Rogers, 1976). Trust refers to the level of interpersonal trust between mentor and protege. Control does not signify who is making decisions but the level of agreement on how decisions are being made and the relative influence of each party on the relationship. Intimacy focuses on the degree of familiarity that the mentoring partners have with each other. Satisfaction is a general assessment of how pleased a mentoring participant is with the other member of the mentoring relationship and with that particular relationship overall. The study by Ragins and colleagues (2000) measured relationship quality only by relationship satisfaction.

Substantial support exists for the model's hypothesized positive relationship between relational quality and mentoring productivity. First, Clawson (1980) argued for both trust and intimacy as key differentiating factors in the amount of learning that subordinates obtained from interaction with superiors. Second, recent theory and research on interpersonal trust suggest that trust is an essential predictor of risk-taking behavior in relationships (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). When mentors back proteges for promotions or challenging job assignments, they are often placing themselves at some risk. If the protege fails, then the mentor's reputation can be damaged (Ragins, 1997; Ragins & Scandura, 1994). Increased visibility that often accompanies involvement in mentoring relationships augments the risk in mentoring relationships. Third, according to Kram (1985), the most productive stage of the mentoring relationship should be the cultivation stage, characterized by the evolution of trust, norms and performance expectations. The separation stage following cultivation is described as the protege and/or the mentor deciding that the mentor's influence and guidance are no longer needed. In other words, the level of control desired by each participant has changed. Kram (1985) also alludes to dissatisfaction with the relationship as a primary catalyst for separation.

H1: --- Mentoring relationship quality will be positively related to mentoring productivity.

The next issue is to examine the critical antecedents of high-quality mentoring relationships. Three sets of variables are investigated in this study that are expected to influence relationship quality: (1) interaction characteristics, (2) source valence concepts, and (3) communication characteristics. The underlying notion in selecting these constructs is that effective communication is vital to the quality of any interpersonal relationship. Considering the types of functions that mentors provide to proteges (e.g., coaching, counseling, problem-solving), it is logical that communication plays a particularly critical role in the dynamics of the mentoring relationship. Mentoring relationships that have become destructive rather than productive reveal communication breakdowns as essential elements in the dysfunctional relationships (Baum, 1992; Kram, 1985; Scandura, 1998). We included interaction characteristics

because these variables represent opportunities for mentors and proteges to interrelate. We incorporated source valence variables to account for a participant's motivation to communicate with the mentoring partner. And finally, we examined specific communications attributes that focus on individual communication skills.

Interaction Characteristics

Interaction characteristics refer to those aspects of the mentoring relationship that affect how much communication actually occurs. Frequency of interaction and relationship duration, as depicted in Figure 1, are predicted to positively influence the quality of mentoring relationships. Increased interactions should result in the building of trust and intimacy, and the clarification of expectations that will lead to more solid relationships and subsequent productive mentoring activities. The duration of informal mentoring relationships has been found as an important factor in the amount of mentoring that actually takes place (Chao et al., 1992), so this path is also depicted in the model but is not listed as a study hypothesis.

H2a: --- Interaction frequency will be positively related to mentoring relationship quality.

H2b: --- Relationship duration will be positively related to mentoring relationship quality.

Source Valence

Source valence can be defined as the perceived characteristics of an individual which influence the affective bonds and attitudes that others hold for that individual (Garrison, Pate, & Sullivan, 1981). The underlying argument with source valence is that the perceptions a mentor and protege have of each other will influence their motivation to communicate in the relationship. The higher a person's valence for the other member of the relationship, the greater the desire to communicate and build a quality relationship. Two dimensions of the source valence construct will be utilized in this research: credibility and homophily (McCroskey & Wheelless, 1976). Source valence concepts have been found to predict different levels of intimacy in diverse relationship contexts (Garrison et al., 1981).

Credibility. The five dimensions that constitute source credibility are competence, character, sociability, composure, and extroversion (McCroskey, Hamilton, & Weiner, 1974). Credibility has been reported to be positively related to voluntary exposure to communication (McCroskey et al., 1974), acquisition of information (Lashbrook, Snively, & Sullivan, 1977), and persuasive ability

(Andersen & Clevenger, 1963). These findings applied to mentoring suggest that when mentors and proteges perceive each other as credible, more information will be communicated (both personal and job-related). Proteges will be more likely to follow the advice of mentors who are perceived to be credible. This line of thinking is consistent with Hunt and Michael's (1983) argument that effective mentors tend to be successful in their careers. Research indicates that credibility also enhances a protege's attractiveness to potential mentors (Kanter, 1977; Olian et al., 1993).

Homophily. Also known as social similarity, this construct is defined as perceptions of similarities between individuals in terms of specific social characteristics. One of the fundamental communication principles is that homophily increases the frequency of communication attempts and enhances communication effectiveness (Garrison et al., 1981; Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971). Like credibility, homophily consists of multiple dimensions: attitudes, background, values, and appearance (McCroskey, Richmond, & Daly, 1974). Social similarity has been found to increase liking (Lincoln & Miller, 1979; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989) and positive relationships have also been found between social similarity and the quality of leader-follower relationships (e.g., Phillips & Bedeian, 1994). Mentoring scholars have raised concerns about the effectiveness of mentoring in diversified relationships, noting the complexities that are introduced by a lack of similarity in backgrounds, communication styles, and work histories (cf. Ragins, 1997; Thomas, 1993). Therefore, the following hypotheses are predicted by source valence concepts.

H3a: – Credibility will be positively related to mentoring relationship quality.

H3b: – Homophily will be positively related to mentoring relationship quality.

Communication Characteristics

Communication is a ubiquitous element of interpersonal relationships. However, research on the influence of communication concepts on mentoring relationships has been noticeably absent, with the exception of an informative treatise of how non-linear learning and dance-like conversation affects mentoring interactions (Alred et al., 1998). The model of mentoring productivity developed for this study posits that the what (feedback) and how (style) of communication will impact the quality of the relationship, which will then influence mentoring productivity.

Feedback. Organizational researchers and psychologists have concluded that feedback is an important component of career development and personal learning (London, 1997). In mentoring relationships, where the mentor is

attempting to help the protege develop new skills and prepare for promotional opportunities and more challenging job assignments, the importance of effective feedback should be even more significant. Despite the potential value of feedback, a recent meta-analysis revealed that almost 40 percent of the effects of feedback on performance have been negative (Kluger & DeNisi, 1996). Two components of feedback effectiveness are the feedback quality and the willingness to both seek and give feedback.

Feedback quality. London (1997) summarized four critical factors that contribute to feedback quality. First, the content of the feedback should be clear, specific, and easily understood. Second, the feedback should focus on situations or behaviors that the person receiving the feedback has the power to change. Third, feedback needs to be provided in a timely and consistent manner. Finally, feedback should be given in such a way that the recipient can take the comments and apply them to improve his or her performance. The expectations of proteges in mentoring relationships include the transmission of valuable performance feedback from their mentors, so the quality of such feedback becomes even more critical.

Feedback seeking. Another important factor in mentoring relationships is how willing each participant is to seek and give feedback about both individual performance and the development of the relationship. Feedback seeking in organizations may be done by either monitoring the environment for cues or by active inquiry of other organizational members (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; London, 1997). Even though seeking feedback can provide beneficial insights to employees, many are reluctant to seek feedback due to the potential for criticism and damage to egos (London, 1997). In fact, research suggests that those employees who need performance improvements the most are the least likely to seek feedback (Karl & Kopf, 1993). In mentoring relationships with participants who are hesitant to seek or provide feedback, the key elements of relationship quality are likely to suffer, along with the amount of practical career-related information being communicated.

Affirming style. Affirming style is a cluster of communicator style dimensions that demonstrate support and affirmation of another individual's self-concept (Infante & Gorden, 1989). Drawing from initial conceptualizations and empirical research on communication style (Norton, 1978, 1983; Montgomery & Norton, 1980), Infante and Gorden (1989) identified the dimensions of being attentive, friendly, and relaxed as essential to an affirming communication style. For this study, the dimension of openness is added because of previous support for the importance of openness in productive supervisor-subordinate relationships (Clawson, 1980). An affirming communication style is positively related to perceptions of communication competence, relationship satisfaction, and organizational commitment (e.g., Infante & Gorden, 1989, 1991). Participants in mentoring relationships that communicate with an affirming style would be expected to have higher quality relationships. To develop and maintain productive mentoring relationships requires greater cooperation,

reciprocity, mutual commitment, and interpersonal skills than in the past (Kram, 1996). The concepts of feedback quality, feedback seeking, and affirming communication style have been found to be important predictors of satisfaction and productivity in other types of interpersonal relationships.

H4a: – Feedback quality will be positively related to mentoring relationship quality.

H4b: – Feedback seeking will be positively related to mentoring relationship quality.

H4c: – Affirming style will be positively related to mentoring relationship quality.

Methods

Procedures and Participants. The current study was part of a larger effort to examine mentoring attitudes and relationships at a large healthcare organization. The definition of mentoring relationships used in this research was provided to 400 managers who had expressed willingness to participate in the study. Of these 400 managers, 223 (56%) reported that they were in ongoing mentoring relationships with other organizational members, including 88 respondents who reported being in concurrent relationships as both mentor and protege. Respondents who indicated they were mentors in one relationship and proteges in a different relationship were asked to complete two surveys, one for each relationship. From the 311 surveys distributed, a total of 150 usable surveys were returned (48%) from 134 respondents (60% of the 223 potential respondents). Characteristics of the respondents that comprised this study's sample were 41 percent males, 95 percent Caucasian, 80 percent married, 92 percent having at least a bachelor's degree, 42.4 years old, and worked 48.3 hours per week, with an average of 12.6 years of employment with the sample organization.

Measurement

Unless otherwise noted, the items used to measure each variable were based upon a five-point Likert scale, with the anchors being "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree." Internal reliabilities for each scale will be listed along the diagonal in the descriptive statistics table (see Table 1) presented in the results section. More detailed information about the measurement component of this study are available from the authors.

Mentoring functions. Mentoring productivity was measured using Scandura's fifteen-item mentoring scale (e.g., Scandura, 1992; Scandura & Ragins, 1993). This scale includes items for each of the three main mentoring functions provided to proteges: career development (six items), psychosocial support (five items), and role modeling (four items).

Communication characteristics. Feedback quality was assessed using six items adapted from previous research on the necessary elements of effective feedback. Feedback seeking was measured with a five-item scale focusing on the frequency with which one person in the relationship seeks feedback from the other person. Both of the feedback variable scales were developed specifically for this study based upon concepts reported by London (1997). Affirming style was measured using a modified version of the Communicator Style Measure – Short Form (Montgomery & Norton, 1981), that has been used in previous research (e.g., Infante & Gorden, 1989). This instrument consists of sixteen items (four items per dimension) covering the four desired style dimensions (friendly, relaxed, attentive, open) of the affirming style construct.

Data Analysis

The relationships in the model (see Figure 1) were tested with structural equation modeling. Structural equation modeling allows for all the relationships in the model to be tested simultaneously and also takes into account direct and indirect effects. Structural equation modeling also accounts for random measurement error and more accurately reflects the relationships of interest. Mean scale scores were computed to create single indicators for each latent variable. This was necessary because of the sample size relative to the number of parameters being estimated by LISREL. This approach has been used in several studies and is used to correct for random measurement error (e.g., Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992; Renn & Vandenberg, 1995; additional details about this technique are available from the authors).

To determine the model's fit with the data, several indicators of goodness-of-fit were examined for the specific information each provides. The GFI (goodness-of-fit index) and chi-square provide a measure of the extent to which the covariance matrix estimated by the hypothesized model adequately fits the observed covariance matrix (James, Mulaik, & Brett, 1982). The CFI (centrality fit index) gives the best approximation of the population value for a single model (e.g., Medsker, Williams, & Holohan, 1994). The RMSR (root mean square residual) is considered because it gives a measure of the average difference between the model-predicted covariances and actual covariances measured by the data (Medsker et al., 1994). Finally, the PNFI (parsimony normed fit index) combines both parsimony and goodness-of-fit into one indicator.

Results

Descriptive statistics will be presented and then results from the LISREL analysis will be presented in two parts: (1) assessment of the overall model, and (2) examination of the individual model hypotheses.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations of the variables used in this study. Significant positive correlations were found for all relationships between source valence, communication, relationship quality, and mentoring variables, with one exception. The only correlation among those variables that was not significant was between homophily and feedback seeking (0.11). Respondents reported significantly more career development and role modeling activities occurring in their relationships than psychosocial support activities ($t = 15.51, p < .001$ and $t = 17.50, p < .001$, respectively). Finally, the mean score of the relationship quality scale (4.14 out of 5) indicates that the typically reported positive qualities of most informal mentoring relationships held true in this study.

Assessment of the Overall Model

To test the overall goodness of the theoretical model, the fit statistics for the model were computed and compared with a null model, as suggested by Anderson and Gerbing (1988). Based upon the results from the LISREL analysis, the theoretical model was moderately effective. The overall fit of the model was good with critical fit indices (GFI and CFI) close to the desired level of .90. The GFI was .89 and the CFI was .85, while the RMSR was .06 (values of .05 or lower are best) and the PNFI was .35 (the higher the number, the more parsimonious the model). The theoretical model was significantly better than the null model ($M n$) as expected.

Individual Hypotheses

The standardized path loadings of the theoretical model are presented in Figure 2. Of the eight predicted paths in the theoretical model, four were significant. The four significant paths were relationship quality to mentoring (H1), relationship duration to relationship quality (H2b), homophily to relationship quality (H3b), and feedback quality to relationship quality (H4a). Although all the predictor variables except interaction frequency were positively correlated with both relationship quality and mentoring, when they were tested simultaneously the important factors of mentoring productivity were relationship duration, homophily, feedback quality, and relationship quality.

Since homophily was significant to relationship quality, an additional regression analysis was performed to determine which dimensions of homophily (attitudes, background, values) were most critical to the quality of mentoring relationships. Results indicated that the attitudes and values dimensions were significantly related to relationship quality, whereas the background dimension was not significant.

Table 1: Factors of mentoring productivity: Means, standard deviations and correlations^a

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Interaction Frequency	4.43	0.63	—										
2. Relationship Duration	4.03	3.57	-.07	—									
3. Credibility	4.16	0.56	-.11	.19*	—								
4. Homophily	3.53	0.57	.02	.09	.47*	—							
5. Feedback Quality	4.07	0.55	-.10	.03	.49*	.35*	—						
6. Feedback Seeking	3.49	0.70	-.09	.04	.38*	.11	.50*	—					
7. Affirming Style	3.63	0.56	-.15*	.06	.62*	.52*	.54*	.44*	—				
8. Relationship Quality	4.14	0.56	-.09	.25*	.54*	.54*	.62*	.41*	.53*	—			
9. Career Development	4.11	0.64	-.06	.24*	.44*	.38*	.65*	.50*	.41*	.67*	—		
10. Psychosocial Support	3.12	0.82	.14*	.31*	.26*	.32*	.27*	.35*	.26*	.48*	.47*	—	
11. Role Modeling	4.20	0.63	-.16*	.17*	.59*	.42*	.67*	.47*	.46*	.65*	.58*	.39*	—

^aN = 150. The numbers in parentheses on the diagonal are coefficient alphas.

* $p < .05$

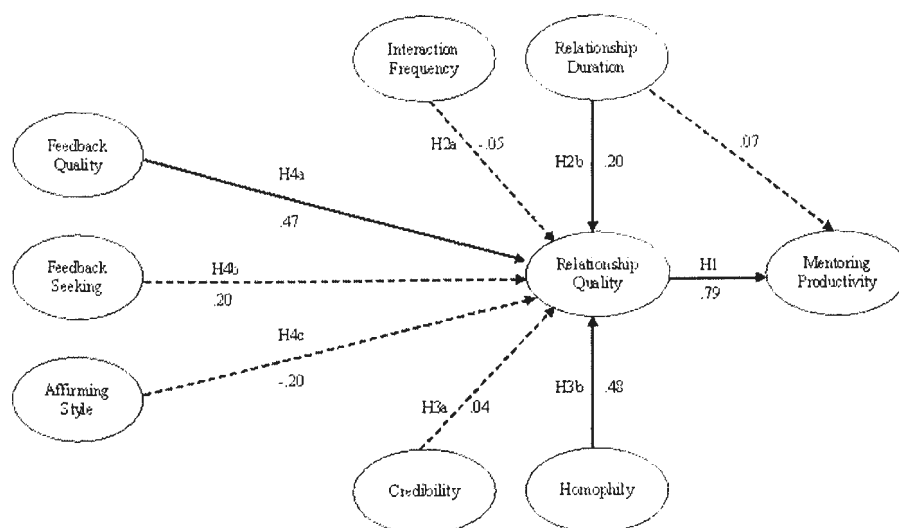


Figure 2: LISREL, path coefficients of the theoretical model of mentoring productivity (nonsignificant paths are indicated by dashed lines)

Discussion

Discussion of the Results

An essential finding of this study is the importance of relationship quality to productive mentoring activities. The correlations (Table 1) reveal that relationship quality is positively associated with each of the three mentoring functions. Even when a direct link is added between feedback quality and mentoring (suggested by post hoc LISREL modification indices), relationship quality and mentoring still have a significant positive relationship. The findings underscore the importance that mentoring participants should place on the process of developing the relationship itself and not focusing solely on the outcomes of the mentoring process. These results reinforce the findings from the recent Ragins study (Ragins et al., 2000).

Interaction characteristics. Frequency of interaction between mentor and protege was not a significant explanatory variable to either relationship quality or mentoring productivity. One possibility for this lack of significance is that the measurement of frequency did not account for either the length of the interactions (time spent together) or the quality of those interactions. Duration of the relationship was positively related to relationship quality but not to mentoring productivity. These results of relationship duration contradict the findings reported by Chao and colleagues (1992) in a study that did not include the relationship quality variable. This is not to say that mentoring relationships of longer duration are not more productive, but that the cause of their higher productivity is stronger relationship quality.

Source valence characteristics. Credibility and homophily were strongly correlated with relationship quality and with all three mentoring functions. However, when examined by structural equation modeling, homophily was found to be the significant factor in relationship quality. The implication that socially similar mentoring relationships are more productive is not a new one. It has been described in negative terms because of its impact on more diversified work forces. However, an important finding from this study is that it is similarity in values and attitudes that makes the difference, not similarity in backgrounds. Results of this study support the findings reported by Thomas (1993) in his study of cross-cultural mentoring relationships. Compatibility in values and attitudes is important for productive mentoring to occur.

Communication characteristics. Of the three communication variables tested in this study, the most important in terms of the overall model of mentoring productivity was the quality of feedback provided by the mentor to the protege. The quality of feedback occurring in the 150 ongoing relationships in this study was fairly high on average (mean=4.07). Feedback quality was found to not only be an important factor in the quality of the mentoring relationship, but also in the mentoring activities themselves. This finding suggests that even when the mentor and protege may be struggling in their relationship with each other, productive mentoring can still occur if the mentor provides specific and timely feedback about the protege's performance.

Feedback seeking behavior and an affirming communication style were positively correlated with relational quality and with the mentoring functions, but when examined simultaneously with the other predictor variables, they were not significant predictors. Perhaps the amount of feedback seeking in mentoring relationships is influenced by the perceived quality of the feedback that has already been given. For example, if a mentor observes a protege perform some job-related task and then immediately gives the protege specific feedback on what the protege did correctly and what could be improved the next time, then the protege may be more likely to seek feedback in the future.

Implications for Mentoring Theory and Practice

An important implication for mentoring theory from this study is the exploration of what occurs in ongoing mentoring relationships. Relationship quality is a construct that needs to be included in subsequent research on mentoring productivity. Previous mentoring research has consistently demonstrated the mixed results of diversified mentoring relationships (cf. Ragins, 1997), but empirical evidence for the variance in productivity of these relationships has been lacking. This study is a needed step toward explaining how relationship factors impact mentoring productivity. Furthermore, this research goes beyond

case studies and anecdotal descriptions of productive and unproductive mentoring relationships. Providing empirical evidence of critical relationship factors that are influential in productive mentoring relationships can serve as a basis for further theory building of mentoring relationship dynamics.

This study also makes an important contribution by linking the literatures of communications and interpersonal relationships to that of mentoring. Because mentoring is a unique type of interpersonal relationship (e.g., Kram, 1985) and communication skills have been identified as critical components of mentoring activities (Kram, 1996), more mentoring research should incorporate key constructs drawn from these relevant bodies of research. For example, one research question could explore whether there is a difference in the way effective mentors communicate their proteges' weaknesses to those proteges.

As organizations encourage informal mentoring activities or strive to implement formal mentoring programs, two implications for mentoring practice from this research may be of value: (1) seek to find mentors and proteges with similar values and attitudes, and (2) train managers on the art of giving quality feedback and relationship maintenance. Mentoring scholars have voiced concerns about the complexities of cross-gender and cross-cultural mentoring relationships for some time now. One of the concerns for organizations who want to develop their minority employees is how to select mentors who will be productive with people different than themselves. This study reported that homophily is indeed a critical factor of the perceived quality of the mentoring relationship. However, the important dimensions of homophily were attitudes and values, not backgrounds or status. Similar to the findings of Thomas (1993) that consistent attitudes about discussing racial issues in his sample of mentoring relationships led to more productive relationships, the findings of this study imply that organizations need to try to match up employees based upon similarities in work and life values as opposed to demographical criteria such as gender and race.

Another implication of this research for organizations is the need to train managers better in their interpersonal skills, especially in terms of giving quality feedback. Lack of interpersonal skills has frequently been cited as a reason why managers fail. Executives have reported that MBA programs typically have not prepared future managers effectively in the area of interpersonal communication (Whetten & Cameron, 1998). The importance of feedback quality to both relationship quality and mentoring productivity found in this study indicates that organizations would be well served to commit more time and resources to training the skill of giving effective feedback. Research on performance feedback has found that managers often are uncomfortable providing the constructive, specific feedback needed for performance improvements (London, 1997). As shown in this study, mentors who really know how to develop the organization's human resources know both how and when to give feedback.

Research Limitations & Future Opportunities

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study is that all of the measures used were derived from the self-reports of respondents. The findings could be influenced by common method variance, response consistency effects, or other issues common to self-report methods. This limitation is not uncommon in research on mentoring (e.g., Turban & Dougherty, 1994). The perceptual nature of this topic increases the appropriateness of this method of data gathering. Furthermore, a review by Crampton and Wagner (1994) challenges the validity of general condemnation of self-report methods. Harmon one-factor tests (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986) were conducted to test for common method variance. No significant evidence of these effects was found.

Another limitation is the recognition that the model tested in this study represents an incomplete view of the factors that enhance mentoring relationship quality. The variables used in the model were purposefully constrained to those drawn from the communication and interpersonal relationships literatures. Additional independent variables (e.g., personality and attitudinal variables) need to be examined in the future.

A third limitation of this study is the generalizability of the findings. Although the study did include respondents from many different types of occupations (e.g., accountants, vice presidents, physicians, laboratory technicians, hospital administrators), it was conducted in one organization in the healthcare industry. The current model of mentoring productivity was found to be an appropriate model for the informal mentoring relationships in this particular organization. Further testing of the model should be conducted with formal mentoring relationships and in more culturally diverse organizations.

Finally, the cross-sectional nature of the research does not allow much insight into the nature of the variable relationships over time. For example, it is not clear how the interaction of relationship quality and mentoring productivity plays out over the course of the relationship. It is very likely that as proteges benefit from more of the mentoring activities produced in the relationship they will perceive the quality of the relationship in an even more positive light. While a reciprocal relationship may well exist to some degree, we have good reasons for our confidence that relationship quality is a better causal predictor of mentoring productivity, rather than productivity causing relationship quality. First, research in interpersonal relationships suggests that the higher the quality of the relationship, the more that parties in the relationship will seek to produce outcomes important to that relationship (Millar & Rogers, 1976). Second, Mayer and colleagues (1995) argue convincingly for a causal sequence in which trusting relationships lead to risk-taking behaviors in those relationships and subsequent outcomes. Finally, in an effort to partially address this concern, post hoc LISREL analysis was conducted on the current dataset. The causal direction of relationship quality and mentoring productivity was reversed resulting in substantially poorer fit indices. This, however, does not

diminish the need for longitudinal studies of the mentoring process to address issues of causality. It should also be noted that this limitation is common to the empiricist approach of our study (as opposed to a social constructionist perspective on this relationship).

In conclusion, mentoring and other work-related relationships have been argued as having a more central role in the success of individual careers in the current business environment (Hall, 1996; Kram, 1996). Also, additional concerns have been voiced about the productivity of cross-cultural and cross-gender mentoring relationships in the face of more diversified workforces (Ragins, 1997; Thomas, 1993). For these reasons, research on factors of productive mentoring relationships is critical. Findings from this research suggest that mentors and proteges with similar attitudes and values develop high-quality relationships and that both mentors and proteges need skills in providing specific performance feedback. The skills of giving and receiving quality feedback are often overlooked by both organizational training programs and business school courses. In the current business environment high-quality developmental relationships should be even more important to individual and organizational success. But such relationships do not materialize magically; consequently, we need to further our understanding of the factors that contribute most to productive mentoring relationships.

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The Impact of Learning Goal Orientation Similarity on Formal Mentoring Relationship Outcomes

Toby Marshall Egan

Mentoring is a brain to pick, an ear to listen, and a push in the right direction.

– John C. Crosby (n.d.)

Goal setting and achievement are important elements of mentoring relationships. Protégés are often the benefactors of learning transfer, counseling and support, advocacy, protection, and where relevant, exchange regarding norms and values associated with shared professional and organizational contexts (Kram, 1985). Successful mentor-protégé relationships can lead to increases in career mobility, job and career satisfaction, compensation, and performance (Egan & Rosser, 2005; Egan & Song, 2004; Kram, 1985; Ragins, 1997). Although generally described in terms of career development and psychosocial growth opportunities (Kram, 1985), mentoring can also be defined as a goal-focused process aimed toward increased knowledge and competency development (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003).

This study is in response to calls for research on the exploration of mentoring dyads (Ragins, 1997) and the impact of individual differences on mentoring experiences (Sosik & Godshalk, 2000). The investigation described in this article contributes specifically to human resource development (HRD) research and practice by exploring formal mentoring. Formal mentoring relationships

are instigated and supported by organizations in a manner that is planned and organized by HRD professionals (Egan & Rosser, 2005; Egan & Song, 2004; Wanberg, Welsh, & Hezlett, 2003). Although informal mentoring relationships that evolve between individual mentors and protégés can have important benefits in organizational settings, there may be few planned or intentional actions that can be taken to influence participation in such relationships or their impact. Specifically, this study explores how learning goal orientation (LGO) alignment (or misalignment) between mentors and protégés influences mentors' role modeling and protégés' goal- and career-related outcomes in the context of formal mentoring dyads.

A challenge for HRD professionals is how to create the greatest likelihood of success for mentoring dyads. Mentoring program leaders have identified the matching process – decisions by HRD professionals regarding which mentors and protégés will be paired together – as a critical element in the organizational sponsorship of mentoring (Hegstad & Wentling, 2004). According to Hegstad and Wentling (2004), leaders from exemplary practices in *Fortune* 500 formal mentoring programs identified interpersonal connections between mentor and protégé to be essential for learning and development. The three most often used mentor-protégé pairing criteria were backgrounds and interests, developmental needs and expertise, and job level. Although these criteria may create better opportunities for interpersonal connection between mentor and protégé, they appear to be very general and dependent on the HRD professional to determine what constitutes the right combination of identified similarities and needs for potential dyads. More specific matching criteria appear needed to create the best likelihood for workplace-related learning and development.

One specific criterion that appears to offer promise in matching mentors and protégés is learning goal orientation. Individuals with high learning goal orientation “are motivated by competency development and choose challenging tasks that foster learning, even if their assessment of current skills is low” (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003, p. 418). Conversely, those with low LGO will be likely to avoid learning-related challenges, take on work assignments that align with their current skill sets, and use previously successful solutions to current problems even if new solutions appear warranted. LGO has been viewed as a fairly stable dispositional characteristic (Button, Mathieu, & Zajac, 1996). According to Button et al. (1996), a shared approach to a task utilizing an LGO leads to striving by individuals toward an increase in related knowledge and competencies. Mentoring relationships often focus on goal achievement, recognition, and protégé success by engaging the protégé in challenging work- or career-related situations or assignments (Kram, 1985). Therefore, in the words of Godshalk and Sosik (2003), “The study of mentor-protégé relationships may be enhanced through an understanding of the LGO associated with each party in the relationship” (p. 418).

To date, only one identified study, by Godshalk and Sosik (2003), has explored LGO in mentor-protégé pairs, the vast majority of which were informal (or occurred naturalistically). Although not an exact replication, this study was modeled after the Godshalk and Sosik study with a key difference – a focus on formal mentoring relationships in a workplace setting. Based on available support from prior research, an underlying assumption of this study is that mentor-protégé similarity regarding LGO will foster compatibility, support greater satisfaction with the relationship, increase goal clarity, and lead to enhanced outcomes for the protégé. Prior research has explored the notion that social learning (Bandura, 1977), goal setting (Maier & Brunstein, 2001), and similarity in personal characteristics may lead to interpersonal attraction and increased communication and outcomes (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003; Thibodeaux & Lowe, 1996). In this context, mentors are viewed as role models and facilitators of social learning and protégé competency development through the development of goals and support of protégé self-efficacy.

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

This study is based on the dynamic process model of formal mentoring developed by Wanberg et al. (2003). This model, based on a comprehensive review of mentoring literature, advances the informed proposition that participant and relationship antecedents (e.g., mentor, protégé, dyad, and relationship characteristics) along with program antecedents (e.g., participant matching, training, and goal setting) and organizational context (organizational culture, support for mentoring program) influence the mentoring received by protégés. Mentoring affects proximal outcomes (satisfaction with the mentoring relationship, protégé change, learning outcomes) and distal outcomes for both mentors (e.g., recognition, job satisfaction) and protégés (e.g., career satisfaction, promotions, performance).

The notion that each individual, both protégé and mentor, has unique personal characteristics that they contribute to the mentoring relationship and that perceived relationship success is impacted by these dynamics is not new (Koberg, Boss, & Goodman, 1998); however, exploration of these dynamics has been limited. One individual characteristic that combines both learning and performance concerns identified in the HRD literature is LGO. According to Dweck (1986), LGO may elicit a relatively consistent individual reaction to learning opportunities. According to Elliott and Dweck (1988), LGO relates to enduring positive affect and maintained or increased performance as well as an individual drive toward arriving at solutions to situations encountered. Persons with high LGO are prone to viewing failure as feedback and important information rather than as useless or debilitating (Button et al., 1996). LGO involves an interest in taking on and learning about challenging tasks and a commitment to those tasks selected or assigned, even in the face of some unanticipated challenges.

As argued by Godshalk and Sosik (2003), mentors and protégés may be inclined to react more positively to an individual whose learning-related response patterns are similar to their own. It has been suggested that there would be greater respect and interpersonal connection between individuals who were similar in LGO. Increased similarities between dyad members have been argued to create a better likelihood for the success of a mentor-protégé relationship (Allinson, Armstrong, & Hayes, 2001). The favorable conditions that may emerge from a mentor-protégé dyad create a better likelihood for the enhancement of career development and psychosocial mentoring functions, particularly role modeling. "Thus, LGO may enhance the relationship between mentor and protégé because mentoring involves accepting novel information, learning from it, and using it towards related goals" (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003, p. 421). Bergem (1986) also suggested that higher levels of individual LGO might enhance the mentoring relationship. Mentors who are learning goal oriented may be motivated to provide more counseling, coaching, and teaching to their protégés, who in turn may be motivated to receive information or perspectives from their mentors.

Along with supplying this support, engaged mentors offer role modeling that may provide both immediate and long-term benefits for the protégé (Bergem, 1986). Godshalk and Sosik (2003) suggested that LGO is consistent with the role of mentor or teacher in terms of a valued learning and knowledge exchange, and those students receiving challenging assignments or difficult lessons assigned higher value to their teachers and a desire to learn more. This suggestion supports the notion that LGO may be a contributing factor to the established career-related benefits protégés receive from their mentoring relationships, including increases in job satisfaction, career commitment, and organizational commitment (Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000) as well as promotions and career aspirations (Tharenou, 2001).

Consistent with leader-member exchange theory (LMX), findings by Thibodeaux and Lowe (1996) and Gerstner and Day (1997) support both the application of LMX to mentoring relationships and the notion that similarities between mentor and protégé regarding learning styles will lead to more effective, interpersonally connecting relationships. Godshalk and Sosik (2003) also suggested that LMX, social learning theory, and goal-setting theories advance the idea that mentor-protégé exchanges of positive affect, feedback, challenge seeking, and persistence may raise protégé expectations for themselves in terms of career success and satisfaction. In addition, Godshalk and Sosik (2003) presented findings from the only available mentoring study focusing on outcomes associated with LGO in mentoring relationships (87% of the 217 respondents were in informal mentoring relationships). The study findings supported Kram's (1985) theory regarding homogeneity of mentor-protégé pairs, "which proposes that the greater the similarity between mentor and protégé, the greater the likelihood for provision of psychosocial support, career development, and role modeling" (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003, p. 432). Specifically, Godshalk and Sosik found higher levels of career mentoring and role modeling

(operationalized as idealized influence) for mentor-protégé dyads similarly high in LGO as compared to dyads that were dissimilar in or possessed low levels of LGO. In addition, protégés with mentors similarly high in LGO had more favorable outcomes, including higher enacted managerial aspirations, desired managerial aspirations, and career satisfaction, than their counterparts in dyads that were dissimilar in or possessed low levels of LGO.

Although these findings support both propositions and research results discussed earlier, two key elements are important considerations and a justification for the study explored in this article. First, it is important, particularly for HRD scholars, to better understand the role and potential of formal mentoring relationships in HRD (Hegstad & Wentling, 2004). HRD professionals generally support employee socialization, learning, development, job mastery, and performance improvement through formal organizational structures; formal mentoring provides unique but not well-understood opportunities. Although several of the studies identified by Wanberg et al. (2003) explored the role of individual characteristics on perceptions of mentoring and related outcomes, few included mentor responses or explored formal mentoring relationships – leading to the conclusion that "There is a striking dearth of research on formal mentoring" (p. 85). Second, there is little understanding regarding the dyadic relationship in formal mentoring, particularly elements contributing to a successful relationship. Because there are important differences between formal and informal mentoring (especially as it relates to HRD practice) and formal mentoring and relationship dyads are both understudied (Wanberg et al., 2003), the research reported here makes an important contribution to HRD research, theory, and practice.

Based on the aforementioned discussion, it is proposed that mentor-protégé LGO similarity will be associated with greater protégé outcomes. Specifically, protégés possessing high levels of LGO similar to their mentors will report more role modeling and more positive career-related outcomes (i.e., managerial career aspirations, goal commitment, and career satisfaction) than protégés with similarly low or dissimilar LGO as compared to their mentors.

Method

Sample and Procedure

For the sample, 198 employees and managers from a large nonprofit health care organization who once participated or were participating in the organization's formal mentoring program were invited to take part in the study. The final number of participants was 143 mentoring dyads (143 protégés and 143 mentors; 72% response rate). Of those not participating, 39 employees declined, and 7 submitted unusable responses. Protégé respondents were participants in all of the major departments in the 12,000-employee organization, from executive management and finance to clinic supervision and direct care

medical services. Respondent protégé job categories included 7% executive, 22% middle management, 33% frontline management, and 38% nonmanagerial service providers. The full service health care organization serves more than 750,000 clients in more than 60 locations. All respondents were protégés in a formal mentoring relationship some time over the past 3.3 years and, at a minimum, completed the baseline expectations for the 8-month long formal mentoring program in which they were involved. Protégés ranged in age from 19 to 51 years old, with the average being 33.1 years, and had worked with the current organization for an average of 2.1 years. Participants in the mentoring program sponsored by the organization under study had done so as recently as 6 months ago and as long ago as 3.3 years ago, with the average time since beginning in the company-sponsored formal mentoring program being 1.6 years. Also, 62% of protégés indicated that they met at least once per month with their mentors for an average of 9.5 months following the end of the formal program, with 34% reporting meeting on average more than once per month. Mentors averaged 41.3 years of age and ranged in age from 21 years to 66 years. In addition, 66% of protégés and 49% of mentors were women. The mentor-protégé dyads were 53% same-gender relationships. Finally, 76% of the participants were Caucasian, 11% African American, 7% Asian American, 5% Hispanic/Latino, and 1% Native American.

The formal mentoring program was implemented by the organization's HRD division. Prior to participation in the mentoring program, both mentors and protégés filled out a brief application and interest statement. Although not perfectly systematic, HRD professionals reported that mentor-protégé matching was done based on protégés' stated interests regarding their goals and the characteristics they identified as important in mentors. Available 360 feedback and performance assessments were used to ensure that all mentors were rated as "very good" or "excellent" by the majority of their stakeholders. The program had a kickoff training for both the protégé and mentor groups. Participants were asked to make a minimum 6-month commitment to the relationship and to meet a minimum of twice monthly. Participation as mentor or protégé is frequently included in performance appraisals and is perceived to be viewed positively by the organization's executive team.

Following an introductory e-mail and postcard, two surveys were distributed to participants using internal organization mail. Protégés were asked to complete the first questionnaire and forward the second to their mentor or former mentor from the company-sponsored formal mentoring program. Both surveys were mailed directly to an off-site post office box using the preaddressed, prepaid envelopes provided.

Measures

The measures used in this study were similar to those used in Godshalk and Sosik's (2003) study of informal mentoring dyads.

Learning goal orientation. A 7-point Likert-type scale (ranging from 7 = *strongly agree* to 1 = *strongly disagree*) was used for eight LGO items validated by Button et al. (1996). One item statement is, "I prefer to work on tasks that force me to learn new things." According to Elliot and McGregor (2001) and Godshalk and Sosik (2003), LGO can be a multilevel construct. Using principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation, a single factor for LGO was found for protégés ($\alpha = .81$) and mentors ($\alpha = .79$) and accounted, respectively, for 48% and 46% of the total variance. These results support the use of the aforementioned items to explore LGO and were generally similar to the results by Button et al. and Godshalk and Sosik identified earlier.

Career satisfaction. Similar to the study on informal mentoring conducted by Godshalk and Sosik (2003), protégé career satisfaction was assessed using measures of managerial career aspirations and career satisfaction. Tharenou and Terry's (1998) managerial career aspiration measures were used. These measures are divided into two scales – enacted managerial aspirations and desired managerial aspirations – developed and validated by Tharenou and Terry. An example of desired managerial career aspirations is, "I would like to be in a position of greater influence in my department/organization" (10-item, 5-point Likert-type scale; $\alpha = .83$). An example of enacted managerial career aspirations is, "I have updated my skills in order to become more competitive for promotion" (12-item, 5-point Likert-type scale; $\alpha = .89$). An example of a career satisfaction item is, "I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career" ($\alpha = .85$), which used a 5-point scale and was developed by Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990).

Role modeling. As previously discussed, role modeling has been identified as a specific mentoring function and is defined with respect to both the mentor's behavior and the protégé's reactions. A measure of both role modeling behaviors and attributions, taken from the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Bass & Avolio, 1997), was selected for this study. The previously validated four items focusing on idealized influence-behavior ($\alpha = .83$) and idealized influence-attributes ($\alpha = .79$) were used along with a 5-point Likert-type scale. Idealized influence connects the demonstration of role modeling behaviors through exemplary behaviors, character, and achievement and has been used in previous studies of mentoring relationships (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003; Sosik & Godshalk, 2000). One example item is, "My mentor considers the moral and ethical consequences of decisions."

Goal commitment. Goal setting and achievement were emphasized during the introduction of the formal mentoring program. A three-item measure of goal commitment (determination, effort, initiation) was adapted from Maier and Brunstein (2001). The measure used a 5-point Likert-type scale ($\alpha = .79$).

Control variables. Based on similar studies of mentoring (e.g., Button et al., 1996; Egan & Rosser, 2005; Egan & Song, 2004; Godshalk & Sosik, 2003;

Ragins, 1997), mentor and protégé respondent gender, age, length of formal mentoring relationship, education level, and college grade point average (GPA) were used as control variables.

Data Analysis

Analytical approaches developed by Atwater and Yammarino (1997) and used by Godshalk and Sosik (2003) were adopted for this study. Mentoring dyads were grouped into one of four categories based on the LGO. Differences between protégé and mentor ratings of LGO were computed. The difference score for each dyad was compared to the mean difference score. These scores were used in the categorization of the dyads, not in the actual data analysis.

Dyads whose difference scores were one half standard deviation below the mean (protégé LGO below mentor LGO = 40 dyads) and above the mean (protégé LGO above mentor LGO = 37 dyads) comprised the first two categories. The two other categories were composed of dyad difference scores within one half standard deviation of the mean difference and protégé ratings below or above protégé ratings grand mean; those dyads were categorized as congruent-low LGO dyads ($n = 34$) and congruent-high LGO dyads ($n = 32$). Multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was used to compare the category means for the dependent variables.

Findings

Table 1 provides means, standard deviations, coefficient alphas, and intercorrelations for the entire sample, whereas Table 2 shows means and standard deviations by congruence group.

A one-way MANCOVA used protégé ratings of idealized influence-attributes, idealized influence-behaviors, desired managerial aspirations, enacted managerial aspirations, goal commitment, and career satisfaction as dependent variables. The congruence category served as the independent variable. The analysis included protégé gender, age, college GPA, and length of the mentoring relationship as covariates.

No significant multivariate effects were identified for the covariates (see Table 3).

Significant univariate covariate effects were found for length of mentoring relationship on career satisfaction, $F(1, 127) = 6.82, p < .01, r = .18$; idealized influence-behavior, $F(1, 127) = 6.71, p < .01, r = .17$; and idealized influence-attributes, $F(1, 127) = 4.61, p < .05, r = .15$; protégé gender on idealized influence-attributes, $F(1, 127) = 4.17, p < .05, r = .13$; and desired managerial aspirations, $F(1, 127) = 3.98, p < .05, r = .12$.

Table 1: Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations among measurement items

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Learning goal orientation (protégé)	4.35	0.46	—														
2. Learning goal orientation (mentor)	4.38	0.43	.21	—													
3. Goal commitment	4.22	0.98	.20	.20	—												
4. Idealized influence attributes	3.10	0.80	.31	.25	.44	—											
5. Idealized influence behavior	2.81	0.81	.27	.29	.48	.74	—										
6. Desired aspirations	4.21	0.69	.16	.27	.11	.11	.10	—									
7. Enacted aspirations	3.80	0.69	.14	.26	.11	.14	.12	.31	—								
8. Career satisfaction	3.66	0.44	.20	.19	.28	.18	.16	-.09	.31	—							
9. Relationship length	1.41	0.61	-.05	-.09	.18	.01	.19	-.02	-.01	.05	—						
10. Protégé gender	0.66	0.41	-.09	-.05	-.03	-.11	-.08	-.05	-.01	-.06	-.05	—					
11. Protégé age	33.11	7.21	-.04	-.02	-.05	-.02	-.03	-.06	-.02	-.04	.09	.10	—				
12. Protégé grade point average	3.29	0.45	-.11	-.04	-.06	-.10	-.11	.08	.01	-.05	-.01	-.08	-.05	—			
13. Mentor gender	0.49	0.45	-.07	-.06	-.03	-.11	-.08	-.04	.03	-.04	-.07	-.06	-.05	-.03	—		
14. Mentor age	41.34	10.23	-.01	-.06	-.05	-.10	-.06	-.09	-.03	-.10	-.06	-.01	-.07	-.09	.03	—	
15. Mentor grade point average	3.38	0.47	-.06	-.01	-.04	-.07	-.09	-.05	-.05	.11	.10	-.07	-.06	-.08	-.04	.07	—

Note: For $r > .13, p < .05$; for $r > .19, p < .01$.

Table 2: Means and standard deviations by learning goal orientation (LGO) group

Variables	Protégé LGO > mentor LGO (n = 37)		Congruence-low LGO (n = 34)		Congruence-high LGO (n = 32)		Mentor LGO > protégé LGO (n = 40)	
Measurement items	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
LGO								
Protégé	4.62	0.44	4.04	0.47	4.69	0.39	3.94	0.44
Mentor	3.90	0.44	4.02	0.39	4.67	0.44	4.67	0.41
Mentoring influences								
Idealized influence-attributes	2.89	0.79	2.60	0.78	3.11	0.82	3.01	0.78
Idealized influence-behavior	2.72	0.80	2.63	0.77	3.01	0.83	2.89	0.79
Protégé outcomes								
Desired aspirations	4.23	0.70	4.08	0.68	4.35	0.70	3.89	0.67
Enacted aspirations	3.93	0.69	3.59	0.71	3.98	0.68	3.58	0.70
Goal commitment	4.30	0.90	4.02	0.89	4.37	0.99	3.97	0.93
Career satisfaction	3.68	0.41	3.51	0.38	3.88	0.45	3.75	0.43
Control variables								
Relationship length	1.41	0.58	1.62	0.60	1.64	0.59	1.72	0.62
Protégé gender	0.66	0.38	0.63	0.42	0.61	0.40	0.70	0.41
Protégé age	33.2	7.01	32.6	6.98	33.1	7.23	32.4	7.24
Protégé grade point average	3.27	0.50	3.33	0.41	3.24	0.48	3.25	0.45
Mentor gender	0.51	0.48	0.49	0.50	0.48	0.42	0.50	0.44
Mentor age	41.7	9.71	40.8	11.01	40.6	10.01	41.1	9.92
Mentor grade point average	3.41	0.44	3.37	0.41	3.38	0.49	3.40	0.47

Table 3: Results of multiple analysis of covariance

Analysis and variables	Learning goal orientation congruence			
	F	df	p	O ²
Multivariate analysis	1.79	(18, 127)	.03	.05
Univariate analysis				
Idealized influence-attributes	4.78	(3, 127)	< .01	.06
Idealized influence-behavior	2.80	(3, 127)	< .04	.09
Desired aspirations	2.78	(3, 127)	< .03	.04
Enacted aspirations	2.97	(3, 127)	< .04	.03
Goal commitment	3.05	(3, 127)	< .02	.04
Career satisfaction	1.55	(3, 127)	< .24	.01

Note: Significant effects are in bold. There were no significant multivariate effects for the control variables.

Significant multivariate effects were identified for LGO. Results indicated that LGO similarity between protégé and mentor was associated with higher protégé outcomes (see Table 2).

Significant univariate effects of LGO were identified for protégé ratings of goal commitment, desired managerial aspirations, enacted managerial aspirations, idealized influence-behavior, and idealized influence-attributes. Protégés who possessed high levels of LGO similar to their mentors reported (a) the highest levels of goal commitment, (b) higher levels of idealized influence (behavior and attributes) as compared to protégés possessing lower levels of LGO than their mentors, (c) higher levels of idealized influence (behavior and attributes) than those protégés possessing low levels and who had mentors with similar levels of LGO, and (d) higher levels of idealized influence (behavior and attributes) than those protégés possessing higher levels of LGO than their mentors. Career satisfaction and managerial aspirations were associated with similarly high mentor-protégé pairing as well.

In regards to protégé outcomes presented in Table 2, protégés with similarly high levels of LGO as compared to their mentors reported (a) higher levels of enacted managerial aspirations than protégés who possessed low levels of LGO similar to their mentors and protégés who possessed lower levels of LGO than their mentors, (b) higher levels of desired managerial aspirations than protégés who possessed lower levels of LGO than their mentors, and (c) higher levels of career satisfaction than protégés who possessed low levels of LGO similar to their mentors.

Discussion

As previously indicated, significant design and analysis elements of this study were modeled from Godshalk and Sosik's (2003) study of informal mentoring. Both studies support the similarity-attraction perspectives of mentoring (Kram, 1985; Ragins, 1997). Although not all of the variables across the two studies

are comparable, this study had several similar findings, specifically with regard to protégé outcomes. This is particularly interesting in that findings suggest that formal and informal mentoring dyads with similarly high LGOs may have similarly positive protégé outcomes in both formal and informal contexts. Protégé-mentor LGO similarity was related to mentoring influences (i.e., role modeling) and protégé career-related outcomes. Study results provide support for theory regarding similarity of the dyad members, which proposes that the more homogenous the protégé-mentor dyad, the greater mentor support and protégé outcomes. However, some of the mixed findings identified earlier suggest that protégés with LGO higher than their mentors or mentors who may use their higher LGO to model and challenge their protégés may also yield higher protégé outcomes. As stated by Godshalk and Sosik (2003),

For protégés who possessed a lower learning goal orientation than their mentors, their mentors may have perceived that the protégés still needed challenging assignments and growth goals similar to those agreed upon by the high-learning-goal-oriented dyads. Therefore, it is possible that mentors with higher learning goal orientation than their protégés were motivated to provide the necessary career development and role modeling behavior in order for the protégé to learn and achieve career goals. (p. 423)

Similar to the previous study of LGO in informal mentoring, the findings from the current study imply that protégés reporting high levels of managerial career aspirations benefited from mentor support through similar and high LGO in the context of formal mentoring (Tharenou, 2001). Protégé-mentor pairs featuring high levels of LGO resulted in protégé reports of higher levels of enacted managerial aspirations and career satisfaction than their counterparts who showed low levels of LGO. Higher levels of managerial aspirations were also associated with higher protégé LGO. Study results suggest that LGO “represents an important individual difference variable that can shape the nature of the behavioral roles demonstrated by mentors, mentoring functions, and the career outcomes achieved by protégés” (Godshalk & Sosik, 2003, p. 433). Motivation, mastery-oriented response patterns, and mastery-oriented behaviors are associated with high LGO (Dweck, 1986).

Limitations of the current study include the cross-sectional design of the study, which makes the directionality of the results undeterminable. It is possible that mentor values, beliefs, and attitudes were passed on to the protégé. Internalization in the form of protégés identifying with their mentors or mentors’ perspectives could explain similarities in LGO (for discussions regarding mentor promotion of values and related attitudes, see Allen & Poteet, 1999; Kram, 1985). Yet another explanation could be protégé enthusiasm, which in turn may motivate the mentor to support protégé learning, goals, and development (for discussions regarding the influence of protégé initiating behaviors, see Aryee, Lo, & Kang, 1999; Turban & Dougherty, 1994). Using additional outcome measures generated by the organization, such as performance results

or performance reviews, would have also been beneficial. Future studies exploring the role of personality as well as utilizing multiple time series LGO (or related) measures will provide further elaboration regarding the role of the similarity of mentors’ and protégés’ individual characteristics in mentor-protégé interactions.

Although the findings in this study and similar findings by Godshalk and Sosik (2003) present notable implications for both formal and informal mentoring relationships, as previously mentioned, formal mentoring programs may be of greater interest to HRD practitioners and scholars. LGO may have at least two important implications for the design and implementation of formal mentoring for HRD. Results from this study suggest that protégé and mentor LGO may affect each relationship. This consideration may be important for HRD professionals to consider when implementing a mentoring program. LGO measures could be used as part of the initial protégé-mentor matching process. Key findings emphasize the importance of mentor LGO for protégé success. Protégés with high LGO benefit from mentors with high LGO, and high LGO mentors paired with low LGO protégés appear likely to attempt to positively influence protégé outcomes. HRD professionals may have to develop appropriate approaches toward mentors with low LGOs, providing them with relevant feedback or excluding them from the mentor role completely. In addition, it is important to note that the results from this study support mentoring as a learning process that can lead to the promotion of positive career outcomes and aspirations for protégés. It also suggests the possibility that formal mentoring programs may be harnessed to promote positive learning-related motivation and behaviors. The findings from this study suggest that well-designed and orchestrated formal mentoring programs may help in the facilitation of organizational learning and HRD.

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The Role of Interpersonal Comfort in Mentoring Relationships

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Interest in mentoring relationships as a vehicle for career advancement has grown considerably in recent years as evidence continues to accumulate indicating that those who are mentored accrue substantial benefits such as higher promotion rates, greater career satisfaction, and higher overall compensation than those who have not been mentored (e.g., Dreher & Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1989; Scandura, 1992; Turban & Dougherty, 1994; Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991). Given the benefits associated with mentoring relationships, researchers have been interested in delineating factors that contribute to more effective mentorships. Two factors that have received considerable research attention in that regard include the gender composition of the relationship and the type of mentorship (i.e., formal versus informal). Although the results of individual studies have been somewhat inconsistent, research generally indicates that gender composition and type of mentorship do make a difference in mentoring provided and in relationship quality (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Fagenson-Eland, Marks, & Amendola, 1997; Ragins & Cotton, 1993).

Despite interest in understanding the relationships between gender composition and mentorship type on mentoring outcomes, little research has gone beyond demonstrating that effects occur. Research is needed to reveal what psychological processes underlie the role that gender composition and mentorship type play in mentorships. The purpose of the present study is to begin

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to address this gap in the literature. Specifically, we examined interpersonal comfort as a potential mediating mechanism. A brief review of the literature concerning gender composition and mentorship type, as well as theoretical rationale concerning the role of interpersonal comfort follows.

Gender Composition

A considerable amount of research has focused on the role that gender composition plays in mentoring relationships (Ragins, 1997, 1999; Ragins & Cotton, 1993). Studies have examined how protégé gender, mentor gender, and the dyadic gender composition of the mentorship influence mentoring. Although not conclusive, there is some evidence that more career and psychosocial mentoring, and stronger relationship quality may be more characteristic of same-gender mentorships than of cross-gender mentorships. Specifically, Thomas (1990) found that protégés in same-gender relationships reported receiving more psychosocial and career-development mentoring than did protégés in cross-gender mentoring relationships. Ragins and McFarlin (1990) found that female protégés with female mentors were more likely to report that their mentors provided role modeling than were protégés in other gender combinations. Koberg, Boss, and Goodman (1998) also found that protégés involved in same-gender relationships reported greater psychosocial mentoring received than did protégés in cross-sex relationships. Most recently, Scandura and Williams (2001) found that protégés reported greater role modeling behaviors in same-gender mentorships than in cross-gender mentorships.

Despite research finding variation along gender lines in mentorships, little empirical work has examined *why* these differences occur. Mentoring theory offers several possibilities. The mechanism typically invoked for explaining why same-gender mentorships differ from cross-gender mentorships is interpersonal comfort. Building on concepts from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1985), Ragins (1997) suggested that diversified (cross-gender) relationships are less likely to be marked by interpersonal comfort than are homogeneous relationships (same-gender) because of restricted shared social identities. Indeed, studies have shown that less social interaction occurs for women involved in cross-gender than in same-gender mentorships as female protégés with female mentors are more likely to engage in after-work social activities with their mentors than are female protégés with male mentors (Ragins & Cotton, 1993; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). Additionally, because children tend to segregate themselves early in childhood into same-sex groups, individuals tend to feel more comfortable with others of the same sex in adulthood (Maccoby, 1990). That is, same gender mentorships are likely to be marked by a greater degree of interpersonal comfort due to shared experiences. Moreover, the sexual innuendo and rumors that often accompany cross-gender mentorships can constrain the level of comfort between cross-gender mentoring pairs (Bowen, 1986; Fitt & Newton, 1981; Hurley & Fagenson-Eland, 1996).

Interpersonal comfort has also been cited as an important component to the bonding process in business relationships (Witkowski & Thibodeau, 1999). In fact, Sosik and Godshalk recently stated, "(These) theoretical perspectives and empirical findings suggest that identification and interpersonal comfort should be lower in diversified (e.g., cross-gender) dyads and therefore the degree of psychosocial and role modeling mentoring functions provided in such dyads should be less than that in homogeneous (e.g., same-gender) dyads" (p. 105). In sum, individuals in cross-gender mentorships face a number of unique challenges that may impede the degree of mentoring provided. Accordingly, we proposed the following:

Hypothesis 1: Protégés will report greater interpersonal comfort in same-gender mentorships than in cross-gender mentorships.

Hypothesis 2: Interpersonal comfort will mediate the relationship between gender similarity and mentoring.

Mentorship Type

In addition to research examining gender composition and mentoring, researchers have become interested in examining differences between formal and informal mentorships. Formal and informal mentoring relationships differ from each other in two primary ways (Ragins & Cotton, 1993). One is the way that the relationship is initiated. Informal mentorships develop spontaneously through the process of mutual attraction. On the other hand, formal mentoring relationships commonly begin based on an assignment or matching process initiated by a third party. Another way that formal and informal mentoring relationships differ is length. Specifically, informal mentorships often last 3–6 years, whereas formal relationship generally last 6–12 months (Kram, 1985; Murray, 1991).

Research that has compared formal versus informal mentoring suggests that the degree of mentoring provided is not the same across the two mentorships types. Chao, Walz, and Gardner (1992) found that protégés from various organizations in formal mentoring relationships reported receiving less career support from their mentors than did protégés in informal mentoring relationships. Ragins and Cotton (1993) found that protégés with informal mentors reported more career development mentoring and more psychosocial roles involving friendship, social support, role modeling, and acceptance than did protégés with formal mentors. Fagenson-Eland et al. (1997) reported that protégés received greater psychosocial mentoring in informal mentorships than did protégés in formal mentorships, but no difference in career-related mentoring was observed. Scandura and Williams (2001) found that informal protégés reported receiving more career and role modeling mentoring behavior from their mentors than did formal protégés.

Differences in interpersonal comfort and identification between the two mentoring partners is again cited by authors as a theoretical explanation for the variation associated with formal versus informal mentorships (Ragins & Cotton, 1993). Although the design of formal mentoring programs can vary greatly from organization to organization (Douglas & McCauley, 1999; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000), certain aspects of formal programs may lessen the interpersonal comfort experienced between mentoring partners. Specifically, formal mentorships typically begin through an assignment or matching process initiated by a third party (Ragins & Cotton, 1993). In many formal programs, protégés and mentors have minimal input into the matching process (Allen, Day, & Lentz, 2001). In contrast, informal mentorships evolve spontaneously through a process of mutual attraction. Additionally, mentors may be reluctant participants of formal mentoring programs (Kizilos, 1990) or may be suspicious of the competency of their protégés (Ragins, 1997). In sum, formal mentorships are less likely to be based on the factors that enhance interpersonal comfort such as mutual attraction, identification, and common non-work interests that characterize informal pairings (Kram, 1985; Ragins & Cotton, 1993). The following hypotheses are posed:

Hypothesis 3: Protégés in informal mentoring relationships will report greater interpersonal comfort than will protégés in formal mentoring relationships.

Hypothesis 4: Interpersonal comfort will mediate the relationship between mentorship type and mentoring.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants came from two organizations. The majority were randomly selected employees of a southeastern healthcare organization. A company representative distributed surveys and cover letters to 560 employees. Completed surveys were mailed directly to the researchers in business reply envelopes. A total of 189 employees responded for a response rate of 33.6%. Participants held a variety of job titles across the organization such as RN, Facilities Manager, Unit Manager, Human Resources Analyst, etc. The second organization was a technology firm. A company representative distributed surveys to a randomly selected group of 60 professional employees and a total of 22 were completed and returned for a response rate of 36.7%. Participants held job titles such as Senior Marketing Analyst, Production Engineer, and Operations Coordinator.

The overall demographics were as follows. Of the 211 participants, 127 reported experience as a protégé (60.2%). Of the mentored group, 107 came

from the healthcare organization and 20 came from the technology firm. Of those responding to the demographic questions, the protégés consisted of 95 females (74.8%) with an average age of 41.80 ($SD = 9.30$). The majority of the participants were Caucasian/white (89.7%; $N = 113$) and the median level of education obtained was a four-year college degree. The average organizational tenure of the participants was 9.02 years ($SD = 7.48$). Our company representatives indicated that these demographic characteristics were representative of groups sampled from their respective organizations.

Measures

Protégé Experience

Participants responded yes or no to the following question: "A mentor is generally defined as a higher ranking, influential individual in your work environment who has advanced knowledge and experience and is committed to providing upward mobility and support to your career. Since employed in your current organization, has anyone there served as a mentor to you?" The definition of mentoring was similar to that used in previous research (Ragins & Cotton, 1993). Individuals who reported having had more than one mentor were instructed to think about the one relationship that had the biggest impact on their career and to answer subsequent questions with that particular relationship in mind.

Gender Similarity

Same sex dyads were coded as 0 ($N = 104$; 81.9%) and cross-sex dyads were coded as 1 ($N = 23$; 18.0%). Of the same sex dyads, 79 were female mentor-female protégé. Of the cross-sex dyads, 16 were male mentor-female protégé.

Mentorship Type

Formal mentorships were coded 0 ($N = 53$; 44.9%) and informal mentorships coded were coded 1 ($N = 65$; 55.1%). Nine individuals did not provide this information.

Interpersonal Comfort

Three items were developed to assess the extent the protégé was interpersonally comfortable with his or her mentor ("I felt like I could freely talk to my mentor about anything"; "I completely trusted my mentor"; "There was a great deal of open communication between my mentor and I"). Responses were made on a five-point scale that ranged from (1 = strongly disagree) to

(5 = strongly agree). Higher scores indicated greater interpersonal comfort. Internal consistency was .90.

Mentoring Provided

Scandura's 15-item measure of mentoring functions was used to indicate the extent mentoring was provided (Scandura, 1992). Psychometric support for the measure has been demonstrated in previous research (Scandura & Ragins, 1993; Scandura & Schriesheim, 1991). Six items measure career-related mentoring (e.g., "My mentor placed me in important assignments") (coefficient alpha = .87). Five items assess psychosocial mentoring (e.g., "I have socialized with my mentor after work") (coefficient alpha = .82) and four items reflect role modeling (e.g., "I try to model my behavior after my mentor") (coefficient alpha = .88). Responses were made on a five-point scale that ranged from (1 = strongly disagree) to (5 = strongly agree). Higher scores indicated more mentoring.

Control Variables

Similar to previous mentoring research (e.g., Ragins & Cotton, 1993), variables that could potentially relate to mentoring provided were included as covariates. The controls were protégé race (nonminority = 0, minority = 1), age, education (operationalized on an ordinal 6-point scale that ranged from high school degree or less to graduate degree), organizational tenure, and sample source. We also controlled several mentorship characteristic variables. Specifically, whether the mentor was the protégé's supervisor (0 = no, 1 = yes) and the current status of the mentorship (0 = not current, 1 = current) were controlled.

Results

The means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of the study variables are presented in Table 1. As Hypothesis 1 predicted, protégés in cross-gender mentorships reported less interpersonal comfort than did protégés in same-sex mentorships ($r = -.31, p < .01$).

Hypothesis 2 proposed that the relationship between gender similarity and mentoring would be mediated by interpersonal comfort. The procedures described by James and Brett (1984) were used to test the mediation hypotheses. In order for a variable to be considered as a mediator, James and Brett asserted that three conditions should be met: (1) the independent variable must be significantly related to the mediator variable, (2) the mediator variable must be significantly related to the dependent variable, and (3) when the influence of the mediator variable is held constant, the effect of the independent variable

Table 1: Means, standard deviations, and correlations

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Career mentoring	3.78	.81	—					
2. Psychosocial mentoring	3.30	.99	.53**	—				
3. Role modeling	4.24	.72	.73**	.43**	—			
4. Interpersonal comfort	4.05	.91	.66**	.59**	.60**	—		
5. Gender similarity	NA	NA	-.17*	-.28**	-.22*	-.31**	—	
6. Mentorship type	NA	NA	.31**	.06	.13	.07	.06	—

Note: N = 117 for correlations involving mentorship type; all others N = 126.

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$.

on the dependent variable should be nonsignificant. Examination of the correlation matrix indicated that conditions 1 and 2 were met for each of the three dependent variables. Condition 3 was tested through the use of hierarchical multiple regression analyses. The control variables were entered at Step 1 of the equation, gender similarity was added at Step 2, and interpersonal comfort was added at Step 3. The significance of the beta weight associated with interpersonal comfort at Step 2 and Step 3 was used to determine support for mediation. This procedure was repeated for each of the dependent variables. The results appear in Table 2.

The results indicated that after interpersonal comfort was entered into the regression equations, the beta weights associated with gender similarity became nonsignificant. This result was consistent for each of the three dependent variables studied. Thus, in support of Hypothesis 2, the results indicated that interpersonal comfort fully mediated the relationship between gender similarity and mentoring provided.

Hypothesis 3 stated protégés in informal mentoring relationships would report greater interpersonal comfort than would protégés in formal mentoring relationships. Contrary to prediction, there was no relationship between mentorship type and interpersonal comfort ($r = .07, n.s.$). Since there was no relationship between mentorship type and interpersonal comfort, condition 1 required for testing mediation was not met. However, as shown in Table 1, it should be noted that mentorship type significantly related to career mentoring ($r = .31, p < .01$) such that those in informal mentorships reported receiving more career mentoring than did those in formal mentorships. Mentorship type was not related to psychosocial mentoring ($r = .06, n.s.$) or to role modeling ($r = .13, n.s.$). Interpersonal comfort was significantly related to each of the three dependent variables. To better understand the relative influence of mentorship type and interpersonal comfort on career mentoring, a regression analysis was conducted. The results are shown in Table 3. Since we were not testing for mediation, all variables were entered in the equation in a single step. The results show that both mentorship type and interpersonal comfort significantly related to career mentoring after controlling for shared variance.

Table 2: Regression results for gender similarity

	Dependent variable		
	Career β	Psychosocial β	Role modeling β
<i>Step 1</i>			
Supervisor	.05	-.04	-.06
Current mentorship	.29**	.26*	.19
Education	-.07	-.17	-.05
Age	.16	.11	.09
Sample source	-.26**	-.12	-.15
Organizational tenure	.20	.22	.06
Protégé race	-.16	-.14	-.15
R ²	(.22**)	(.14*)	(.07)
<i>Step 2</i>			
Supervisor	.08	.00	-.02
Current mentorship	.29**	.26*	.19
Education	-.06	-.15	-.03
Age	.17	.11	.10
Sample source	-.24*	-.10	-.12
Organizational tenure	.17	.19	.02
Protégé race	-.15	-.12	-.13
Gender similarity	-.20*	-.25*	-.27**
R ²	(.04*)	(.06*)	(.07**)
<i>Step 3</i>			
Supervisor	.05	-.04	-.05
Current mentorship	.15	.12	.06
Education	-.01	-.11	.01
Age	.00	-.06	-.05
Sample source	-.21**	-.07	-.10
Organizational tenure	.20*	.22*	.05
Protégé race	-.16*	-.13	-.14
Gender similarity	.01	-.04	-.08
Interpersonal comfort	.59***	.60***	.53***
R ²	(.26***)	(.27***)	(.21***)
R ² Total	.52	.47	.35
R ² Adjusted	.47	.41	.29
F	10.99***	9.01***	5.54***

Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.
Beta weights reported at each step of the equation.

Discussion

The importance of interpersonal comfort has been frequently alluded to in the mentoring literature (Ragins & Cotton, 1993; Sosik & Godshalk, 2000), but never directly investigated. The present study is the first to empirically examine assertions concerning the role of interpersonal comfort in the mentoring process. The results suggest that interpersonal comfort is an influential factor related to gender similarity and to mentoring provided.

As expected, interpersonal comfort relates to gender similarity such that protégés in same-gender mentorships report greater interpersonal comfort than do protégés in cross-gender mentorships. These findings are consistent

Table 3: Regression results for mentorship type

	Career mentoring β
<i>Independent Variables</i>	
Supervisor	-.10
Current mentorship	.12
Education	-.06
Age	-.01
Sample source	-.21
Organizational tenure	.20*
Protégé race	-.18*
Mentorship type	.22*
Interpersonal comfort	.61***
R ² Total	.57
R ² Adjusted	.53
F	13.03***

Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

with theory concerning diversified mentoring relationships (Ragins, 1997) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1985), which suggest that the overlapping identities and shared experiences of same-sex mentorships facilitate greater interpersonal comfort. Our mediation results suggest that the positive relationship between gender similarity and mentoring appears to be attributable to an enhanced sense of interpersonal comfort that in turn facilitates mentoring received. Thus, gender similarity influences mentoring behaviors indirectly through the ease with which protégés are able to relate to their mentors.

Contrary to prediction, mentorship type does not relate to interpersonal comfort. That is, protégés involved in formal mentorships report a similar degree of interpersonal comfort with their mentors as do protégés involved in informal mentorships. Perhaps no differences are found because many formal programs put mechanisms in place such as training that help establish comfort between the mentorship partners (Allen et al., 2001). Additional research examining the impact of training on formal mentoring processes is a worthy topic for future research.

Despite no differences in interpersonal comfort, the results provide additional evidence of other differences between formal and informal mentored protégés. We find mentorship type exerts an effect on career mentoring after controlling for the influence of interpersonal comfort and a number of control variables. Future studies examining formal and informal mentoring may include other variables that could explain why different outcomes result from formal versus informal mentorships. For example, future studies may examine the commitment of the mentor and protégé to the relationship. Scandura and Williams (2001) recently suggested that the nature by which the mentorship is initiated influences the level of commitment of the parties. The interpersonal relationships literature has also found that level of commitment is associated

with couple well-being and adjustment (Drigotas, Rusbult, & Verette, 1999; Rusbult, Martz, & Agnew, 1999).

Our findings underscore the importance of increasing interpersonal comfort among diverse groups as part of the mentoring process. It is not gender per se, but the discomfort associated with interacting with members of the opposite sex that explains differences in mentoring effectiveness. In some sense this is good news. If we can find ways to increase interpersonal comfort, we can increase the likelihood that cross-gender pairs will realize similar mentoring outcomes as do same-gender pairs. Offering opportunities for individuals to relate to each other and discover shared experiences in a relaxed atmosphere may help bridge difficulties encountered initially. Qualitative research, such as interviews with mentors and protégés, may help us understand why it is that less comfort is experienced in cross-gender mentorships than in same-gender mentorships. For example, peer perceptions may play a role, in that protégés in cross-gender mentorships may be concerned that others perceive the relationship as sexually intimate (Lobel, Quinn, St. Clair, & Warfield, 1994). A better understanding of the factors that lead to interpersonal discomfort is needed to identify ways to decrease the likelihood discomfort will occur.

Several limitations to the present study should be acknowledged. First, the data were based on self-report measures collected at a single-point in time. Accordingly, spurious results due to common method bias should be recognized as a concern (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986). As recommended by Podsakoff and Organ, to examine this issue we conducted a Harmon one-factor test. The results of the analysis indicated the presence of four factors. This suggests that common method effects are not a likely undue contaminant of the observed results. Additionally, the extent the results generalize across different organizations remains to be tested. Given the small number of cross-gender mentorships, we were unable to examine more specific gender combinations. For example, there may be differences between male mentor/female protégé mentorships and female mentor/male protégé mentorships. More specifically, there may be a greater degree of comfort in male mentor/female protégé relationships than in female mentor/male protégé mentorships since that particular type of cross-gender pairing is more common than the other. The relative uniqueness of female mentor/male protégé dyads may increase scrutiny (Kanter, 1977). Future research is needed to test this speculation. It should also be noted that the majority of our same-gender mentorships were female/female pairs. Replication of these results with a larger number of various gender combinations is needed to help determine generalizability.

The results of the present study suggest several avenues for additional research. For example, it would be interesting to see if the pattern of results observed in the present study generalizes to same-race versus cross-race mentoring dyads. According to diversified mentoring theory (Ragins, 1997), similar to the results found in the present study regarding gender similarity,

cross-race mentoring dyads may experience less interpersonal comfort than same-race dyads. Additional research is needed to further measure and empirically investigate other psychological processes to help extend our understanding of mentoring relationships. For example, the literature alludes to a number of other variables such as communication and mutual respect that help explain the mentoring process (e.g., Ragins, 1997). However, research on the role these variables play in mentorships is lacking. It would also be interesting to examine the role interpersonal comfort plays in alternative forms of mentoring relationships such as that between peers. It seems likely that the shared experiences of peers may enhance feelings of comfort and ease. The extent that other factors contribute to perceptions of interpersonal comfort such as similarity in values and personality also seems worthy of future research attention.

Very little mentoring research has focused on identifying the psychological processes that explain why variables such as gender composition and mentorship type relate to mentoring effectiveness. The present study contributes to the mentoring literature by highlighting the important role of interpersonal comfort in the mentoring process.

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Protégés' Learning in Mentoring Relationships: A Review of the Literature and an Exploratory Case Study

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Although *teacher* is often included in definitions of *mentor*, teaching and learning have rarely been the focus of research on mentoring relationships (Allen & Eby, 2003; Hale, 2000). This gap in the literature needs to be addressed to thoroughly understand mentoring relationships and to fully utilize them as a means of human resource development (HRD).

Wanberg, Welsh, and Hezlett (2003) developed a dynamic model of mentoring that incorporates learning. Integrating past research on mentoring with a taxonomy of learning outcomes (Kraiger, Ford, & Salas, 1993), this model asserts that protégé changes, including cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning, partially mediate the relationship between the support mentors provide and the favorable career outcomes protégés experience. A critical step in testing this proposition is to more precisely specify *what* protégés learn from their mentors. Further theory building in this area also requires developing an understanding of *how* protégés learn from their mentors.

The present study seeks to advance understanding of learning in mentoring relationships in two ways. First, prior research is reviewed to glean insights into *what* and *how* protégés learn from their mentoring relationships. Second, the results of a descriptive case study of protégé learning are presented. The implications of the findings for HRD are discussed.

The Role of Protégé Learning in Mentoring Relationships

Preliminary research suggests that protégé learning plays a pivotal role in mentoring relationships. When asked to rate the benefits of mentoring for organizations, mentors and protégés in informal mentoring relationships at an organization in the United Kingdom gave the most favorable ratings to two statements related to employee development: "Mentoring speeds the development of talented staff" and "Mentoring helps develop a wider pool of talented managers" (Singh, Bains, & Vinnicombe, 2002).

Consistent with mentors' and protégés' recognition of learning as an important outcome of mentoring relationships, a recent quantitative study of alumni of a large university in the southeastern United States found meaningful relationships between experiences in mentoring relationships and learning (Eby, Butts, Lockwood, & Simon, 2004). As hypothesized, the researchers observed negative relationships between all five dimensions of negative mentoring experiences (Mismatch Within Dyad, Distancing Behavior, Manipulative Behavior, Lack of Mentor Expertise, and General Dysfunctional-ity) and a five-item, self-report measure of learning. Although not a focus of the study, substantial correlations were also discovered between learning and career ($r = .65$) and psychosocial ($r = .62$) mentoring. Therefore, protégés reported learning less when they view their mentoring relationships as having dysfunctional attributes and perceived themselves as learning more when they see their mentors as providing more support.

An interesting case study suggests that, at the extreme, the lack of opportunity to learn may lead to the collapse of mentoring relationships. Surveys completed by middle and junior managers of a public hospital in the United Kingdom revealed that most did not find the informal or formal mentoring they were receiving as they completed a university-based management development program helpful (Beech & Brockbank, 1999). Interviews conducted separately with four pairs of mentors and protégés showed that withdrawal from the relationships was initiated by the protégés. In all cases, protégés' perceptions that their mentors lacked sufficient knowledge was a key factor contributing to their withdrawal. Additional research is needed to determine the extent to which these findings generalize. However, the results highlight that the opportunity to gain knowledge from others may drive the dynamics of mentoring.

Furthermore, a quantitative study conducted in the United States suggests that learning may not only be an outcome of mentoring relationships but also may serve as a catalyst for other benefits that have been linked with mentoring. In a study of employees of a not-for-profit hospital, Lankau and Scandura (2002) found learning fully mediated the relationship between certain mentoring functions and job outcomes. For example, the positive relationship between career mentoring and job satisfaction, as well as the negative relationship between career mentoring and role ambiguity, were fully mediated by learning about how one's job connected to others (relational job learning).

Looking across these qualitative and quantitative studies, an intriguing picture of the role learning plays in mentoring begins to emerge. Mentors and protégés appear to recognize learning as an important objective and outcome of their relationships (Singh et al., 2002). Receiving support from mentors is associated with increased protégé learning, while having negative experiences in mentoring relationships is linked with decreased protégé learning (Eby et al., 2004). Learning may foster additional favorable outcomes for protégés (Lankau & Scandura, 2002); lack of learning may ultimately contribute to the demise of mentoring relationships (Beech & Brockbank, 1999). Additional research is needed to extend these findings and assess their generalizability. Two areas meriting further investigation are the content and process of protégé learning.

What Protégés Learn from Mentors

Recent theory building offers useful guidance for considering what protégés learn from their mentors. Drawing on the research showing that learning mediated the relationship between mentoring functions and other protégé outcomes (Lankau & Scandura, 2002), Wanberg and colleagues (2003) integrated a taxonomy of learning outcomes (Kraiger et al., 1993) into their model of formal mentoring. They proposed that the relationship between mentoring received and more distal career outcomes (e.g., career satisfaction, promotions) would be partially mediated by cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning.

Cognitive learning includes increases in verbal knowledge, knowledge organization, or cognitive strategies (Kraiger et al., 1993). Verbal knowledge involves information that has been encoded or stored in memory. It includes declarative knowledge (encoded information about what, such as facts or principles), procedural knowledge (stored information about how, such as knowledge of the steps in a process), and strategic or tacit knowledge (having information about which, when, or why) (Kraiger et al., 1993). Knowledge organization refers to how knowledge is structured or mapped to represent the interrelationships among information. Cognitive strategies are mental activities that enhance the acquisition and application of knowledge. They include an awareness of what one knows and the capacity to self-regulate one's thinking and learning processes (i.e., metacognition). *Skill-based learning* involves improvements in being able to execute a sequence of organized behaviors smoothly and efficiently. Skill development proceeds through recognizable stages, including initial skill acquisition, skill compilation, and skill automaticity. Kinds of skills that can be developed include motor and technical skills (Kraiger et al., 1993). Finally, *affective learning* includes changes in attitudes and motivation (Kraiger et al., 1993).

Combing through the literature on mentoring yields evidence that both supports and extends the model proposed by Wanberg and colleagues (2003).

For example, based on semi-structured interviews and questionnaire data collected from mentors and protégés participating in formal mentoring programs at two organizations in the United Kingdom, Hale (2000) concluded that protégés can acquire knowledge, skills, and certain behaviors and qualities that may be challenging to learn in traditional training programs, such as action orientation and self-confidence. In addition, previous research has provided examples of specific kinds of protégé knowledge, skills, attitudes, and motivation that are influenced by mentoring.

This research can be loosely grouped into two categories. First, several studies have examined the mentoring of new employees. These include a few quantitative studies that have explicitly examined the relationship between mentoring and socialization. Socialization refers to the process through which newly hired employees adapt to their work environments by learning the culture and values of their organizations and developing the skills needed for their new jobs (Bauer & Taylor, 2001). In addition, several qualitative studies of mentoring received by recently hired employees have identified specific things protégés learn from their mentors. Second, a number of qualitative studies investigating a variety of questions about mentoring also have generated information about what protégés learn from their mentors. Both sets of research are included in the following summary.

Two types of verbal or declarative knowledge are prominent in the limited amount of research that has provided information about what protégés learn from their mentors: organizational knowledge and technical knowledge. Both quantitative and qualitative studies of new hires have illustrated that new employees gain knowledge of their organizations from their mentors. First, Chao, Walz, and Gardner (1992) found both protégés in formal and informal relationships learned significantly more about their organizations' politics, people, and goals and values than their counterparts without mentors. Protégés in informal mentoring relationships also learned more than those without mentors about key professional and organizational language and organizational traditions. However, in these two areas, protégés with formal mentors did not differ significantly from either their peers without mentors or those with informal mentors. Second, Ostroff and Kozlowski (1993) examined the sources that recent engineering and business graduates used to obtain information about their new employment settings. New employees with mentors learned significantly more from them about their organizations and roles than about job-related tasks and their work groups. In addition, new employees with mentors reported knowing significantly more about their organizations than employees without mentors. "These findings suggest that the mentor is a critical source for learning about organizational issues" (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1993, p. 179). Third, Bard and Moore (2000) reported the results of a successful pilot for a formal mentoring program in which six employees who were new graduates with less than a year of organizational tenure were matched with six mentors at the director level. Benefits related

to learning that were mentioned by protégés included increased knowledge of the company, particularly outside their own business area, and a better understanding of what people are appropriate to approach with questions (Bard & Moore, 2000). Fourth, Hetherington (2002) conducted an evaluation of a mentoring program for new staff with less than 12 months tenure used by a college of higher education at a university located in the United Kingdom. Although interviews with protégés and their assigned mentors revealed a number of problems with the mentoring program, those staff members who established relationships with a mentor reported a number of benefits. These included learning about the culture of the organization and discovering strategies to handle formal and informal organizational structures. Finally, Gallo and Siedow (2003) reported an evaluation of a medical surgical unit's use of mentoring to orient new nurses. Among other things, mentors introduced the new hires to organizational policies. Although what was learned was not formally assessed, new hires felt they received a thorough orientation. Orientation costs and vacancy rates declined. Overall, these studies indicate that new hires may learn a great deal about their organizations from their mentors, gaining a better understanding of organizational politics, people, goals or values, language, traditions, policies, and culture.

Several studies suggest that the relationship between having a mentor and gaining organizational knowledge is not limited to new hires. For example, in a longitudinal, quantitative study, Chao (1997) observed that over a 5-year period, current and former protégés continued to be better socialized than employees without mentors. At the end of 5 years, former protégés knew more about organizational politics and traditions than those who did not have mentors. Several qualitative studies that either did not specify protégés' organizational tenure or included protégés with varying lengths of tenure also found evidence that protégés learn about organizations from their mentors. First, nurses, police officers, and teachers reported their mentors helped them learn about the administration of their organizations (Fagan & Fagan, 1983; Fagan & Walter, 1982). Second, Dirsmith and Covalleski (1985) concluded that mentoring helped protégés who worked for public accounting firms understand their firms' politics, values, and leadership philosophies later in their careers. Finally, Dymock (1999) noted that team leaders and potential leaders receiving formal mentoring as part of a 10-month development program in Australia "believed they were learning from the mentoring process in terms of improving their general understanding of the company's operations" (p. 312). Thus, there is a small body of evidence that protégés learn about their organizations from mentors throughout their careers.

The same three qualitative studies that support the idea that protégés learn about organizational knowledge from their mentors throughout their careers also suggest that a second area of cognitive learning facilitated by mentors is the acquisition of technical knowledge. Protégés who were nurses, police officers, teachers (Fagan & Fagan, 1983; Fagan & Walter, 1982), management

trainees (Dymock, 1999), and accountants (Dirsmith & Covalleski, 1985) have reported that their mentors helped them learn the technical aspects of their jobs. Interestingly, Dirsmith and Covalleski (1985) concluded that accountants gain technical knowledge from their mentors early in their careers. The career stage at which the individuals in other occupations learned technical knowledge from their mentors was not specified. Additional research is needed to more fully evaluate the extent to which there are systematic differences across occupations when protégés learn technical information from their mentors.

A few studies have suggested that mentoring also helps employees early in their careers with a closely related area of learning: the acquisition of technical or job-related skills. This type of knowledge or skill is distinct from the organizational knowledge previously discussed in that it is general job knowledge (e.g., core technical proficiency) rather than organization-specific knowledge (e.g., policies and politics). In their study of accountants, Dirsmith and Covalleski (1985) mentioned that in addition to gaining technical knowledge from their mentors, protégés early in their careers also acquire technical skills. That is, mentors not only help clarify protégés' understanding of what audit practices are but give them a better understanding of how to complete audit tasks, such as how to go about understanding a client's business and which staff at clients should be asked what questions. In the orientation program evaluated by Gallo and Siedow (2003), new nurses were introduced to patient care routines by their mentors. As the new nurses became increasingly familiar with their jobs, they were given more patients to care for, suggesting skill acquisition was occurring. Similarly, in another pilot of a formal mentoring program, new hires reported one of the benefits of having a mentor was learning about work practices (Bard & Moore, 2000). One quantitative study provides mixed evidence that new hires learn job-related skills from their mentors. In their study of alumni, Chao and colleagues (1992) found protégés in informal mentoring relationships learned more than those without mentors about how to perform job-related tasks. However, protégés with formal mentors did not differ significantly from either their peers with informal mentors or no mentors in terms of learning job-related tasks (Chao et al., 1992).

Taken together, these studies tentatively suggest that mentors may help protégés with several phases of acquiring technical skills related to their jobs. Protégés may gain from their mentors' verbal or declarative knowledge related to their jobs (i.e., gain an understanding of *what* to do, such as being able to state the steps in a process). In addition, mentors may help protégés acquire procedural knowledge (i.e., knowing *how* to do something), enabling protégés to increase their ability to perform a sequence of organized behaviors smoothly, efficiently, and ultimately, automatically. A challenge in synthesizing previous research in this area is to determine whether protégés have gained technical knowledge, technical skills, or both. As the acquisition of declarative knowledge is widely recognized as the first step in skill acquisition (Kraiger

et al., 1993), the two areas of learning are closely linked. Ambiguity in reporting by some researchers makes it difficult at times to definitively judge if mentors have helped protégés learn technical knowledge or technical skills. Evidence of both appears in the literature. HRD researchers are encouraged to provide sufficient detail in future reports to more thoroughly describe the nature of protégés' learning.

Several studies indicate working with mentors may facilitate employees' acquisition of other skills. Improvements in interpersonal skills were reported by new hires as a benefit of participating in a pilot of a formal mentoring program (Bard & Moore, 2000). Nurses and police officers also have credited their mentors with helping them develop skills at working with people (Fagan & Fagan, 1983; Fagan & Walter, 1982). From mentoring relationships, both new hires and individuals transitioning into management roles may also acquire time management skills (Dymock, 1999; Gallo & Siedow, 2003). In addition, management trainees may gain other management skills, such as self-organization skills, from their mentors (Dymock, 1999). Thus, preliminary evidence suggests mentoring relationships may help protégés learn a variety of nontechnical skills.

Consistent with the model proposed by Wanberg et al. (2003), several studies also have suggested mentoring supports protégés' affective learning. Increases in self-confidence have been the type of protégé affective learning identified most often in the literature. New hires participating in a pilot of a formal mentoring program (Bard & Moore, 2002) and new staff at a university that were assigned mentors by their immediate supervisors (Hetherington, 2002) mentioned gaining self-confidence as one of the benefits of participating in their respective programs. Nurses, police officers, teachers (Fagan & Fagan, 1983; Fagan & Walter, 1982), and management trainees (Dymock, 1999) also have reported their mentors helped them increase their self-confidence. At least one quarter of the protégés who were nurses, police officers, or teachers also said their mentors influenced their work persistence (a form of affective learning) (Fagan & Fagan, 1983; Fagan & Walter, 1982). Thus, several qualitative studies provide preliminary evidence that protégés' motivational learning is facilitated by mentors.

Finally, two qualitative studies hint that the other type of affective learning – attitudinal changes – also may be enhanced by mentoring. Some nurses, police officers, and teachers reported that their neatness, honesty, and tactfulness were influenced by their mentors (Fagan & Fagan, 1983; Fagan & Walter, 1982). In addition, new staff with formal mentors at a university said their mentors encouraged them to take responsibility for their own learning (Hetherington, 2002). These findings suggest additional research on protégés' affective learning may be worthwhile.

In summary, research to date tentatively supports the proposition that mentoring enhances protégés' cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning. Specifically, there is some evidence suggesting that through their mentoring

relationships protégés gain at least two kinds of verbal knowledge – organizational knowledge and technical knowledge; several skills, including technical, interpersonal, time management, and self-organization skills; and affective changes, particularly self-confidence. More systematic research explicitly directed toward understanding what protégés learn from their mentors is needed to develop a more comprehensive taxonomy of the content of protégé learning.

How Protégés Learn

Although close scrutiny of prior research on mentoring yields some information about what protégés learn from their mentors, the literature offers only limited insights on how protégés learn from their mentors. Little conceptual or empirical work has explicitly been directed toward the actual processes underlying protégé learning. However, examining the available work in this area reveals interesting similarities between it and the mentoring functions traditionally used to describe and assess mentoring relationships. These similarities hold promise for bridging the knowledge gap between what mentors do (mentoring functions) and what protégés gain (career outcomes) on one hand and how or the process by which they actually benefit (learning theory).

For example, social learning theory/social cognitive theory has been argued to offer one theoretical rationale for the positive outcomes observed in mentoring relationships (Gibson, 2004; Zagumny, 1993). According to this theory, individuals learn by observing the consequences others receive as a result of their behaviors. This vicarious reinforcement helps accelerate learning because individuals do not have to engage in their own trial and error learning. Protégés therefore may speed their learning through observing their mentors' behaviors and the reinforcements or punishments that stem from their behaviors (Zagumny, 1993). This idea is consistent with research on the nature of assistance mentors provide their protégés.

Kram (1985) initially identified two kinds of assistance, or mentoring functions, that help distinguish mentoring from other workplace relationships: career functions and psychosocial functions. She suggested that role modeling was one of the major kinds, or facets, of psychosocial support. Subsequent research has either supported this idea or suggested that role modeling is a separate mentoring function, related to but distinct from career and psychosocial functions (Wanberg et al., 2003). In either case, role modeling is clearly a central part of mentoring. Additional research is needed to determine what, when, and how protégés learn from observing their mentors.

Other processes through which protégés learn from their mentors were suggested by Hale (2000). Based on semistructured interviews and questionnaire data collected from mentors and protégés participating in formal mentoring programs at two organizations in the United Kingdom, he proposed

that protégés gain insights from combining their knowledge and experiences with the knowledge and experiences their mentors share. Four “windows” through which protégés may learn include (a) mentors sharing their own views and experiences, (b) mentors discussing key strategies and activities being discussed at higher organizational levels, (c) mentors discussing the politics and interpersonal interactions among more senior-level personnel, and (d) reflection. The first three of these windows are reminiscent of coaching, a facet of the career mentoring function, whereas the fourth may be facilitated by counseling, a psychosocial mentoring function. Hale also argued that mentors facilitate learning by identifying opportunities for their protégés to have new experiences that will foster the development of insights. Sponsoring protégés for promotion, exposing protégés to key senior personnel, and providing challenging assignments are aspects of career mentoring that involve arranging opportunities for protégés.

Thus, the learning processes identified in the limited literature on how protégés learn have striking similarities with several facets of mentoring functions. In other words, initial research and theory on protégé learning processes suggests protégés learn using methods that are consistent with variables that have traditionally been used to describe mentoring. This tentatively suggests that some of the fundamental ways that mentors assist protégés is with the process of learning. Substantially more research is needed to develop a comprehensive theory that describes and explains the factors affecting and mechanisms behind protégé learning.

The present study seeks to advance understanding of protégé learning by addressing two research questions:

Research Question 1: What do individuals making the transition from school into the workforce perceive that they learn from their mentors?

Research Question 2: How do individuals making the school to work transition think that they learn from their mentors?

In addition, this research explores whether there are any consistent patterns between what and how protégés learn and whether the favorability of learning experiences are related to what and how protégés learn.

Method

As part of a larger descriptive case study, data were collected from protégés who were cooperative education students and interns working in the midwestern United States for a large federal agency. Each protégé had been assigned a mentor who worked at the same agency. All of the mentors had managerial responsibilities. This formal mentoring program has been in operation several years and is facilitated by a full-time coordinator. At the time of the study, all but two of the protégés had been working with their assigned mentor for at

least 18 months. The average duration of the relationship up to that time was almost 2 years ($M = 23$ months, $SD = 10.6$).

The researcher met with protégés for 2 hours as a group during the third phase of the research project. (Data were collected from mentors during the first two phases.) Fourteen protégés participated in the session. An open-ended survey on protégé learning was included in the packet of the data collection instruments used during the session.

The instructions for the survey encouraged protégés to think broadly about the variety of things people can learn, providing some examples to stimulate their recall (e.g., facts, principles, how to drive a car, how to interact with a bank teller, and beliefs about people). In addition, protégés were directed to be moderately specific in the information they provided. Protégés were asked to record "What have you learned from your mentor?" For each thing they listed as learning, protégés also were asked to report "How did you learn this from your mentor?"

The analysis of protégés' responses drew on the philosophy and methods of content analysis. Content analysis is a technique designed to systematically and rigorously summarize the content of communications that typically has been recorded in writing (Stemler, 2001). It may be used for a variety of purposes, including coding responses to open-ended survey questions (Weber, 1990). Major steps in content analysis include defining the unit of written text to code (e.g., words, sentences, paragraphs), defining the categories used to code the text, testing the category definitions by beginning to apply the coding, checking the reliability of coding, revising the category definitions, finalizing the coding, and assessing the reliability of the coding (Weber, 1990). The definitions of the categories used in coding may either be established a priori, based on theory, or be emergent, deriving from a preliminary examination of the data (Stemler, 2001). After the coding is complete, the units placed in each category are counted. Thus, "Content analysis procedures create quantitative indicators that assess the degree of attention or concern devoted to cultural units such as themes, categories, or issues. The investigator then interprets and explains the results using relevant theories" (Weber, 1990, p. 70).

Content analysis can be used to draw inferences about a population when the communications analyzed are representative of that population (Carney, 1972; Weber, 1990). For example, a content analysis of lesson plans prepared by a random, representative sample of instructional designers could be used to draw conclusions about this population's use of instructional techniques. However, content analysis is used in this descriptive case study to explore what and how protégés learn from their mentors to stimulate and generate ideas for future research on protégé learning. Thus, although the results of this study are summarized quantitatively, the findings may not generalize to other cases or groups. Instead, content analysis is used here in order to obtain the benefits of a quantitative summary of the themes reflected in open-ended survey responses.

Using content analysis to analyze open-ended survey responses has a number of advantages (Carney, 1972; Weber, 1990). By defining the categories into which information is coded, the nature of the information captured is clearly specified. The systematic coding procedures help minimize the possibility that information of interest is overlooked (Carney, 1972), make it possible to estimate the reliability of the coding, and facilitate the replication of the study (Stemler, 2001; Weber, 1990). In addition, the relative amount of attention devoted to different topics can be determined, and associations among coded variables can be examined (Weber, 1990).

In this study, each separate response to the open-ended questions was treated as a unit of analysis. A combination of a priori and emergent approaches was used to define the coding categories. What protégés learned was initially categorized into the three broad learning outcomes (cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning) defined by Kraiger et al. (1993). Within each category of learning outcomes, major themes represented in the responses were then identified by the author. Existing taxonomies of knowledge and/or skills were referenced for ideas (Borman & Brush, 1993, O*Net), but no single extant taxonomy was used to guide the derivation of the categories. Definitions of each theme or category were written. A second set of themes was derived and defined from the author's initial review of protégés' responses to the question "How did you learn this from your mentor?" Finally, definitions were established to classify each reported example of learning as either positive/neutral or negative. A second coder, a graduate student studying human resource development, used the three sets of definitions to code the responses. An initial comparison of the two coders' work revealed several areas where the definitions were unclear. An iterative process of discussion, definition refinement, independent classification of responses using the refined definitions, and comparison of the categorizations then occurred. After the definitions were finalized, the agreement between the two coders was 88%, 88%, 85%, and 98% on the overall learning outcomes, the more specific themes characterizing what was learned, the themes reflecting learning processes, and the nature of the learning experience (positive/neutral vs. negative), respectively. Remaining disagreements were resolved through discussion.

Descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages) were computed to summarize how often particular types of learning and learning processes were reported and to describe the favorability of learning experiences. To explore relationships among the coded variables, several statistics were used. The chi-square statistic is often used to assess the association between a pair of variables. However, because it is recommended that the chi-square statistic be interpreted cautiously when there may be dependency among the data and if any expected frequencies are less than 5 (Hays, 1988), the asymmetric index of predictive association also was used. This index, often referred to as Lambda (λ), indicates the proportional reduction in the probability of error in predicting one variable from another. The index can range from 0 to 1, with a value of 0

meaning that the first variable does not help predict the second and a value of 1 indicating that the first variable predicts the second perfectly, without error. Information about one variable may help predict a second without the second being useful in predicting the first. That is, the index yields different values depending on which variable is specified to be the dependent variable (Hays, 1988). In the situation where the causal direction of a relationship has not been established, it can be informative to explore the treatment of each variable as the dependent one.

Results

Protégés listed a total of 41 things they had learned from their mentors. On average, each protégé identified almost 3 things he or she had learned ($M = 2.9$, $SD = 1.9$). One protégé did not report learning anything from the mentoring relationship. Interestingly, this protégé had worked with the mentor for a relatively long period of time but did not trust the mentor. The maximum number of things a protégé listed as learning was 7.

A summary of the content of what protégés learned is shown in Table 1. Of the 41 “lessons learned,” 11 (26.8%) involved cognitive learning, 25 (61%)

Table 1: Summary of what protégés learned

Learning theme	Example	f	%
Cognitive learning ($f = 11$, 26.8%)			
Organizational knowledge	Past history of various offices Language/acronyms Organizational politics	9	22.0
Cognitive strategies	Learning something from every experience	2	4.9
Skill-based learning ($f = 25$, 61%)			
Interpersonal	How to deal with noncooperative team members How to network Work with different personalities It's annoying to wait for the chronically late How to be a friend with a person in the office while remaining professional	14	34.1
Organizational	How to organize projects Not to take on more responsibilities than you can handle	5	12.2
Communication	How to listen to new employee completely Not to be afraid to ask questions	3	7.3
Problem solving	How to look at a situation from different angles How to respond to problems	2	4.9
Supervising	How not to be a good supervisor	1	2.4
Affective learning ($f = 5$, 12.2%)			
Motivation	If you made a commitment stick with it Take initiative	5	12.2

involved skill-based learning, and 5 (12.2%) involved affective learning. Most instances of cognitive learning dealt with the acquisition of organizational knowledge. Examples related to gaining (or failing to gain) knowledge of the organization's history, language, culture, and politics as well as an understanding of the operations of diverse business units. The two remaining instances of cognitive learning were examples of learning how to learn from mentors, or cognitive strategies. The majority of examples of skill-based learning, representing more than one third of the “lessons learned” listed by protégés, were related to interpersonal skills. Instances of learning classified as interpersonal skills included protégé reports of learning to manage relationships, work with people with different personalities, network, work in teams, and perceive the impact of social behavior on others. Organizational, basic communication (e.g., active listening), problem-solving, and supervisory skills were additional kinds of skill-based learning reported by protégés. Finally, all examples of affective learning involved motivational changes. Motivational comments mentioned persistence, working hard, taking initiative, following one's own goals, and not being “too hard” on oneself.

Table 2 displays a summary of how protégés indicated they learned from their mentors. The method of learning most frequently mentioned by protégés (29.3%) was observation. In many cases, this involved protégés witnessing their mentors interact with others. One protégé specifically mentioned that the mentor explicitly demonstrated something for the protégé. Almost one quarter (24.4%) of protégés' descriptions of how they learned involved mentors explaining something. Mentors provided advice, gave tips, offered information,

Table 2: Summary of how protégés learned

Learning process	Example	f	%
Observe	By example By observing him By showing When witnessing her speak she usually has a tone to which people take offense	12	29.3
Explain	Explain “who” is who in the organization He gave me a tip to use WORD and document everything (phone calls; meetings; etc.); He said half the battle is organization & presentation	10	24.4
Interact	Through his advice	7	17.1
Ask	From waiting for him	2	4.9
Encourage	Asking questions pertaining to this matter Through meetings he always encourages me to do my best in everything and do in the workplace	1	2.4
Shadow	Through meetings he always encourages me to do my best in everything and do in the workplace	1	2.4
Trial and error	She brings me to events and functions I always had to look for things on my own, and use others as sources	1	2.4
Working together	By working through a variety problems together	1	2.4

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100% because six instances are not listed here; insufficient detail was provided in two instances, and four instances included multiple methods of learning.

Table 3: Relationship between the content and process of protégé learning

Learning content	Learning process			Total (f)
	Explain	Observe	Interact	
Cognitive	5	0	1	6
Skill-based	4	12	5	21
Affective	1	0	1	2
Total (f)	10	12	7	29

and explained how to do things. Protégés also learned from their own interactions with their mentors (17.1%), gaining insights from the impact their mentors' behavior had on them. Each of the remaining methods through which protégés learned from their mentors was reported less frequently. These included asking questions, being encouraged, shadowing or accompanying the mentor, completing work with the mentor, and trial and error. In four cases, protégés reported learning something from their mentors in two different ways, twice through a combination of explanation and encouragement and twice through both explanation and observation. Insufficient information was provided in two cases to classify the learning process used.

The relationship between what and how protégés learn from their mentors was examined. Table 3 shows the learning outcomes for the 29 instances in which protégés learned through explaining, observing, or interacting. The three types of learning outcomes (cognitive, skill based, and affective) appear to have a meaningful association ($\chi^2 = 11.01$, $df = 4$, $p = .026$) with the most frequently reported processes of learning (observing, explaining, and interacting). Protégés relied primarily on explaining ($f = 5$) and, to a lesser extent, interacting with their mentors ($f = 1$) to achieve cognitive learning. Examples were given of gaining organizational knowledge through explaining ($f = 4$), interactions with mentors ($f = 1$), asking questions ($f = 1$), and multiple methods ($f = 1$; explaining and being encouraged). In two instances, the information about how organizational knowledge was acquired was too imprecise to permit classification. Cognitive strategies were gained through explaining ($f = 1$) and asking questions ($f = 1$). In contrast, protégés appeared to gain skills more often through observing ($f = 12$) than from explaining ($f = 4$) or from interacting ($f = 5$). Observing was used in acquiring communication, interpersonal, organizational, and supervisory skills (f s = 2, 6, 3, 1, respectively). Explaining was also used in gaining communication ($f = 1$), interpersonal ($f = 2$), and organizational skills ($f = 1$). Interacting with mentors helped protégés learn interpersonal ($f = 4$) and organizational skills ($f = 1$). Interestingly, less frequently used learning methods were reported as means of obtaining what appear to be more complex or advanced skills. One protégé provided an example representative of gaining problem-solving skills through working on a task with the mentor. A second instance of acquiring problem-solving skills involved learning through multiple methods: explaining and observing. Both instances of learning how to network, a kind of interpersonal

skill, were learned through unusual means: in one case, trial and error, and in the other, shadowing. Affective learning was achieved in several ways. Protégés' motivation was shaped by explaining ($f = 1$), interactions with mentors ($f = 1$), encouragement ($f = 1$), and multiple methods ($f = 1$, explaining and observing; $f = 1$, explaining and encouragement). The asymmetric indices of prediction indicated that the process of learning could be predicted from what was learned ($\lambda = .35$, approximate significance = .01), but having information about how something was learned did not make it possible to predict what was learned ($\lambda = .28$, approximate significance = .15).

Review of the content and methods of learning suggests that protégés learn from both positive and negative interactions with their mentors. About one third (31.7%) of the 41 statements provided by protégés conveyed a negative tone or experience, and about two thirds (68.3%) had a positive or neutral tone. Protégés appeared to learn skills from both negative ($f = 11$) and positive ($f = 14$) experiences with their mentors, but cognitive and affective learning were primarily tied to positive ($f = 9$ and $f = 5$, respectively) rather than negative ($f = 2$ and $f = 0$, respectively) events. However, this pattern, suggesting certain outcomes (particularly affective ones) are more likely to be obtained through positive experiences, was at best marginally significant ($\chi^2 = 5.00$, $df = 2$, $p = .082$; $\lambda_s = 0$). Similarly, the pattern of relationships between how protégés learned and the favorability of experiences was suggestive but not definitive ($\chi^2 = 5.15$, $df = 2$, $p = .076$; $\lambda_{(w/\text{learning process dependent})} = .18$, approximate significance = .43; $\lambda_{(w/\text{favorability dependent})} = .09$, approximate significance = .82). Learning through explaining was almost always described in a positive or neutral way ($f = 9$) rather than a negative way ($f = 1$). In contrast, incidents of learning through observing or interacting with mentors were both positive ($f = 6$ and $f = 3$, respectively) and negative ($f = 6$ and $f = 4$, respectively). Protégés appear to learn what not to do from witnessing their mentors treat others poorly or from their own negative experiences with their mentors.

Discussion

This descriptive case study explored what cooperative education students and interns learned from mentors who were assigned to support them. The results are consistent with Wanberg et al.'s (2003) model proposing that protégés' cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning is enhanced by mentoring. Incidents of cognitive learning reported included increased organizational knowledge and cognitive strategies. Skill-based learning included interpersonal, organizational, communication, problem-solving, and supervisory skills. Affective learning was illustrated through examples reflective of heightened motivation.

In this study, which is one of the first to examine the process of protégé learning, protégés reported learning most frequently through observing their

mentors. Protégés also often learned from mentors' explanations and by interacting with their mentors. Less frequently, protégés learned from asking questions, shadowing, trial and error, working with their mentors, and receiving encouragement. These results are consistent with the idea that social learning theory is an important framework for understanding some, but not all, protégé learning. Additional theories of learning appear to be needed to explain some of the mechanisms by which protégés learn.

This study has broken new ground by providing initial evidence about the relationship between the content and process of learning in mentoring relationships. Although protégés who participated in the research used a variety of methods to achieve learning outcomes, observation was only used to acquire skills. Cognitive and affective learning were achieved through other learning processes. Thus, for this group of protégés, the loss of the opportunity to observe the mentor probably would reduce the acquisition of skills but would not limit cognitive or affective learning. This finding merits further investigation.

Protégés in this study appeared to learn from both positive and negative experiences. To some extent, this finding is inconsistent with previous research reporting negative relationships between negative mentoring experiences and learning (Eby et al., 2004). The pattern of results suggests protégés who participated in the present research were somewhat more likely to obtain cognitive and affective learning outcomes from positive rather than negative events. Skill acquisition occurred through both positive and negative experiences. Similarly, protégé reports of learning by explanation tended to be classified as positive or neutral events, whereas learning via observation or interaction were about equally likely to be coded as positive/neutral or negative. These relationships between the favorability of experiences and the content and process of learning were not definitive but suggest interesting directions for future research.

Implications for HRD

To maximize the effectiveness of mentoring as a means of facilitating learning and enhancing performance, HRD professionals need to have a clear understanding of what types of learning outcomes are likely to occur from mentor-protégé interactions. This study suggests that mentoring may be useful in promoting a variety of learning outcomes. Therefore, when organizational initiatives, such as technological upgrades or cultural changes, are being considered, mentoring should be evaluated as a possible means of supporting employees' acquisition of new knowledge, skill development, or changes involving motivation or attitudes.

Furthermore, consistent with prior research, one of the things the individuals entering the workforce in this study gained from their mentors was organizational knowledge. Thus, this study contributes to a small body of research suggesting that mentoring may be a useful method of socializing

new employees. An important question for HRD professionals to consider is: How does mentoring compare to other socialization practices? One study has suggested mentoring is less available than other socialization practices but moderately helpful for "learning the ropes" (Louis, Posner, & Powell, 1983). It is important to note however that this research did not specify whether the mentoring relationships were formal or informal. A second study determined that new hires with mentors gained more organizational knowledge than those without (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1993). HRD professionals are encouraged to evaluate socialization practices at their own organizations and conduct additional research to advance understanding of how mentoring compares in terms of cost and effectiveness to other socialization practices.

Comparing what protégés reported learning in this study to prior research reveals an interesting difference. Protégés at this organization did not report learning technical knowledge or skills from their mentors. This may be a result of the structure of the protégés' work assignments and the roles of mentors in this particular formal mentoring program. Most protégés in this study were rotating through assignments in different departments or business units. In each assignment, protégés' work was supervised by a different person. One of the goals of the mentoring program was to maintain some continuity and stability in protégés' work experience by enabling them to have a constant source of support from their mentors. Protégés retained their mentor throughout their internship or cooperative education experiences with the agency. However, protégés' job rotation meant that they infrequently worked regularly with their mentors; often they were in different departments. This distance may have limited the opportunities protégés had to learn technical knowledge and skills from their mentors. Further research is needed to test this hypothesis. However, in the meantime, it is recommended that HRD professionals carefully think about the implications of work assignments and formal mentoring program guidelines, such as those involving mentor-protégé matching, for protégé development. The laudable goal of assigning employees a mentor outside their work group so that they have a more neutral and objective party to discuss concerns with may undermine the goal of enhancing the development of employees' technical knowledge and skills. The objectives and policies of any formal mentoring program must be carefully aligned.

The learning mechanisms identified in this study may be useful for HRD professionals responsible for setting realistic expectations for and training mentors and protégés. Mentors should be aware that protégés can learn from them in a variety of ways and be encouraged to create opportunities for different learning processes to be used. An important finding of this study is that observation was one of the primary means of protégé learning. Most opportunities to observe arose when protégés watched their mentors work with others. This suggests that mentors should be encouraged to interact with their protégés in more than just one-on-one meetings. Mentors also may benefit

from training that gives them practice explaining information and introduces them to different ways their protégés may learn from them.

The prevalence of observing as a means of protégé learning raises an interesting issue for mentors and protégés who are dispersed geographically. Without face-to-face interactions, how do protégés learn from their mentors? Certainly not all observation requires in-person, synchronous communication. However, it will be important for HRD professionals working for organizations implementing virtual or e-mentoring programs to determine how protégés can learn effectively. It may be the case that virtual mentoring is not the best intervention to achieve particular learning objectives. For example, in this study, skill-based learning was more frequently reported as occurring through observation than through explaining or interacting. Additional research is needed to evaluate the extent to which cognitive and affective learning objectives are better suited to virtual mentoring.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that all the protégés were early in their careers. As noted in the introduction of this article, studies involving research participants at different career stages have come to somewhat different conclusions regarding what protégés learn, suggesting that the content and process of protégé learning are not static but change across the course of individuals' careers. Two studies have directly taken up this issue. Dirmsmith and Covaleski (1985) concluded that protégés were taught technical knowledge and skills by their mentors early in their careers. Later in employees' careers, mentoring helped protégés understand firm politics, values, and leadership philosophies. The researchers also observed that the process of learning shifted as what was taught changed over protégés' careers:

It was commented by a few participants that earlier, lower level mentoring involved actively teaching the protégé, with the mentor actively guiding and giving advice. In the later, higher level mentoring, some of the essence of public accounting was viewed as not being readily taught, but only demonstrated through action. Here mentoring was seen as serving as a role model. (pp. 160–161)

Second, although a case study of 11 female executives working for *Fortune* 500 companies found women received mentoring throughout their careers (Bierema, 1996), the extent to which they used mentoring as a learning tactic changed as the women's careers evolved through three stages (Bierema, 1999). Although this study did not explicitly investigate how protégés learned from mentors during particular career stages, its findings suggest that the process of learning from mentors may not remain static. That is, during early career stages, protégés may rely more on receiving direct advice or direction from mentors; in later career stages, interactions with mentors may contribute to

learning by enhancing reflection. Additional research is needed to determine what and how protégés learn later in their careers. This will enable HRD professionals to determine what organizational objectives mentoring can support at different stages in employees' careers.

A second limitation with this study is that data were collected from protégés participating in a formal program within a single organization. The extent to which the results obtained here will be observed at other kinds of employers (e.g., for-profit corporations, educational settings) with different specializations (e.g., medicine, high-tech) is unknown. Similarly, it is important that HRD professionals study what and how protégés learn in informal mentoring relationships.

In general, research on mentoring is fairly young (Wanberg et al., 2003). Within the literature on mentoring, research on learning and mentoring is in its infancy. This study adds to what is known about what and how entry-level employees learn from their mentors. Consistent with the dynamic process model of formal mentoring (Wanberg et al., 2003), the learning outcomes of protégés who participated in the research included cognitive, skill-based, and affective learning, with skill-based learning reported with the highest frequency. Protégés primarily learned through observation of their mentors, explanations from their mentors, and interactions with their mentors. Less often, protégés learned by asking questions, being encouraged, shadowing or accompanying the mentor, completing work with the mentor, and trial and error. Learning outcomes were associated with learning methods, with observation being used only to acquire skills. Protégés reported learning from both positive and negative experiences, and there was some evidence that the favorability of learning experiences (positive/neutral vs. negative) was related to learning outcomes and processes. To maximize the effective use of mentoring, HRD professionals must further develop knowledge of the content and process of both protégé and mentor learning.

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Mentoring for Transformative Learning: The Importance of Relationship in Creating Learning Communities of Care

Nancy L. Southern

Teacher as Mentor

Daloz (1999) addressed the importance of the relationship between teacher and student with his statement: "The question for us as teachers is not whether but *how* we influence our students. It is a question about a relationship: *Where are our students going, and who are we for them in their journey?*" (p. 5). I have come to understand that my relationship with students is critical to creating the conditions that support transformative learning. The nature of the relationship can establish a context of openness and trust that both challenges students and supports them in being vulnerable to explore in ways that create the possibility for transformative learning. When students know that I care about them as people who are striving to make a difference in their own lives and the lives of others, and as learners on the path to greater understanding, they are more willing to take risks and be vulnerable as they question their own assumptions and ways of being and doing. I hope that my role in my relationship with students evolves into that of a mentor, someone who can make a difference in their lives. However, I cannot focus solely on my relationship with each student individually; I must consider my relationship with the whole and what I am doing to develop a learning community where we all feel we belong and are held in care.

Adult students come back to school because they have dreams of a different life. Many of the students I teach are accomplished professionals whose careers may have not taken them in the direction they had hoped, or they want to expand their horizons and do work that better serves the greater good. Most do not come expecting transformation; yet in working with them as a teacher/mentor, I hope that is what they experience.

Mentors are advocates and supporters of people. They are passionate about their work, willing to take risks, and willing to challenge us and our thinking. They help us grow as people, discover aspects of ourselves that were previously unknown, imagine new possibilities, and realize our dreams. Mentoring requires that we know the whole person – that is, who he is in the context of his life. We then have a greater opportunity to help others create relevancy and meaning from our teaching and their learning experiences and hold the tension that opens the possibility for transformative learning.

Daloz's (1999) work on mentoring offers a window into the importance of the quality of the relationship in teaching as mentoring. In describing the mentor, Daloz highlighted the almost-“hero” status given to mentors. However, most of our mentors are ordinary people who touched our lives because of their passion for their work and their ability to bring us into a relationship of care that extends beyond the interpersonal relationship to our relationship with the world.

A mentoring relationship that is held in care bridges the distance between student and teacher, creating a safe space for vulnerability. As mentors, we also need to be vulnerable – a natural occurrence that comes with care. By sharing openly the challenges we have encountered and what we have learned about ourselves through our own journey of teaching and learning, we create a relationship of truthfulness and trust. Teachers who are mentors have the ability to connect their own life-worlds with the life-worlds of their students, creating opportunities to reinterpret life experience through an expanded horizon.

Although we rarely think about mentoring relationships in terms of *authority*, they are very much about authority. These relationships are formed by granting others the authority to influence our lives. We grant others authority because of the respect we hold for them and for their contributions to the world. Granting authority to others graces a relationship and creates a space where we can belong and participate together. Granting authority requires self-confidence and awareness, as we welcome the knowledge and expertise that others bring to us. To admit that others, whether they are in positions superior to ours or not, have authority based on their knowledge, experience, and understanding, requires that we feel secure in who we are and what we know. Mentoring relationships that foster transformation require that both student and teacher be willing and able to grant authority to each other and hold authority in a way that takes responsibility for one's own learning and that of others.

How I hold my authority as a teacher can either limit student learning by causing them to learn what they think they have to learn or enhance it by opening up possibilities for learning that are meaningful and relevant to them. If I hold my authority *over* students, how likely will they enter that space of unknowingness and vulnerability that is necessary for transformative learning? If I do not hold my authority in a way that challenges them to question their own assumptions, I also greatly limit their learning. Some of the questions I hold as I continuously learn the art of teaching and mentoring are: How am I creating learning environments where students feel they belong, where they can bring more of who they are and take risks in sharing themselves with others? How well am I balancing my way of challenging and supporting students? How am I fostering conversations that allow for negotiating new meaning? Am I presenting new ideas that challenge their current thinking? Am I asking questions that unlock deeply held assumptions? Am I inviting students to challenge my assumptions? How gracefully do I respond to those challenges?

The Relational Nature of Transformative Learning

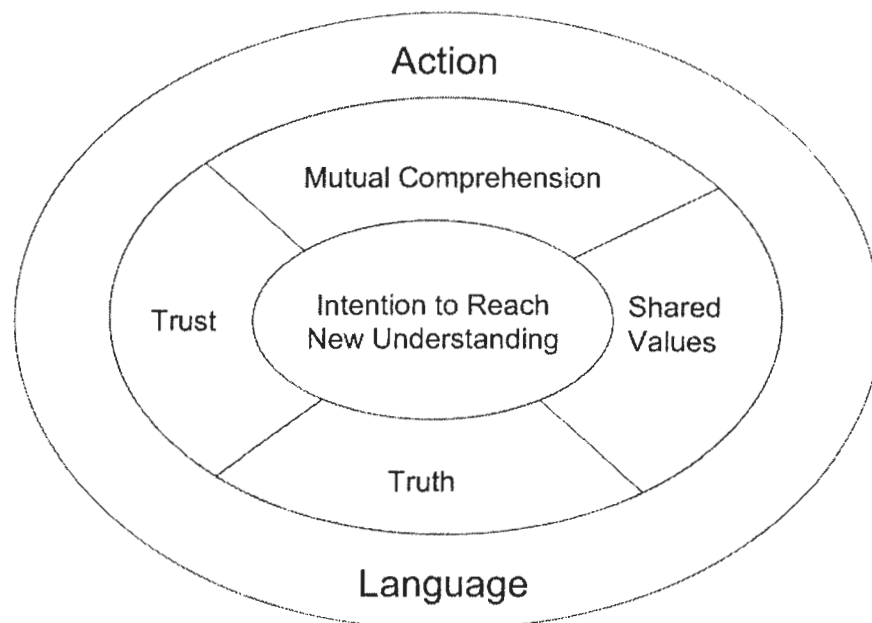
Teaching is a relational act. Students and teachers come together, each belonging to a unique and shared history and tradition and with a sense of who we are in relationship to one another, to others, and to the world. Mezirow and Associates (1990) described *transformative learning* as a process that “involves reflectively transforming the beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and emotional reactions that constitute our meaning schemes or . . . meaning perspectives” (p. 223). Although individually we may create new meaning from our life experiences, a shift in meaning perspective comes from the tension that is created by encountering different perspectives and ways of being that cause us to question what we thought was reality. If these perspectives and ways of being are held by others with whom we have no relationship, we may easily ignore them. If they are held by those whom we respect and trust, a tension is created that causes us to consider these different perspectives and question our own assumptions, values, and opinions.

Habermas (1981/1985) differentiates *communicative learning*, in which meaning is negotiated, from *instrumental learning*, in which facts and figures are learned without full understanding of the meaningfulness of the activity. Communicative learning recognizes the importance of another person in the process of reaching new understanding. On initial encounter, I find that most students are only familiar with instrumental learning, as this is what has been expected of them throughout their academic life. Their understanding of learning as instrumental has come from teachers who were taught that teaching was about giving information, explaining, and taking an objective stance in relation to students to be able to maintain standards and fairly evaluate performance.

These assumptions create a distance between teacher and student that lessens the possibility for transformative learning.

At its core, transformative learning is communicative learning. Therefore, the relationships involved in the learning, whether they are teacher and student, student and student, family or work colleagues, are important to bring into the learning context. Communicative learning requires a sense of belonging to a tradition and to the world, recognizing that we are born into a place in history that we share with others. Habermas's (1981/1987) four validity claims of mutual comprehension, shared values, truth/truthfulness, and trust provide a way to develop communicative competence for the purpose of negotiating meaning and taking communicative action. Teachers have the ability to bring these validity claims into the teaching and learning process, thereby inviting students to participate in an ongoing conversation and relationship that enables meaning to be negotiated through sharing understanding and risking assumptions.

I have adapted Habermas's work by creating a visual model (see Figure 1) of *communicative competence* to help others understand it as contextual and relational and as holding the intention for new understanding. As teachers, we participate with our students within this communicative relationship. At the core of communication is the intention to reach new understanding. We



Adapted with permission from *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Vol. 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society, and Vol. 2: Lifeworld and System: Functionalist reason (T. McCarthy, Trans.) by J. Habermas, 1985 and 1987, respectively, Boston: Beacon Press.

Figure 1: Communicative competence

do that by participating together through language and action and establishing mutual comprehension, shared values, truth, and trust. Participating in this way may require us to examine our own assumptions about teaching and learning and our relationships as students and teachers. Although communicative competence can be fostered between two people, it is best supported within learning communities that can self-organize and share different perspectives through inquiry, story, and dialogue.

Learning communities are developed by inviting others to participate in creating the conditions for transformative learning that realize the potential for shared understanding and collaborative action. The helix in Figure 2 displays my understanding of the increasing arenas of participation from invitation to becoming a learning community. The importance of invitation cannot be underestimated. We may sometimes enter learning environments because we have to be there and other times because we want to be there. In either case, an invitation to enter a learning community where we may possibly experience more than we expected can shift the way in which we choose to participate. Once we accept the invitation to participate in new ways, we create the possibility to become fully engaged in the process. When this engagement leads us to question assumptions and see the limitations of old thinking and the opportunities in new possibilities, creative energy is set free; students and teachers alike begin to share the learning space, taking responsibility for creating the necessary conditions to become a true learning community. Those conditions include meaningful relationships, purposeful work, shared



Figure 2: Co-creating learning communities

leadership, and communicative and cultural competence. The commitment to a new way of being in relationship is the key to working together to create a learning community that supports the vulnerability and risk associated with transformative learning.

When I first started teaching, I focused heavily on the knowledge and experience that I could bring to the students. With a background in management and organizational development, I understood the importance of engaging students in experiential processes to support personal learning, skill development, and application. My approach to teaching, however, was grounded in my understanding of self as an individual who was shaped by my knowledge and experience. I strived to find the best approaches to communicate what I knew. In essence, I saw myself as somewhat of an expert, someone knowledgeable enough to teach others. I held my authority over students, albeit more lightly than teachers I had in my own academic experience, establishing the boundaries for learning and evaluating the students according to the quality of work they produced.

My doctoral study of hermeneutics and my teacher and mentor, Ellen Herda, transformed my understanding of self from that as an individual, separate from others, to a person always in relationship. Herda's (1999) text explains the importance of this relational understanding to inquiry and conversation that can transform people, organizations, and societies. I came to understand that it was through my relationships with others that I could share not just my knowledge, but also my understanding and how I came to that understanding, my way of being, and my passion. I also came to believe that, as a teacher, my greatest gift to students was the relationship I could have with them and the relationships I could foster among them that would support their learning journey. In essence, my focus became creating a learning community where we could all participate together to create meaningful inquiry and conversation that generated new understanding and formed the basis on which we could change ourselves and the way we take action in the world. My understanding of caring about my students and about teaching shifted to one of understanding myself as *being in care*.

Being in Care

Noddings (2005) makes the distinction between the virtue of care and caring relations. Most of us would claim to be caring individuals, as care is a virtue commonly held. Caring relations requires us to understand who we are in relationship with others and to accept responsibility that our actions – how we live and interact with others – always affect the ability of others to live well, learn, and take action in the world. Care is a way of being. It extends beyond what we feel for others to how we live and take action together.

Some people who live their lives in care also have the ability to be in caring relationships with other individuals. Other people who live their lives in care

are not necessarily good in interpersonal relationships. In terms of teaching, brilliant and intimating Professor Kingsfield in the movie *The Paper Chase* (Paul, Thompson, Parslow, & Bridges, 1973) comes to mind. He expressed his care through the way he challenged students to stretch their boundaries of thinking and learning. When I think about the two teachers who were my most influential mentors, the same is true. They were both people passionate about their lives and work and willing to risk the interpersonal relationship to challenge me and my fellow students to push past our boundaries and question the assumptions that were limiting our ability to think and act in accordance with our educational aspirations. I remember how I felt when one of my mentors said to me in the middle of a presentation to the class, "I don't care what you think. I only care about what you are learning." The embarrassment I initially felt did not translate into a feeling of being held in care; however, it was that statement that made me take a look at my own assumptions and started me on my journey of transformative learning. As teachers and mentors, we want to help create disorienting dilemmas in the minds of our students. Our ability to do that is enhanced through relationships with them that are grounded in communicative competence.

I have learned about being in care from my study of Chinese culture and from being both a mother and a teacher. As a mother of a daughter born in China and abandoned at birth, I have learned how her ability to develop a confident sense of self is predicated on her discovering who she is as a member of our family, as a person who belongs to two different cultures and traditions, and as a unique person in the world. The importance of belonging to a past, present, and future is seen in the eyes of these children who have found themselves transported to a different place in history. My role in helping my daughter construct those relationships is my greatest responsibility. In teaching international Chinese students, I encountered their practice of *Guanxi*, the Chinese way of relationships, which helped me understand how to balance the authority relationship as teacher with a level of care that brings students into a personal relationship. These Chinese students held me in great respect as a teacher, granting me a greater degree of authority than I had experienced with my American students; however, they were also comfortable bringing me into a personal relationship in which they could teach me about their culture. Their ability to grant me authority seemed to free the relationship. As mentioned in the earlier comments about authority, how we hold our authority relationships as teachers, in our other professional positions, and as parents either invites people into our lifeworld or keeps them apart from it. The way I hold my natural authority as a teacher in relationship with my students enables us to co-create that path. The way I invite students to share that authority for teaching and learning enables them to take responsibility for appropriating their learning. I must find the right balance of authority and care that will enhance our ability to share learning and take action in the world.

Sharing authority for teaching and learning brings us into a relationship of care that allows us to enter and share that space of unknowingness and vulnerability that is necessary for transformative learning. Cranton's (2000) work speaks to the importance of individuation, normally considered an essential part of growth and development into a unique individual, separate from others. We can hold individuation as important in our ability to think and act independently, but I like to think of it as a process of coming to understand who we are in relationship with others rather than separate from others. Through understanding the relational nature of self, I understand that an important condition of transformative learning is creating communities of care that support the discovery of self through meaningful relationships, mutual understanding, and collaborative action.

Creating Learning Communities of Care

In American culture, we have learned to see ourselves as separate individuals and have constructed our educational environments based on that notion. However, we live in a world where understanding ourselves as always being in relationship is important. In this time of cultural complexity and high anxiety, our responsibility as teachers increases as we help create the conditions for students and ourselves to exist within this complexity and its resulting anxiety and create new understanding and opportunities through transformative learning. Communities of care are places to which we belong and can participate together in shaping our learning environment and discovering how we can act together to create change. Teachers and students both hold and grant authority gracefully, respecting the ability to learn from one another and their different life experiences and perspectives. The care that is present is felt by all and creates the safety for risk and vulnerability.

Although we may not yet live in a world in which care is the fabric that weaves us together, our role as teachers and students of transformative learning provides us with the opportunity to influence cultural change through the way we participate in learning communities, where care is both the virtue and the passion that brings us together. Kegan (1982) stated that to "hold without constraining may be the first requirement to [good teaching and] care" (p.162). In considering what this means, as teachers, we have to loosen the boundaries, allowing for students to negotiate their work in a way that is meaningful to them and that challenges them to stretch the boundaries of their consciousness. By creating learning communities that respect the unique qualities each person brings, we foster a sense of belonging to something much greater than ourselves and thus extend our care beyond ourselves and our immediate relationships to others who live in the world.

A process I use in the classroom and in organizations that has worked well in creating a community of care is to engage participants in small-group

conversations that ask each person to address the questions: What do you value most about yourself, your life, and your work? What are your passion, talents, and hobbies? What are your aspirations? What influences (people, culture, and events) have shaped you? These questions bring people into a meaningful conversation that creates mutual comprehension, shared values, truthfulness, and trust, and that results in a sense of belonging and care. Diversity is recognized and valued, and care for one another is expressed. Once these conditions are established, participants engage with others and with me in ways that foster communicative competence.

This ability to respect, honor, and care for one another requires us to value diverse life experiences, values, and perspectives. We have to examine continuously how we bring diversity into our own lives, how we engage the diverse perspectives of others, and how often we question and change our own beliefs and assumptions and experience our own transformative learning. We also must ask ourselves in what ways we are bringing our students to the encounter with "the other." How are we introducing them to diverse perspectives in theory and practice and creating the opportunity and safety for them to express and explore their own diverse perspectives? Our encouragement and care can help overcome the fear that students often have in speaking openly and truthfully. As we all learn to hold the tension of diverse perspectives, we can negotiate new meaning in our lives and imagine ways in which we can peacefully live and work together.

I believe the purpose of transformative learning is what Mary Catherine Bateson (1989) has called composing a life. We don't compose our lives alone. We co-create them through the relationships we have with others. Bateson's (2004) work speaks to the integration of people, culture, relationships, and care. She stated: "More and more it has seemed to me that the idea of an individual, the idea that there is someone to be known, separate from the relationships, is simply an error . . . we create each other, bring each other into being by being part of the matrix in which the other exists." (p. 4). When we can bring all of who we are to our teaching and learning, share our traditions, our joys, our struggles, and our aspirations, and come to appreciate the richness of our diversity and common purpose, we can create communities of care in which we participate together, learn from one another, and work together to take our transformative experiences out into the world.

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"It's Not What I Expected": A Qualitative Study of Youth Mentoring Relationship Failures

Renée Spencer

The appeal of youth mentoring programs seems boundless. These programs have enjoyed tremendous growth in recent years, and the number of new programs being established remains on the rise (DuBois & Karcher, 2005). Discussions of mentoring tend to center on the poignant and often powerful stories of how the presence of a supportive adult made all the difference in a young person's life. Such tales help to raise funds for programs and recruit volunteer mentors. The untold story is what happens when these relationships do not go well. General estimates are that only about half of the mentoring relationships established through formal programs last beyond a few months (Rhodes, 2002), and some research indicates that when these relationships end within the first 3 months they may have the potential to do harm (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Karcher, 2005). Yet, to date almost no attention has been paid to understanding relationship failures. This is surprising given the consideration of this issue in the literatures on other types of mentoring relationships, such as those formed in the workplace (e.g., Eby, McManus, Simon, & Russell, 2000; Scandura, 1998) and in higher education settings (e.g., "Johnson & Huwe" 2002).

The enthusiasm for youth mentoring is not without some cause. The association between strong relationships with supportive adults and a range of

positive social and emotional outcomes among vulnerable youth has been well-documented (Scales & Leffert, 1999). Community-based youth mentoring programs attempt to create such connections by matching youth living in single-parent homes or from disadvantaged backgrounds (e.g., low-income) with an unrelated adult in the hope that a caring and supportive relationship will develop. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that mentoring programs can foster connections that do promote positive outcomes in youth, such as better emotional, behavioral, and academic functioning (DuBois & Karcher, 2005; Rhodes, 2002). However, a meta-analysis of outcome research on mentoring programs found that, on average, improvements among the youth who received mentoring were modest at best (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Cooper, 2002). These benefits tended to increase when programs provided a variety of supports for the mentoring relationships, when the quality of the relationships was higher (evidenced by emotional closeness, frequency of contact and longevity), and when the youth entered programs with some type of environmental risk (e.g., low socioeconomic status) rather than individual risk (e.g., academic difficulties).

However, there has been little to no discussion of mentoring relationships that do not make it, despite the frequency with which this occurs. When mentoring relationship failures or negative experiences are discussed, it is often in the service of making a point about what distinguishes successful relationships (e.g., Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes, Reddy, Roffman, & Grossman, 2005). This proclivity for the positive pervades the literature on interpersonal relationships more generally (Duck, 1994). Yet negative experiences, such as conflict, disappointment, and regret, are a fundamental component of all interpersonal relationships, even though they tend to be underacknowledged outside of the clinical literatures (Duck, 1994). There is no reason to expect that formal youth mentoring relationships would be exceptions. In fact, Rhodes and colleagues (2005), in their efforts to develop a measure of youth mentoring relationship quality, found that negative experiences were more likely to differentiate relationships of varying quality than were positive ones.

Researchers studying workplace and academic mentoring have developed typologies of negative relationships. Although these types of adult mentoring relationships differ in many ways from those between youth and adults, this body of literature highlights what could be learned through widening our lens to include a close examination of negative experiences in youth mentoring relationships. A dysfunctional academic mentoring relationship (i.e., a relationship between a faculty mentor and graduate student protégé) has been defined as one that is “no longer functioning effectively for one or both partners” and where “(a) the primary needs of one or both partners are not being met, (b) the long-term costs for one or both partners outweigh the long-term benefits, or (c) one or both partners are suffering distress as a result of being in the mentorship” (Johnson & Huwe, 2002, p. 45). Twelve problems or sources of disturbance are thought to explain the majority of dysfunctional academic

mentoring relationships. These include poor matching, mentor incompetence, mentor neglect and abandonment, relational conflict, boundary violations, cross-gender and cross-race matching (where factors such as stereotypes and differing socialization practices may interfere) and protégé traits and behaviors (Johnson & Huwe, 2002, pp. 46–50). Building on Duck’s (1994) typology of the “dark side” of close personal relationships, Scandura (1998) proposed seven potential dysfunctions in workplace mentoring relationships: (a) bullying or exploitation, (b) sabotage and revenge, (c) relational conflicts where there is no malintent, (d) the “spoiling” of a positive relationship through betrayal or disappointment, (e) submissiveness and overdependence on the mentor, (f) deception, and (g) harassment.

Research on diverse workplace mentoring relationships suggests that dissimilarities in backgrounds and attitudes, values, and beliefs may increase the likelihood of negative experiences (Ragins, 1997). Cultural differences may contribute to feelings of dissimilarity between mentors and protégés in formal youth mentoring relationships as well. Research has demonstrated that youth who report having natural mentors (nonparental adults in their communities who have a significant influence on them and on whom they can rely for support and guidance) indicate that these adults are similar to them in terms of racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds (Cavell, Meehan, Heffer, & Holladay, 2002; Klaw & Rhodes, 1995; Rhodes, 2002; Sanchez & Reyes, 1999). In contrast, formal mentoring programs more typically match youth of color with White mentors (Grossman & Tierney, 1998), as the majority of adults who volunteer through formal mentoring programs are White (MENTOR/National Mentoring Partnership, 2006) and many youth of color would remain on waiting lists for long periods of time if matches were made based solely on the basis of race (Rhodes, Reddy, Grossman, & Lee, 2002). Examinations of whether there are differences in the benefits to youth of same versus cross-race matches in formal programs have yielded mixed results. One study found no differences (DuBois et al., 2002) and another reported some differences but these were not of a robust or consistent nature (Rhodes et al., 2002). A third study found no difference in the level of benefits youth derived when youth and adults were matched on the basis of shared interests and the relationship endured at least 11 months, however cross-race relationships were more likely to end prematurely (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002).

The research on academic and workplace mentoring relationship difficulties can certainly inform the study of youth mentoring. However, there are some important differences between these types of relationships. The youth served by community-based mentoring programs are by definition vulnerable in some way, whether by virtue of living in a low-income, single-parent, or immigrant household; having a parent who is incarcerated; being in the foster care system; or struggling with emotional, behavioral, or academic difficulties. Given that community-based youth mentoring relationships are intended to mimic naturally occurring supportive relationships between youth and adults,

they are more akin to friendships and tend to be more personal than academic or workplace mentoring relationships, with participants sometimes joining in family gatherings or attending school-related events. The more personal nature of these relationships is believed to heighten their potential for positive influence on the youth's socio-emotional, cognitive, and identity development (Rhodes, 2002). At the same time, this also contributes to greater ambiguity around boundary issues than is present in mentoring relationships between adults, heightening the potential for power differentials to be mishandled (Spencer, Liang, Rhodes, West, & Singer, 2006). Rhodes (2002) noted that many adolescents enter mentoring programs with a history of inconsistent relationships with adults and the more personal nature of youth mentoring relationships "can touch on vulnerabilities in youth in ways that other, less personal youth programs do not" (p. 58). Programs also foster the notion that these relationships have the potential to last for many years, as some indeed do, and tend to emphasize the significant and lasting impact such relationships can have on a young person's life (e.g., Barrett, Annis, & Riffey, 2004).

The goal of the present study was to begin to build an understanding of failures in youth mentoring relationships through an open-ended qualitative study of these occurrences. This paper presents findings from an interview study with youth and adults who were in mentoring relationships established through two formal, community-based, one-to-one youth mentoring programs that did not last through the initial time commitment made at the beginning of the match. Due to the paucity of research focusing on early terminations in youth mentoring relationships, the focus was on exploring and describing the participants' experiences of these relationships rather than testing a predetermined set of hypotheses about them. Thus a qualitative approach was taken in which participants' understandings of their experiences in this specific type of youth mentoring program were examined through the analysis of in-depth individual interviews.

Method

Description of Participating Mentoring Programs

Participants were recruited from two Big Brothers Big Sisters of America (BBBSA) community-based mentoring programs in an urban community in the northeast. Both programs adhere to the best practices for youth mentoring programs established by MENTOR/National Mentoring Partnership (2003). Mentors and youth were asked to make an initial 1-year commitment, although the agencies hoped the relationships would last much longer as they strive to foster close and enduring mentoring relationships that they liken to friendships. Prematch training was provided to the mentors but not the youth. Potential matches were presented to the mentors and the youth's parent or guardian.

Mentors and youth met for the first time at the youth's home in the presence of an agency staff person and the youth's parent or guardian, at which time the participants were asked commit to the match. The extent of the researcher's prior involvement with the agencies was a previous study initiated by the researcher of a small group of close and enduring relationships established through these programs (Spencer, 2006).

Participants

A total of 31 male and female participants (20 adults and 11 adolescents) were interviewed for this study (see Table 1 for details on the participants). The adult mentors were 19–47 years of age. Fourteen of the adult participants identified themselves as White, 2 as African American, 1 as Latino, 1 as Asian, and 2 as bi- or multiracial. The youth were 10–13 years of age, and were a racially and ethnically diverse group of 6 African American, 3 White, 2 Latino, and 1 biracial youth. The mentoring relationships had lasted between 1 and 11 months. The demographics of these participants were similar to those of the youth and adults served by these agencies during the time of the study. The youth served by the agencies ranged in age from 7 to 16 years. Approximately 31% were African American, 32% White, 20% Latino, 10% multiracial, and 4% Asian. Another 3% did not identify with one of these major census categories. The volunteers were 18 years or older, with most (53%) between 25 and 35 years of age. The majority were White (76%). Ten percent were African American, 5% Asian, 3% Latino, 3% multiracial, and 3% did not identify with one of these categories.

Procedure

An unsuccessful match was defined simply as one that did not last through the initial 1-year time commitment required by the participating agencies. This definition was also informed by previous research indicating that the positive benefits of mentoring are more likely to be realized when a relationship endures at least 1 year (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002). Over an 18-month period, the agencies sent a letter from the researcher to the members of all early terminating relationships. Approximately 150 mentors and youth were invited to take part in the study. Interested participants sent their contact information directly to the researcher using return envelopes provided to them. Thirty-seven people responded to the letter and 31 ultimately agreed to schedule an interview and followed through. The original intention was that some matched pairs of mentors and youth would be interviewed. However, in only one case did both the adult and youth indicate interest in participating.

In most cases, the parents of the youth requested to be present during the interview and in some cases a parent participated in the interview with her

Table 1: Age and racial or ethnic background^a of the study participants, racial or ethnic background of the participants' mentors or protégés,^b and length of the mentoring relationship

<i>Name^c</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Race or ethnicity</i>	<i>Race or ethnicity of protégé or mentor</i>	<i>Relationship length (in months)</i>
<i>Mentors</i>				
Adrianna	33	White	White	3
Chris	28	White	White	3
Cindy	31	Multiracial	Biracial	2
Courtney	25	White	Portuguese	10
D-Fire	47	Black	Black	< 1
Edward	42	African American	African American	7
George	27	Columbian	Latino	2
Howell	55	White	White	3
John	25	White	White	3
John Smith	36	White	Latino	< 1
John Stevens	25	White	Latino	9
Joe	24	South Asian	Multiracial	4
Joy	45	White	White	2
Meredith	25	White	Black	3
Michael	28	White	Latino	4
Sarah	24	Biracial	Black	4
Simone	44	White	Black	4
Stewart	19	White	African American	< 1
Susan	53	White	White	2
Violet	26	White	White	5
<i>Protégés</i>				
April	12	Biracial	White	< 1
Desiree	13	White	Italian American	4
Emma	10	African American	Caribbean American	11
Eugene	12	African American	Biracial	3
Joe	12	Puerto Rican	White	1
Max	13	African American	White	< 1
Shawn	12	Black	White	2
Steven	15	Black	Haitian	2
Walt Fraser	12	White	White	3
W.C.	12	White	Latino	3
Yelitza	11	African American	African American	1

a. Identification as provided by the participants.

b. Race or ethnicity of mentor/protégé as reported by the study participant.

c. Pseudonyms provided by the participants.

or his child. Parental consent for the youth participants was obtained either prior to or at the time of the interview, and youth assent and mentor consent was obtained at the time of the interview. A gift certificate to a book or music store was given to the participants upon completion of the interview. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. Participants chose their own pseudonyms.

The in-depth (Johnson, 2002) semistructured (Seidman, 1991) interviews were conducted by the author, a middle-class European American woman, in a location of the participants' choosing, such as their home or a university office. At the beginning of each interview, the purposes of the study were explained and the interview format described. Participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any question and end their participation at any time. Each interview lasted approximately 1 hour.

Semistructured interview protocols were developed but were used primarily as a guide, allowing the interviewer to follow the participants' narratives (Seidman, 1991).¹ Thus while some questions were asked of all participants, many of the interview questions evolved out of the interactions between the interviewer and interviewee and were focused on understanding the nature and course of each individual relationship. Interview questions covered topics such as motivations for participating in a mentoring program, expectations going into the relationship, typical activities, how the relationship progressed, and how and why the relationship ended. These open-ended questions were followed by questions intended to facilitate further exploration of the specific experiences identified by the interviewee. For example, a statement about feeling disappointed by the mentoring relationship was followed by a request to tell a story about a specific time when the person felt disappointed and further questions about what this experience had been like and how he or she thought about it presently.

Analysis

The transcriptions of the audio recordings of all 31 interviews were verified in preparation for analysis, a procedure that involved listening to each recording in full and making any necessary corrections to the transcription. Given the exploratory nature of this study, the absence of research on this topic, and the open-ended interview format, an inductive approach to data analysis was taken. Although not a grounded theory study, initial coding followed the principles of open coding outlined in a constructivist approach to the use of grounded theory data analytic techniques (Charmaz, 2006). The interviews were divided among four coders (female graduate students, two Latina and two European American). Each interview was read through one at a time and coded line by line, which allowed for a close examination of the entirety of the interview transcripts and helped maintain openness to the exploration of emergent themes from within each interview (Charmaz, 2006). Then the coder constructed a narrative summary (Way, 1998) of the transcript, in which salient themes were identified and detailed. These summaries also included descriptions of the reasons for the relationship failures, based on explicit statements made by the interviewees and interpretive understandings constructed through this analytic process. From these summaries and through discussions between

research team members, two major categories were identified within both the mentors' and the protégés' narratives for further analysis: (a) expectations for and (b) challenges faced within the mentoring relationships. The interviews were divided between two coders, with one coder analyzing the mentors' and the other the protégés' narratives, and were coded again for themes within each of these categories. These themes were then entered into conceptually clustered matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to facilitate comparisons across the participants. In an effort to mitigate researcher bias and to further enhance the trustworthiness of the findings, a preliminary report was generated and distributed to the agencies. Feedback from staff members who worked closely with the mentoring matches was solicited and used to further develop the findings presented here. Given the small sample size and exploratory nature of this study, the themes presented below were selected for their salience and relevance to practice, rather than just their frequency. Whereas some themes appeared in many of the mentor or protégé interviews, others appeared in only two or three. Low frequency themes that also held force for the agencies, or were recognized as being familiar problems, were retained.

Findings

The analyses of the interview data yielded descriptive information about why some mentoring relationships terminate early and the participants' understandings of the impact these early terminations had on them. Six themes are detailed in the sections below: (a) mentor or protégé abandonment, (b) perceived lack of protégé motivation, (c) unfulfilled expectations, (d) deficiencies in mentor relational skills, including the inability to bridge cultural divides, (e) family interference, and (f) inadequate agency support. These were not mutually exclusive in that two or more of these themes may have played some role in the demise of any one relationship.

Mentor or Protégé Abandonment

For some, the relationship ended early because their partner simply disappeared. Six of the youth (5 males and 1 female) interviewed had been abandoned by their mentors. A few even described having the most unfortunate experience of excitedly awaiting a mentor who simply never arrived for a scheduled outing. These youth never heard from their mentors again, despite repeated efforts on the part of their families and the mentoring programs to contact them. They described feelings of disappointment and diminished enthusiasm for the program. One youth, after having two mentors disappear, decided not to be matched with another mentor, despite his initial keen interest in the program and his continued desire for a stable and consistent adult male presence in his life. As he (Eugene) said, "I was like really devastated. . . .

After two incidents, I'm afraid that that might happen again. So, I just gave up on the whole thing."

Six of the mentors (5 males and 1 female) reported being abandoned by their protégés. Surprisingly, the perceived impact on the adults was somewhat similar to that of the youth whose mentors had terminated their relationships, although more muted than that expressed by Eugene above. These adults expressed disappointment and feelings of ambivalence about trying again. One mentor, Joy, said, "maybe I'll do it again some day . . . it's just like [not] right now, I learned something. . . . it was painful, a painful experience."

Perceived Lack of Protégé Motivation

A few of the mentors suspected their protégés were not all that interested in having a mentor. One mentor, Courtney, noted that her protégé had a strong support system of family and friends. Her protégé was also a basketball player who, once the season started, had little interest in the match. Courtney concluded that her protégé enrolled in the program without realizing the commitment it involved because friends of hers had done so. Another mentor, John Smith, was told after his match did not work out that his protégé's mother had wanted him to participate in the program and his protégé had just gone along with the idea.

Unfulfilled Expectations

Mentors. When asked about their reasons for becoming a mentor, most of the adults described looking forward to developing a close, personal relationship with a young person. Whether this was out of a desire to "give something back," "make a difference," or provide a young person with "new experiences," the mentors envisioned themselves developing strong and lasting connections with their protégés. This lovely, almost romanticized, characterization of a mentoring relationship was soon met with the reality of forging such a bond with an unrelated and, in most cases, a highly vulnerable young person. Starting as strangers with nothing to connect them but a stated desire to participate in a mentoring program, the challenging work of relationship building became strikingly evident to many of these adults. Discrepancies between the unspoken and at times previously unconscious expectations held by the mentors and the realities of their actual experiences became apparent. The following varieties of expectations appeared to play a role in the early end to some of these mentoring relationships: (a) expectations about the needs of the protégé – that they would need both more and less from a mentor than they actually seemed to, (b) expectations about some of their own needs being met, such as feeling "good" about the time spent with the young person, and (c) expectations for the relationship based on previous experiences as a mentor.

Mentors recalled being asked by the agencies whether they had specific preferences about their match and most said they did not. The response of one mentor, Susan, was typical: "I really didn't have a preference . . . and I was open to any match." Another mentor, Michael, said, "I didn't tell them [the agency] I was looking for anything in particular. . . . I'd be up for anything." However, after being matched with a young person who had a challenging home life, Michael realized he did indeed have some preferences and expectations for the relationship. A teacher and youth worker, Michael realized that he expected his mentoring relationship to be uncomplicated by troubles in the young person's family. He did not want to have to "worry" whether "everything [was] going all right at home," noting that he was "already kind of dealing with that to some degree [at work]" and it was not something he wanted to deal with outside of his job. In retrospect, he realized he "probably went into it [the match] with an idea of, you know, 'Oh, this will be great. This will be different, it'll be fun.'"

Some mentors entered these relationships with preconceived ideas about what a young person who was seeking a mentor might need. However, these expectations seemed only to have become apparent to the mentors after having spent some time with their protégés. For one mentor, John, the child did not seem to need a mentor in the way he had imagined:

. . . it didn't seem to me that he needed much help. . . . I kind of had this ideal of what the kid was going to be like. . . . It was a little disappointing that he was not like that. . . . I was kinda hopin' for, you know, the poor kid . . . with no dad, just him and his mom . . . strugglin' to get by.

The protégé fit John's expectations of having a low family income, but the child had many strong relationships with family members and several good friends. John's sense that all he was providing was access to activities the youth might not otherwise have left him feeling less than satisfied with the contribution he believed he was making to the child's life.

More typical among these mentors, however, was having the experience of being taken aback by the great needs of the youth. Nine of the mentors interviewed described feeling overwhelmed by the difficult circumstances the youth and their families faced. As one mentor, Joy, said about picking her protégé up for their outings, "it was hard to go over there, . . . because I felt somewhat dismayed at their living situation." Joy was also unable to reach her protégé for a period of time because the family's telephone had been disconnected. She thought about going over to the protégé's house, but was reluctant to do so. Joy attributed this reluctance to uncertainty about what her protégé would want her to do but also implied feelings of discomfort played a role, as she said "[I] didn't know what I was gonna find. I was afraid." Joy knew the family had been involved with the Department of Social Services but did not know why, which might have contributed to her uneasiness. She left two

notes but never heard back from her protégé. Reflecting on her experience, Joy said, "I just I realized how very difficult it is to have any kind of intimate relationship. One-on-one relationships are hard and then with someone that is vulnerable like that. . . . It's such a big responsibility."

Other adults also found themselves feeling in over their heads early on in the relationship. In one case, the mentor (Joe) was unable to manage his own personal response to the life difficulties his protégé was facing and the child's desire to spend as much time with him as possible. Joe ended the relationship in hopes that another adult who felt better able to meet his needs would become the child's mentor. As Joe said:

He was the kind of kid who needed that attention, who needed someone to meet with him. . . . He wanted to meet up, I mean, almost every day of the week, and I understand that. He's a young kid, he wants to do something, and I can understand that. But, that's just not me. And, I'm sure he's found another Big Brother who takes much more interest, and who has more time to do these things. . . . I hope he has.

At the beginning of the interview, Joe stated that he had ended this relationship due to increasing work demands and the sense that he just no longer had time for the program. However, the narrative above suggests that he was overwhelmed by his protégé's requests and was not sure how to set workable limits around their meeting times. Like Joe, several other mentors relayed that they had come to the conclusion that they were not the best match for the young person, as the protégé seemed to need more than they felt equipped to give. However, also like Joe, at the beginning of the interview most of these mentors attributed their ending of their relationships to external issues, such as time constraints. It was only as their narratives unfolded over the course of the interviews that these deeper struggles became more apparent.

Another type of expectation some mentors carried with them into the relationship was that they would feel "good" or have some other kind of positive feeling as a result of the relationship. In many cases this did not occur, or at least not as quickly as anticipated. As one mentor, Meredith, stated, "Obviously, when you volunteer, you're not expecting . . . the world back. . . . But you want something . . . you at least want to leave with a feeling . . . a good feeling." Rather than the good feelings she had anticipated, Meredith was left with the sense that the payoff was too small for what she felt she had to invest.

Two of the female mentors expressed explicit hopes that they would build close, personal, and lasting connections with their protégés and were disappointed when these did not materialize. Susan had thought about becoming a mentor for many years and was excited when the time came that she was able to follow through with this intention:

It was a huge accomplishment for me for eight years of wanting to do this to finally accomplish this goal. And get everything under way and be matched

with someone who I was very excited about and thought we could have a lot of fun and . . . , after I met her I went home, and I was thinking, "Oh, this is great. This will be long term." . . . I was sort of fantasizing about going to her graduation and being there for her wedding . . . just thinking in terms of a very long-term relationship.

Susan's protégé, on the other hand, did not show as much interest in building a close relationship and eventually ended the match.

Two mentors had previous positive experiences with protégés that contrasted greatly with how things went for them in their second match. One of these mentors, George, was seriously injured in an accident sustained during his work as a police officer after only two meetings with his second protégé, Carl. Although he said he needed to end this relationship with Carl because of time constraints associated with the recovery from this accident, George seemed relieved to have a reason to end the relationship. Unlike his first protégé, Carl showed little outward interest in George's profession or other aspects of his day-to-day life and George struggled to connect with him in their limited time together. George also described Carl as being anxious to make plans with George as frequently as possible – a little too frequently for George's tastes. He framed his decision to end the relationship as an opportunity for Carl to be matched with a mentor who could give him more of what he needed, stating, "Because I've met . . . a few other matches, and I've seen their Big Brothers that were there like 10 times more than I could ever be."

Protégés. In other cases, it was the protégé's expectations for the relationship that were not met. Two of the youth interviewed decided to end their matches because they did not feel they were a good fit and another was contemplating ending the match with his second mentor for this same reason. One girl's (Desiree) first impression of her mentor was that the two did not share the same interests. She decided to go ahead and give the match a try but ultimately ended it. Despite having known her mentor for 4 months, she still did not feel that she could really talk to her mentor, especially about problems she was having in school. Desiree had hoped for a closer, more personal relationship than she had been able to achieve with her mentor.

One boy's (Walt Fraser) first mentor was abruptly relocated to another city for work and he had just been matched with a new mentor at the time of the interview. He, like the girl just described, expressed concern about his ability to connect with his new mentor. With his first mentor, Walt had experienced more of an exchange of ideas and had the sense that he was his mentor's top priority when the two spent time together. His brief encounters with his new mentor left him with feelings of doubt about the fit between the mentor's interests and his current needs. Consequently, he was contemplating whether he wanted to continue with the match. Like some of the mentors, these protégés seemed to come to a greater awareness of the expectations they had held entering the program when their relationships did not go as well as they had hoped.

Deficiencies in Mentor Relational Skills

The absence of three specific sets of relational skills on the part of mentors seemed to play a role in the demise of a few of these mentoring relationships. These were as follows: (a) lack of youth focus, (b) unrealistic, or developmentally inappropriate, expectations of the youth, and (c) low awareness of personal biases and how cultural differences shape relationships.

Lack of youth focus. Some mentors seemed to have difficulty engaging with the youth on their terms. One protégé, Emma, described how she never quite hit it off with her mentor and partly attributed this to her mentor's inability to be a kid with her. Emma's mother, who was present during the interview, put it this way: "she [the mentor] didn't get on her level." Emma then chimed in, "My mother will make snow angels. She would do things with you. She will act your age. But [my mentor] was just her age, not my age." For Emma, engaging in activities that are fun and interesting to young people is an important skill a mentor needs.

Unrealistic expectations. In other cases, it seemed that mentors had unrealistic expectations of their protégés given their developmental status. For example, a few mentors complained about their protégés not initiating contact with them; rather they had to be the one to place the call. However, youth are often accustomed to having adults set the frame of a relationship and may feel uncomfortable initiating contacts. One protégé, Steven, described what it felt like to him when his mentor told him that he could call: "He says that I can call him at any time. . . . I'm like . . . a shy boy, so I don't wanna, you know, call him. . . 'cause, you know, he's in college, and I don't want to call him durin' his college." Here Steven described his reluctance to interrupt his mentor in what Steven perceived to be important activities and later added he was concerned about making his mentor "mad." Many youth would likely share Steven's concerns or have other reasons why they might feel awkward or uncomfortable calling their mentors.

Some mentors expressed disappointment that they did not feel their efforts were sufficiently appreciated by their protégés. As one mentor, Cindy, stated:

My expectation was, "Gosh, . . . I know a lot of young people who'd really appreciate me just calling them up [chuckling]! . . . If I'm gonna do that for . . . a young person I'm not related to, then it needs to be . . . appreciated."

However, young people are often not thinking about what an adult needs in a relationship and may not express appreciation, even when deeply felt. Although these sentiments are certainly understandable, these mentors may have been expecting behaviors that were out of synch with the developmental proclivities of their protégés.

Inability to bridge cultural differences. Another relational skill that seemed lacking in some of these mentors was an awareness of the role that cultural differences play in interpersonal relationships and how personal values shape the ways we experience and respond to those whose backgrounds are different from our own. The narratives of several of the mentors conveyed potential misunderstandings rooted in cultural differences and some contained unexamined biases and prejudicial stereotypes.

For one mentor, Meredith, such biases were at the heart of the challenges she experienced in her relationship with her protégé. Meredith struggled with the differences in values and economic differences between herself and her protégé's family. She said she was "surprised" by her protégé's family and also by her own responses to them. She stated that it was "frustrating" for her to deal with what she described as "like a poor, um . . . kind of ignorant family" who had a "'hood' mentality, rather than just kind of poor." She also struggled with the size of her protégé's family, stating "I definitely wouldn't, um, have a Little Sister that has eight siblings again. . . . And no dad. . . . it's too much like, they don't get nearly enough attention. Because you can be poor and . . . have only two children." Meredith described her feelings of personal discomfort with the economic disparities between her and her protégé in the following way:

I felt like I was almost making her feel worse in a way . . . 'Cause I live much differently from her . . . When we go over to my . . . apartment, with my balcony view, and my flat screen TV, and like I almost feel worse, like I'm making her . . . "look what I have." . . . Oh, I'm the rich White girl and you're the poor Black girl.

These socioeconomic differences may have also contributed to tension between Meredith and her protégé's mother. Early in the relationship, Meredith wanted to take her protégé out for pizza, so had said to the mother, "Maybe she [the protégé] can bring along eight, ten dollars?" However, when Meredith went to pick up her protégé, "her mother kind of shoos her out the door, we get there, no money." Meredith interpreted the mother's behavior as irresponsible. However, it is possible that this incident was indicative of differences in expectations for the mentoring relationship and uncertainty about how to approach these. To Meredith, \$8 to \$10 may be a reasonable sum of money to spend on a meal. To her protégé's family, this sum may have exceeded their capabilities.

Another mentor, John Stevens, suspected that racial and ethnic differences played a role in his relationship with his protégé throughout their match and also in how it ended, but had difficulty identifying the specific ways these differences may have influenced their relationship. Among his stated reasons for becoming a mentor was to learn more about "different family backgrounds . . . and . . . the neighborhoods and . . . different growing up." John sensed that his

protégé "took great pride in his . . . own . . . ethnic background," which John described as Latino, and that given this pride John did not feel he could serve as a role model for this youth because he was White. John struggled with the differences in their backgrounds, saying "I know a little Spanish, but it's not, you know . . . I, I didn't grow up in . . . that environment. And so, I couldn't, you know [chuckles] . . . I felt very awkward, trying to relate to him." His protégé was direct with him about some of his experiences with racism, as John said that he had on occasion made suggestions about places to go and his protégé had responded by saying, "Oh, they don't, you know, like people like me there." John knew that there was truth in his protégé's words as he said, "which, you know, you can kind of see. I mean, it's the real world and, you know, . . . he hung out, you know, sometimes with the wrong crowd and just, you know, the way they dress – I mean, people, you know, do make those kind of . . . which, you know, is wrong." Still, he found it difficult to talk about these issues with his protégé and never asked him what he thought about having a White mentor. Unlike Meredith discussed above, John had some limited awareness that cultural differences played a significant role in his mentoring relationship, but his awareness was limited and he ultimately did not feel well equipped to work with these differences in this relationship.

Family Interference

In two cases, family interference posed a significant challenge to the mentoring relationship. One mentor, Stewart, suspected that his protégé's stepfather put a halt to their mentoring relationship. Stewart met with his protégé only one time but noted that whereas the protégé's mother was excited about the match the stepfather arrived late to the meeting and did not really participate. Stewart noted what felt to him like tension between the stepfather and his protégé. When his phone calls to the family after that initial meeting were never returned, Stewart suspected the stepfather had something to do with this disconnection. In another case, it was suspected that the protégé's mother had interfered with the child's relationship with her mentor by not passing along telephone messages from the mentor to the protégé. After meeting for several months, the relationship began to break down as the mentor and protégé experienced some difficulties contacting each other. The protégé eventually decided to end the relationship as she was feeling less and less connected with her mentor.

Inadequate Agency Support

In two cases, agency involvement – too much and too little – was cited as a challenge in the mentoring relationship. One mentor, Simone, sought out the assistance of program staff in mediating a conflict with her protégé. On

one of their outings her protégé had tested the limits Simone had set, placing herself in what Simone perceived to be a physically unsafe situation. Simone wanted to continue with the relationship but felt she needed help conveying to her protégé the importance of abiding by the limits set during their outings, particularly with regard to physical safety. Simone decided she wanted to discuss these issues together with her protégé, the protégé's mother, and the mentoring program staff. Difficulties scheduling this meeting were never surmounted and the match ultimately dissolved.

Another mentor, Cindy, said that the program staff was too involved in her relationship with her protégé, creating indirect communication patterns. Cindy claimed that throughout the match, the social worker was an active go-between in the relationship with her protégé and the lack of direct communication became a major problem for Cindy. For example, Cindy stated that she had suggested to her protégé that they go to an outdoor festival at a local park. Her protégé agreed but then Cindy heard back from the social worker that the protégé thought it was a really immature suggestion to go to the zoo, which shared the same name as the park where the festival was being held. Cindy said this incident left her feeling unsupported in the match as she did not think that either the social worker or her protégé's guardian had ever suggested to the protégé that she communicate directly with Cindy.

Discussion

Not all premature relationship endings are avoidable, as some mentors and youth will experience unanticipated changes in their life circumstances that preclude the continuation of their mentoring relationships. However, this study details some of the negative experiences encountered by a group of mentors and youth and points to roles programs may be able to play in potentially preventing some relationship failures. The findings highlight the complexity of mentoring relationships and the high level of commitment needed from all involved to work through the challenges that can arise as a well-intentioned adult and vulnerable young person, often with quite different backgrounds, work to forge a meaningful and lasting connection.

In particular, the findings from this study suggest that mentors and youth approach the mentoring relationship with expectations that, if not met or acknowledged and appropriately addressed, can interfere with the mentoring process. Mentors and youth may be unaware that they hold such expectations or in some cases reluctant to state their preferences for a variety of reasons. For example, some youth and their families may be concerned that stating preferences about racial or ethnic matching will extend the time spent on waiting lists given that there are fewer mentors of color. Mentors who do not have much experience spending time one-on-one with youth may have idealized notions about what it will be like to build a connection with an adolescent.

Mentoring programs may be able to offer greater assistance to prospective mentors and protégés in articulating their preferences for and expectations of the mentoring relationship. For example, descriptions of a variety of prototypical matches could be developed and presented to prospective program participants to elicit some of these preferences and expectations.

Some of these expectations may be set up by programs themselves. The public service campaigns encouraging adults to volunteer as mentors tend to present mentoring as almost exclusively fun and easy. Mentoring is also often depicted as a profound and life-changing experience for the young person. Such messages can serve to foster enthusiasm for this form of volunteerism. However, this study suggests that programs also bear a responsibility for preparing mentors and youth for the realities of some of the more challenging and mundane aspects of these relationships.

There has been little consideration of the role that expectations play in the mentoring process. One study of mentoring relationships established through BBBSA found that matches without reported problems displayed greater agreement between mentors, youth, and parents about expectations for the potential benefits to the youth (Meissen & Lounsbury, 1981). Another (Madia & Lutz, 2004) found that discrepancies between mentors' expectations for the roles they would serve in their protégés' lives and the nature of their actual relationship were associated with both relationship quality and duration. Theoretical frameworks such as social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1997), namely outcome expectations or the anticipated results of performing certain behaviors, could be drawn on in future research to better understand how the expectations mentors and youth bring with them may shape the course of the mentoring relationship.

The literature on early terminations in psychotherapy could also be instructive. Research has indicated that when patients seeking psychotherapy services are provided with pretreatment preparation such as interviews, videos, or brochures that detail the parameters of this intervention, they tend to stay the full course of treatment, miss fewer sessions, and report greater satisfaction with the treatment process (Reis & Brown, 1999). There may be some parallels here for youth mentoring. Future research could examine whether spending more time up front informing potential mentors and protégés about the nature of mentoring relationships, typical challenges that may arise, and how these can be handled could help mentors and youth begin to identify their expectations for the match and potentially reduce the rate of relationship failures.

Examinations of whether such steps can help to alleviate the especially troubling phenomenon of mentor abandonment could prove fruitful. Scandura (1998), in her research on workplace mentoring, has urged formal programs to "allow both mentors and protégés input into the matching process and some mechanism for exit if the assigned mentoring relationship does not work out" (p. 451). It may be important for programs to stress the importance of ending the relationship appropriately from the beginning of the relationship.

Mentors and protégés may need to know up front what their options are for ending a relationship so that they do not just take off when they are unsure of how to handle a difficult situation.

The findings from this study suggest that in some cases mentors may state that they are ending their relationship due to an unanticipated life event or the sense that they are “too busy” when they are experiencing some type of difficulty in the match. The narratives of some participants in this study indicate that mentors may not readily identify the difficulties or disappointments they are experiencing and life events can become easy excuses for ending an already troubled relationship. Research examining reasons for mentoring relationship failures may need to get underneath these ready-made reasons to tap into other potentially more meaningful causes of relationship failures. The findings also point to the importance of mentoring programs providing ongoing and sensitive support to their matches. Through regular contact with matches on a periodic basis, program staff may be able to identify when trouble is brewing and step in to provide assistance or to facilitate termination in the event of an inappropriate match. Given the differences in socioeconomic, racial and ethnic backgrounds of many mentors and protégés, special attention may need to be paid to the potential for a mentor to feel overwhelmed by the significant challenges many of these youth face and assist mentors in clarifying their roles and responsibilities. In some cases, this may involve adeptly dealing with multifaceted family dynamics that may be impacting the mentoring relationship as well.

This study also points to the possibility that training directed toward helping mentors to identify some of their culture- and class-based values and beliefs and develop skills for effectively engaging in cross-cultural relationships with youth could be critical to the success of some mentoring relationships. Most adults who participate in formal mentoring programs are White and reside in middle- to upper-income households (MENTOR/National Mentoring Partnership, 2006), whereas the youth targeted by these programs tend to be of color and reside in low-income households (Freedman, 1993). Left unchecked, the practice of pairing White middle-class adults with low-income youth, many of whom are of color, sets up a situation in which White middle-class values are being promoted in communities that do not share this background. Here again, the counseling and psychotherapy literatures, which have been actively grappling with the role that cultural differences play in helping relationships, could prove instructive. Training models have been developed to foster the development of helping professionals' cultural competence, which includes cultural knowledge, skills, and personal awareness (Sue & Sue, 2003). Research indicates that such training is associated with greater satisfaction with the treatment process among clients of color (Constantine, 2002). These models could be modified to be more directly applicable to mentoring relationships and incorporated into mentor prematch and ongoing training. This study

suggests that social class and developmental issues may need to be addressed in this way as well.

Whereas the above discussion focuses on working to mitigate the potentially negative effects of cultural differences in mentoring relationships, another important approach would be to improve efforts to reach volunteer mentors with backgrounds more similar to the youth being served. Liang and Grossman (in press) point out that when given the opportunity to choose, youth tend to select mentors who share similar background characteristics. As Flaxman, Ascher, and Harrington (1988) noted decades ago, social distance between mentors and protégés may render the support and advice proffered by some well-intentioned mentors meaningless given the realities of the protégés' day-to-day lives. Further, norms and expectations for interactions with nonkin adults are heavily influenced by culture (Liang & Grossman, in press), and mentors who do not share the cultural backgrounds of their protégés may miss or misinterpret important cues and preferences expressed by the young person.

It is important to note the limitations of this study, given its nature and scope. The small and unique sample, while allowing for in-depth analysis, limits the generalizability of these findings beyond the few relationships studied here. The participants were selected from only two mentoring programs, both of which were community based. Many mentoring programs have different foci, goals, and program practices and procedures from those of the BBBSA. Future research garnering the perspectives of paired mentors and youth and contextualizing these within a systematic examination of the program policies and practices would provide greater insight into the different individual, dyadic, and program-level processes that contribute to mentoring relationships going awry. Further, these interviews offer only a one-time retrospective account of these individuals' experiences in and understandings of these relationships and no comparisons can be made between these early-terminating and more long-standing relationships. Longitudinal studies that track the development of mentoring relationships from the time of match through termination of the relationship are greatly needed. Such studies would help to identify the nature and course of the relational processes present in more and less enduring and successful mentoring relationships. Finally, mentors are overrepresented among these participants. The reason for lower participation rates among the youth is unknown; however one possible factor may be that the parents of these youth may be reluctant to involve their children further in an experience that was in some way negative for their child. Particular attention should be paid to issues of youth recruitment in future studies.

This study makes clear the importance of continued examination of mentoring relationship failures. The present efforts to describe and evaluate the benefits of mentoring should be accompanied by systematic descriptive research documenting the prevalence, nature, causes, and consequences of

relationship failures. Even close examinations of negative experiences within relatively successful relationships would help deepen our understanding of the mentoring process more generally. Greater attention to the range of participants' experiences in mentoring relationships would offer better guidance for ways to improve youth mentoring program practices.

It can be quite challenging to build a close and enduring relationship with a highly vulnerable young person, particularly perhaps for adults who have enjoyed relatively less troubled lives. When emotional and/or behavioral problems and complex family dynamics are added to this mix, the potential pitfalls in the relationship formation process may multiply. The at-times unbridled enthusiasm for mentoring needs to be tempered with more sober considerations of the challenges faced by mentors and youth participating in the growing number of mentoring programs. Understanding mentoring relationships that do not go well is a critical component of a sound empirical knowledge base that can serve to guide mentoring programs as they strive to foster connections that do indeed make a positive difference in the lives of youth.

Note

1. Copies of the interview protocols are available from the author upon request.

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1185

It Is Not Only Mentoring: The Combined Influences of Individual-level and Team-level Support on Job Performance

I.J. Hetty van Emmerik

The benefits of having a mentor have received ample attention (Fagenson, 1989; Godshalk and Sosik, 2003; Higgins, 2001; Hunt and Michael, 1983; Lankau and Scandura, 2002; Scandura and Williams, 2001). For example, studies showed that employees with a mentor report more promotions, earn higher incomes, and score higher on work satisfaction than employees without a mentor (Baugh and Scandura, 1999; Dreher and Ash, 1990; Ragins *et al.*, 2000; Scandura, 1992; Scandura and Schriesheim, 1994; Turban and Dougherty, 1994; Whitely and Coetsier, 1993). Despite the importance of examining antecedents of job performance, research on the direct effects of mentoring on job performance is scarce. Recently, Levenson *et al.* (2006) examined this direct relationship and found a positive association between mentoring and performance rating. However, commonly mentoring functions measured in terms of psychosocial or career-related functions show no relationship to job performance (Green and Bauer, 1995; Scandura, 1992). Further, frequently indirect measures or correlates of job performance, such as rewards and career success, are studied. Consequently, since job performance is such a critical outcome measure, the assumption that mentoring makes protégés better performers needs more attention and the associations of supportive relationships with both individual job performance and team performance will be examined.

Most frequently, the supportive properties of mentoring relationships are studied within a social exchange theory perspective at the dyadic level. However, research in this area lacked a multi-level perspective that focuses simultaneously on dyadic relationships and on the social structure of the group. I will examine how the associations of different types of team-level support (i.e. perceived support, support from informal networks, and team orientation) are associated with job performance beyond the effects of (informal) mentoring relationships. In addition, I will examine the moderating role of different types of team-level support on the mentoring – performance relationship and by using multilevel analyses I will elaborate on the idea that mentoring flourishes in supportive organizational/team climates.

The aim of the present study is to expand traditional studies of informal mentoring relationships in two important ways. First, this study combines the traditional mentoring perspective using social exchange theory and examines the associations of supportive relationships with job performance from a group social capital perspective. That is, I move from single level to multilevel analyses by examining the associations of both individual-level and team-level supportive relationships with job performance in a team environment. This multilevel approach – accounting for the team context – is representing the reality of employee's experiences more closely than perspectives which focus only on single or dyadic supportive relationships.

Explaining Job Performance from Social Exchange Theory and Group Social Capital Theory

In organizational psychology, the framework underlying much of the research into the field of supportive relationships is social exchange theory whereby the employment relationship and psychological contract are essentially conceived as social exchange processes (Coyle-Shapiro and Conway, 2005). Social exchange theory emphasizes the concept of obligations and reciprocation. When one employee does another employee a favor, there is an expectation of some future return (Gouldner, 1960; Wayne and Shore, 1997). Research from both the perspective of the mentor and from the perspective of the protégé generally supports social exchange propositions. For instance Ensher *et al.* (2001) found that the degree of reciprocity as well as the amount of modeling support that protégés obtained from their mentors predicted reciprocation in the form of protégés' satisfaction with their mentors. Employees who feel that they have been well supported by their organization can be expected to reciprocate by performing better than those reporting lower levels of support (Armeli *et al.*, 1998; Eisenberger *et al.*, 1990, 2001; Wayne and Shore, 1997).

Whereas social exchange theory is predominantly used to explain dyadic mentoring relationships, group social capital is aimed at explaining group phenomena from a more sociological perspective. Group social capital is

conceptualized as the functional arrangement of group members' social relationships within the social structure of the group itself through which necessary resources for the group can be accessed (Oh *et al.*, 2004). Thereby, group social capital theory emphasizes that individuals are embedded in the social structure of the group. This notion of group social capital connects to the idea that it is increasingly acknowledged that not only having a mentor, but also other support resources may be essential to achieving positive work outcomes and career success. Thus, not only having one or more dyadic mentoring relationships but also having a variety of different support resources is thought to be advantageous: the more you can get the better (Baugh and Scandura, 1999; Bozionelos, 2004; De Janasz and Sullivan, 2004; Ensher *et al.*, 2003; Higgins, 2000, 2001; Higgins and Thomas, 2001; Kram and Isabella, 1985; van Emmerik, 2004a).

To examine the relationship between support and performance from two different theoretical perspectives, I will focus on different types of support resources referring to combinations of (informal) mentoring relationships, developmental networking, and supportive relationships (Cummings and Higgins, 2006; Higgins and Thomas, 2001; Kram and Isabella, 1985).

In the present study, I will incorporate a multilevel perspective to examine team level support beyond the dyadic mentoring relationship. Following Bliese and Castro (2000), the effects of team-level support will be modeled as a group-level property. In other words, I consider team-level support to be an aggregate phenomenon shared among a team.

In the next sections, I will first elaborate on the importance of exchange processes in the workplace by not only looking at dyadic exchanges but also include team level support. Following social exchange theory, I will develop hypotheses concerning the extra contribution of various support resources at the team level and job performance above the benefits of a mentoring relationship. I will examine the associations between the following types of team-level support resources and job performance, beyond the single mentoring relationship:

- Perceived support.
- Support from informal networks.
- Team orientation.

Supportive Resources at the Team Level

Team level factors may encourage or hinder the development of mentoring relationships and the types of mentoring relationships that are formed (Allen *et al.*, 1997; Young and Perrewé, 2000). Moreover, as work teams become more commonplace, it becomes clear that team experiences can contribute significantly to the professional and personal development of individual team members.

Empirical studies generally support the idea that various support resources or constellations of supportive relationships are important predictors for work and career outcomes. For instance, Allen and Finkelstein (2003) examined alternative sources of supportive and developmental relationships used other than mentoring among non-faculty university employees. The majority of the participants reported that they had additional sources of supportive and/or developmental relationship beyond a mentoring relationship (e.g. coworkers, membership in professional associations, and supervisors). Higgins (2000), in her study among lawyers, found beneficial effects of more developmental relationships beyond the effect of the single mentoring relationship. van Emmerik (2004a) found that faculty members benefited from different types of supportive relationships. These examples of previous research examined supportive and developmental relationships (only) at the individual or dyadic level. While examining individual-level differences clearly is very important, it has to be acknowledged that behavior in organizations is a complex function of interactions between organizational/team-level characteristics and individual employees (Bliese and Jex, 1999). To use such a multilevel perspective, I will distinguish three types of resources at the team level:

- (1) Perceived support.
- (2) Support from informal networks.
- (3) Support from a team orientation of the team members.

Perceived Support

Perceptions of organizational support (or perceived organizational support, POS), refer to employees' beliefs concerning the extent to which an organization values their contributions and cares about their well-being (Eisenberger *et al.*, 1986, 1990). Based on the reciprocity norm, the perception of organizational support elicits employees' felt obligation to help the organization reach its objectives (Eisenberger *et al.*, 2001). To the extent that perceived support meets employees' needs, employees will reciprocate by various behaviors and the assumptions of support theory are generally well supported by previous research (Armeli *et al.*, 1998; Eisenberger *et al.*, 1986, 1990; Hochwarter *et al.*, 2003). From group social capital theory it can be expected that teams may differ in how they perceive the amount and quality of POS or perceived team support[1]. In this way, perceived support is conceptualized as a group, i.e. team, level property. I assume that perceived support can be seen as a team-level support resource that will be associated with job performance beyond an existing mentoring relationship:

- H1. After controlling for having a mentor, employees with more team-level perceived support will (a) report better job performance and (b) will report better team level performance.

Support from Informal Networks

Group organizational social capital in the form of informal networking can be defined as the resources reflecting social relations within an organization (Granovetter, 1973; Ibarra, 1993; Ladge, 2004; McGuire, 2000; Willem and Scarbrough, 2006). These relationships between employees may contain elements of friendship, developmental issues, information exchange, and for instance advice giving and advice receiving. These social relationships within teams are thought to share a varying degree of obligations to help each other (Adler and Kwon, 2002).

Studies generally support the individual level relationships of support from informal networks and performance. For instance, links to co-workers provided the assistance and social support necessary for high performance (Mehra *et al.*, 2001). In their study among 35 groups of MBA students, Shah *et al.* (2006) found that groups achieve superior job performance when they use internal networks. Bowler and Brass (2006), in their study in a manufacturing firm, provided evidence that social networks are related to (extra-role) job performance. From group social capital theory, I predict that these positive associations between support informal networks and job performance also can be conceptualized as a team-level support resource that will be associated with job performance beyond existing mentoring relationships:

- H2. After controlling for having a mentor, employees with more team-level support from informal networks will (a) report better job performance and (b) will report better team level performance.

Support from Team Orientation of the Team Members

Successful individual and team performance may increase when teams develop high levels of cooperative interaction, information sharing, and resources to maintain a shared vision for their team (Amabile *et al.*, 2001). Chatman and Jehn (1994), and Cole *et al.* (2002) use the term team orientation in which collaboration and interdependence is embraced as part of the working environment. This type of supportive relationships has also been called collaborative interpersonal relationships by Aram *et al.* (1971). This refers to an orientation that implies collaboration and consensus, with mutual agreement on goals, self-control, mutual exchange, and confidence and trust among members. Recent research indeed provides some support of team orientation and enhanced job performance. For instance, the study of Conley *et al.* (2004) confirmed the relationship between team orientation and work group effectiveness. Since working in teams requires people to work together, employees need to develop cooperative, collaborative strategies to perform well. We hypothesize that this can be conceptualized as a team-level support resource that is associated

with job performance and that this relationship will exist beyond existing mentoring relationships:

- H3. After controlling for having a mentor, employees with more team-level team orientation will (a) report better job performance and (b) will report better team level performance.

Moderating Effects of Team-level Support

Up to this point, I have considered only the incremental effects of team-level support after controlling for traditional mentoring relations. In addition to these incremental effects, it is also possible that team-level support interacts with mentoring relationships. For instance, the effective use of team-level resources paves the way for effective mentoring relationships. Some studies support this type of moderating relationships. In their study in 12 large corporate law firms, Higgins and Thomas (2001) examined the effects of mentoring relationships combined with other supportive relationships and concluded that it is the composition of one's entire constellation of developers that accounts for the better career outcomes. The study of van Emmerik (2004a) showed that more mentoring and developmental relationships were associated with better work outcomes. In line with these results, Seibert *et al.* (2001) found that individuals with more diverse mentoring constellations gathered greater career benefits than those having only one mentor. The underlying mechanism may be that mentoring especially flourishes under favorable team conditions. I will, therefore, examine the moderating role of team level on the relationship between mentoring and performance and formulate the following cross-level interaction hypothesis:

- H4. Team-level support will moderate the associations between mentoring and job performance, such that for employees scoring high on team-level support the relationships between mentoring and job performance will be stronger than for employees scoring low on team-level support.

Method

Population and Sample

Data was collected from teachers working within 17 Dutch secondary public schools. All of them were working in student-centered cross-functional teams that require teachers from different functional areas to work together in tightly integrated units to accomplish specific educational goals. School management announced the study, explained the purpose of the study, and solicited the

participation of the teachers. About 1,049 written questionnaires were sent to the teachers and 527 were returned, resulting in a response rate of 51 percent. Since multi-level analyses were used, only working teams with size greater than or equal to 4 respondents were selected to exclude very small groups (Bond, 2005). The final sample consisted of 480 respondents working in 64 teams: 284 male (59 percent) and 200 female (41 percent) teachers. Mean age was 44.7 (SD = 10.8) years. The mean organizational tenure of staff was 13.3 (SD = 10.8) years. None of the schools had formulated an active policy for formal or informal mentoring. A total of 18 percent of the teachers indicated that they had an informal mentor at the time the survey took place.

Measures at the Individual Level

Job performance. Typical dependent measures in mentoring research include career success, career satisfaction, income, promotions, etc. However, with increasing emphasis on working in teams, there is a need to expand the criterion domain and to include a team level measure. Therefore, a distinction was made between the perception of individual job performance of the respondents and the perception of team performance of the team where the respondent is working in.

Job performance was measured as self-reported individual job performance and as perception of team performance by the respondents. Individual job performance was measured with four items and these items were designed to assess quality of their own job performance. An example is "In general, I can do my work effectively", $\alpha = 0.81$. Perception of team performance was measured with six items based on Hogg *et al.* (2006). An example is "My team is performing well". Alpha = 0.87. The self-reported job performance and perception of team performance items were scored on a five point scale with (1) "completely disagree" and (5) "completely agree". To examine whether the performance measures represented two empirically distinct constructs, I performed a principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation. The results of this analysis showed the expected two-factor solution (factor 1: Eigenvalue = 5.12, 51 percent variance explained; factor 2: Eigenvalue = 1.38 and an additional 14 percent variance explained).

Informal mentoring. The following definition of a mentor was the guiding principle (Ragins and Cotton, 1991, 1999; Ragins and Scandura, 1997): an influential individual in your work environment who has advanced experience and knowledge and who is committed to providing upward mobility and support to your career. This definition of mentoring was preceding the question "Do you have a mentor?" in the questionnaire and the resulting mentoring variable was coded (1) Mentor and (0) No mentor.

Background/control variables. I controlled for gender with a dummy coded variable (0) Male and (1) Female since the effects of social support

and mentoring may be differentially related to gender. I also included type of employment contract, measured with a dummy coded variable: (1) Permanent employment and (0) Temporary employment contract. Size of the team (in number of teachers) was included in the initial analyses. However, in none of the analyses size reached significance and subsequently we removed size from the final analyses.

Measures at the Team Level

Perceived support. Perceived support was measured with four items from the POS scale (Eisenberger *et al.*, 1986). An example item is “This team really cares about my well-being”. Items were scored on a five point scale with (1) “completely disagree” and (5) “completely agree”, $\alpha = 0.89$.

Support from informal networks. Support from informal networks was measured with five items adapted from Klein *et al.* (2001). The question was preceded by the following sentences: “The following question concerns your relationships with other team members. On how many of your colleagues in your present team can you count on?” Respondents answered by indicating the number of team members for whom they turn to for work-related advice; whom they ask for advice for personal issues; whom they consider to be a friend; with whom they undertake social activities promotive of friendship after working hours. Since these items are count variables, I used the mean number of counts of four items in the analyses.

Team orientation. Team orientation was measured with three items based on Aram *et al.* (1971). An example is “When team members meet or work jointly on problems, they tend to build on each other’s ideas and take suggestions seriously”. Items were scored on a five point scale with (1) “completely disagree” and (5) “completely agree”, $\alpha = 0.71$.

Statistical Analyses

To measure the effects of team-level supportive and developmental relationships (i.e. perceived support, support from informal networks, and team orientation), I aggregated these variables measured at the individual level to the team level. To check whether aggregation was justified, I computed the within-group inter-rater reliability r_{wg} (James *et al.*, 1993). The average r_{wg} for the aggregated perceived support was found to be 0.87 and 96 percent was greater than 0.70. Since support from informal networks is a composite count variable no average intergroup agreement was computed. The average r_{wg} for team orientation was 0.85 and 95 percent was greater than 0.70. As a rule of thumb, a measure is viewed to have an adequate level agreement if $r_{wg} < 0.7$ thus it seems reasonable to conclude that aggregation was justified (Klein *et al.*, 2001). Inter-rater κ -agreement for perceived support was 0.37 and for team orientation 0.24. According to Altman (1991) this indicates for both measures a fair level of agreement.

To test whether the nesting structure in the data set called for multilevel analyses, I computed F values for group effects with ANOVA (Snijders and Bosker, 1999). For individual job performance $F = 2.47$ ($p < 0.01$) and for perception of team performance $F = 4.05$ ($p < 0.01$). These significant F -tests confirm the appropriateness of using multilevel analyses. Hausman tests were not significant for both individual job performance and perception of team performance indicating that a random effects model and not a fixed effects model is the preferred type of multilevel analyses. Consequently, I performed random-effects multilevel analyses with the self-reported job performance and perception of team performance scales as the dependent variables. In this type of multilevel analyses intercepts and regression slopes may vary randomly across teams.

The variables were entered in three steps. In Step 1, gender, employment contract, and mentoring were included. In Step 2, the three team-level aggregated scores were included. In Step 3, the three cross-level interaction terms computed by multiplying the mentoring variable and the three team-level constructs were added.

For the interpretation of the results, it is important to keep in mind that multilevel programs report gamma parameters – unstandardized coefficients – and do not report standardized or beta regression coefficients. These gamma or unstandardized regression coefficients can be compared within rows but not within columns as is the case for standardized regression coefficients (Nezlek and Zyzanski, 1998). For example, the association between gender and individual job performance in Model 1 ($\gamma = 0.16$, $p < 0.01$) is stronger than the association between gender and the perception of team performance in Model 4 ($\gamma = 0.04$, n.s.).

Results

Table I presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations for all individual-level and team-level variables. The correlations are generally consistent with the hypotheses. For example, the team-level support measures correlate positive with individual performance and with perception of team performance.

The results of the multi-level analysis for individual job performance and perception of team performance are shown in Table II. To assess effect sizes, I computed the proportions of incremental explained variance for the different models and these measures are also reported in Table II.

With an F -test I tested if the incremental explained variance was significant: $F = ((R^2_{\text{secondmodel}} - R^2_{\text{firstmodel}})/K2 - K1)/((1 - R^2_{\text{secondmodel}})/(n - K2 - 1))$ where $K2$ is the number of predictors in the second model and $K1$ is the number of predictors in the first model. Further, differences in model fit between the models were tested with a Wald χ^2 difference test. The results

Table I: Means, standard deviations and correlations for all variables ($n = 480$, no. of teams = 64)

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Individual job performance	3.65	0.65							
2 Perception of team performance	3.39	0.64	0.61						
3 Gender	0.41	0.49	0.09*	0.04					
4 Employment contract	1.13	0.47	0.01	0.09*	0.04				
5 Mentor	0.18	0.38	0.05	0.08	0.10*	0.21**			
6 Perceived support	3.43	0.42	0.26**	0.24**	-0.06	-0.05	0.09		
7 Support from informal networks	2.28	1.03	0.16**	0.16**	-0.05	-0.01	-0.07	0.41**	
8 Collaborative interpersonal relationships	3.45	0.39	0.34**	0.40**	0.04	0.00	0.05	0.21**	-0.13**

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

in Table II show significant incremental explained variance for individual job performance for the inclusion of the team-level variables ($\Delta R^2 = 0.17$, $p < 0.01$) and the inclusion of the interaction terms ($\Delta R^2 = 0.03$, $p < 0.01$). For the perception of team performance, the inclusion of the team-level variables adds 20 percent ($p < 0.01$) and inclusion of the interaction terms adds an additional 2 percent (n.s.).

Hypothesis Tests

H1 predicted that, after controlling for having a mentor, employees with more perceived support will show better job performance. Model 2 in Table II shows that, after controlling for having a mentor, perceived support is indeed associated with individual job performance ($\gamma = 0.20$, $p < 0.01$). However, Model 5 in Table II shows that, after controlling for having a mentor, perceived support is not associated with the perception of team performance ($\gamma = 0.14$, n.s.). Thereby, *H1* receives only support for the individual job performance outcome measure.

H2 predicted that, after controlling for having a mentor, employees with more support from informal networks will show better job performance. Model 2 in Table II shows that, after controlling for having a mentor, support from informal networks is associated with individual performance ($\gamma = 0.09$, $p < 0.05$). Model 5 in Table II shows that, after controlling for having a mentor, support from informal networks is also positively associated with the perception of team performance ($\gamma = 0.09$, $p < 0.05$). Thereby, *H2* is supported.

Table II: Random-effects GLS regression for job satisfaction and workload ($n = 480$, no. of teams = 64)

	Individual job performance				Perception of team performance			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6		
Intercept	3.41**	0.12	0.69*	0.31	0.49	0.33	0.42	0.41
Individual level								
Gender	0.16**	0.06	0.12*	0.06	0.11*	0.05	0.04	0.05
Contract	0.15	0.11	0.09	0.11	0.15	0.11	-0.02	0.10
Mentor	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.08	1.19	0.84	0.10	0.79
Team-level								
Perceived support (P)		0.20**		0.07	0.32**	0.08	0.19*	0.10
Support from informal networks (S)		0.09**		0.03	0.06	0.03	0.08*	0.04
Coll. interpersonal relationships (C)		0.55**		0.07	0.50**	0.08	0.61**	0.10
Cross-level interactions								
Mentor \times P					-0.78**	0.21	-0.42*	0.20
Mentor \times S					0.20*	0.10	0.05	0.09
Mentor \times C					0.34	0.19	0.40*	0.18
ΔR^2	0.01*		0.17**		0.03*		0.02	
$\Delta \text{Wald}\chi^2$	10.44*		96.02**		18.04**		74.14**	
					0.01		4.91	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

H3 predicted that, after controlling for having a mentor, employees scoring higher on team orientation will show better job performance. Model 2 in Table II shows that, after controlling for having a mentor, team orientation is indeed associated with individual performance ($\gamma = 0.55, p < 0.01$). Model 5 in Table II shows that, after controlling for having a mentor, team orientation is also positively associated with the perception of team performance ($\gamma = 0.67, p < 0.05$). Thereby, *H3* is supported.

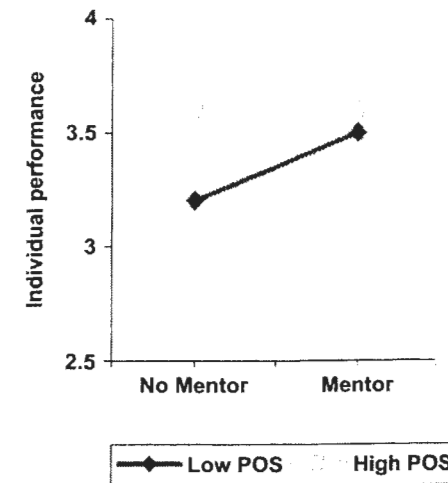
Moderating Effects of Team-level Support

H4 predicted that team-level support moderates the associations between mentoring and job performance, such that for employees scoring high on the different types of team-level support relationships between mentoring and job performance will be stronger than for employees scoring low on team-level support. Model 3 for individual performance and Model 6 for the perception of team performance in Table II show a total of four significant interactions. Figures 1 and 2 present the plots of these interactions.

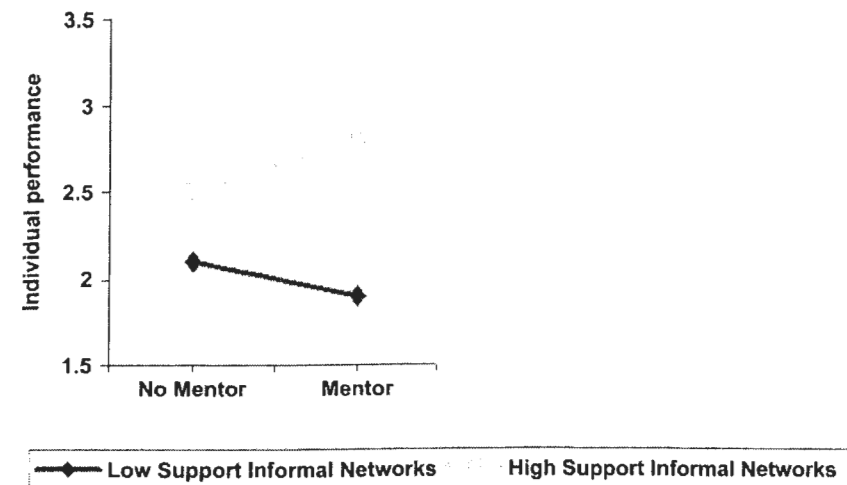
Figure 1 (panel A) depicting individual job performance, shows that scoring low on team-level support can be remedied by having a mentor. However, contrary to the expectations, the association between mentoring and job performance is not stronger for employees scoring high on perceived support compared to employees scoring low on perceived support. Essentially, under the condition of high support having a mentoring does not increase job performance. Figure 1 (panel B) shows that, as expected, the association between mentoring and individual job performance is stronger for those scoring high on support from informal networks compared to employees scoring low on support from informal networks. Under the condition of low support from informal networks, job performance in fact decreases. Figure 2 (panel A) shows that under the condition of scoring high on perceived support team performance is rated higher than under the condition of scoring low on perceived support. Under the condition of high perceived support I can see that employees having a mentor rate team performance (slightly) better, but the relationship between mentoring and team performance is stronger for teachers scoring low on perceived support than holds for teachers scoring high on perceived support. Figure 2 (panel B) shows that, as expected, the relationships between mentoring and perception of team performance is stronger for employees scoring high on team orientation than for employees scoring low on team orientation. Thereby, *H4* that mentoring will moderate the associations between team-level supportive relationships and job performance receives partial support.

Discussion

Departing from social exchange theory, prior mentoring research within organizational psychology has primarily studied dyadic relationships. In the present study, I added insights from group social capital theory (Oh *et al.*, 2004) to



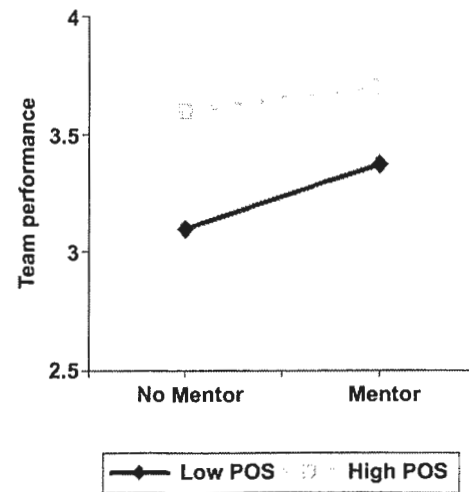
Panel A: Moderator is Support is Perceived Support



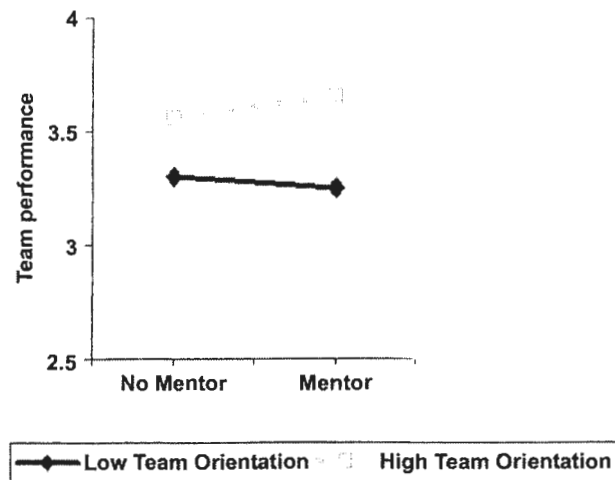
Panel B: Moderator is Support from Informal Networks.

Figure 1: Moderating role of POS on the relationship between mentoring and individual job performance (panel A) and moderating role of support from informal networks on the relationship between mentoring and individual job performance (panel B)

explain the associations of both team-level and individual support resources with job performance. The use of this combination of theoretical perspectives provided new insights in the relationships between support resources and performance. The results showed that teachers scoring higher on team-level support measures scored higher on self-reported job performance. In addition, support from informal networks and team orientation were positively associated with perceived team performance. Thereby, these findings illustrate how teachers may benefit from various sources of support at the team-level for



Panel A: Moderator is Perceived Support.



Panel B: Moderator is Collaborative Interpersonal Relationships.

Figure 2: Moderating role of POS on the relationship between mentoring and team performance (panel A) and moderating role of support from collaborative relationships on the relationship between mentoring and team performance (panel B)

improving their job performance. Further, I started this paper with the notion that the benefits of having a mentor have received ample attention (Baugh and Scandura, 1999; Dreher and Ash, 1990; Fagenson, 1989; Godshalk and Sosik, 2003; Higgins, 2001; Hunt and Michael, 1983; Lankau and Scandura, 2002; Ragins *et al.*, 2000; Scandura, 1992; Scandura and Schriesheim, 1994; Scandura and Williams, 2001; Turban and Dougherty, 1994; Whitely and Coetsier, 1993). Accordingly, one important basic assumption of the present study was that

there is a positive relationship between individual-level mentoring and job performance. Surprisingly, I did not find such a direct relationship between mentoring and job performance: only in the specification of the moderating relationship, I found mentoring related with job performance. It is possible that the outcome measures (self-reported job performance and perception of team performance) that were used are less sensitive for mentoring than other commonly used measures in mentoring research, e.g. career success or income. It is also possible that since there was no active policy on mentoring in the schools studied and only 18 percent of the respondents indicating having a mentor, that the benefits of mentoring were less apparent to respondents than might be in other organizations. Recent research from Eby *et al.* (2006) supports this explanation of perceived management support for mentoring and these authors argued that perceived management support for mentoring sets the tone for mentoring behavior within organizations.

I found several moderated relationships. For instance, the association between mentoring and individual job performance was stronger for teachers scoring high on support from informal networks compared to teachers scoring low on support. Also, as expected, the relationship between mentoring and perception of team performance was stronger for teachers scoring high on perceived support and scoring high on team orientation than for teachers scoring low on these team level resources. This underscores the notion that more elaborate supportive constellations indeed are beneficial for the improvement of job performance (Higgins, 2000; van Emmerik, 2004a). However, although teachers with high-perceived support scored higher on individual job performance than teachers low on perceived support, it appeared that especially teachers scoring low on perceived support benefited from having a mentor. Perhaps this can be explained by the notion that it is one of the functions of a mentor to teach the ropes of the job. It is also possible that it is a substitution phenomenon: both types of support resources can substitute for each other.

Implications for Research and Practice

The practical implications of this study are perhaps somewhat limited to professional organizations, such as schools, because team work within this context may take specific forms due to specific task requirements and service orientation. Within this type of professional organizations the successful engagement of teachers in working together is of critical importance for both job performance and team performance.

In work settings, it appears that there are various supportive and developmental relationships that call for reciprocation beyond mentoring. For instance, relationships with bosses, subordinates, and peers offer alternatives to the mentoring relationship, as is the case for other indirect forms of support

(Allen and Finkelstein, 2003; Eby, 1997; Higgins, 2000; Kram and Isabella, 1985; van Emmerik, 2004a). One could speculate that (especially informal) mentoring is more likely to occur in supportive climates. However, I found no such relationships between mentoring and the different types of team-level support. Probably, mentoring can be seen as an individual initiative that does not necessarily only flourishes in a supportive climate. If an organization does want to support their teachers, an active policy on the implementation of mentoring can be beneficial. As mentioned before, there were no active policies on mentoring in the schools studied, but Eby *et al.* (2006) suggested that it is important to improve (perceived) management support for mentoring. Management is, therefore, encouraged to communicate organizational commitment to developmental work relationships and to encourage managers to role model effective supportive behaviors. I examined the role of mentoring and of three specific types of team-level support, but it is quite possible that other types of social support also have such favorable effects. For instance, more support from the supervisor or formalized mentoring activities. As already suggested by Higgins and Thomas (2001), future research could extend investigations into the composition of supportive relationships by explicitly examining more the diversity of developmental constellations.

Finally, a better integration of the research liners on mentoring and developmental relationships with the group social capital, social support and social networks literature is recommended (Allen and Finkelstein, 2003; McManus and Russell, 1997; van Emmerik, 2004b). This may increase our understanding of the potential of support relationships by examining how using a variety of support relationship sources might help to improve job performance but perhaps also how to mitigate or buffer negative work outcomes.

Limitations and Conclusions

Some words of caution regarding the results of this study are necessary. Data were collected with the single administration of a survey. This may raise concern about common method variance. Future research efforts need to consider using longitudinal and multi-actor data, for instance, information from both supervisor and employee collected at different points in time.

De Janasz and Sullivan (2004) argue there is not yet a consistent definition of mentoring. The definitions of mentoring in use all focus more or less on the beneficial effects of mentoring in times of prosperity and positive career development trajectories. In the present study, only a global measure of mentoring was used (only yes or no) and this measure did not differentiate between mentoring functions and/or outcomes. However, future research could benefit from including more differentiated measures of mentoring to be able to predict more precisely how various support measures are linked with job performance. For example, by differentiating mentoring functions aimed

at achieving objective career outcomes such as promotion and compensation, and subjective career outcomes, such as career satisfaction, career commitment, job satisfaction, and turnover intentions (Allen *et al.*, 2004).

Another limitation of the present study is that I did not obtain hard performance data, such as actual number of students passed their exams or other relevant performance data for teachers. Given the dearth of research on this topic it is clear that differentiating between different sources and for instance supervisor reported or objective performance data may also be important.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the relationships between team-level support and job performance, after controlling for individual-level mentoring relationships. Thereby, this study makes several contributions to research on mentoring and constellations of supportive and developmental relationships. First, the present study used not only individual-level but also team-level constructs to examine the relationship between support and job performance. Second, multilevel analyses offered insight in the effects of the combination of individual-level and team-level support on work outcomes. For instance, in some cases the effects of individual-level mentoring and team-level support were multiplicative. In other cases, the effects of individual-level mentoring and team-level support seemed to be more additive or acting as a substitute for each other. Inspired by social exchange theory, much of the scholarly research in supportive relationships assumes that support measures are strictly measure at the individual level. However, from the group social capital perspective, increased understanding of how group-level resources shape work relationships and outcome may significantly add to our understanding of relationships at work.

Note

1. In addition to conceptualizations of POS, Bishop *et al.* (2003) substituted the word team for the word organization and refer to perceived team support as the extent to which members believe that the team values their contribution and cares about their well-being.

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Trust as a Moderator of the Relationship between Mentoring and Knowledge Transfer

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The notion of a more experienced individual, that is, a mentor, providing knowledge and support to someone who is less experienced, that is, a protégé (Mullen & Noe, 1999), has been in existence since Homer wrote his epic poem, *The Odyssey*. Mentoring is considered to be the oldest form of knowledge transfer (Stephenson, 1998). For centuries, in agrarian and hunting societies, one was surrounded by adults who served as mentors, and the knowledge that was passed down from these mentors benefited both the individual and the collective organization of which one was a member (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000).

Over the past two decades, we have witnessed the historic transition to a knowledge society (Drucker, 1993) concurrent with the rapid development of new technologies (Cascio & Aguinis, 2008). Knowledge transfer among employees is critical to organizational competitiveness and success (Cascio & Aguinis, 2008; DeLong, 2004). This requires organizations and researchers to focus more closely on processes such as mentoring that can support effective knowledge transfer.

The assumption that mentoring is a process whereby knowledge is transferred from the mentor to the protégé (Kram, 1985) has limited empirical support in the mentoring literature (Lankau & Scandura, 2007) and in the

knowledge management literature (Gallupe, 2001). In addition, a fundamental assumption in mentoring research is that trust is an important component of mentoring relationships (Hezlett & Gibson, 2007; Kram, 1985). Yet despite empirical support demonstrating the importance of trust for knowledge transfer (e.g., Levin & Cross, 2004), there is a paucity of empirical research on the role of trust in mentoring relationships (Hezlett & Gibson, 2007).

The integration of mentoring with social capital constructs such as trust is extremely important to both researchers and practitioners. A deeper understanding of how trust in mentoring relationships influences knowledge transfer is needed to assist in the development of more integrative models of mentoring. In turn, such models could have implications for practitioners seeking to develop mentoring programs benefiting protégés and organizations.

This study contributes to the literature in two primary ways. First, the theoretical contribution extends research in the fields of mentoring and knowledge management by proposing a framework in which trust acts as a moderator of the relationship between mentoring and knowledge transfer. The second contribution is the presentation of empirical information about trust in mentoring relationships, a previously neglected phenomenon.

Mentoring

Much of the early research examining mentoring in workplaces indicated that mentoring plays an important role in a protégé's career success (Kram, 1985; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). More recent conceptualizations of mentoring relationships in the workplace focus on the transfer of knowledge (Eby, Rhodes, & Allen, 2007) from a more to less experienced individual. A review of definitions of mentoring indicates that mentors are often defined as individuals with "advanced experience and knowledge" (Haggard, Turban, & Dougherty, 2008). Since the present research study focuses specifically on knowledge transfer via mentoring relationships, we adopted Mullen and Noe's (1999) definition of mentoring relationships as

a one-to-one relationship between a more experienced member (mentor) and a less experienced member (protégé) of the organization or profession . . . Through individualized attention, the mentor *transfers needed information* (emphasis added), . . . to the protégé . . . (p. 236)

A mentoring relationship is a type of workplace relationship that is somewhat unique because of the mentoring functions provided to protégés (Kram, 1985). The career-related functions are those aspects of the mentoring relationship that involve the mentor guiding and passing on knowledge to the protégé (Kram, 1985). Four of the five career-related mentoring functions (coaching, sponsorship, exposure and visibility, and challenging assignments)

provide specific, job-related information to a protégé. The fifth career-related mentoring function, protection, involves a mentor shielding a protégé from blame, which is a more reactive type of mentoring support. For purposes of this research, we are interested in the more active types of career-related mentoring support in which knowledge is expressly conveyed to a protégé; thus, we focused on the mentoring functions of coaching, sponsorship, exposure and visibility, and challenging assignments.

Coaching involves the mentor "passing on useful knowledge and perspectives" as well as experience to the protégé who has limited knowledge (Kram, 1985, p. 29). Sponsorship involves the mentor publicly supporting the protégé by actively nominating a protégé for advancement opportunities such as lateral moves or promotions (Kram, 1985). Exposure and visibility is a socializing function; the mentor provides opportunities for the protégé to develop relationships with key individuals (Kram, 1985). Challenging assignments include training and feedback that assist a protégé in developing either technical and/or managerial skills; thus, this function provides an important learning opportunity (Kram, 1985).

These career-related functions are essential in mentoring relationships because valuable knowledge (e.g., ideas, feedback, and key relationships) is transferred from the mentor to the protégé to support the protégé's career development (Kram, 1985). For the purposes of this study, these four mentoring functions were combined to form the Mentoring/Informational composite variable.

Knowledge Transfer

Knowledge transfer is defined as an exchange of organizational knowledge between a source and a recipient (Grover & Davenport, 2001) in which the exchange consists of information and advice about resources and relationships (Szulanski, 1996). A primary mode of knowledge transfer is the direct sharing of knowledge between individuals such as mentors and protégés (DeLong, 2004). Workplace relationships such as mentoring should be fostered to promote the transfer of knowledge (DeLong, 2004) so that protégés can acquire the knowledge needed to gain competency and accomplish tasks (Crocitto, Sullivan, & Carraher, 2005).

Protégés are able to develop competencies when their mentors transfer knowledge to them through training and performance feedback (Kram, 1985). An in-depth understanding of the mentoring functions explains, in part, how the mentor actively passes knowledge to the protégé so that the protégé gains the expertise that will benefit himself/herself and the organization (Kram, 1985).

Coaching involves the transfer of knowledge from the mentor to the protégé (Kram, 1985). The sponsorship function exposes the protégé to job

opportunities so that the protégé can build on skills that will benefit his/her future career (Kram, 1985). In the exposure-and-visibility function, a mentor promotes the development of a protégé's knowledge about other aspects of the organization by assigning projects whereby the protégé interacts with key organizational members (Kram, 1985). The mentor acts as a teacher in providing technical training and feedback through challenging assignments (Kram, 1985). These mentoring functions demonstrate the types of behaviors that a mentor exhibits when transferring knowledge to a protégé.

Research suggests that protégés benefit from the skills and knowledge transferred to them from their mentors. In a qualitative study, reported outcomes from knowledge transfer included networking opportunities with key managers, a broader understanding of the organization, and increased knowledge about protégés' particular job functions (Dymock, 1999). The receipt of career-related mentoring functions positively influenced protégés' organizational and professional knowledge (Kowtha & Tan, 2008). Empirical support has been found for the positive effect of challenging assignments on protégés' knowledge of their department and/or organization (Lankau & Scandura, 2002).

Lankau and Scandura (2007) recommend that mentoring researchers continue to focus on improving an understanding of the impact of mentoring functions on the learning and knowledge transfer that takes place in mentoring relationships. Thus, we propose that mentoring can be viewed as a type of developmental relationship that promotes knowledge transfer between mentors and protégés through the mentoring/informational functions of coaching, sponsorship, exposure and visibility, and challenging assignments.

Hypothesis 1: Mentoring/informational will be positively related to knowledge transfer.

The Role of Trust

Trust

Though considered an integral aspect of effective mentoring relationships (Kram, 1985), few empirical studies have investigated trust in mentoring relationships (Hezlett & Gibson, 2007). Key to the definition of trust is the notion that the trusting party is vulnerable to and relies on another party; thus, trust is defined as the willingness to take a risk, and its outcome is risk taking in the relationship (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995).

As risk is a necessary condition for trust to occur, trust is an important component of mentoring relationships. Mentoring relationships have "a basic trust that encourages the [protégé] to take risks. . . . This basic trust makes risk-taking less awesome" (Kram, 1985, p. 35). Related research supports

Kram's (1985) assertion. Edmondson's research identified psychological safety as the belief that one can admit errors, ask for assistance, and discuss problems in a work-related interpersonal relationship without fear of punishment by coworkers or supervisors (Edmondson, 1999). Psychological safety is positively related to learning behavior such that if the perceived consequence of admitting a mistake is support rather than punishment, employees will be open to feedback on how to improve their work performance (Edmondson, 1999; Nembhard & Edmondson, 2006). The existence of trust in a mentoring relationship, then, allows the protégé to take risks because he/she is confident of being accepted by the mentor even if mistakes are made during the learning process (Kram, 1985).

Trust, as conceptualized by Mayer et al. (1995), has received extensive empirical research support (Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007) and is predictive of important organizational outcomes (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007). A meta-analysis of the Mayer et al. (1995) model of trust, for example, demonstrated that trust positively affected risk taking in a relationship (Colquitt et al., 2007). Mayer et al.'s (1995) theory of trust is particularly suited to mentoring relationships because it focuses specifically on the actions and behaviors of the person being trusted (Colquitt et al., 2007). This parallels Kram's (1985) typology of mentoring functions, which delineates the actual behaviors that mentors engage in to support protégés' professional growth. Mayer et al.'s (1995) theory of trust, thus, can assist in expanding our understanding of how mentoring relationships impact knowledge transfer.

Trust as a Moderator of Mentoring and Knowledge Transfer

Several qualitative studies of mentoring relationships have explored the role of trust. Protégés report that they are most likely to seek advice and information from their mentors at critical moments such as career or life transitions (de Janasz, Sullivan, & Whiting, 2003; Liang, Brogan, Spencer, & Corral, 2008). The degree of trust in a mentoring relationship influenced the amount of organizational learning reported by protégés (Dymock, 1999). Trusting one's mentor appears to facilitate the knowledge sharing process for protégés.

Empirical research in the knowledge management field demonstrates that the existence of trust in a relationship has been shown to increase the likelihood that the information received will be understood and used appropriately (Szulanski, Cappetta, & Jensen, 2004). Trust has also been considered a direct antecedent to knowledge transfer (e.g., Levin & Cross, 2004; Szulanski et al., 2004).

Yet knowledge transfer could occur without the need for trust because of internal or external motivators. Some people are intrinsically motivated to share knowledge because doing so provides inherent satisfaction (Käser & Miles, 2002). This intrinsic motivation may also be driven by a concern for

others' work performance (Käser & Miles, 2002). In an empirical study of mentoring, Allen (2003) found a significant positive relationship between mentors' reports of intrinsic satisfaction and desire to benefit others and the amount of career-related mentoring provided to protégés. Another source of internal motivation for mentors may be the desire to satisfy generative needs (Kram, 1983, 1985). Some mentors may obtain internal satisfaction by sharing wisdom and helping a protégé navigate his/her career (Kram, 1983, 1985). Even when not required to be helpful, some mentors may be internally motivated to pass on knowledge and expertise to the less-experienced protégés (Mayer et al., 1995).

If knowledge transfer is a requirement of the job, then it is extrinsically motivated (Sharkie, 2005). Organizations interested in building expertise in a particular area may hire employees who possess the required knowledge and reward them for sharing their knowledge as they guide other employees to meet the organization's goals (Foss, Husted, & Michailova, 2010). In a review of the mentoring literature, Underhill (2006) and Allen, Finkelstein, and Poteet (2009) highlight a main benefit of formal mentoring programs for organizations: increased organizational learning and knowledge creation. Implicit in a formal mentoring program is the expectation that mentors will share technical and organizational knowledge and some organizations have developed specific remuneration or reward policies to compensate mentors (Allen et al., 2009). An extrinsic motivator such as a mandatory training event may induce a mentor to share knowledge with a protégé, regardless of the nature of their relationship.

When a mentor is internally or externally motivated to impart knowledge, a protégé does not need to be vulnerable to the mentor since the knowledge transfer will occur anyways. Trust, then, does not operate as a mediating variable as suggested by Levin and Cross (2004), because it does not explain "how" or "why" knowledge transfer occurs. In research examining interpersonal relationships, trust is modeled as a moderating variable (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). As a moderating variable clarifying "when" the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables is altered (Baron & Kenny, 1986), trust assists in an understanding of when knowledge transfer between a mentor and a protégé will be enhanced.

Moorman, Zaltman, and Deshpande (1992), for example, found that trust was not as effective in predicting information usage per se but more predictive regarding quality interpersonal interactions. They suggest that trust in relationships may encourage more in-depth discussions and greater information sharing. Squire, Cousins, and Brown (2009) found empirical support for trust as a moderating variable when examining the relationship between cooperation and knowledge transfer such that higher levels of trust enhanced the effects of cooperation on knowledge transfer. In the knowledge management field, Adler (2001) suggests that knowledge is transferred among employees, but in firms with higher levels of trust among employees, greater knowledge sharing will occur because trust reduces the inherent risks.

We predict, thus, that trust will moderate the relationship between the mentoring/informational functions and knowledge transfer. When protégés have greater levels of trust in their mentors, the protégés are willing to be more vulnerable to their mentors by admitting mistakes while learning (Kram, 1985). Protégés understand that their well-intentioned efforts will be supported even if mistakes are made and that their mentors will be encouraging as they learn new methods for accomplishing work tasks (Kram, 1985). Thus, protégés will be more *receptive to receiving career-related information* when levels of trust are high. In contrast, when a protégé's trust in a mentor is low, the receptivity is lower and knowledge transfer efforts by the mentor will have less success. A protégé's lack of trust and unwillingness to admit mistakes or expose his/her lack of knowledge would prevent a mentor from providing valuable feedback that would promote a protégé's acquisition of knowledge. Trust, then, enhances effective knowledge sharing and, thus, serves as a moderating variable.

Hypothesis 2: Trust in mentor will moderate the relationship between mentoring/informational and knowledge transfer. Specifically, higher levels of trust will result in a stronger relationship between mentoring and knowledge transfer.

Method

Site and Sample

Mentoring is viewed as a type of interpersonal work-related relationship that is "best understood from the perspective of adults working in organizational settings" (Allen, Eby, O'Brien, & Lentz, 2008, p. 349). Based on Edmondson and McManus's (2007) recommendations, the hypotheses presented in this study of mentoring were tested in a field-study setting using survey methodology. The field setting chosen for this study was a health care facility.

The health care industry is of particular interest in this study for two reasons. First, Kanter's (2006) classification of the transition from a "white collar" to a "white coat" economy places emphasis on professionals in science and health care. Almost 40% of all health care workers are employed by hospitals (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010), so this is an important field setting in which to further our understanding of workplace phenomena.

Second, in health care facilities such as hospitals, knowledge transfer is critical for achieving beneficial outcomes for patients (Berta & Baker, 2004). Knowledge transfer in hospitals is critical because a mistake could irreversibly harm a patient (Edmondson, Bohmer, & Pisano, 2001). Moreover, knowledge transfer takes place in a hospital when the perceived risks of sharing information and learning are low (Nembhard & Edmondson, 2006). A health care organization, thus, provided a suitable context in which to test the stated hypotheses.

The health care facility at which the survey was administered is located in a micropolitan area of the Midwest region of the United States. This health care system has a hospital that provides inpatient acute care (130 beds) and skilled nursing (36 beds). In addition, outpatient services are provided in several areas including emergency room, surgery, rehabilitation, wellness, community health, and alcohol and drug treatment. The health care facility at which the survey was administered employs 1,085 persons.

All employees were notified via email that they were eligible to participate in the study and that respondents could choose to be entered in one of four drawings (Littmann Master Cardiology Stethoscope, Epocrates medical software, gift card to local video store, or gift card to local grocery). To reach as many employees as possible, data collection took place on 11 of 12 consecutive days during both day and evening shifts. Employees were approached while working and asked if they would be interested in participating in the survey. This method of sampling was used to increase the likelihood of participation and to be able to create an identification of the individual surveys in the least intrusive manner. However, one consequence of this approach was that employees who were on vacation or were too busy with their work on that particular shift could not be invited to participate.

A total of 321 employees completed the survey, which is 29.6% of the eligible employees. However, a more realistic estimate of the response rate is closer to 60%, as fewer than two in five employees who were invited to participate declined. Of the 321 surveys, six were not included in the statistical analyses because of missing data, leaving 315 useable responses.

The sample for this study is representative of the employees at the health care organization (see Table 1). The mean of *Tenure in Organization* represents the average number of years that respondents had worked at the health care organization ($M = 9.68$) and is comparable with that for all health care employees at this facility ($M = 9.00$). As *Gender* was coded with 1 = female, 88% of respondents were female when compared with 88% of all employees at the health care facility. The average *Age* of respondents in the sample ($M = 44.08$) is comparable with that of all health care employees at this organization ($M = 43.00$). Data regarding ethnicity were not collected since 96% of the health care facility's employees are Caucasian, with 2% Latino and the remaining 2% African American, American Indian, or Asian. On the whole, the demographic profile suggests that the sample of 315 respondents was representative of the population of employees at this health care facility.

Measures

A survey questionnaire was used to collect data for this study. Respondents were first provided a definition of a mentor as, "... one or more persons whom you feel have taken an active interest in your career by providing developmental

Table 1: Descriptive statistics and correlations

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Mentoring/Informational	3.46	0.89	(.95)							
2. Has a mentor	0.42	0.49	.33**							
3. Knowledge transfer	4.24	0.60	.48**	.14**						
4. Trust	3.35	0.61	.63**	.20**	(.87)					
5. Education	2.15	0.88	.06	.10*	.07	.44**				
6. Job classification	1.84	0.73	.16**	.12*	.06	.10*	.41**			
7. Tenure in organization	9.68	8.55	-.02	-.09	-.01	.06	.00	.09		
8. Gender	0.88	0.32	.02	.05	.04	-.04	-.10*	-.13*	.05	
9. Age	44.08	12.60	-.05	-.13*	-.09	.04	-.17**	-.14*	.49**	-.15**

Note: $n = 315$ for all variables. Coefficient alphas are presented on the diagonal in parentheses.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

assistance." This definition is consistent with that provided by mentoring researchers such as Higgins and Kram (2001). Since the health care organization at which data were collected did not have a formal mentoring program, respondents were providing information about informal mentors.

Based on the definition of a mentor presented on the survey, respondents were then asked, "Have you had a mentor during the past year?" If they answered "Yes," they were asked to think of the mentor who had influenced their career the most as they completed the rest of the questionnaire. If respondents answered "No," they were asked to fill out the remainder of the questionnaire while thinking of their supervisor. The variable *Has a Mentor* was coded so that 0 = *no mentor/rated supervisor* and 1 = *has a mentor*.

The following variables were examined using established measures with known psychometric properties such as reliability and validity. All established scales were scored using the same 5-point Likert-type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*.

Mentoring functions. The Mentor Role Instrument (MRI; Ragins & McFarlin, 1990) was used to assess the four mentoring functions. The MRI uses three items to measure each of the mentoring functions. "My mentor suggests specific strategies for achieving career aspirations" is an example of an item used to measure a protégé's perceptions of the coaching received from a mentor.

To represent the mentoring functions that provide specific, job-related information to a protégé, the *Mentoring/Informational* composite variable was created. Twelve items were combined from the coaching, sponsoring, exposure and visibility, and challenging assignment subscales from the MRI. The mentoring/informational composite variable demonstrated a coefficient alpha of .95 with acceptable corrected item-total correlations that ranged from .70 to .81.

A second-order confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted using MPlus to evaluate the level of fit for the loadings of three items on each of the four mentoring functions and of the four mentoring functions on the composite variable of mentoring/informational. An acceptable level of fit was indicated for the mentoring/informational composite variable as a second-order factor: $\chi^2(50) = 129.83$; comparative fit index = .98; Tucker-Lewis index = .97; root mean square error of approximation = .07; standardized root mean square residual = .03. Based on the internal consistency measures and the fit of the CFA, the composite variable of mentoring/informational was used in subsequent statistical analyses.

Knowledge transfer. Lankau and Scandura's (2002) six-item measure was used to measure the extent to which knowledge had been transferred to protégés. Respondents indicated their agreement with statements such as "I have gained new skills." The knowledge transfer scale demonstrated a coefficient alpha of .87.

Trust. Trust was measured using the seven-item Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) adaptation of Schoorman, Mayer, and Davis's (1996) trust measure.

The items were altered slightly to change the referent from "supervisor" to "mentor" in keeping with the focus of this research. An example item is "If my mentor asked why a problem occurred, I would speak freely even if I were partly to blame." Item 5 in the trust measure had a low item-total correlation of $-.018$. After this item was removed, the trust scale's coefficient alpha increased from .65 to .72.

To provide controls for demographic and descriptive variables, respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of *Education* that they had completed, with 1 = *education up to the high-school level* and 5 = *education at the MD or PhD level*. *Job Classification* data were requested to identify positions with increasing levels of responsibility (1 = *support staff* to 5 = *director-level responsibility*).

Overview of Study Analyses

Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were calculated for each of the measured variables using SPSS. Correlations between variables were examined to determine if they were significant and in the expected direction. To test Hypothesis 1, OLS regression was used. Hypothesis 2 was tested for moderating effects using Baron and Kenny's (1986) recommendations for the testing for interactions.

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

The descriptive statistics are summarized in Table 1. Included are the means and standard deviations for the full sample of 315 respondents. Of the 315 respondents, 133 indicated that they had a mentor during the past year. The percentage of employees indicating that they have a mentor (42.2%) is similar to that of another mentoring study conducted in a health care organization (52.7%; Lankau & Scandura, 2002). As mentioned previously, those respondents who indicated that they did not have a mentor completed the rest of the survey by rating their immediate supervisor.

The zero-order correlations among all the variables for the entire sample are also presented in Table 1. The correlations between the mentoring/informational, trust, and knowledge transfer variables are in the expected direction. The higher the perceptions of job-related mentor support, the higher the reported trust in the mentor/supervisor and the reported knowledge transfer ($r = .63$ and $.48$, respectively, $p \leq .01$).

To evaluate any effect of the control variables on knowledge transfer, one-way ANOVAs were conducted. No statistically significant differences

were found. An examination of the correlations between each of the control variables and knowledge transfer indicated that they would not influence the analyses of the hypotheses and were, therefore, not included in the hypothesis testing process.

Tests of Hypotheses

The hypotheses were tested on the subsample of 133 respondents who reported having a mentor during the past year. The test of Hypothesis 1 assessed whether the mentoring/informational functions (sponsorship, exposure and visibility, coaching, and challenging assignments) were positively related to knowledge transfer. This hypothesis was tested by regressing knowledge transfer on the mentoring/informational composite variable in the subsample of employees with mentors (Table 2). Results suggest that the higher the mentor was rated on providing job-specific assistance, the higher the ratings of new skills learned by the protégé ($\beta = .52, t = 6.96, p \leq .01$); thus, Hypothesis 1 was supported.

Hypothesis 2 was tested to understand the effect of the interaction between the variables of trust and mentoring/informational on knowledge transfer (Table 3). Both main effects were significant (mentoring/informational, $\beta = .90, t = 3.22, p \leq .01$); trust ($\beta = .81, t = 3.06, p \leq .01$) as well

Table 2: Regression of knowledge transfer on mentoring/informational for employees with mentors

Variables	B	SE _B	β
Constant	2.80**	.23	
Mentoring/informational	.40**	.06	.52
R ²	.27		
F(1, 131)	48.49**		

Note: $n = 133$. B = unstandardized coefficient; SE_B = standard error of B; β = standardized coefficient.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3: Trust as a moderator of the relationship between mentoring/informational and knowledge transfer for employees with mentors

Variables	B	SE _B	β
Constant	.72	.80	
Mentoring/informational	.70**	.22	.90
Trust	.76**	.25	.81
Interaction	-.13*	.06	-.90
R ²	.36		
F(3, 129)	24.37**		

Note: $n = 133$. B = unstandardized coefficient; SE_B = standard error of B; β = standardized coefficient.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

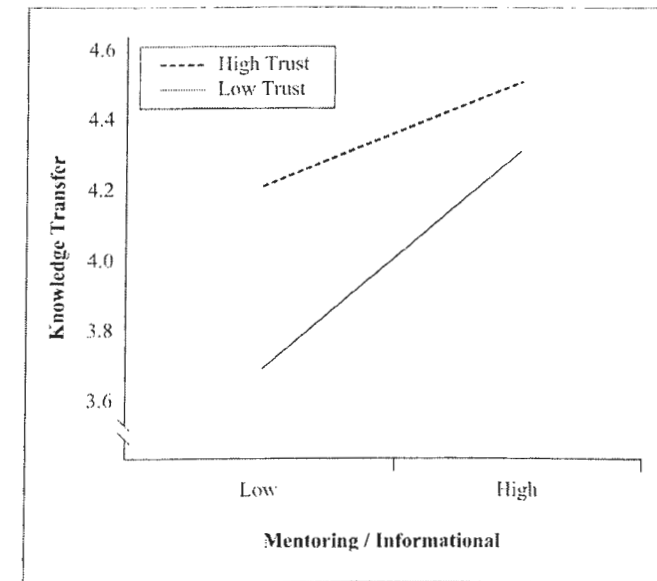


Figure 1: Interaction effect of trust with mentoring/informational on knowledge transfer

as the interaction ($\beta = -.90, t = -1.98, p \leq .05$) supporting Hypothesis 2. As hypothesized, trust moderates the relationship between mentoring and knowledge transfer. A closer examination of the interaction effect (Figure 1) suggests that the pattern of the interaction was not exactly as was expected in our hypothesis. It appears that when there is low trust the relationship between mentoring and knowledge transfer is stronger than when the level of trust is high. One implication is that when trust is low and mentoring is low as well, the amount of knowledge transfer is less than would be predicted by the main effects alone. Another interpretation is that trust is most important when mentoring support is low.

Discussion

Although additional research is needed to further explore the role of trust in mentoring relationships and their impact on knowledge transfer, this study provided some insights into these relationships. First, those employees with mentors who also reported higher levels of mentoring that conveyed job-related information were more likely to report higher levels of learning. This result partially supports the assumption that knowledge is transferred from a mentor to a protégé, thereby extending research in mentoring (Lankau & Scandura, 2007) as well as knowledge management (Gallupe, 2001).

Second, empirical data in this study verify the long-held assumption that trust is an important component of mentoring relationships (Hezlett & Gibson,

2007; Kram, 1985). The results show a main effect for trust as well as an interaction effect, although the exact nature of the interaction requires more exploration.

Taken together, the results from the tests of the hypotheses suggest that the combination of receipt of mentoring along with a willingness to be vulnerable to a mentor's guidance may positively affect knowledge sharing. A mentor's provision of job-related information in and of itself does appear to affect knowledge transfer. But the nature of the relationship, that is, the level of trust a protégé has in a mentor, also plays a role in influencing the amount of knowledge transfer.

Similar to Ferlie, Fitzgerald, Wood, and Hawkins (2005), we suggest that the results of a study such as this conducted in a health care setting are relevant for organizations engaged in knowledge management strategies. Since knowledge-based organizations as a whole are an expanding sector of the economy (Ferlie et al., 2005), and as mentoring is proposed as vehicle for knowledge sharing in all types of organizations (e.g., DeLong, 2004), an understanding of how mentoring processes affect knowledge transfer is beneficial to any organization pursuing effective knowledge management practices.

Limitations

One limitation of this study was the self-report nature of the survey. The assessment of all study variables with the same method may lead to some degree of variance in responses due simply to method (Spector, 2006). In addition, the cross-sectional nature of the data collection method precludes causal inferences regarding the relationships between the study variables. Future research should incorporate longitudinal qualitative and quantitative study designs to address these limitations and further explore how trust moderates the relationship between mentoring and knowledge transfer.

Suggestions for Future Research

Despite this limitation, the results of this study offer valuable theoretical and empirical contributions that suggest future research directions in the integration of mentoring and trust in particular. The conceptual model could be extended with regard to additional outcome variables. Wanberg, Welsh, and Hezlett (2003) suggest that mentoring researchers should seek to better understand how mentoring influences outcomes such as retention in order to assess the benefits that mentoring may provide to organizations. Examining the influence of trust in mentoring relationships on actual job performance or retention, for example, would answer this call.

The model could also be extended by gaining a greater understanding of the antecedents that may influence the development of trust in mentoring

relationships. Current research in the mentoring literature is examining concepts such as a mentor's commitment to a mentoring relationship and his/her willingness to mentor (e.g., Poteat, Shockley, & Allen, 2009; Wang, Noe, Wang, & Greenberger, 2009). It would be interesting to explore if and how these variables influence a protégé's decision to trust a mentor. Also, Schoorman et al. (2007) suggest that understanding how one person's trust influences another's in return would be valuable. Extending this research might lead to an exploration of whether a protégé's trust in a mentor influences a mentor's trust in a protégé.

A third extension of the conceptual model would be to consider the role of context as recommended by Lankau and Scandura (2007). An organization's context may determine the type of knowledge transfer needed and the type of mentoring that would be most effective (Lankau & Scandura, 2007). Moreover, the context in which mentoring relationships take place (e.g., face to face vs. electronic) may influence the development of trust. Both mentoring and knowledge management researchers (e.g., Heaven & Neville, 2006; Smith-Jentsch, Scielzo, Yarbrough, & Rosopa, 2008) are exploring mentoring through electronic means of communication. As technology becomes more prominent in the workplace, an understanding of the influence of trust would assist researchers and practitioners in designing more effective mentoring programs. By extending the conceptual model presented in this study and incorporating trust into models of mentoring processes, researchers may gain a better understanding of how trust is developed and how it affects mentoring relationships and organizational outcomes such as knowledge transfer, job performance, and retention.

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120

A Review of Developmental Networks: Incorporating a Mutuality Perspective

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During the past decade, mentoring research has broadened from its traditional dyadic focus to examine support provided to individuals by a “constellation” of several people from different life domains – that is, by a “developmental network” (Higgins & Kram, 2001; Kram, 1985). Recent articles and books have thoroughly reviewed the traditional mentoring literature (Allen & Eby, 2007; Allen, Eby, O’Brien, & Lentz, 2008; Haggard, Dougherty, Turban, & Wilbanks, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller & Judge, 2008; Ragins & Kram, 2007) and called for increased attention to developmental networks in future research (e.g., Haggard et al., 2011). We extend these reviews by providing the first systematic review of developmental network research. Furthermore, we build on the call for research that incorporates the mentor’s as well as the protégé’s perspectives, rather than one or the other (Allen, 2007; Allen et al., 2008; Haggard et al., 2011; Weinberg & Lankau, in press). Our review highlights a “mutuality perspective” – by taking into account the viewpoints of all members of the developmental network. Here we apply this mutuality perspective to developmental networks and discuss implications for future research.

Since Higgins and Kram (2001) reconceptualized mentoring as a developmental network, research in this area has flourished. Developmental networks are valuable for achieving a variety of career outcomes ranging from promotion and career advancement (Singh, Ragins, & Tharenou, 2009) to clarity of

professional identity (Dobrow & Higgins, 2005). Moreover, a person's support network can account for more variability than a primary mentor in some outcomes (e.g., Higgins & Thomas, 2001), which highlights the importance of developmental networks for understanding how mentoring affects career development (Kammeyer-Mueller & Judge, 2008). Finally, macro-level trends such as globalization, technological innovations, and changes in organizational structure and organizational demography make securing developmental assistance from a number of people who span various social spheres more necessary than ever for individuals (Higgins & Kram, 2001).

Studies have explored the individual-level antecedents and consequences of developmental network support as well as the structural characteristics of the networks and their consequences. In addition, research has explored network-related mediating and moderating variables. Although the various angles previous research has examined collectively represent a strength of this literature, no broad framework exists yet for understanding and tying together developmental network research findings. As a result, scholars do not have a clear picture of the strengths or gaps in this literature or an agenda for conducting future research. Moreover, as a relatively new area of inquiry, the developmental network literature includes many areas in need of clarification and further exploration.

The purpose of this article is to apply a new lens – the mutuality perspective – to a systematic review of the developmental network literature. We begin by defining the developmental network construct, including highlighting four fundamental attributes that distinguish it from related constructs. We then put forth the mutuality perspective as it relates to developmental network research. We continue with a review of the developmental network literature in which we identify and discuss four research streams that encompass extant studies of developmental networks. As part of this discussion, we develop a framework that clarifies the relationships among these research streams. We then highlight the variation that exists within conceptualizations and measures of developmental networks and discuss the implications of this variation for future research. Finally, we integrate the mutuality perspective with the four research streams by proposing future directions for developmental network research.

Developmental Networks: A Distinct Construct

Our review focuses on the 10 years of research inspired by Higgins and Kram's (2001: 268) foundational definition of developmental networks: egocentric, content-based networks composed of "people a protégé names as taking an active interest in and action to advance the protégé's career by providing developmental assistance."¹ This view builds on Kram's (1985) original assertion that individuals receive mentoring support from multiple people and extends that view by applying a social network perspective. Developers can

come from different hierarchical positions within the protégé's organization (e.g., senior managers, supervisors, peers, or subordinates) as well as from domains outside of work, such as family and community (Murphy & Kram, 2010). These developers can provide two different types of support: *career* (e.g., sponsorship, exposure and visibility, coaching, protection, and challenging assignments) and *psychosocial* (e.g., counseling, role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, and friendship; Kram, 1985).

Mentoring and social network researchers often refer to a number of constructs as being almost interchangeable with developmental networks (Molloy, 2005). For developmental network research to flourish and offer meaningful contributions to the broader management literature moving forward, clarifying the construct's boundaries is critical. Therefore, we compare developmental networks to five related constructs – multiple mentors, mentoring networks, intraorganizational networks, core discussion networks, and interpersonal networks – with the aim of clarifying developmental networks' nomological network (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). In particular, we note variations in definition, social spheres represented by developers, and the type and amount of support provided.

Multiple Mentors

Prior to the introduction of developmental networks into the literature (Higgins & Kram, 2001), scholars had considered the role of multiple mentors in people's work lives. For instance, Baugh and Scandura (1999) found that the number of mentors an individual can identify is positively associated with organizational commitment, job satisfaction, career expectations, and perceptions of alternative employment. This study defined mentors as "influential in your work environment," having "advanced experience" and "providing upward mobility," which, taken together, suggest these multiple mentors are senior-ranking officials within the protégé's organization (Baugh & Scandura, 1999). Thus, Baugh and Scandura's (1999) notion of multiple mentors – a set of "traditional" mentors only – represents a narrower range of people than developmental networks include. Instead, developmental networks can consist of a much broader range of people, from inside, from outside, and at multiple levels within the protégé's organization.

In a conceptual study of multiple mentoring among expatriates, Mezas and Scandura (2005) included hierarchical and peer mentors both inside and outside the protégé's organization (e.g., another firm's expatriates, diplomats, chamber of commerce members), thus broadening the conceptualization of multiple mentoring and bringing it closer to being a developmental network. A key factor that distinguishes this view of multiple mentors from developmental networks is the latter's consideration of the relationships among the developers (e.g., network density, range) as well as the type of support provided by the developers.

Mentoring Networks

Studies on mentoring networks vary in their conceptualizations of the types of mentors included in the network. Although one study elicited “mentors who take an active interest in and action to advance the protégé’s career” (Kim & Kim, 2007: 49), implying that relevant individuals are “true mentors” who provide high levels of career and psychosocial support, others assert a protégé’s needs are best served by a continuum of relationships that vary in the types of support they provide (e.g., a sponsor who provides career support or a friend who provides psychosocial support; e.g., Crocitto, Sullivan, & Carraher, 2005; de Janasz & Sullivan, 2004; de Janasz, Sullivan, & Whiting, 2003) and can come from outside one’s employing organization (Crocitto et al., 2005). The view that mentoring networks can allow for a continuum of mentoring relationships is conceptually close to developmental networks. As with multiple mentors, however, mentoring networks represent a narrower range of people than can be involved in a developmental network. Specifically, studies on mentoring networks do not reference family members or friends, who can play a significant role in developmental networks (Cummings & Higgins, 2005; Murphy & Kram, 2010), or peripheral sources of support, such as role models one has not met or has only imagined (e.g., Cotton, Shen, & Livne-Tarandach, 2011). Also, like the multiple mentors concept, mentoring networks do not consider the relationships between developers (e.g., network density and range).

Intraorganizational Networks and Core Discussion Groups

Intraorganizational networks can provide “instrumental” and “expressive” support, analogous to the career and psychosocial support provided in developmental networks, respectively (Bozionelos, 2003, 2006, 2008). However, intraorganizational networks focus solely on network ties within an organization, whereas developmental networks can include developers from both inside and outside individuals’ employing organizations. Similarly, core discussion networks, which consist of the people with whom individuals discuss important personal matters, typically involve people within an individual’s organization (Carroll & Teo, 1996). Although some of the discussion ties might provide developmental support, as a type of social network they are conceptualized more broadly than developmental networks.

Interpersonal Networks

The social network literature includes several types of egocentric networks that are similar to developmental networks in some ways yet are conceptually distinct. Typically, each of these interpersonal networks provides a single type of support akin to one of the two types of support provided by developmental

networks – and so are narrower in scope than developmental networks in terms of the content they provide. For example, friendship networks provide psychosocial but no career support (Burt, 1992). Their opposite, advice networks, can provide career but no psychosocial support (Krackhardt & Hanson, 1993). Interaction networks (e.g., Ibarra, 1992) can offer instrumental and expressive support, similar to career and psychosocial support, respectively. These networks include only intraorganizational ties, however, in contrast to developmental networks’ inclusion of both intra- and extraorganizational ties.

In sum, this overview of related constructs highlights the distinctiveness – and boundaries – of developmental networks. We propose four fundamental attributes of developmental networks. First, the purpose of developers’ involvement in the developmental network is that they *take an active interest in and actions toward advancing the protégé’s career*.² Thus, developmental networks are the subset of a protégé’s larger social network specifically aimed at enhancing the protégé’s career growth. Second, developmental networks involve *multiple developers* (usually four to five, as in Higgins, 2001), unlike traditional dyadic mentoring relationships that involve one protégé and one mentor. Third, developmental networks are characterized by their *inclusion of a broad range of social spheres* – people from inside and outside the organization, people from different hierarchical levels (superiors, peers, and subordinates), and people from a wide range of domains beyond work (e.g., friends, family members, and community groups), whereas related constructs tend to include a narrower range of mentors or developers. Last, in comparison to other related constructs, the content of exchange between parties is broader in developmental networks, such that developers can provide *varying amounts* (e.g., high vs. low) *and types* (e.g., career and psychosocial) *of developmental support*.

Incorporating Mutuality into Developmental Networks Research

We propose a novel lens for developmental network research: incorporating the developers’ perspectives into our current protégé-centric understanding of developmental networks. This approach – one of mutuality – builds on calls in the dyadic mentoring literature to incorporate the perspectives of both protégés and mentors. With a few notable exceptions (e.g., Allen, 2003, 2007; Lentz & Allen, 2009), dyadic mentoring research predominantly uses only the protégé’s perspective (Fletcher & Ragins, 2007). In recognition of the reciprocity that characterizes the conceptual definition of mentoring, recent reviews of the mentoring literature have specifically highlighted the need for mentoring research that also incorporates the mentor’s perspective (Allen et al., 2008; Haggard et al., 2011). To understand the costs and benefits of engaging in mentoring relationships for both protégés and mentors, insights

from both perspectives are necessary (Allen et al., 2008). Inclusion of the mentor's perspective would also provide insight into why mentors are motivated to form or engage in mentoring relationships, the nature of the interactions between mentor and protégé, and the learning benefits that accrue to mentors through "reverse mentoring" from their protégés (Greengard, 2002; Haggard et al., 2011; Murphy, in press-b).

This mutuality approach to developmental networks draws on high-quality connections and relationships research in the positive organizational scholarship (POS) literature (Dutton, 2003; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). This line of scholarship advocates the importance of high-quality connections – those "marked by mutual positive regard, trust, and active engagement on both sides" – in all workplace relationships (Dutton, 2003: 2). These relationships, which can lead to outcomes such as self-awareness, self-esteem, new skills, zest, and a desire for more connection and well-being, are experienced as mutually beneficial and more enriching than others (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Fletcher & Ragins, 2007).

More specifically, a high-quality *mentoring* relationship "promotes mutual growth, learning and development within the career context" (Fletcher & Ragins, 2007: 374). Mutuality has four critical dimensions: mutual benefit, influence, expectations, and understanding (Ragins & Verbos, 2007; Roberts, 2007). As such, both parties are "better off" as a result of the relationship, influence each other through learning, agree on roles and boundaries in the relationship, are aware of their impact on each other, and understand one another's intentions. Thus, a mutuality approach necessarily depends on the inclusion of both parties.

In the context of developmental network research, both theoretical and empirical studies have focused on developmental networks solely from the perspective of the person at the network's center, the protégé. Applying mutuality to developmental networks would thus involve taking into account not only the protégé's perspective but also the perspectives of the four to five people who typically compose the protégé's developmental network. Here we extend research on high-quality connections in dyads by suggesting mutuality is also important for the multiple people who compose developmental networks.

In the next section, we review extant developmental network research. This review underscores the fact that although scholars have made progress toward understanding the role of developmental networks in careers and organizations, many important research questions remain within and across the four streams of research we delineate.

Developmental Networks: Streams of Extant Literature

We selected the articles included in this review through a literature search for terms consistent with the notion of developmental networks, including *developmental network*, *mentoring constellation*, *multiple mentors*, and *network*

and mentor.³ We analyzed the research focus of each article and found that studies of developmental networks fall into one or more of the following four streams: (a) individual- and contextual-level *antecedents* of developmental network structure and content, (b) consequences of developmental network *structure*, (c) consequences of developmental network *content*, and (d) *mediators* and *moderators* of the relationships between developmental networks and their antecedents and consequences. Table 1 provides brief summaries of all studies in our review. Figure 1 summarizes the content of each research stream as well as the relationships among them.

Stream 1: Antecedents of Developmental Network Structure and Content

Higgins and Kram (2001) proposed a framework of the antecedents and consequences of developmental networks. There are two categories of antecedents: individual-level and contextual influences. Subsequent research on the antecedents of developmental networks, most of which is conceptual in nature, has stayed close to these two categories. Stream 1 thus consists of two substreams. The first examines the effects of individual antecedents, almost exclusively protégé characteristics, on developmental network structure and content. The second examines the contextual factors – including organizational context and task requirements – that shape developmental network structure and content.

Protégé influences. Several personality characteristics are linked to developmental network structure and content. Extroversion or introversion, self-construal, conscientiousness, and openness to experience may be relevant to the formation of developmental networks such that they predict people's degree of proactivity (or lack thereof) in interactions with diverse others and in seeking close, trusting relationships (Dougherty, Cheung, & Florea, 2008). For example, people who are high on the Big Five's openness to experience dimension (Costa & McCrae, 1992) are more likely to develop diverse networks because of their inclination toward welcoming new interactions, ideas, and information (Dougherty et al., 2008).

Scholars have examined a range of demographic factors as antecedents of developmental networks. For instance, characteristics of developmental networks including gender composition, number of developers from inside versus outside one's organization, and amount of help provided may depend on the gender of the protégé (Burke, Bristor, & Rothstein, 1996). Using homophily arguments, the idea that people are attracted to similar others, Higgins, Chandler, and Kram (2007) proposed that socioeconomic status (SES), gender, and age affect the types of developmental networks people are likely to have. For example, high SES junior employees are particularly attractive to

Table 1: Developmental network research streams – Extant studies

<i>Study</i>	<i>Type and sample</i>	<i>Key idea (conceptual) or variables (empirical)</i>	<i>Findings and contributions</i>
<i>Stream 1: Antecedents of developmental networks</i>			
Chandler, Hall, and Kram (2010)	Conceptual	Key idea: Relative relational savvy predicts size and diversity of network	Relationally savvy protégés tend to have large, fairly diverse networks.
Shen (2010)	Qualitative; 64 in-depth interviews with expatriates in Singapore and China	Key variables: individual, contextual, dyadic, and competency antecedents; type of support needed by an expatriate; person–network fit	Whether developmental networks yielded positive protégé outcomes depended on the fit between their developmental support needs and what they actually received from their developers.
Cotton (2010)	Quantitative and qualitative; 77 Hall of Famers' induction speeches, cross-industry sample of 425 respondents	Key variables: relational expectation models, types of developers, and types of support expected	Four types of relational models (e.g., transactional, communal) were associated with particular types of developers and the expected support they provided.
Ghosh, Hayes, and Kram (2010)	Conceptual	Key idea: Developmental stages	Integration of adult learning theory, constructive-developmental theory, and mentoring. Asserted that effective networks for individuals at various stages aid in learning, leadership development, and movement to higher stages of development.
Dougherty, Cheung, and Florea (2008)	Conceptual	Key idea: Big Five personality characteristics predict network type	Protégés' five personality traits (e.g., openness to experience and introversion or extroversion) predicted their types of networks.
Higgins (2007)	Conceptual	Key idea: Perceived needs for development, organizational and industry context, network type	Used a needs-based approach to developmental networks. Individuals' appropriate network type was contingent on their developmental needs.
Chandler and Kram (2005)	Conceptual	Key idea: Protégés' developmental stage predicts network type	Applied an adult development perspective to networks; posited that adult development stage predicts individuals' network type.
Burke, Bristor, and Rothstein (1996) ^a	Quantitative; cross-sectional study of 55 male and 57 female professionals	Key variables: gender, career support, psychosocial support, organizational commitment, integration at work, optimism for future career prospects, aspirations	Women who attached higher value to relationships received more developmental support. Men receiving greater psychosocial support from outside developers had higher organizational commitment, whereas men with greater psychosocial support from inside developers felt more integrated into their organization. Women receiving more support from inside and outside developers had more optimistic future career prospects and aspirations.
<i>Stream 2: Consequences of developmental network structure^b</i>			
Singh, Ragins, and Tharenou (2009)	Quantitative; 3-year longitudinal study of 236 workers	Key variables: human capital, developmental network capital, mentor capital, salary, promotion, advancement expectations, career satisfaction, turnover intentions	Support from a traditional mentor (mentor capital) added value above and beyond support from other developers (developmental network capital) and human capital; positively associated with salary, promotion, advancement expectations, and career satisfaction and negatively associated with turnover intentions.
Kirchmeyer (2005)	Quantitative and qualitative; study of 143 academics early career to midcareer	Key variables: mentors, other developers, outside developers (professional colleagues in other organizations), promotions, salary, performance, emotionally close developers	In early career, mentors and other developers were both positively associated with promotion and salary. In midcareer, the presence of outside developers was associated with performance, which was then associated with promotion. In addition, having an emotionally close developer was positively associated with salary.
van Emmerik (2004) ^c	Quantitative; cross-sectional study of university members (416 female, 594 male)	Key variables: mentoring constellations, career satisfaction, intrinsic job satisfaction, range, size, tie strength, gender	After controlling for having a mentor, network characteristics (i.e., size, emotional intensity, years acquainted) were associated with career satisfaction, while size and frequency of contact were associated with intrinsic job satisfaction. Gender moderated the relationship between mentoring constellations and career success.
<i>Stream 3: Consequences of developmental network content^b</i>			
Baker and Lattuca (2010)	Conceptual	Key ideas: interdisciplinary approach necessary to understand professional identity development	Combined developmental networks and sociocultural views of learning to explain the interaction of academic learning and identity development in doctoral students.
Higgins, Dobrow, and Roloff (2010)	Quantitative; 10-year longitudinal study of 136 MBA graduates	Key variables: career and psychosocial support (from all current developers, from early-career developers, rate of change), optimism	The amount of psychosocial, but not career, support was positively associated with optimism. The greater one's early-career support (both types), the greater one's optimism 10 years later. Increasing both types of support over time was associated with greater optimism later in career.
<i>Streams 2 and 3: Consequences of developmental network structure and content</i>			
Cotton, Shen, and Livne-Tarandach (2011)	Qualitative; 62 Hall of Famers' induction speeches	Key variables: developmental network size, diversity, multiplexity, variety of types or sources of career support and psychosocial support, extraordinary career achievement	First-ballot inductees had larger, more diverse developmental networks featuring greater multiplexity, more single-function ties, and greater psychosocial and complementary career support from a wider range of core and periphery communities. Identified two new developmental support subfunctions.

(Continued)

Table 1: (Continued)

<i>Study</i>	<i>Type and sample</i>	<i>Key idea (conceptual) or variables (empirical)</i>	<i>Findings and contributions</i>
Murphy and Kram (2010)	Quantitative and qualitative; cross-sectional study of 245 working professionals	Key variables: work and nonwork developers, salary level, career satisfaction, life satisfaction, career and psychosocial support, role modeling	Support from work developers was positively related to salary level and career satisfaction. Support from nonwork developers was positively related to career satisfaction and life satisfaction. Participants received more support overall from nonwork developers; discussed both positive and negative role modeling subfunctions.
Higgins, Dobrow, and Chandler (2008)	Quantitative; 10-year, 4-wave longitudinal study of 136 MBA graduates	Key variables: career support from all developers, career support from graduate school developers, career support from peer developers, career-related self-efficacy, perceptions of career success	Career support received from one's developmental network was positively associated with career-related self-efficacy and perceptions of career success. However, continuing to receive support from developers from graduate school was negatively related to perceptions of career success.
Dobrow and Higgins (2005)	Quantitative; 5-year, 3-wave longitudinal study of 136 MBA graduates	Key variables: network density (early career, general, and density dynamics), clarity of professional identity	Density, which reflects the professional identity exploration process, was negatively related to clarity of professional identity.
Cummings and Higgins (2005)	Quantitative; 5-year, 3-wave longitudinal study of 77 MBA graduates (977 ties)	Key variables: characteristics of ties: inner vs. outer, type of support (psychosocial, career), strength (length of ties, emotional closeness, communication frequency), workplace affiliation, hierarchical status, relational stability	Developmental networks have an inner-outer core network structure. Ties providing high psychosocial support and low career support populate the inner core. Strong ties tended to be more stable. Stable relationships included more family than work ties as well as more peers than supervisors.
Higgins (2001)	Quantitative; cross-sectional study of 136 graduating MBA students	Key variables: range, density, diversity, career change, career alternatives	The greater the diversity of instrumental relations, the greater the number of job offers, which was positively related to the likelihood of changing careers. The greater the diversity of psychosocial relations, the greater one's confidence to overcome career obstacles.
Higgins and Thomas (2001)	Quantitative; cross-sectional and longitudinal study of 130 lawyers	Key variables: primary developer, constellation of developers, career and psychosocial support, developer(s)' hierarchical status, intraorganizational developer(s)	Support from primary developer was associated with work satisfaction and intention to remain. Constellation of developers was associated with retention and promotion. Constellation perspective explained more variance than primary developer perspective.
Higgins (2000)	Quantitative; cross-sectional study of 138 lawyers	Key variables: developmental network size, work satisfaction, career and psychosocial support	The more developers and the more support received, the greater one's work satisfaction. Receiving a high amount of psychosocial support from just one developer was associated with work satisfaction.
<i>Stream 4: Mediating and moderating factors</i>			
Sweitzer (2009)	Qualitative; 1-year, 3-wave longitudinal study of 12 doctoral students, their 22 developers, and 15 administrators	Key variables: perceiving and assessing fit, goal congruence, developmental network structure	Person-organization fit was based on the congruence between the goals of individual doctoral students and their program. Students perceiving fit (higher goal congruence) had networks composed of intraorganizational developers. Students assessing fit (lower goal congruence) had networks with intra- and extraorganizational developers.
Higgins, Chandler, and Kram (2007) ^d	Conceptual	Key ideas: developmental initiation as mediator between individual differences (age, socioeconomic status, gender, expatriate status) and developmental relationships	Suggested that developmental initiation (i.e., information seeking, help seeking, feedback seeking) is "likely to lead to situations in which developmental relationships begin."

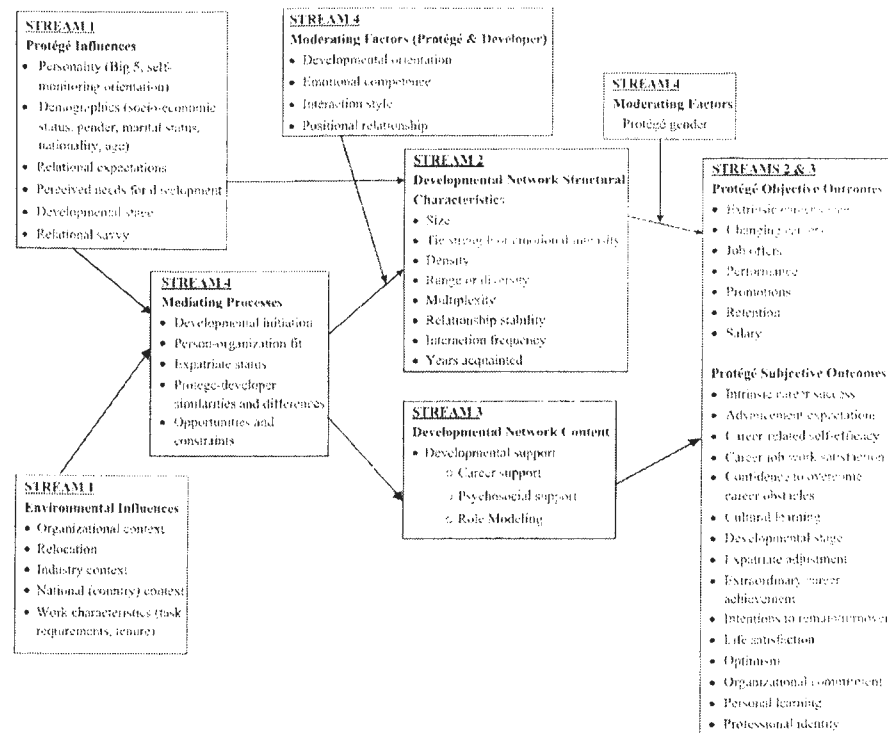
Note: Higgins and Kram's (2001) article is not listed in the table as it provides a framework that contributes to all four streams.

a. Study is also relevant to Streams 2 and 3.

b. Studies that are approximately equally relevant to both Streams 2 and 3 are included in a combined section below.

c. Study is also relevant to Stream 4.

d. Study is also relevant to Stream 1.



Notes: Stream 1: Antecedents of Developmental Networks; Stream 2: Consequences of Developmental Network Structure; Stream 3: Consequences of Developmental Network Content; Streams 2 & 3: Consequences of Developmental Network Structure and Content; Stream 4: Mediating and Moderating Factors.

Figure 1: Developmental network research streams – Relationships among variables

senior-ranking employees, many of whom are also high SES (Blau & Duncan, 1967), because they seek protégés who are similar to themselves. Senior-ranking employees, who can provide a substantial amount of career support by virtue of their position, are also attractive to junior high SES employees. These junior employees will tend to focus on cultivating developmental relationships with these relatively similar developers, thus creating less diverse networks than more dissimilar junior employees might cultivate. In contrast, in an expatriate context, individuals may be self-confident, reliant, and open to new experiences. As a consequence, they may reach out to a broad array of people during expatriation, leading to a relatively diverse developmental network (Higgins et al., 2007).

Individuals' developmental stage – “a frame of reference that one uses to structure one's world and from within which one perceives the world” (Gallos, 1989: 114) – likely affects their developmental networks' structure and content (Chandler & Kram, 2005). In Kegan's (1982, 1994) six-stage developmental framework,⁴ individuals in the fifth stage, “institutional,” are likely to have networks comprised predominantly of peer relationships. Individuals in the

more sophisticated sixth stage, “inter-individual,” are likely to have diverse networks composed of not only peers but also superiors and subordinates. Moreover, these relationships are characterized by greater mutuality and reciprocity than relationships in other stages (Chandler & Kram, 2005). One's current developmental stage determines the confirmation (i.e., “a sense of safety that is required for recognizing and affirming the evolutionary development of an adult”), contradiction (i.e., “challenges that cause letting go of a stationary balance and drives an adult to view the world differently”), and continuity (i.e., “steadfastness that establishes stability amidst periods of change”) provided by one's developmental networks, which in turn prepares one to transition to the next stage of development (Ghosh, Hayes, & Kram, 2010: 8). In sum, as people become more developed, their developmental networks will likely positively reflect this growth.

Relational competence and other competency-based factors may improve people's ability to form effective developmental networks (Chandler, Hall, & Kram, 2010; Shen, 2010). People who are adept with developmental relationships – that is, are relationally savvy – are more likely than less savvy people to develop large, diverse networks (Chandler, 2009; Chandler et al., 2010; Chandler, Hall, & Kram, 2009). Relationally savvy people are more developmentally proactive, which, similar to the proactive personality type described above, results in a tendency to seek out developmental opportunities through relationships. Furthermore, relationally savvy people cultivate their skills for managing interactions. Thus, they are prepared for developmental interactions, they know how to apply their efforts toward forming mutually beneficial relationships, and they engage in appropriate levels of follow-up to keep their developers apprised of how helpful their assistance has been (Chandler et al., 2010).

Moreover, people vary regarding the types of and amount of support they expect, and ultimately seek out, from each developer (Cotton, 2010). These differing expectations enable people to have greater clarity about their roles and boundaries (Roberts, 2007), which enhances the cultivation and maintenance of developmental networks. Similarly, a contingency-based approach to developmental networks proposes that, in contrast to the notion that “bigger is better,” the most effective network for any protégé is the one that best matches his or her developmental needs (Higgins, 2007).

Contextual influences. A limited number of studies provide insight into the relationship between contextual factors and developmental networks (Chandler, Kram, & Yip, in press; Kram, 1985). The source of the relationships can affect developmental network structure and content. For instance, formally assigned mentors are less likely than informal mentors to evolve into developmental relationships (Shen & Kram, 2011). People in certain industry or professional contexts, such as those with clear hierarchical career paths that place an emphasis on upward mobility (e.g., law), may benefit from having specific

types of developmental networks, namely, those with senior-status developers who can provide the protégé with increased visibility and sponsorship (Higgins, 2007; Higgins & Thomas, 2001). Similarly, a study of developmental networks in a doctoral program suggests the optimal support a network provides likely varies by context (Baker & Griffin, 2010; Baker & Lattuca, 2010). Finally, for expatriates, organizational culture, relocation support, and characteristics of the host country can affect developmental networks' structure and content (Shen, 2010). For example, expatriates whose organizations valued employee development were more likely than those in less supportive organizations to have a high percentage of intraorganizational developers.

Factors related to developers that could shape developmental network structure and content are notably absent from Stream 1. Applying a mutuality perspective enables scholars to address such issues as the extent to which individual-level characteristics of developers (e.g., their own needs and motives) shape the developmental networks of which they are a part and the extent to which the contextual factors associated with developers, such as the norms of their primary work group or organization, affect the networks of which they are a part.

Stream 2: Consequences of Developmental Network Structure

After Higgins and Kram (2001) published their developmental network typology, researchers began to examine these networks' structural characteristics, primarily *tie strength* and *network diversity*. The examination of tie strength in developmental networks draws on classic mentoring (Kram, 1985) and network research (Granovetter, 1973; Marsden, 1990), which argues that stronger and more emotionally intense developmental relationships provide a variety of career benefits. Inside developmental networks, inner and outer cores emerge over time (Cummings & Higgins, 2005). The inner core, characterized by psychological closeness and more frequent communication, is composed of more stable relationships that are more likely to be family ties than work ties. Strong ties with developers are related to higher job satisfaction (Higgins, 2000; van Emmerik, 2004) and salary (Kirchmeyer, 2005). Furthermore, developmental support from parents is associated with higher salaries (Murphy & Kram, 2010), thus highlighting the significance of strong nonwork ties in developmental networks.

Network diversity refers to the amount of variety within the network (Burt, 2000). More diverse networks offer access to novel information or resources, whereas less diverse networks provide access to redundant resources or information (Burt, 1992; Burt & Minor, 1983; Granovetter, 1973). The two types of network diversity typically examined in research are *density* and *range* (Brass, 1995; Burt & Minor, 1983; Higgins & Kram, 2001; Krackhardt, 1994).

Density describes the interconnectedness of ties in a developmental network, or the degree to which developers know one another (Higgins & Kram,

2001; Marsden, 1990). In a high-density developmental network – that is, when the developers are highly interconnected – the developers provide the protégé with access to relatively redundant information. Few studies have explored the effects of developmental network density (for exceptions, see Dobrow & Higgins, 2005; Higgins, 2001), and only one had significant findings. In a longitudinal study, developmental network density, an indicator of professional identity exploration, was negatively related to clarity of professional identity several years later (Dobrow & Higgins, 2005). Since density reflects one's breadth of professional role models, higher density – or a lack of breadth – indicates fewer opportunities for exploration.

Range refers to the number of different social arenas (e.g., school, work, community) from which one's developers originate (Higgins & Kram, 2001). A broader range of developers exposes the protégé to more and different information. For instance, a variety of relationships within one's developmental network might be important for successfully navigating an academic career (Baker & Lattuca, 2010). This variety is generally beneficial for protégés, yet for the organizations in which these protégés work, the effects can be either beneficial or detrimental. For protégés, having developers who come from outside their work organizations is linked with positive outcomes such as higher job performance (Kirchmeyer, 2005), intentions to remain in the organization (Higgins & Thomas, 2001), and career and life satisfaction (Murphy & Kram, 2010). Furthermore, the greater the range of developers providing psychosocial assistance, the greater protégés' confidence to overcome career obstacles (Higgins, 2001). On the negative side for organizations, the greater the range of developers providing career support, the greater protégés' number of job offers and likelihood of changing careers (Higgins, 2001).

Research on range in developmental networks has also explored particular types of ties, or subsets of ties, within developmental networks. For example, the hierarchical status of developers affects promotion in law firms (Higgins & Thomas, 2001). In a longitudinal study of MBA alumni, the specific type of developmental network members who provided developmental support mattered: Support from one's entire developmental network was positively associated with career-related self-efficacy and perceptions of career success during the 10 years after graduation, yet continuing to receive support from developers from graduate school was negatively related to perceptions of career success (Higgins, Dobrow, & Chandler, 2008). Furthermore, nonwork developers provide more support overall than do work developers (Murphy & Kram, 2010). This research on the nuances of structural properties within developmental networks moves well beyond the scope of traditional mentoring research.

Note that not only are traditional mentors included in the notion of developmental networks, but their support is often still valuable. For example, above and beyond support from other developers, support from a traditional mentor is positively related to salary, promotions, advancement expectations,

and career satisfaction and negatively related to turnover intentions (Singh et al., 2009). Nonetheless, the more comprehensive developmental network approach explains greater overall variance in some protégé career outcomes, particularly long-term outcomes such as promotion and organizational retention, than does traditional dyadic mentoring (Higgins & Thomas, 2001).

In addition to tie strength and network diversity, researchers have considered the impact of network size. A person's number of developers is positively related to job, work, and career satisfaction (Higgins, 2000; Higgins & Thomas, 2001; van Emmerik, 2004), job performance (Kirchmeyer, 2005; Peluchette & Jeanquart, 2000), retention (Higgins & Thomas, 2001), rank (Kirchmeyer, 2005), and promotions (Higgins & Thomas, 2001).

Adopting a mutuality perspective would shed light on the complexities of developmental network structure included in Stream 2. By taking both protégé and developer characteristics into account, scholars could develop a deeper understanding of structural differentiation within the network. By considering the needs, motives, competencies, and/or context of each developer, delineating a typology of network structures linked with particular protégé and developer outcomes might be possible. Ultimately, this fine-grained analysis would enable systematic consideration of how best to constitute a developmental network for the purpose of meeting particular protégé and developer needs.

Stream 3: Consequences of Developmental Networks' Content

Developmental network researchers typically consider the same two types of support used in traditional dyadic mentoring research: *psychosocial* and *career* (Kram, 1985). Psychosocial support is positively related to work satisfaction (Higgins, 2000) and optimism (Higgins, Dobrow, & Roloff, 2010). Career support is related to intentions to remain with an organization and organizational retention (Higgins & Thomas, 2001), career-related self-efficacy, perceptions of career success (Higgins et al., 2008), and optimism (Higgins et al., 2010).⁵ In conceptual work about doctoral students preparing for academic careers, the support a developmental network provides is important for understanding students' professional identity development and learning outcomes (Baker & Lattuca, 2010). Overall, this set of results highlights that psychosocial and career support can affect outcomes for protégés and their organizations.

Developmental support may have more or less impact for individuals at different career stages. In a study involving MBA alumni, psychosocial support, but not career support, was positively associated with optimism from a cross-sectional perspective (Higgins et al., 2010). Yet from a longitudinal perspective, greater amounts of career and psychosocial support during one's early career were associated with greater optimism 10 years later (Higgins et al., 2010). Furthermore, increasing amounts of both types of support over time were associated with greater optimism later in one's career (Higgins et al.,

2010). These results underscore the importance of exploring the relationship between types of developmental support and career outcomes over time.

Developmental network scholars have extended work by dyadic mentoring scholars (e.g., Pellegrini & Scandura, 2005; Scandura, 1992; Scandura & Ragins, 1993) to suggest that in addition to career and psychosocial support, role modeling is a third type of developmental support. Indeed, individuals may expect to receive all three types of support from developers in their networks (Cotton, 2010). In addition, new subfunctions within the three types of developmental support may exist: freedom and opportunity for skill development as a career support subfunction and inspiration and motivation as a psychosocial support subfunction (Cotton et al., 2011); cultural guidance, home linkage, and facilitating transcountry or transorganization transition as psychosocial support subfunctions (Shen, 2010); and career behaviors, work ethics, and values as positive subfunctions of role modeling and devaluing relationships and work-life interface failure as negative subfunctions of role modeling (Murphy & Kram, 2010). Taken together, these studies encourage the continued investigation of existing and new types of developmental support and their relationships to career outcomes as well as the expansion of methodologies, such as quantitative instruments, to capture the full range of support functions provided by developmental networks.

Finally, the concept of multiplexity can describe the overlap in structure and/or content (support) in developmental networks. Multiplexity can characterize roles (e.g., my coworker is also my friend) or exchange in a relationship (e.g., receiving both career and psychosocial support from the same developer) (Burt, 1980; Verbrugge, 1979). A classic example of multiplex exchange ties is true mentors, who provide high amounts of both career and psychosocial support (Higgins, 2007; Kram, 1985). The other possible types of developers in a developmental network also inherently reflect the concept of multiplexity, as they each provide some combination of career and psychosocial support. Sponsors provide high career and low psychosocial support, friends provide low career and high psychosocial support, and allies provide low career and low psychosocial support (Higgins, 2007). Protégés should seek particular combinations of exchange functions – that is, particular types of developers – based on their career goals and professional context (Higgins, 2007).

A few studies have empirically explored multiplexity, either implicitly or explicitly. For example, just one tie providing high psychosocial assistance, a “friend,” is enough for one to be satisfied at work in a law firm context (Higgins, 2000). In contrast, in a study of professional baseball Hall of Famers, “supplementary” psychosocial support, defined as the same psychosocial support subfunction(s) provided by different developers concurrently, enhances extraordinary career achievement (Cotton et al., 2011). Furthermore, first-ballot Hall of Fame inductees had larger and more diverse developmental networks with “more multiplex *and* single function” ties than others (Cotton et al., 2011, *italics original*). Thus multiplexity holds promise as a useful lens

for understanding the connections between developmental networks' structure and content and, ultimately, career outcomes.

For Stream 3, the key contribution of incorporating the mutuality perspective is the taking into account of the developers' views of the amount and type of support they provide to protégés. What might be the implications of alignment or misalignment of protégé and developer perceptions of the functions provided? If alignment is associated with more positive outcomes, what strategies can ensure alignment of these expectations? Furthermore, the mutuality perspective would allow for a consideration of the outcomes of providing particular kinds of support for the developers themselves.

Stream 4: Mediating and Moderating Processes

Higgins and Kram (2001) proposed mediators and moderators in the developmental network formation process. The two mediators are "developmental help-seeking behavior" and "constraints and opportunities for cultivating developmental networks," which are driven by individual-level antecedents and work-environment antecedents. Four developer and protégé factors moderate the links between these mediators and developmental network structure: developmental orientation, emotional competence, interaction style, and positional relationship (Higgins & Kram, 2001: 274). Few scholars have investigated these or other process-oriented variables as they relate to developmental networks. Existing research in this area primarily focuses on variables that mediate the relationship between antecedents (e.g., individual influences such as age or gender) and developmental network structure or content (see the left portion of Figure 1). In contrast, mediators between developmental network structure or content and outcomes have received limited attention from researchers (for an exception, see Higgins, 2001). We first discuss the role of three mediators identified in the literature – developmental initiation, opportunities and constraints, and protégé–organization and protégé–developer fit – and conclude with a comment on moderators.

The notion of "developmental initiation" elaborates on aspects of networking behaviors described in the dyadic mentoring literature (Blickle, Witzki, & Schneider, 2009b) as well as the developmental help-seeking behavior mediator proposed by Higgins and Kram (2001).⁶ Defined as "a set of development-seeking behaviors (i.e., information-seeking, help-seeking, feedback-seeking) undertaken by a protégé that are intended to enhance his or her skills, knowledge, task performance, and/or personal learning" (Higgins et al., 2007: 349), developmental initiation is distinct from networking behaviors in general. It involves individuals seeking career-enhancing relationships that are beneficial to them and to their developers rather than seeking purely instrumental career help. However, this instrumental career help might be included in the overall support received (Murphy, in press-a). Individuals who engage in a high level of developmental initiation are more likely to

create and capitalize on situations in which they have the potential to form developmental relationships.

The second mediator Higgins and Kram (2001) proposed, constraints and opportunities for cultivating developmental networks, stems from research on constraints and opportunities in the formation of work relationships in general. Specifically, the opportunities and constraints for forming relationships in work organizations are tied to the availability and accessibility of similar others in the organization (i.e., similar demographics, attitudes, values, or goals; Ibarra, 1992, 1993). For instance, the opportunities and constraints expatriates face might affect the structure of their developmental networks, such as requiring developmental networks that can provide a particularly high amount of psychosocial support (Shen, 2010). Thus, constraints and opportunities in the form of similar others or expatriate status might act as mediators of the relationship between both individual influences and work characteristics with developmental network characteristics.

Protégé–organization fit may also mediate between antecedents and developmental network structure and content. In a qualitative study of the professional identity development of doctoral students, students' fit with the organization – in terms of having congruent or incongruent goals regarding their future careers in academia – influenced the structure of their developmental networks (Sweitzer, 2009). Students who agreed with the goals of their doctoral program cultivated relatively low-range developmental networks composed of faculty and peer developers within the program. In contrast, students with incongruent goals or who were questioning the program's goals cultivated relatively high-range developmental networks composed of not only faculty within the program but also family, friends, and prior business associates not affiliated with the program (Sweitzer, 2009). Thus, the greater the degree of protégé–organization fit, the less diverse one's developmental network in terms of range.

Within developmental networks, protégé–developer similarities and differences may mediate between individual antecedents and developmental network structure and content. Work characteristics and task requirements may influence the extent to which these similarities and differences are beneficial (Blake-Beard, O'Neill, & McGowan, 2007). Classic paradigms of similarity attraction (Byrne, 1971) and homophily (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001) suggest that the more similar protégés and developers are to one another, the more they will be attracted to each other. Indeed, in dyadic mentoring research, actual similarity (e.g., same race or gender) and perceived similarity positively affect relationship quality and satisfaction (Allen & Eby, 2003; Ensher & Murphy, 1997). Furthermore, the negative effects of differences, such as those found when a mentor and protégé are of different genders, dissipate over time in a formal mentoring program context (Weinberg & Lankau, in press). In developmental networks, similarities and complementarities between protégés and their developers are important for eliciting a high amount of career and psychosocial support (Shen, 2010). However, differences may

also present possibilities for learning, growth, and mutuality for both parties (Blake-Beard et al., 2007; Fletcher & Ragins, 2007).

Higgins and Kram (2001) modeled individual characteristics of the protégé and developers as moderators of the relationships between developmental help-seeking behavior and opportunities and constraints with developmental network structure. To our knowledge, empirical studies have not yet tested these moderators. van Emmerik (2004) proposed and tested a moderator in a different portion of the model: between the structure of developmental networks and outcomes. Among university faculty, gender moderated the relationship between developmental network strength (specifically, emotional intensity) and career satisfaction, such that this relationship is stronger for women (van Emmerik, 2004). Likewise, the relationship between the number of years protégés and developers have been acquainted and intrinsic job satisfaction is stronger for women (van Emmerik, 2004).

Applying a mutuality perspective to Stream 4 would involve incorporating developer perspectives as mediators, such as considering the developmental initiation process from the perspectives of both protégés and developers or considering developer–organization fit in addition to protégé–organization fit. In terms of moderators, a mutuality perspective would include developer characteristics, such as gender, race, and ethnicity, in addition to protégé characteristics.

An Agenda for Developmental Network Research

In this section, we propose an agenda for future research. We first focus on the conceptualization and measurement of developmental networks. Then we describe new avenues that stem directly from the four streams defined in our review. We conclude by discussing how a mutuality approach has the potential to extend developmental network research.

Future Research: Conceptualization and Measurement

Our review of the extant literature on developmental networks suggests a general consensus about the construct's definition, yet variability about particular dimensions of developmental networks and how they are measured is also present. Although nearly all published conceptual and empirical articles utilized Higgins and Kram's (2001) definition – a group of people who take an active interest in and action toward advancing the protégé's career – a recent qualitative study asserted researchers should also include distant, unmet, or imaginary figures (Cotton et al., 2011; also see Gibson, 2003, 2004). Put another way, in Higgins and Kram's (2001) conceptualization, developers actively work to further the protégé's career, whereas in Cotton et al.'s (2011) view, developers can be virtual and, indeed, do not even need to know the protégé.

Variability in research methods reflects these conceptual differences, particularly as it relates to identifying the members of a protégé's developmental network. Mirroring the view of developers as being actively engaged with the protégé, research based on Higgins and Kram's (2001) conceptualization uses a name generator – usually on a survey – that asks protégés to name people who take “an active interest in and action to advance your career” and who “may be people with whom [the protégé] work[s] or has worked, friends or family members” (Higgins et al., 2008: 212). This process usually elicits four to five people (Higgins, 2001). In contrast, Cotton and colleagues' (2011; Cotton, 2010) method of identifying developmental network members did not involve direct contact with either the protégé or the developers. Instead, the researchers identified developers by categorizing baseball Hall of Famers' induction speeches on the basis of 10 career communities, including ideological, project, occupational, and alumni groups (Parker, Arthur, & Inkson, 2004).

Given these distinctions, we encourage developmental network researchers to be mindful of aligning their conceptualizations with their measurements. We believe a full construct validity analysis that refines methods of identifying developmental network members, measures of network structure, and scales used to measure developmental support would benefit the developmental network literature. In particular, we propose four core attributes of developmental networks researchers should incorporate into future methods of identifying developmental network members. A mutuality approach suggests measures and methodologies must take into account the protégé's as well as the developers' perspectives. For instance, future studies can collect data from both types of network members, rather than relying on information from only one of these sources or from external observation. As such, the notion of unmet or imaginary developers (Cotton, 2010; Cotton et al., 2011) is not consistent with our call for the incorporation of the mutuality perspective, as these types of developers do not fit either our conceptualization of developmental networks or its associated measurement involving data collection from all involved parties.

Future Research: Stream 1

Protégé influences. In this category of antecedents, we highlight two key areas for future research that conceptual work has suggested but not yet tested quantitatively. First, quantitative tests of the relationship between such individual characteristics as personality, demographics, relational expectations, perceived needs for development, and relational savvy would solidify our understanding of the antecedents that shape developmental networks. As the study of individual characteristics has contributed significantly to the dyadic mentoring literature (for reviews, see Chandler et al., in press; Haggard et al., 2011), we expect it would also strengthen the developmental network

literature. We encourage scholars to consider the ways in which these individual characteristics might behave similarly and differently in the context of multiple, networked developmental relationships, rather than in a single dyad. Moreover, a mutuality approach suggests that understanding the protégé perspective is not sufficient. We suggest that future research also consider developers' individual characteristics and how these relate to developmental network structure and content.

Second, conceptual work on developmental networks advocates for examining developmental position and/or career stage as an antecedent of developmental network structure and content (e.g., Chandler & Kram, 2005; Ghosh et al., 2010; Shen, 2010). Broadly speaking, adult development theory suggests the type or amount of developmental support individuals need may vary across different career stages (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). More specifically, the two main characteristics of developmental networks – diversity and strength – vary over time (Dobrow & Higgins, 2011). Yet the origins and implications of this variation are unknown. Research on mini-learning cycles suggests people's networks will vary according to their location in the learning cycle regardless of age or stage (Hall & Chandler, 2007). In contrast, age or stage theories suggest that as people get older or more senior in their careers, their developmental needs change (e.g., Kegan, 1982; Levinson et al., 1978). Thus, future research could test these competing theories to identify whether developmental network characteristics change according to one's learning needs or according to one's age (Levinson et al., 1978), career stage (Hall, 2002), or developmental position (Kegan, 1994). Furthermore, using a mutuality lens, future research should consider developers' age, stage, and/or developmental position as well.

Contextual influences. As extant research on developmental networks has paid little attention to contextual influences, we view this area as ripe for future research. First, we encourage scholars to focus on the organizational contexts that surround developmental networks. Scholars often mention the role organizational context plays in fostering developmental relationships (e.g., Dutton, 2003; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). However, as empirical work in this area has typically not focused on comparing organizational contexts, we know little about which organizational characteristics facilitate or hinder the initiation, effectiveness, or longevity of developmental relationships. In addition to looking at organizational contexts, future research can explore how occupational and professional contexts shape the developmental networks that exist within them. To date, the majority of studies that have considered the embeddedness of multiple mentors (de Janasz & Sullivan, 2004; Kirchmeyer, 2005) or developmental networks within a specific professional context are in academia (Baker & Lattuca, 2010). Extending this approach into other occupational or professional areas would contribute to our understanding of the antecedents of developmental networks. Likewise, as informal relationships are more likely than formal relationships to evolve into developmental

relationships and may be more effective in general (Shen & Kram, 2011), future research can delve further into elucidating the conditions under which informal versus formal relationships provide benefits to protégés and developers in developmental networks. Building on research that considers whether developers came from inside or outside the protégé's organization (Higgins & Thomas, 2001; Kirchmeyer, 2005), the mutuality approach supports considering the organizational contexts that surround developers as well as protégés and how these contexts shape developmental network structure, content, and outcomes.

Next, research can consider the flexible and new types of developmental network relationships that may arise as the modern work context evolves. For instance, as technological advances allow relationships to form and be maintained through electronic media rather than face-to-face contact (Hamilton & Scandura, 2003), future research can explore the extent to which physical proximity (or lack thereof) shapes developmental networks. Physical proximity encourages interaction, which can enable deeper relationships (Monge & Eisenberg, 1987). Furthermore, ties formed and maintained in proximate settings may be stronger and more stable than those formed in more distal settings, thus suggesting scholars explore the implications of these different contextual factors for protégés' careers. Using a mutuality lens, future research can consider how these new contexts shape developers' engagement in developmental networks, including their willingness to participate in and their commitment to the relationship over time.

Last, we advocate that future research on developmental networks account for national context. The one developmental network study of which we are aware that considered cross-cultural factors found differences in developmental network structure for expatriates based in two countries, China and Singapore (Shen, 2010). We thus recommend that research on developmental networks expand to non-U.S. contexts and consider cross-national or cross-cultural distinctions. Moreover, to incorporate a mutuality perspective, future research should consider the nationality of both protégés and developers.

Future Research: Stream 2

Our review of the consequences of developmental network structure in Stream 2 suggests future research in this area can grow in two primary ways. First, structural differentiation within developmental networks can affect outcomes (Cummings & Higgins, 2005; Higgins et al., 2008). We thus encourage future studies that continue to refine the assessment of network diversity and strength. For instance, researchers need a better understanding of the different types of diversity that can exist in developmental networks, such as demographic diversity (e.g., gender and cross-cultural) and intra- versus extra-organizational diversity. The mutuality approach suggests several directions for future research in Stream 2. Individuals' well-documented tendency for

homophily may lead them to cultivate networks of developers who are similar to them, and therefore to each other, on particular dimensions (for a review, see McPherson et al., 2001). Future research can explore which dimensions are more and less salient or beneficial to protégés, such as demographic similarity, educational similarity, or deep-level similarity (e.g., similarity of work styles or personal values). As dyadic properties such as perceived similarity between protégés and each developer in their networks are important predictors of the actual support that protégés receive from developers (Shen, 2010), we advocate that researchers attend to properties of both the overall developmental network and the dyads that compose them. Regarding the strength of ties within developmental networks, we know little about the relationship between symmetry, an important network characteristic considered in the social networks literature, and protégé outcomes (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). For example, are developmental networks characterized by stronger reciprocity associated with more positive outcomes for protégés and/or developers than are developmental networks characterized by weaker reciprocity?

Second, future research can extend the range of consequences of developmental network structure. Most prior research focuses on subjective career outcomes (e.g., professional identity clarity in Dobrow & Higgins, 2005; career and life satisfaction in Murphy & Kram, 2010). We encourage a continued focus on subjective career outcomes and the addition of more objective outcomes, such as job performance, salary, and promotions, to this literature (Heslin, 2005). In addition, scholars have begun to consider the relationship between developmental networks and leadership (e.g., Ghosh et al., 2010) as well as personal learning (Lankau & Scandura, 2007). To build on this perspective, future research can explore the relationship between developmental network structures and how others perceive the protégé's leadership and personal effectiveness. Furthermore, the mutuality approach suggests an examination of the relationship between developmental network structures and parallel developer outcomes would be productive.

Future Research: Stream 3

Our review of Stream 3, the consequences of developmental network content, suggests three areas prime for future research. First, recent research adds nuance to our understanding of developmental support through its exploration of the subfunctions of the two traditional types of support, career and psychosocial, as well as its expansion to consider a third type of support, role modeling, along with its subfunctions. As the range of developmental support explored in research grows, we encourage scholars to identify boundary conditions of these new definitions (e.g., in which contexts they are relevant) and work toward a unified definition that ties together the different types of support. Through the lens of mutuality, future research should include developers' perceptions of the amount and type of support they provide to

the protégé as well as how they benefit from offering these types of support. As scholars begin to include developers' perspectives, they may discover additional developmental functions that previous research conducted solely from the protégé's perspective had not identified. Furthermore, research on the proposed new developmental support subfunctions has been conceptual or qualitative. We thus encourage scholars to refine and extend existing measures of developmental support to quantitatively test these new types of support in relation to one another and to career outcomes.

Second, future research can explore the relationships between different types of developmental support and a broader range of career outcomes than in existing research. For instance, high-quality relationships lead to outcomes such as self-awareness, self-esteem, new skills, zest, a desire for more connection, and well-being (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Fletcher & Ragins, 2007). Future research can test the applicability of these findings to the relationships that compose developmental networks.

Although research on developmental networks has most often focused on the positive affect strong ties provide or the supportive exchanges resulting from career and psychosocial support, scholars recognize that developmental relationships can also be negative or dysfunctional (Eby, Durley, Evans, & Ragins, 2008; Eby & McManus, 2004; Ragins & Verbos, 2007). Counter-intuitively, negative relationships can yield positive outcomes. For instance, by illustrating damaging or inappropriate behavior, negative role models in dyadic mentoring relationships can help individuals determine how they would like to behave (Murphy & Kram, 2010). Alternatively, seemingly positive relationships (i.e., those that provide a high amount of support) can result in negative consequences. For MBA alumni, continuing to receive developmental support from one's graduate school peers during the years after graduation was related to lower perceptions of career success (Higgins et al., 2008). We thus encourage future research that explores a wider range of both positive and negative outcomes, as well as how these relate to a broad range of types of developmental support. The mutuality approach suggests this wider range should incorporate positive and negative outcomes for developers as well.

Last, we suggest methodological advances for Stream 3. Consistent with our recommendation that Stream 1 research consider organizational, occupational, and professional contexts, here we propose that future studies carefully consider the match between the context in which the study is conducted and the variables the study includes. Given the relatively early state of developmental network research, scholars can focus on "extreme" samples in which they are likely to find and easily observe the phenomenon of interest (Eisenhardt, 1989). For example, studies examining the effects of developmental network support on promotability should utilize professional contexts with clear advancement paths (e.g., accounting or law). In addition, several empirical studies of developmental networks have used longitudinal methods (Cummings & Higgins, 2005; Dobrow & Higgins, 2005, 2011; Higgins

et al., 2008; Higgins et al., 2010). As a result, previous research has explored questions about how networks change, the effects of this change, and the connections between early-career developmental networks and later outcomes. As these types of questions are fundamental to understanding developmental networks' impact over the course of people's careers, we advocate that more studies attempt the challenging but important endeavor of using a longitudinal approach. To incorporate a mutuality perspective, future research can build on Cummings and Higgins's (2005) inner-outer core findings to explore the support specific developers provide over time, how this support changes over time, and associated outcomes for both protégés and developers.

Future Research: Stream 4

Higgins and Kram (2001) included mediators and moderators in their conceptual model of the developmental network formation process, yet few subsequent studies have investigated these factors. Moreover, although these proposed mediators and moderators pertained to the relationship between antecedents and developmental network structure (i.e., the left side of Figure 1), we suggest scholars also explore mediators and moderators associated with the relationship between developmental network structure and outcomes (i.e., the right side of Figure 1). Research in this area would shed light on the processes by which developmental structure and/or content actually shape outcomes for protégés (Langley, 1999). In particular, qualitative studies may suggest some of the mechanisms worth exploring and set the stage for testing in subsequent quantitative studies. Given the interesting ideas conceptual research in this area proposes, we see this area as ripe for investigation. For instance, we encourage studies that explore mediation and moderation between developmental network structure and support and a wider range of temporal outcomes (i.e., short- and long-term outcomes). Furthermore, applying a mutuality approach to questions about mediators and moderators implies researchers must include developer antecedents and consequences in future studies.

Future Research: Extending the Agenda

Incorporating a mutuality perspective into developmental networks research both builds on and extends the areas the four streams of developmental network research considers. In Table 2, we specify research questions that emerge from incorporating the mutuality perspective into developmental network research. These proposed research questions can motivate new research and ultimately extend theory on developmental networks. Here we describe these new directions from three angles: (a) the protégé's perspective, (b) the developers' perspectives, and (c) the connection between the two.

Table 2: Agenda for future research on developmental networks

<i>Stream</i>	<i>Research questions</i>
Stream 1: Antecedents of developmental networks	<p><i>Individual influences</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What role do protégés' and developers' demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, nationality, and ethnicity), temporal characteristics (e.g., age, developmental position, and career stage), or psychological characteristics (e.g., personality, relational expectations, perceived needs for development, relational savvy) play in determining network structure and content? <p><i>Contextual influences</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which organizational characteristics (e.g., extent to which mentoring is rewarded, collaborative versus competitive culture, degree of physical proximity) facilitate or hinder protégés' and/or developers' engagement in developmental networks over time (e.g., initiation, effectiveness, or longevity of developmental relationships)? • To what extent do occupational and professional contexts shape the developmental networks that exist within them? • Under what conditions do informal versus formal relationships affect developmental network content and structure as well as outcomes for protégés and developers? • To what extent does national context shape developmental network content and structure?
Stream 2: Consequences of developmental network structure	<p><i>Structural characteristics</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do different types of structural diversity (e.g., gender, cultural, educational, deep and surface level) affect protégé and developer outcomes? • What is the relationship between the degree of reciprocity characterizing the dyads in a developmental network and outcomes for protégés and developers? • What can we learn from examining the relationships among developmental networks – that is, networks of developmental networks (e.g., developer centrality in this broader network, developers' roles as brokers, benefits to developers of having a diverse network of protégés versus having a diverse developmental network of their own)? <p><i>Extending outcomes</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does developmental network structure affect subjective (e.g., creativity, work-life balance, personal learning, leadership) and objective (e.g., job performance, salary, and promotions) outcomes for protégés and developers, both positively and negatively? • What are the effects for developers of participating in more than one developmental network? • What are the effects of developers being the protégés of their own developmental networks (e.g., to what extent do the developmental networks in which an individual is a developer versus the protégé differ from each other – and what are the outcomes of these differences)? • How do networks of developmental networks influence organizational outcomes (including performance, creativity, or sustainability)?
Stream 3: Consequences of developmental network content	<p><i>Content characteristics</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent does support provided by specific developers evolve over time? • What boundary conditions delineate the contexts in which developmental support functions (e.g., career, psychosocial, role modeling) are relevant? What are the boundary conditions of newly identified subfunctions of the three main support functions? • As scholars explore a wider and wider range of developmental support functions and subfunctions, can they develop a definition and measure that unify and capture the extent of these functions and subfunctions?

(Continued)

Table 2: (Continued)

Stream	Research questions
	<p><i>Extending outcomes</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are developers' perceptions of the content of support they provide to the protégé? • What are the costs and benefits for developers from offering different amounts and types of developmental support? • To what extent does developmental network content relate to positive organizational scholarship outcomes for protégés and developers (e.g., self-awareness, self-esteem, new skills, zest, a desire for more connection, well-being)? • What outcomes are associated with receiving support from specific developers for both protégés and developers?
Streams 2 and 3: Consequences of developmental network structure and content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do individual developers derive from their involvement in one or more developmental networks? • Are there outcomes of developmental network structure or content that scholars should consider for developers (e.g., recognition in organizations) that are distinct from those important for protégés? • What are the antecedents and consequences of multiplexity (i.e., overlap in structure and/or content) from both protégés' and developers' perspectives?
Stream 4: Mediating and moderating factors	<p><i>Mediators and moderators of relationship between antecedents and developmental network characteristics</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there an "optimal" level of similarity or differences between protégés and developers? What combinations of protégé-developer similarities and differences facilitate positive developmental network structure, content, and outcomes? • To what extent does developers' awareness or lack of awareness of being in a developmental network shape developmental network structure and content? Outcomes for themselves? For other developers in the same developmental network? For the protégé? • What aspects of protégés and developers moderate the relationship between individual-level protégé or developer characteristics and developmental network structure and content? <p><i>Mediators and moderators of relationship between developmental network characteristics and outcomes</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what degree do protégés and developers agree or disagree about aspects of their involvement in developmental networks (e.g., the nature or amount of help provided)? • How does congruence or incongruence in perceptions affect protégé and developer outcomes? • To what extent does emotional competence buffer the potentially negative effects of protégé-developer differences? • To what extent do individual differences (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity) moderate the relationship between developmental network structure or content and individual outcomes for both protégés and developers? • How do the effects of particular types of support vary based on organizational context (e.g., within contexts emphasizing advancement versus learning and teamwork)? • To what extent do mediators and moderators between developmental network structure and content outcomes relate to short- versus long-term outcomes?

A mutuality perspective expands our understanding of protégés in several ways. Actively considering developers' involvement in their developmental network, such as taking into account how this relationship may benefit the developer, can give protégés a deeper understanding of why their developers take an active interest in their careers – that is, why they choose to serve as

developers (Higgins & Kram, 2001). If protégés improve their sense of what developers can gain, they may become more skilled at enlisting new people into their developmental network (Higgins et al., 2007). Moreover, having more empathy for potential developers may enable them to more effectively initiate and build these high-quality connections. Hence, protégé characteristics included in Stream 1 may be related to outcomes for the developers, not just for the protégés, as previous research has suggested. As researchers take into account developers' needs and outcomes, they may discover additional protégé antecedents.

Although research shows that mentors benefit from dyadic mentoring relationships (for reviews, see Allen, 2007; Lentz & Allen, 2009), how well these findings extrapolate to developmental networks is an open question. Scholars are in the dark regarding a critical characteristic of high-quality connections (Dutton, 2003; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Fletcher & Ragins, 2007), what individual developers derive from their involvement in one or more developmental networks, as research has not explored this area. Based on their individual characteristics (Stream 1), their positions in the network structure (Stream 2), or the nature of the help they provide (Stream 3), different developers might experience different outcomes related to their involvement in the same developmental network. Thus, future research can address whether variation in these outcomes is present among developers in a given network and whether this possible variation leads to different outcomes for each party in this network.

We anticipate that developers experience important outcomes as a result of being part of a developmental network, including the opportunity to connect with other developers in the network. Over time, as members of the network increasingly know and/or connect to one another, the network will become increasingly dense (Brass, 1995; Burt & Minor, 1983; Higgins & Kram, 2001; Krackhardt, 1994). Although increased density may benefit developers (as described in Stream 2), it may be less advantageous to protégés over time, as it reflects decreased access to diverse information and resources (Dobrow & Higgins, 2005).

Since developmental network surveys typically ask protégés to identify their developers (e.g., Cummings & Higgins, 2005; Dobrow & Higgins, 2005; Higgins et al., 2010), rather than the reverse, some developers likely do not know they are viewed as developers (e.g., "virtual" or "vicarious" developers in Cotton et al., 2011). We propose that developers benefit from knowing they are in the developmental network. As such, they may be able to see more opportunities for their own development, thus highlighting the importance of mutuality in developmental networks (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Research on dyadic mentoring relationships suggests several positive reasons for why people engage as mentors, such as prosocial motivation, intrinsic motivation, or self-enhancement (for a review, see Haggard et al., 2011). Future research can explore how the presence of developers who are and are not aware of

this role yields differential outcomes for the developers themselves, for other developers in the same network, and for protégés.

Another area for exploration is the effect(s) for developers of not only participating as a developer in one or more developmental networks but also being the protégé of their own developmental network. Building on this idea, research on developmental networks could extend in a macro direction to consider the relationships among developmental networks – that is, networks of developmental networks. This macro-network approach lends itself to the investigation of structural properties, such as developers' centrality in this broader network and developers' roles as brokers (i.e., bridging structural holes; Burt, 1992). Finally, research should explore the possibility that developers have multiple protégés and that these protégés may be interconnected. In light of the benefits of being a mentor in dyadic mentoring relationships (Allen, 2007), particular network configurations of protégés are likely advantageous to developers. For example, a diverse network of protégés may provide more benefits than a diverse developmental network of one's own.

We are not aware of published studies that explore the degree to which protégés and developers agree or disagree about aspects of their involvement in the developmental network, such as the nature or amount of help provided reviewed in Stream 3. Preliminary research has begun to explore the match between protégés and their developers along such dimensions as demographics, whether the protégés' needs are met by their developmental network (Shen, 2010), and developmental stage (Ghosh et al., 2010). Although these studies extend previous developmental network research by taking a more nuanced view of the developers and their connection to the protégés, researchers have not yet included the perspective of the developers themselves or considered the outcomes of their involvement in developmental networks.

In general, accurate self-perceptions are linked with numerous positive career outcomes, including effective job-relevant decisions, appropriate aspirational levels, low turnover, high commitment, and positive job attitudes (Yammarino & Atwater, 1997). The dyadic mentoring literature has shown that protégé-mentor agreement (e.g., overestimation, underestimation, in agreement) about a mentor's transformational leadership behavior is related to the amount of career and psychosocial support received, career satisfaction, protégé's aspirations, and perceived mentoring effectiveness (Godshalk & Sosik, 2000; Sosik & Godshalk, 2004). From a cognitive perspective, "members of [mentoring] relationship[s] may hold congruent or incongruent mentoring schemas, which may influence their expectations, behaviors, and evaluations of the relationship" (Fletcher & Ragins, 2007: 393). For instance, mentoring scholars have called for studies of the match or mismatch in protégé and mentor motivations for participating in mentoring relationships (Haggard et al., 2011).

Applying these ideas to developmental networks, future research can build on the research reviewed in Stream 2 to explore whether protégés and

developers differ in their assessments of the strength of the relationships in the developmental network and whether these possible differences result in different outcomes for network members. In addition, an exploration of the antecedents and consequences of multiplexity from both protégé and developer perspectives, including comparisons of the support provided and received, would advance the field. We acknowledge that adopting a mutuality perspective presents methodological challenges, in that it requires data collection from protégés and their developers. Having both parties' perspectives would make assessing the impact of alignment and misalignment of expectations on protégé and developer outcomes possible. Preliminary evidence suggests collecting these type of data is, indeed, possible (Dobrow & Chandler, 2009). Future studies in this area will likely add valuable insights to the developmental network literature.

Conclusion

Our review of the 10 years of research that followed Higgins and Kram's (2001) reconceptualization of mentoring as a developmental network has produced several key insights, including clarifying the boundaries of the developmental network construct, categorizing extant developmental network research into four streams, and identifying new avenues for future research. Of primary importance, we highlighted the need for developmental network research to take the viewpoints of all members of the developmental network into account – that is, to adopt a mutuality perspective. By taking developers' needs, perceptions, and outcomes into account, our understanding of the complexities of developmental networks will deepen. At a minimum, we will expand the range of possible outcomes of different network structures and content and consider developers' characteristics among possible antecedents of interest. Perhaps most significantly, however, the stage will be set to investigate how participation in one or more developmental networks influences a wider range of protégé, developer, and organizational outcomes. Hopefully, the ideas discussed in this review inspire scholars to broaden and deepen the future study – and the potential – of developmental networks.

Notes

1. Developmental networks are considered "egocentric" because the focal individual or ego, instead of the researcher, identifies the developers (Higgins & Kram, 2001). They are considered "content based" because the relationships that compose them are based on the type – or content – of support provided (e.g., friendship, advice) as opposed to being based on structural relationships (e.g., supervisor-subordinate; Podolny & Baron, 1997).
2. This attribute is consistent with most developmental network research but not with studies that consider unmet or imaginary developers as being part of the network. We reconcile this distinction later in the article.

3. We started our search in the ABI/INFORM and Science Direct databases and in Google Scholar. We also conducted a reverse search on Web of Science for articles that cited Higgins and Kram's (2001) foundational article. We then examined each study's references, key concepts, and methods and selected those that were consistent with our intended focus on developmental networks. We included published or forthcoming conceptual and empirical studies from peer-reviewed journals, academic books, and academic conferences (i.e., we did not include working papers). This process resulted in a final set of studies for review.
4. The six stages in order of least to most sophisticated are (a) incorporative, (b) impulsive, (c) imperial, (d) interpersonal, (e) institutional, and (f) inter-individual.
5. Similarly, in the context of intraorganizational networks, "expressive support" (akin to psychosocial support) is related to subjective career success (Bozionelos, 2006) and affective commitment (feelings of belongingness; Bozionelos, 2008). "Instrumental support" (akin to career support) is positively related to salary and negatively related to continuance commitment (staying because of necessity or lack of available alternatives; Bozionelos, 2008).
6. Research on the initiation of dyadic, hierarchical mentoring relationships (Blickle, Witzki, & Schneider, 2009a, 2009b; Turban & Dougherty, 1994) provides insights into how developmental initiation may serve as a mediator between antecedents and developmental network structure and content. This research suggests individuals can proactively create supportive workplace relationships. "Networking behaviors" – those behaviors aimed at "increasing the number and quality of social contacts at [one's] work place" (Blickle et al., 2009b: 95) – mediate the relationship between self-initiated mentoring and mentoring support as well as the relationship between mentoring support and objective career success (Blickle et al., 2009a, 2009b).

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Part 3: Mentoring and Coaching

Conversational Learning

Bob Garvey, Paul Stokes and David Megginson

Introduction

Within the wider business community there is a dominant rhetoric that change is just about the only constant in the twenty-first-century developed world (Garvey and Williamson, 2002). This rhetoric has extended in recent times to suggest that the pace of change in organizational life, which is influenced by technological innovation, competitive pressures and political initiatives, has accelerated. Such is the dominance of this discourse that the implications of this fast-changing and competitive climate for people in organizations of all types and in all sectors are believed to be considerable. These implications have migrated into organizational policies for recruitment and selection, learning and development and health and safety. They manifest in learning and development and recruitment policies written with the assumption that the organization needs people who are able to:

- Adapt to change rapidly
- Be innovative and creative
- Be flexible
- Learn quickly and apply their knowledge to a range of situations
- Maintain good mental and physical health
- Work collaboratively

In this climate, where the pressure to perform is increased, it is also crucial for employees to have 'strong and stable personalities' (Kessels, 1996a) and to be

able to 'tolerate complexity' (Garvey and Alred, 2001). It is a very challenging list with elements not found in the competency frameworks so commonly promulgated by organizations! The notion of meaningful learning conversations holds a response to this climate and enables people to understand and appreciate the meaning of change for themselves.

Methodology

This chapter is adapted and extended from the publication which first appeared as Alred, G., Garvey, B., Smith, R.D., (1998) *Pas de deux – learning in conversations*. In: *Career Development International*, Vol. 3 No.7, pp. 308–314. Here, we draw on some selected literature on learning and development philosophies, the importance of narratives and the social context in human development. We then present a transcript of a live learning conversation and analyse it using Megginson and Clutterbuck's (2005a: 32–36) concept of 'the levels of dialogue'.

Rationality and Learning

In association with the rhetoric of change, there has been a growing tendency in both the public and private sectors towards 'objectivity' in all work activities. Newtonian scientific method applied to organizational life has become a dominant preoccupation of managers (see Chapters 2 and 4). The exponential growth in performance league tables for organizations and performance objectives for individuals provides evidence of this (see Caulkin, 2006b).

As with the strong move towards the accurate, rational measurement of the performance of individuals and organizations, there is also a change in our understanding of the nature of rationality itself. The view of the kinds of thinking available to us is changing. 'Society is more rational, but it is a rationality of a limited kind' (Barnett, 1994: 37). It is sometimes argued (Habermas, 1974) that the most widespread current models of learning presuppose the impersonal, 'technical' mode of rationality. This mode of thinking aims to establish systematic bodies of generalized knowledge or explicit rules and procedures. It sets out to specify objectives and learning outcomes so that it becomes possible to judge success in teaching and learning if these outcomes or objectives are met. This approach lies behind current competence-based learning, referred to earlier in this chapter, which dominates the learning and development agenda in many organizations. This technical mindset towards learning is often accompanied by the strong inclination to think of learning as a linear activity (Bernstein, 1971; Habermas, 1974; Barnett, 1994). We have become so used to this that we no longer notice it, nor how it is only one, and perhaps not a

very good, way of talking and thinking about learning. This view implies that, as we learn, we move along a straight line or that the learner moves up a kind of road or staircase. We may even be able to be hurried along this road or up the staircase or we talk of 'fast tracking' people. This may seem very logical for if we know the precise route that people take then (we might imagine) the most helpful thing we can do is accelerate their journey and get them to their destination as quickly as possible. Of course, we often do make progress in this way, such as passing a driving test, learning a new language, successfully filling a new role, but 'moving forward' is only part of the story.

The merits of this approach (in the context of a competitive climate) include the enhanced possibilities of accountability, quality control and the belief that we are accelerating the learning process. Despite criticism that concentration on outcomes is unduly technicist in approach, emphasis on outcomes does not preclude attention to process and relational aspects of learning (Jessup, 1991). However, the 'hegemony of technique' (Habermas, 1974) can only engineer what has been pre-specified (Bernstein, 1971). In other words, it gets us to where we want to go by the straightest and most direct route but it cannot develop our awareness of the different kinds of destination available, the speed of travel or the choice of route nor does it hold out any promise that in travelling we will be enriched. Consequently, this technical mode of rationality cannot be adequate to develop the learner in the fast-changing environment where he or she needs to be pre-eminently capable of collaborative working, flexibility, innovation, creativity and improvisation. It may actually be counter-productive as it has been argued that 'genuinely interactive and collaborative forms of reasoning' (Barnett, 1994: 37) or social learning are in danger of being driven out by technical or 'strategic' reasoning and individualism. This is one aspect of the way interpersonal relationships may weaken during times of rapid social change (Toffler, 1970).

There may be a way forward from the domination of the technical mindset. Garvey (1994c) has noted that despite the pressure for improved performance, linear and controlled learning there is also a strong desire for people in the workplace to reach out for the more human aspects of life. People seem to want to develop stronger and more supportive relationships at work to enable them to learn *by*, *from* and *with* one another to develop their knowledge and skills, enhance their performance and to assist them to progress their chosen careers. Clearly, mentoring and coaching can be associated with this dynamic and are another way of interacting and learning. It is no surprise that coaching and mentoring activity is growing right across all sectors of society. This desire for support and for improved human relationships among people at work fits well with Erikson's (1995) concept of 'generativity'. According to Erikson, if we are not 'generative' we can stagnate but by engaging with others in social interaction and dialogue and by developing others as well as being learners ourselves we may satisfy the 'generative' motive and avoid stagnation.

The Power of Stories

Another way of developing collaborative learning is through engaging in stories. The relationship between 'story' and learning is well established (Geertz, 1974; Daloz, 1986; Bruner, 1990). The main vehicle for 'story' is metaphor and it is through understanding the myths and symbolic representation of realities in a metaphor that a person may extract meaning (Morgan, 1986). While this can provide a positive vehicle for learning it may also be at the heart of conflicts between people. The differences between the protagonists may not be in their knowledge but in their understanding of the 'meaning' of the story, its language, metaphors and symbols. As raised in Chapter 1, Bruner (1990: 32) explores the importance of meaning and suggests that this is important to the practice of human psychology: 'Psychology . . . deals only in objective truths and eschews cultural criticism. But even scientific psychology will fare better when it recognises that its truths about the human condition are relative to the point of view that it takes toward that condition.'

Bruner's (1990: 33) view is based on two points. First, it is important to understand how the individual's experiences and actions are shaped by his or her 'intentional states'. Second, the form that these 'intentional states' take is realized through the 'participation in the symbolic systems of the culture'. It is Bruner's belief that the interaction with the patterns inherent in the culture's 'language and discourse modes, the forms of logical and narrative explication, and the patterns of mutually dependent communal life' which shapes behaviour and attitudes. Consequently, we are not isolated individuals, nor are we rootless in response only to the present. On the contrary, we take meaning from our historical pasts which gave shape to our culture and we distribute this meaning through dialogue. It is Bruner's belief that 'meaning' is both individually and culturally constructed. So 'meanings' will inevitably vary and may be interpreted in the context of both the individual's 'intentional state' and the cultural frameworks from which he or she draws.

Coaching and mentoring conversations are one vehicle for such 'meaningful' dialogue and here, in our view, is the potential power of learning conversations to lead, shape and build changing attitudes, behaviours and performance in the workplace. We enact work through the story and an organization is only as good as its narrative allows it to be. This implies that there may be 'good' stories which help to shape a 'good' view of an organization but also 'bad' stories can equally become embedded as cultural norms. Bruner (1990: 97) suggests that a culture may be in conflict with itself and 'our sense of the normative is nourished in narrative, but so is our sense of breach and exception. Stories make reality a mitigated reality'. According to Bruner (1990: 97), conflict then is a product of:

1. Deep disagreement about what constitutes . . . ordinary . . . life.
2. When there is rhetorical overspecialization of narrative, when stories become ideological or self-servingly motivated that distrust displaces interpretation, and 'what happened' is discounted as fabrication.
3. Breakdown that results from sheer impoverishment of narrative resources.

The value of exploring story through conversation is in addressing these issues and in the ability of the conversationalists to develop new and alternative meanings so that a fuller picture is developed thus giving more choice of action. A conversation with a mentee or coachee may reveal that he or she 'knows this story already'. He or she is not encountering anything new, but may be helped to revisit and find new insights, understandings and meanings in old truths, such as the importance of team-building, or of maintaining distance *from* and perspective *on* work. With these topics we seem to be dealing with basic and apparently simple ideas, but in reality they are so complex, so deceptive in their simplicity, yet so important, that they have to be approached again and again from different angles.

The conversation can play a major part in learning for, as Bruner (1985: 23) says, 'language is a way of sorting out one's thoughts about things'. Discussion can help the learner to re-frame an idea, think new thoughts or build from old ones (Garvey and Williamson, 2002). The educational psychologist Vygotsky (1978) would agree because he viewed dialogic learning as a 'higher mental function'. This is because the engagement in ideas through dialogue externalizes the idea in a social context and enables new perspectives to emerge. These perspectives are then internalized and integrated into the individual's mental frameworks and functions.

The Social Context

It is clear then that learning is also contextual and that the organizational context can influence the ability of those working within it to function (see Chapter 8). The notion of 'environments' put forward by Vygotsky (1978: 86) as the 'zone of proximal development' plays an important role in the learning process. He described this as 'the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving . . . in collaboration with more capable peers'. The implication here is that a greater potential for enhanced understanding and learning is unlocked if there is guidance or collaboration through dialogue.

These notions have major implications for coaching and mentoring conversations and for how we organize for learning in the workplace. The influence and power of the social context in the learning process is not in doubt. As

Bruner states (1985: 25), 'passing on knowledge is like passing on language – his [Vygotsky's] basic belief that social transaction is the fundamental vehicle of education and not, so to speak, solo performance'.

Lave and Wenger (1991) developed the idea of learning as a social activity within a social context in their notions of 'communities of practice' and 'legitimate peripheral participation'. Vygotsky saw learning as a holistic, continuous process which should be pursued until the issues are resolved or, in Kolb's (1984) or Jarvis's (1992) terms, with full consideration of the models of experiential learning. In Vygotskian terms, this means a 'unity of perception, speech and action, which ultimately produces internalization' (Vygotsky, 1978: 26). So, mentoring and coaching conversations have the potential to develop great insight, new thoughts and enhanced meaning within the social context of the discussing pair and at the same time, the social context of the organization.

Non-Linear Conversation

Non-linear learning and meaningful conversation are natural bedfellows. However, conversations take place in any number of situations, and while all share a common factor of involving at least two people talking, they may in fact serve a variety of purposes, of which non-linear learning is only one. For example, many of us have fallen into conversation with a stranger when travelling, both parties being in transit. This can be an occasion for more expansive talk, or less inhibited talk, than when in a familiar context. Unexpected things can emerge: we can be surprised at what we are ready to share with a stranger, and such 'brief encounters' are sometimes remembered with fondness and appreciation (Simmel, 1950). The contrasting situation of talk over a meal among intimates in a domestic setting can be similarly valuable as a space to explore, to touch on matters that really matter, to connect the mundane with the fundamental, in short, to learn in a non-linear way. Any one conversation may serve a number of purposes.

Mentoring and coaching conversations are associated with the development of both the affective and the rational (see Chapter 1). These conversations assist in the development of the human qualities such as trust, openness, honesty and integrity as well as support the notions crucial to workplace learning such as the enhancement of skills, applications from training and understanding through experiential learning (Daloz, 1986; Garvey, 1994c). Coaching and mentoring can bring together those who view learning as a means to an end, such as improved effectiveness and efficiency, and those who emphasize the wider psychosocial (Kram, 1983) contexts in which people are regarded as 'ends in themselves'.

In their book *Techniques for Coaching and Mentoring* Megginson and Clutterbuck (2005a) offer seven levels of dialogue. A conversation in the office, for

instance, may be prefaced with some 'social dialogue' aimed at establishing a social connection in a friendly manner. This could lead to 'technical dialogue' where the focus is on clarifying existing levels of knowledge about work policies, procedures and systems. The conversation may develop into a 'tactical' level of dialogue which is aimed at discovering practical ways to deal with the issue in hand. It could become 'strategic' where the purpose is to take a wider perspective and to put the immediate challenges into context. Over time, the dialogue could develop into creating the conditions for 'self-insight' where the learner gains an awareness of his or her hopes, fears, thinking patterns or emotions. Consequently, the insight may develop into 'behavioural dialogue' aimed at bring together the understanding from the other levels to affect change. The final level of the seven levels of dialogue framework is the 'integrative' where the conversation is likened to a dance as both partners take the lead in turns. Moving from one level to another is not a linear progression but a deep-seated transformation of the nature of the conversation.

Conversation as a Dance

In a mentoring or coaching conversation, the learning is often non-linear as the two conversationalists explore and probe ideas and come to conclusions or new viewpoints.

As an illustrative example, here is a transcript from an integrative mentoring conversation. This is put forward to highlight, not so much the content of the conversation but more the process of mentor and mentee talking together and what the mentee learns from it.

The mentee has recently been promoted within his organization. He talks about the nature of the new job, the changing relationship with his line manager and an aspect of his personality. The conversationalists know each other well and they have talked before. Their relationship and shared understanding enable the conversation to be respectful and purposeful. Knowledge is assumed and hence to an observer may appear understated, but both parties recognize its significance as the conversation proceeds. They explore the themes of the conversation, getting closer to new learning, refining understanding and meaning, as they go. There are repetitions, restatements of themes and variations in pace and the balance of support and challenge. The conversation has two distinct sections and hints at a third. The first is an exploration led by the mentor, the second is a refocussing based on a different understanding of the mentee's situation and the third is movement towards action (Alred et al., 2006).

At the outset the mentor mentions that he has observed a slight change of behaviour in the mentee. Normally, the mentee is very open about all aspects of his life. In taking on this new role, it seems to the mentor that he has been uncharacteristically reticent.

Extract from a Live Mentoring Conversation

- Mentor:** Can I take you back to this week, and the start of your new job. Usually, I know what's happening in your working life, and I usually know what's happening in your personal life, because you're very chatty – you share a lot. But this week, it's a big new beginning and you've said how you would have liked your boss to show some interest. I wonder if you could say a bit more about that. It seems like a quiet start. . .
- Mentee:** Yes, a quiet start . . . um . . . previously, he's been very supportive, but this week he's been very busy with other things, with another colleague actually. He says you have to manage him (*laughter*). When I was in charge of the last area, he would leave me to get on with it and I would feed him information from time to time. But this new job is different. *The mentor intuitively senses that there is an issue to be explored. He leads gently.*
- Mentor:** It sounds like there is something you want from him?
The mentee is challenged to move in this direction and brings the conversation onto a well trodden issue.
- Mentee:** Er . . . I think I would like more information . . . I think there's this other issue which comes up . . . that he suffers from 'last minute-ism', in time management, and you know what I'm like with time management. You know, if it's not in the diary three months ahead, I find difficulty with it really. For example, there is a very important meeting today that I was just told about on Wednesday. Well, I'm sorry, there's no way I can go to it. . . (*laughter*) . . . so there's that issue.
The mentor follows by opening up the issue.
- Mentor:** That's his style. . .
- Mentee:** Yes, yes . . . worries me a touch. . .
- Mentor:** Really? He is somebody you are having to work to . . . yes . . . and that's a problem for you. . .?
- Mentee:** Yes, generally he's very good, the 'last minuteism', it gets a bit close for comfort, and personally I find that very difficult. I like a more planned future.
The mentor maintains momentum by offering a suggestion.
- Mentor:** You're usually very upfront with people. Have you thought about going to see him to discuss it?
After some hesitation, the mentee stays in step.
- Mentee:** I think I should, although . . . I've not really thought about it . . . (*pause*) . . . I think . . . (*pause*) . . . yes, I do need to go and see him and say, 'That meeting was important and you knew it was coming up, would it have been possible to have let me know more in advance?' With a lot of things, the administrator has put in place some of these dates and we now have them. And I think he needs to learn some of that. . .
The mentor now moves the focus from the manager to the mentee/manager relationship.

- Mentor:** This issue has come more to the fore this year with the shift to your new role as director. It's something to do with the last job being less important than the new one and here you are with a high profile. And it means you've got a different sort of relationship with him.
- Mentee:** Well, it's bigger business, it's worth a lot of money, in the picture of things, the last job is worth peanuts really, actually, in financial terms, whereas this one is worth a lot of money to the organization.
- Mentor:** So the stakes are higher?
- Mentee:** Absolutely.
The mentor holds the line.
- Mentor:** This relationship with your boss is perhaps more important than it's been before . . . is it?
The mentee begins to look at things differently.
- Mentee:** I think it is. (*Pause*) I just wonder, just sometimes, I wonder whether it's me that's got the problem with this time management business . . . um. . .
- Mentor:** It's bit of a running joke, isn't it. . .?
- Mentee:** It is really. (*Laughter*)
The mentor stays with the theme, leading the conversation and challenging.
- Mentor:** I have a simple man's diary . . . (*laughter*) . . . you . . . have a different sort of diary. . .
- Mentee:** Absolutely . . . absolutely, (*laughter*) . . . and you seem to survive all right (*laughter*) . . . um. . .
- Mentor:** So is that another issue. . .?
The conversation takes a significant turn.
- Mentee:** I don't know . . . but I wonder if, personally, it's a bit of an obsession. I think the busier you are the more you need to be organized. My view of time is . . . (*pause*) fundamentally, . . . Well . . . it's a negotiable thing and something around which you have choice . . . but I don't think everyone sees it like that (*laughter*). . .
- Mentor:** Well. . .?
- Mentee:** I don't think he sees it like that. I think he feels he has a right to my time on request.
The mentor seems to feel that this is a significant moment so, rather than probe further, he feels it is time for some consolidation though summary.
- Mentor:** Interesting, I'm conscious that we've been talking for some time . . . I wonder if it would be useful for you to summarize. . .
The mentee, to his surprise, is given responsibility to lead.
- Mentee:** You want me to do that?
- Mentor:** You start and I'll chip in. . .
- Mentee:** All right . . . well, I suppose the first thing is the issue of the past, what went on then, but I don't . . . that's gone now, that was tense but I got out of that responsibility . . . so in a sense that was quite satisfying. But it wasn't like frying pan to fire, it's a new thing opening up. What I have now in terms of budget well that's a bit nerve racking. And then there's . . . (*pause*) . . . then there's

the time management issue . . . um . . . which is. . . I'm not sure whether it's my problem or his. Either way, we've got to sort it out. And I think that's probably the key issue. When people are busy you've got to sort out some sort of organization around that. *The mentor takes back the lead and the conversation becomes steps towards action.*

Mentor: So when we take this further, we'll pick up these issues. You're in the early, very early stages, the first days of the new responsibility. . .

Mentee: Yes.

Mentor: And working on the relationship with your line manager is a priority. . .

Mentee: Yes, I think it is, I think you're right, and I think I shall tackle that . . . although, I've always got on well with him. . .

Mentor: Yes.

Mentee: I don't have a problem with that. Because the stakes are a bit higher, the relationship is likely to be a bit closer.

The mentor reflects back the mentee's words.

Mentor: On the other side there's what you've described as being obsessive about time management. Perhaps it will be helpful to explore that more, so that you can get clearer about it, and that may help you with your manager.

Mentee: Yes, because it does create tensions. Last minute things create tensions for me, because my sense of responsibility says I should be doing that, and my sense of time management . . . which is 'my time and we negotiate' – thinks – I'm not going to be there because I've already made previous arrangements. So that's complicated. Feelings of guilt, I suppose (*laughter*) are around. *The conversation is coming to an end. The mentor ensures they end as a pair, looking ahead to the next conversation.*

Mentor: So we've explored what the new responsibility is like and two issues, one to do with your line manager and one more personal. I wonder if that is a suitable place to stop.

Mentee: I think it is. I mean, what's it done for me is draw out this time management issue which . . . (*pause*) . . . I think it does have the potential to be significant and it does have to be resolved. Before we started this, I didn't really know where we were going to go. There was a concern there and I think I've clarified what that concern is.

Mentor: Can we agree to pick that up next time?

Mentee: Yes, that will be useful.

Conclusions

There are at least two stories inherent in this conversation. One story is the mentee's story that planning and organization are important. There is also a fairly sophisticated story about autonomy and independence versus compliance

and interdependence between the mentee's manager and the mentee. Both these stories present potential problems for the mentee, the manager and the organization particularly as the financial stakes are quite high and the mentor is working hard to achieve 'self-insight' and 'behavioural change' in the mentee.

This example also serves to illustrate non-linear learning and the conditions that promote it. The conversation starts in a 'social' way and moves through 'tactical', 'technical', and 'strategic' quite quickly. Prompted by his new role, the mentee revisits issues he has addressed before. Time management is a perennial issue and here the idea that it is an 'obsession' is new and this is conversation at a 'self-insight' level. He states explicitly that he didn't know at the outset where the conversation would go but it has been productive, leading to insight, clarification and a commitment to action. Following a linear model, the mentor could have proffered these outcomes himself by giving advice and thus holding the conversation at a 'tactical' or 'technical' level. However, with a complex subject like time management, advice would be inappropriate at this stage. The mentor could have moved the conversation into a 'strategic' level but, instead, he initiated a non-linear conversation. The mentee provided the content and the mentor facilitated a process of criss-crossing the issues, looking at them from different angles, gently prompting the mentee to take risks, such as voicing a criticism of his line manager and admitting to an 'obsession'. In this way 'self-insight' develops. This conversation is also about the culture of the organization. The topic of time management is often influenced by the behaviour and values of those who lead. So, 'last minuteism' is the way the manager behaves and this is at odds with the mentee's behaviour. The 'self-insight' here presents the mentee with choices so that the next level of conversation at future meetings may be within 'behavioural change' but this may take sometime to action and establish.

When the mentor asks the mentee to summarize, it is a further challenge to the mentee to lead the process, as well as explore the content. This pushes the conversation to an 'integrative' level. The mentee is learning about specific issues and about the non-linear conversation. He is learning to learn, and what he has learned is of considerable value both to himself in developing Vygotsky's 'higher mental functions' and to his organization in terms of collaborative working and adjustments in behaviour towards others. The conversation is also helping to maintain stable mental health by examining the meaning the mentee attributes to his behaviour and the behaviour of others. The mentee could quite easily become stressed if he fails to understand his manager's behaviour and fails to consider adjustments in his own. There is also potential for misunderstanding in this example leading to potential conflicts as the manager's and the mentee's meanings about time are differently constructed.

The Future

As we move to a future where learning conversations may become common in everyday life and work there is a challenge to engage not only in learning conversations *that* work, but in learning conversations *at* work. A further challenge is to those who wish to 'manage' others in a changing dynamic in the workplace. The old methods of purposeful planning, systematic arrangement, command and control, status and hierarchy may now no longer be the best approach when learning, knowledge exchange and development are the key business drivers. These values may need to give way to greater autonomy, experimentation, exploration and the genuine facilitation of learning as a process that adds value. This requires space and time for different kinds of conversation and new conditions to enable people to perform to their best. The greater the desire to strictly control the conversation, the less it produces true creativity, freedom of movement and expression – valued attributes in the new business model of the twenty-first century. These are found in organizations that encourage learning through conversation.

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