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Making noise or playing a symphony?

Conflict and conflict management in organizations with professionals and special interest groups

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Summary

Making noise or playing a symphony? Conflict and conflict management in organizations with professionals and special interest groups.

María del Rocío López Cabrera

Supervisors: Dr. Francisco J. Medina, Prof. Dr. Martin Euwema, Dr. Alicia Arenas

Conflicts have been thoroughly studied in organizational contexts, due to its importance not only for organizations, in terms of effectiveness and goal achievement, but also for team- and individual performance and wellbeing. Yet, further analyses are still required in organizational contexts with a focus on diversity. Promoting diversity in the workplace is a preliminary step to achieve inclusive organizations. However, this is a complex issue for employees, managers and HR. The aim of this doctoral dissertation is to analyze conflict and conflict management in organizations considering diversity as a broad concept including professionals and special interest groups, particularly volunteers and employees with disabilities, including mental illness. We investigate the relations between diversity, conflict, and inclusion in three empirical studies combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

In our first study, we explore a Nonprofit Organization (NPO), analyzing existent types of conflicts and differences in conflict perception between groups within the organization (Chapter 2). Study two focuses on conflicts between different roles in the organization, and its effects on performance and job satisfaction. In this study we analyze both the formal roles that coexist between paid staff and different positioned volunteers, the informal relations, and the effects of different profiles over conflict, performance, and job satisfaction (Chapter 3). Study three was conducted in a social enterprise where employees with mental illness and without mental illness work together. We analyzed which factors promote effective inclusion of people with severe mental illness at work, focusing on three organizational factors: relationship between coworkers, including conflicts; role of inclusive leaders; inclusive climate. (Chapter 4). In the concluding chapter, we discuss the main results of our studies, presenting theoretical and practical implications and general conclusions.

Samenvatting

Lawaai maken of een symfonie spelen? Conflict- en conflictbeheersing in organisaties met professionals, vrijwilligers en mensen met afstand tot de arbeidsmarkt.

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Conflicten zijn grondig bestudeerd in organisaties vanwege de impact op prestaties van die organisaties, teams, en individuele medewerkers, alsook het welbevinden. De relatie met specifieke vormen van diversiteit verdient zeker nog aandacht, ook al gezien de toenemende diversiteit en het belang van inclusie op de werkplek. Inclusief werken stelt grote uitdagingen aan medewerkers, leiding en HR. Het doel van dit proefschrift is om conflict- en conflictbeheersing te analyseren in organisaties die diversiteit beschouwen als een breder concept; in bijzonder verscheidenheid in typen medewerkers, zoals professionals, vrijwilligers en werknemers met een afstand tot de arbeidsmarkt, bijv vanwege psychische beperkingen. We onderzoeken de relaties tussen diversiteit, conflicten en inclusie, middels drie empirische studies die kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve methoden combineren.

In onze eerste studie verkennen we een Non-profit organisatie (NPO), waarbij we ons concentreren op het analyseren van conflicten en het begrijpen van de verschillen in conflictperceptie tussen diverse groepen binnen de organisatie (hoofdstuk 2). Studie twee richt zich op conflicten tussen (betaalde) professionals en verschillende niveaus van vrijwilligers in de organisatie en de relatie met prestaties en job satisfactie. Hierbij wordt in de analyse rekening gehouden met zowel de formele rollen, als informele (machts-)posities van betrokkenen. De derde studie werd uitgevoerd in een sociale onderneming waar werknemers met een psychische beperking samenwerken met werknemers zonder die beperking. We analyseren welke factoren inclusie op het werk van mensen met een ernstige psychische aandoening kunnen bevorderen. Specifiek is de relatie onderzocht van inclusie met interpersoonlijke relaties en conflicten; de rol van inclusieve leiders; en een inclusief organisatieklimaat. (hoofdstuk 4). In het afsluitende hoofdstuk bespreken we de belangrijkste resultaten van onze studies en presenteren we theoretische en praktische implicaties en algemene conclusies.

Resumen

¿Hacer ruido o interpretar una sinfonía? Conflicto y gestión del conflicto en organizaciones con profesionales y grupos de interés.

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Los conflictos se han sido ampliamente estudiados en contextos organizacionales, debido a su importancia no solo para las organizaciones, en términos de efectividad y logro de objetivos, sino también para el desempeño y el bienestar del equipo e individual. Sin embargo, aún se requieren más análisis en contextos organizacionales centrados en la diversidad. Promover la diversidad en el lugar de trabajo es un paso preliminar para lograr organizaciones inclusivas. Sin embargo, este es un tema complejo para los empleados, gerentes y RR.HH. El objetivo de esta tesis doctoral es analizar los conflictos y la gestión de conflictos en organizaciones que consideran la diversidad como un concepto amplio que incluye a profesionales y grupos de especial interés, en particular voluntarios y empleados con discapacidad, incluida la enfermedad mental. Investigamos las relaciones entre diversidad, conflicto e inclusión en tres estudios empíricos que combinan metodologías cualitativas y cuantitativas.

En nuestro primer estudio, exploramos una organización sin ánimo de lucro (OSAL), analizando los tipos de conflictos existentes y las diferencias en la percepción de conflictos entre grupos dentro de la organización (Capítulo 2). El segundo estudio se centra en los conflictos entre diferentes roles en la organización y sus efectos sobre el desempeño y la satisfacción laboral. En este estudio analizamos tanto los roles formales que coexisten entre el personal remunerado y voluntarios, las relaciones informales y los efectos de los diferentes perfiles sobre el conflicto, el desempeño y la satisfacción laboral (Capítulo 3). El estudio tres se llevó a cabo en una empresa social donde los empleados con enfermedades mentales y sin enfermedades mentales trabajan juntos. Analizamos qué factores promueven la inclusión efectiva de personas con enfermedad mental grave en el trabajo, centrándonos en tres factores organizativos: relación entre compañeros de trabajo, incluidos los conflictos; papel de los líderes inclusivos; clima inclusivo. (Capítulo 4). En el capítulo final, discutimos los principales resultados de nuestros estudios, presentando implicaciones teóricas y prácticas y conclusiones generales.

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CHAPTER 1

General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Today's organizational workforce is highly diverse. Diverse in as many aspects as our society; demographic characteristics such as different backgrounds, age (Boehm et al., 2014), gender identity and sexual orientation (Howell, 2018; Di Marco, 2017) or ethnicity (Milliken & Martins, 1996), as well as deeper level aspects, such as values or attitudes or diverse capabilities. Diversity is often promoted as a political and societal goal and even a moral issue; equal rights for different groups (EC, 2021). This is a laudable and necessary purpose encouraged by international institutions such as the European Commission or United Nations. Diversity refers to different characteristics of social groups (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). However, is managing diversity at work as simple as hiring employees with different personal characteristics or backgrounds? The answer to this question is not, it is not enough.

Promoting diversity at workplace is a previous step to achieve inclusive organizations, that means promoting their feeling of belonging, and value their differences, therefore, reinforcing their uniqueness (Shore et al., 2011; Shore & Chung, 2021). However, this is a complex issue either for organizational members or for HR management, particularly when these distinguishable characteristics may be determined by the purpose, nature, or structure of the organizational context. So, besides individual features, diversity can also derive from coexisting role identities or groups of stakeholders with different needs within organizations. These collectives must overcome their differences and find a way not only to achieve a common ground to fulfil their organizations' goals, but also to find enrichment in those differences. If they succeed, they will achieve inclusiveness which is the desirable outcome; otherwise, disputes and conflicts can take place, along with the negative consequences they may have.

Therefore, for some organizations, diversity is intrinsic to their organizational structure and mission; however, for them, inclusion is still a goal to be achieved and conflicts are the obstacle to overcome. Conflicts are inherent to organizations, as much as disagreements and

discrepancies are inherent to interactions at individual, group, and organizational level (Deutsch, 1973; Rahim, 2010). Therefore, diverse organizations are not set aside from conflicts. However, although research on conflict and conflict management has been growing up during the last decades, there are still some organizational contexts that have been barely included in these studies. That is the case of organizations whose diversity comes from their organizational structure. At best, results obtained analyzing other sectors, have traditionally been generalized to organizations where different groups of stakeholders coexist, instead of developing specific research in these organizational contexts (Studer & Schnurbein, 2013; Temkin & Cummings, 1986).

In this doctoral dissertation we focus on these organizations with diverse workforce due to the coexistence of different groups of stakeholders or role identities and also diverse capabilities. In this regard, we reflect on the following questions: Are there conflicts in these organizations? How do they take place in these? Which types of conflicts take place? How are these conflicts perceived and managed by different stakeholders? Which are the consequences for parties involved? How can HRM manage and prevent these conflicts? These are some relevant questions that professionals that deal with these circumstances daily ask themselves, however research, to our understanding, has not been able to respond yet.

In this dissertation, we analyze two organizational contexts, both part of third sector, in which conflicts may arise due to this type of diversity at the workplace: a nonprofit organization, where paid staff and volunteers work together as part of the same teams and a social enterprise, where employees with and without mental illness conform organizational units. Despite the differences between these two organizations, they share a common feature: teams are composed, in a high percentage, of volunteers and employees with mental illness, respectively, and to a lesser extent, of employees (paid staff and employees without mental illness, respectively). This is particularly relevant, as previous research on third sector tend to

focus mostly on those collectives that introduce diversity in the organization; that is, those considered as “vulnerable”. Likewise, organizational policies usually focus on them to promote their inclusion. However, in the two analyzed organizational contexts, the two groups introducing diversity, therefore considered more vulnerable (volunteers and employees with mental illness) are a majority in the organization. This may influence the normalize workforce, who may feel threatened as if they were working in a hostile environment in which they are outsiders.

To understand diversity and conflict dynamics in these organizational contexts, we analyze, along three empirical studies, the different sources of conflicts between these groups and how these conflicts are managed, considering each stakeholders’ perspective, as well as its consequences. First, a qualitative study based on focus groups was conducted to understand a non-profit organization and its functioning as well as to identify the main types of conflicts among volunteers and paid staff and their consequences.

Second, a quantitative study analyzes, based on the previous study’s results, the differences between paid staff and volunteers in perceived intrapersonal conflict and performance, and its effect on job satisfaction.

In this study we also analyze if there is an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of NPOs, despite the formal roles that coexist in these organizations (paid staff and volunteers) and its effect on conflict, performance, and job satisfaction.

Third, a qualitative study based on focus groups to understand a social enterprise, where employees with and without mental illness work together. We analyze which factors may facilitate the effective inclusion of people with severe mental illness at work focusing on several organizational factors: relationship between coworkers, including conflicts; two possible protector factors, role of inclusive leaders and inclusive climate; and its consequences.

Additionally, as opposed to traditional research on diversity and inclusiveness that highlight the vulnerable group perspective, we will also include the non-vulnerable group perspective.

1.2 Theoretical framework

In this section we will review the shared theoretical framework on diversity and conflict that supports this doctoral research.

Diversity at work

There are two theoretical frameworks underpinning diversity research: the social categorization perspective and the information/decision making perspective, both with opposite consequences for groups processes (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). On the one hand, the categorization perspective focuses on how differences among team members may lead to in-groups (similar characteristics) and out-groups (dissimilar characteristics) categorizations and, consequently, impair group functioning. On the other hand, the information/decision making perspective proposes that a combination of different knowledges and backgrounds may benefit and improve group functioning (van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). However, empirical studies do not provide consistent results on how diversity affects team performance considering these two approaches so, as Van Knippenberg & Schippers (2007) pointed out, more research in this vein is needed.

Indeed, diversity and inclusion can be (and should be) analyzed from a broader perspective. Based on the Van Knippenberg & Schippers (2007) definition of the concept, “diversity is a characteristic of social groups that shows either objective or subjective differences that exist among groups members” (p. 516). On its behalf, inclusion can be defined as the integration of heterogeneous groups in a way they fit together, valuing their differences (Arenas, et al., 2017; Sposato et al., 2015). Therefore, considering both definitions, any source of differences among the members of a team or an organization should be included in this analysis, even the different collectives that, by means of organizational structure, are created.

In this regard, third sector organizations, such as nonprofit organizations and social enterprises, illustrate this diversity in terms of organizational structure, which is indeed one of their main characteristics besides their ambivalence or “hybridity” due to its constant change to attend social needs (Brandsen, et al., 2005).

a) *Nonprofit organizations (NPOs)*

NPOs are quite complex; not only in terms of organizational structure and relations among members, for instance, due the coexistence of volunteers and paid staff, who demand different management (Studer, 2016), but also regarding their motivational mechanism and value rationality (DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990). Paid staff and volunteers traditionally work together in NPOs as part of the same team groups. Consequently, this diversity promotes an enrichment of the working environment, in which the existent value bond between the organizations’ aims and its members’ social compromise contributes to higher levels of intrinsic motivation in teams (De la Torre, 2010). At a personal level, volunteers also obtain benefits, such as improving their self-confidence and social ties (Leviten-Reid & Campbell, 2016). Additionally, due to the fact that volunteers definitely enable these organizations to develop their activity helping and supporting a great diversity of collectives and, overall, being a social anchor for society in a cost efficient manner, it is extremely relevant to prevent conflicts between paid staff and volunteers that may interfere in its normal functioning and reduce the desire to leave the organization by volunteers.

b) *Social enterprises*

Social enterprises bore as a response to financial crisis. Although this phenomenon is not well bounded theoretically, it is becoming quite relevant given its capacity to reconcile private and social value creation (Petrella & Richez-Battesti, 2014). Therefore, social enterprises focus on achieving economic purposes, to maintain their competitiveness, but also social aims, in the same vein as non-profit organizations. Among other social purposes, these

organizations facilitate social integration of vulnerable groups such as people with different types of disability (Boehm & Dwertmann, 2015). However, despite their positive results on people with disability, who feel fulfilled and independent, and for their coworkers, who appreciate and learn from their differences, sometimes disruptive situations like conflict and discrimination take place. These actions are especially detrimental for employees suffering mental illness.

Considering both organizational contexts, inclusion of either people with disability or volunteers and regular employees is essential to achieve organizational goals. However, a real inclusive work environment can only be achieved by means of an appropriate diversity management, based on a deep understanding of the power dynamics and boundaries that may take place between them (Weisinger et al., 2016). In fact, a step further in this situation may be needed and organizational inclusion behaviors must be promoted; the workforce must feel they are involved in organizational procedures and decision-making processes (Mor-Barak & Cherin, 1998; Sabharwal, 2014). Otherwise, tensions and conflicts between both identities may take place (Ganesh & McAllum, 2012), particularly if additional organizational circumstances also take place, such as “professionalization” or the so-called becoming business-like procedures to face bureaucracy activities interfere (Maier et al., 2016). Continuing with this example, very relevant in the organizational contexts in which the present research is developed, this process usually clashes with the original ideology and values of the organization. Therefore, even a feeling of “we” against “them” clearly differentiating groups in the organization instead of defining themselves as “us” may appear (Sabharwal, 2014). In that case, as Dovidio et al., (2017) pointed out, social categorizations processes may compromise diversity and inclusion’s benefits for the organization. Indeed, if each group attempt to prevail and give priority to their own interests, diversity can lead to competitive behaviors and even conflicts.

Managing different identities at work

As a matter of fact, individuals do not only categorize themselves in different groups based on their similar or different characteristics but also develop a sense of identity or belongingness within these groups. According to the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982, 2010) individuals value themselves based on intergroup comparison, which may affect their self-esteem (Sabharwal, 2014) and, from an organizational perspective, their motivation and job performance (Stets & Burke, 2000). In this regard, Pratt and Foreman (2000) described four different ways of managing identity in organizations: a) compartmentalization, b) deletion, c) integration and d) aggregation. *Compartmentalization* may be plausible, but implies avoiding any interaction between identities, for instance, distributing different functions to each collective (Chenhall et al., 2016). *Deletion* is not plausible in most cases, since it implies that one or more identities are removed from the organization. Organizations, due to their organizational values and mission, tend to manage identities as if they were completely *integrated*, that is as if a new identity had been created based on the previous ones. However, reality is quite different, and in most cases, aggregation has occurred. Therefore, different identities are maintained but connections or boundaries among them are created (Chenhall et al., 2016; Pratt & Foreman, 2000). If *aggregation* is not well managed, inclusion will not take place. In this vein, several studies reported that identity differences are a source of tensions, in third sector, for instance, between volunteers and paid staff in nonprofit organizations (Kreutzer & Jägger, 2011; Mcduff, 2012). Since they are interdependent, paid staff and volunteers must cooperate, but their roles sometimes seem to overlap (Mcduff, 2012). If that happens, paid staff may feel threatened and even at stake due to the advantages that diversity has for organizations, in terms of public image or even costs (Ashcraft & Kedrowics, 2002) instead of appreciating the benefits of inclusion. Moreover, despite that uncertainty, they still must make sure that the organizational goals are fulfilled since their job positions depend upon that.

Therefore, in organizations where several role identities (Burke, 1980; Burke & Reitzes, 1981) or collectives coexist, the inclusion equilibrium may be weak and tensions and conflicts between them may arise (Weisinger et al., 2016).

Conflicts in diverse organizational contexts

In organizations conflicts can be analyzed at three different levels: interpersonal conflicts, group conflicts and organizational conflicts. However, when actors with different roles work together, interpersonal conflicts and how each member perceives these interactions between groups is particularly relevant. According to conflict theory by Deutsch (1973) conflicts arise in cooperative and competitive situations whenever incompatible activities or aspirations occur between parties. These situations can be triggered by a) parties' characteristics (their values and motivations, aspirations, and objectives); b) their prior relations (including expectations); c) the nature of the issue rising the conflict or the social environment, in which the conflicts take place, d) their strategy managing them and e) conflict consequences. As a matter of fact, conflicts' consequences may affect organizational members at a personal level, for example decreasing their job satisfaction or even determine their intention to leave the organization.

In this regard, as it was previously explained, diversity and inclusion are often analyzed in research from the perspective of the minorities or the so-considered "vulnerable" group. However, promoting diversity and inclusion, also has an impact on other members of the organization. Although these collectives must overcome their differences, to find a way not only to achieve a common ground and fulfil their organizations' goals, but also to find enrichment in those differences, achieving inclusiveness. However, in practice this is not that easy, and conflicts usually arise. For instance, each collective may perceive that their roles are not clear enough so they feel dispensable, or their interests may clash in terms of how to solve problems or plan new projects. Therefore, colleagues may see each other as competitors instead of as allies at work (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011; Netting et al., 2008). Despite this fact, even when

the negative counterpart of inclusiveness is analyzed, research focuses on the negative impact for those who are accepted by the group (Greenaway et al., 2015). However, is there also a counterpart of inclusiveness for those who are not identified with the non-vulnerable group?

An example of this dichotomy can be found in third sector where usually two roles must cooperate and work together as part of the same teams (Corry, 2010). That is the case, for instance, in non-profit organizations but also in social enterprises, organizations which, although being private, have a social purpose such as the normalization of disability. As it was previously pointed out, in these organizations, in a high percentage, teams are composed of volunteers and employees with disability, respectively, and to a lesser extent, by employees (paid staff and employees without disability, respectively). This is particularly relevant since those collectives which are supposed to introduce diversity in the organization are a majority, and even so organizational culture still focuses on them.

Types of conflicts in diverse organizations

Two main types of conflicts have been traditionally identified in organizational contexts: conflicts arising from interpersonal relations or affective conflicts and conflicts related to procedures and activities at work or cognitive conflicts (Guetzkow & Gyr, 1954; Pinkley, 1990; Priem & Price, 1991). In this regard, Jehn's (1997) proposed a widespread taxonomy differentiating between task, relationship, and process conflicts. Task conflicts are defined as disagreements or different opinions about the contents of a certain task (De Witt et al., 2012). Relationship conflicts are defined as the experience of personal incompatibilities or tensions that provoke feelings such as frustration or irritation (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Process conflict is defined as disagreement about how a task should be accomplished, including issues such as who should do what and how much responsibility each member of the group should take (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Recently, Bendersky & Hays (2012) added a fourth type, that is status conflict, which implies trying to challenge or alter the implicit or explicit established

hierarchy. According to these authors, conflicts may also arise in groups due to the hierarchical positions that individuals occupy; also, the consequences of task, relationship and process conflicts may change if the status of the parties is challenged.

The relationship between conflict and diversity at work, strongly depends on the interaction between coworkers (Puck et al., 2010). As it was explained in the previous section, when it is not managed adequately, conflicts can escalate due to power contests. Under these circumstances and considering the existence of different social or in this case organizational categories, discrimination, and stigmatization of those who do not meet expectations can take place (Goffman, 1963). Unfortunately, this vulnerable collective, such as persons with disabilities, and especially mental illnesses, face these damaging behaviors not only as part of society but also at work (An et al., 2011; Li et al., 2020). To contribute to the analysis of the circumstances surrounding the appearance of these phenomenon in organizational contexts with diversity and contributing to prevent and manage them, are goals of this doctoral dissertation.

Consequences of conflicts when diversity plays a main role

The consequences of conflicts can be either detrimental or advantageous depending on the causes that provoke them, each party's perceptions, and emotions as well as how parties managed these situations (Deutsch, 2014; Pondy, 1967). Indeed, when diversity is managed appropriately, it can also lead to cooperation, commitment, and an increase of job satisfaction among employees (Mor Barak, 2017).

Different types of conflict may lead to different consequences. Relationship conflict affects performance negatively since it decreases member satisfaction and makes it difficult for them to continue working together (Jehn, 1995). Likewise, process conflict impairs group performance, elicit delays, and produce uncertainty among the members of the group (Jehn, 1997). Thus, members may be unsatisfied enough to change the group or even leave the organization (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). However, the consequences of task conflict are not as

definite. Several studies have demonstrated that moderate levels of task conflicts may occasionally have positive effects, for instance, promoting a deeper understanding of different ideas that contribute to achieving their goals and fostering high-quality decision-making processes (Jehn & Mannix, 2001; Simons & Peterson, 2000). However, a meta-analysis by De Dreu & Weingart (2003) conclude that task conflict can be as detrimental as relationship conflict regarding team performance and team's members satisfaction. In fact, these authors conclude that task conflict effect on team performance and satisfaction may be moderated by the type of tasks performed and the culture of the team (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; De Wit et al, 2012; Guerra et al., 2005).

As noted above, these conflicts are inevitable in all organizational contexts. For this reason, conflicts and conflict management have been recurrent research topics (Tjosvold et al., 2014). Research analyzing conflict management on public and private organizations have been traditionally studied, in terms of consequences of conflicts and effects on diversity management, effectiveness (Guerra et al. 2005, Sezerel & Tonus, 2016) and job satisfaction (Belias & Kousteilos, 2014, Rosenbladt, 2000). However, in third sector, research on conflict and its consequences, is still scarce.

An important issue on conflict management in organizations is to determine whether its members can create benefits for all parties in the dispute and the organization itself (Tjosvold et al., 2014). Overall, when a positive interdependence of outcomes and resources are perceived by the organization members, conflicts are managed in a constructive and cooperative manner (Deutsch 1973; Tjosvold, 1998). On the contrary, when parties perceive negative outcome interdependence, competition strategies take place (Medina et al. 2008). However, as Munduate et al., (2016) pointed out, although cooperative outcome interdependence is necessary, it is not confirmed that it is sufficient condition for constructive conflict resolution (Deutsch, 2014; Munduate et al., 2016). In this regard, Ferrin et al., (2008) stated that perceived trust plays a

main role mediating cooperation between parties. These authors argue that cooperation is mutual due to its effect on perceived trustworthiness, based on a relationship where issues can be discussed and parties can rely upon each other (Ferrin et al., 2006; Hempel et al., 2009; Lewicki et al., 1998). In fact, as Bollen and Euwema (2013, 2014) indicate, both cooperation and trust are better developed when a power balance between parties exists. This is also a main issue in organizations where the coexistence between different stakeholders in the same working teams may favor this power imbalance (McDuff, 2011; Munduate & Medina, 2017).

Managing conflicts to achieve inclusion: the role of leaders

Organizational policies and leading figures such as managers and supervisors can make a difference to transform a challenge into an opportunity to grow and create inclusion (Chin, 2010). Indeed, inclusive leadership can be key aspect to prevent conflicts, promoting this cooperation and trust-based relationships, accepting and respecting differences between collectives within the same organizations, and overall achieving an inclusion climate that encompasses different groups at work. Indeed, to foster inclusion, leaders should support team members' integration - promoting their feeling of belonging-, and value their differences, therefore, reinforcing their uniqueness (Randel et al. 2018).

These approaches to diversity at work should be further explore in third sector organizations, contrasting their application in a real context and translating inclusive strategies form theory to practice.

1.3 Objectives and relevance of this dissertation

Objectives

The main objective of this doctoral dissertation is to analyze conflict and conflict management in organizations considering diversity as a broader concept including professionals and special interest groups, particularly volunteers and employees with disability, including mental illness. Moreover, we aim to achieve the following specific goals:

- a) Understand the existent interpersonal conflicts in organizations with diversity, as well as its recurrence.
- b) Analyze differences between groups of stakeholders or roles within the organizations, regarding conflict identification, conflict management and consequences of conflicts.
- c) Contribute to the understanding of profiles beyond formal categorizations in organizations with diverse groups of interests. These profiles may contribute to the understanding of conflict dynamics and its effects on satisfaction.
- d) Contribute to promote inclusion in organizations dealing with diversity, from an interpersonal perspective (relationship with coworkers and inclusive leadership) and from organizational perspective (organizational climate).

Relevance of the dissertation

This research responds to a social change that has an impact on organizational contexts, the increase of diversity at work. NPOs and social enterprises are flourishing due to socioeconomical changes. Therefore, further understanding is required to cope with the specific challenges of these organizational contexts.

To our understanding, this doctoral dissertation is of relevance in three different scopes of application: academic, societal, and professional.

Academic. This dissertation broadens the scope of conflict theory and conflict taxonomies, and the concept of diversity, going beyond individual differences to differences between collectives at work. First, it elaborates a specific taxonomy of interpersonal conflicts between groups of stakeholders in non-profit organizations. Second, it contributes to understand not only the different perspectives on the same difficulties, but also the effect of developing different roles on perceived intrapersonal conflict, performance, and job satisfaction. This dissertation also contributes to understand the relevance of inclusive leaders to achieve real inclusion involving as equals vulnerable and non-vulnerable groups. Moreover, this

dissertation also highlights the benefits and relevance of combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies, to obtain the required holistic perspective to understand complex processes such as conflicts related to diversity and inclusion.

Societal. Diversity is a reality in nowadays society; however, this is not always reflected in the working context. Indeed, when external difficulties take place, such as the current COVID-19 pandemic, groups that introduce diversity in organizations are reduced to a minimum, as heterogeneity increases management complexity. This dissertation aims to highlight the benefits of diversity and inclusion, helping organizations to understand and appreciate their diverse workforces and, consequently, promoting work opportunities for special groups of interest.

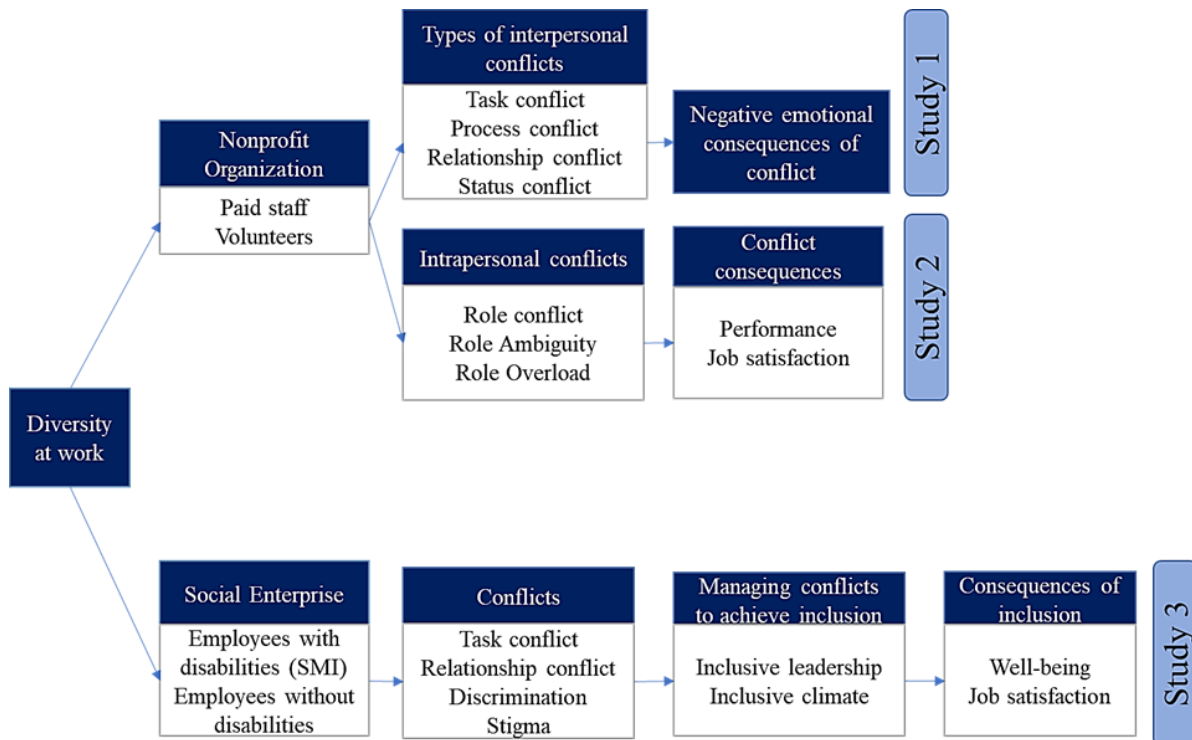
Professional. This research aims to provide professionals with both theoretical and practical relevant information regarding diversity and conflict at work. Particularly, results intend to help HR professionals and team leaders to understand the processes that diversity creates in organizations and how to transform a challenge into an opportunity to improve their organizations.

1.4 Heuristic model and structure of this dissertation

Figure 1 presents the heuristic model of this doctoral research. Considering the impact of diversity due to the coexistence of different groups of interests, we analyze two organizational contexts: nonprofit organization and a social enterprise.

Figure 1

Heuristic model of this doctoral dissertation



We investigate the relations between diversity, conflict, and the desirable inclusion achievement along three empirical studies combining qualitative and quantitative methodology. First, we explore a NPO, focusing on analyzing the existent types of conflicts and understanding the differences on conflict perception between collectives within the organization. This study is presented in chapter 2 of this dissertation. Our next empirical study focuses on intrapersonal conflicts between different roles in the organization, and its effect on performance and job satisfaction. In this study, considering NPO internal characteristics, we explore if there is an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of NPOs, despite the formal roles that coexist in these organizations (paid staff and volunteers) and what are the effects of different profiles over conflict, performance, and job satisfaction. This study is presented in chapter 3. The last empirical study is a case study conducted in a social enterprise where employees with and without mental illness work together. We analyze which factors can

promote effective inclusion of people with severe mental illness at work focusing on three organizational factors: relationship between coworkers including conflicts; two possible protector factors, role of inclusive leaders and inclusive climate and its consequences. The effect of these organizational factors was explored considering the perceptions of employees without disabilities. This study is presented in chapter 4. In chapter 5, we discuss the overall results of our studies, and present theoretical and practical implications. Table 1.1 presents an overview of the structure of this PhD dissertation, including a brief description of the research aims of each empirical study.

With this doctoral dissertation, we hope to help society, and particularly organizations, to understand conflicts derived from diversity, promoting cooperation and satisfaction among all workers and overall, inclusion. To do so, we contribute to improving the existent theoretical framework, analyzing previous conflict taxonomies in organizational contexts with diverse workforce and adapting them to these specific coexistent perspectives, suggesting strategies to manage these differences and making the most of them to enrich diverse organizational context. Ultimately, transforming vulnerable groups, into groups of special interests.

Table 1

Overview of the PhD dissertation

General introduction and theoretical background	Aim of this Doctoral Dissertation			General Discussion and Conclusions	References	Appendixes
	Analyze conflict and conflict management in organizations considering diversity as a broader concept including professionals and special interest groups.					
	Chapter 2 Empirical study 1	Chapter 3 Empirical study 2	Chapter 4 Empirical study 3			
	<p style="text-align: center;">Inside “Pandora’s box” of solidarity: conflicts between paid staff and volunteers in the nonprofit sector</p> <p style="text-align: center;">https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00556</p> <p>Research questions</p> <p>a) Which types of conflicts can be found in NPOS, identified by paid staff and volunteers?</p> <p>b) Who reports more conflicts, paid staff, or volunteers, and therefore, who experience more negative consequences?</p> <p>Methodology Qualitative (focus groups)</p> <p>Sample N=60 (36 paid staff; 24 volunteers).</p> <p>Data Analyses Template analyses</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">“To be, or not to be... satisfied in NPOs”:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A serial multiple mediation and clustering analysis of paid staff and volunteers’ profiles</p> <p>Research questions</p> <p>a) Are there differences between paid staff and volunteers in perceived intrapersonal conflict and performance and its effect on job satisfaction?</p> <p>b) Is there is an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of NPOs, despite the formal roles (paid staff and volunteers)?</p> <p>c) What are the effects of different profiles over conflict, performance, and job satisfaction?</p> <p>Methodology Quantitative (questionnaire)</p> <p>Sample N=113 (39 paid staff; 74 volunteers).</p> <p>Data Analyses Serial mediation analysis / Cluster analysis</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Removing barriers for disability at workplace based on inclusive leadership: A case study including employees with severe mental illness</p> <p>Research questions</p> <p>a)How can organizations promote the inclusion of employees with SMI illness in the workplace?</p> <p>b)Which are the implications of inclusive leadership and inclusive climate for well-being and job satisfaction of their organization workforce, particularly employees with SMI?</p> <p>Methodology Qualitative (focus groups)</p> <p>Sample N=44 (21 DNSMI; 18 SMI; 23 ND)</p> <p>Data Analyses Template analyses</p>			

Note: DNSMI: disability non severe mental illness; SMI: severe mental illness; ND: no disability

CHAPTER 2

Inside “Pandora’s box” of solidarity: conflicts between paid staff and volunteers in the nonprofit sector¹

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Chapter 2

Inside “Pandora’s box” of solidarity: conflicts between paid staff and volunteers in the nonprofit sector

Abstract

Nonprofit organizations (NPOs) are quite complex in terms of organizational structure, diversity at the workplace, as well as motivational mechanisms and values rationality. Nevertheless, from an Organizational Psychology perspective, the systematic analysis of this context is scarce in the literature, particularly regarding conflicts. This qualitative study analyzes types, prevalence, and consequences of conflicts in a large NPO organization considering as theoretical framework several consolidated Organizational Psychology theories: Conflict Theory, Social Comparison Theory and the Equity Theory. Conflicts were analyzed taking into account volunteers’ perspective, who has been consistently protagonist on NPOs research, but also considering paid staff’s perspective, as one of the main stakeholders in these organizations, whose relative power has increase in the past decade due the professionalization of the NPO’s sector. Results confirmed the existence of four types of conflicts: task, process, status and relationship conflicts. Relationship conflict is the least reported type, revealing the protection factor that values and engagement with a social aim have on this organizational context. The most relevant finding is the strong difference between paid staff and volunteers in conflict perceptions, showing paid staff, overall, higher levels of conflicts than volunteers. Findings also show stronger negative consequences for paid staff compared to volunteers. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

2.1 Introduction and theoretical background

Third sector in economy is used to define different kinds of organizations (e.g. nonprofit organizations -NPOs- or charities) that do not fit in neither public nor private sector (Corry, 2010). During the past decades, third sector has acquired special relevance in areas such as employment wealth and social welfare (Cabra de Luna, 2016). Based on its ambivalence or “hybridity” (Brandsen et al., 2005), these organizations are able to look out for social needs that neither public nor private institutions are able to fully satisfy; the former due to their difficulties to prevent and control these needs and the later due to their focus on profits (Corral-Lage et al., 2019). Third sector organizations not only demonstrated their resilience, showing a minor decrease on their unemployment rate during the last economic crisis (CIRIEC, 2012), but also promoting personal well-being of those who lost their job by means of volunteering or participating in training programs (Kamerāde 2015). This role was especially outstanding in countries that suffered a major impact during that period, such as Spain. In these countries, despite their own difficult financial situation, third sector organizations assumed a subsidiary role as opposed to the institutional role of the State, guaranteeing the social welfare and vulnerable groups’ rights.

Third sector organizations are characterized by working towards a mission based on common values and commitment (Etzioni, 1973) but also by their institutional character, non-profit distribution, self-governing and volunteerism (Salomon & Anheier, 1997). In the third sector, nonprofit organizations (NPOs) especially stand out for their diversity and heterogeneity of goals (Alcock & Kendall, 2011) as well as their organizational complexity in terms of motivational mechanisms, values rationality and organizational structure (DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990; Will et al., 2018). Indeed, these distinctive features, together with the relevance that these organizations acquired during the last decades, turned NPOs into a growing research topic.

Among all, a main characteristic of NPOs is the coexistence of paid staff and volunteers as part of the same working teams (Corry, 2010). This NPOs' distinctive trait is, at the same time, source of mutual enrichment that contributes to achieve their social and organizational goals and at a source of confrontation between these groups (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011). One of the clearest examples of this dichotomy is the growing trend of "professionalism" in these organizations. This "professionalization", as a response to financial needs, directly clashes with volunteerism and prosocial ideals (Maier et al., 2016). Consequently, not only their social labor and effectiveness can be affected by potential conflicts but also their own job satisfaction and motivation (Netting et al., 2008). These prospective negative consequences justify further research on conflict in NPOs.

In this regard, previous literature on this topic highlights the existence of high levels of conflict between these actors in NPOs (Mcduff, 2012; Netting et al., 2008; Pearce, 1993); however, the mechanisms underlying these circumstances are still unclear. Even though both stakeholders proved to be essential to maintain NPOs activity, there is still a lack of awareness about how and why conflicts develop in this organizational context and which are the specific conflicts that take place between these actors. Indeed, those conflicts are not clearly defined in the nonprofit research based on established conflict typologies, so their prevention and management area challenge for both parties and organizations. These conflicts have been described in terms of "difficulties" between volunteers and paid staff due to their different roles in the organization (Kreitzer & Jäger, 2011; McAllum, 2018). While the causes of these difficulties and the cognitive mechanisms involved have not been analyzed from the framework of grounded theories, their relevance and negative impact on job satisfaction have been widely confirmed (Netting, et al., 2008). Overall, in light of the incidence of conflict, its consequences for individuals and organizations and, above all the lack of awareness about the mechanisms

underlying these circumstances in NPOs, specific research on this matter is necessary and worth it.

The aim of this study is to make headway on the previous research findings analyzing conflicts in NPOs, contributing to their understanding, prevention, and management. Our research will be based on two relevant theoretical frameworks in Organizational Psychology: The conflict Theory by Morton Deutsch (1973) and the social comparison theory by Leon Festinger (1954).

Deutsch (1973) explained that conflicts arise when ever incompatible activities or aspirations occur between parties, both in cooperative and competitive situations. According to this author, these situations can be triggered by a) parties' characteristics (their values and motivations, aspirations and objectives); b) their prior relations (including expectations); c) the nature of the issue rising the conflict or the social environment, in which the conflicts take place, d) their strategy managing them and e) conflict consequences. It has been pointed out that in NPOs, conflicts arise particularly due to unclear boundaries between the main roles in the organization (McAllum, 2018); definitively two different and changing organizational identities with different ways of doing their jobs. This complex interaction between paid staff and volunteers will lead to different types of conflicts, depending on the nature of the issues at stake.

To understand how conflict arises between these two profiles, it may be helpful to rely on the principles of the theory of social comparison (Festinger, 1954). This theory states that individuals create their perceptions and opinions by means of comparison with other social groups. Thus, paid staff and volunteers, also evaluate their contributions to work, rewards and efforts based on those of the other main group in their working context. Considering the equity theory referring to motivational mechanisms proposed by Adams (1963, 1965) if there is not perception of fairness as a result of that social comparison, this unbalance can lead to conflicts

between these two groups or identities, affecting their motivation and job satisfaction. Particularly in this context, we hypothesized that paid staff would perceive more conflict than volunteers, due to a perceived negative balance between their contributions to work and the rewards they obtain.

Based on these premises of Organizational Psychology theories, we intend to improve the understanding of conflict in NPOs, particularly between the main stakeholders of these organizations, in order to provide the needed background to prevent and manage these situations that impairs both organizational members wellbeing and goals achievement. To do so, as specific objectives in this study, first, we will revise which types of conflicts can be found in NPOS, identified by paid staff and volunteers. Considering the actual roles of volunteers and paid staff in NPOs as well as social and contextual challenges -such as professionalism- that this sector is facing nowadays, we will analyze four types of conflict: task conflict, process conflict, status conflict and relationship conflict (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Jehn 1995, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Second, we will explore who reports more conflicts, paid staff or volunteers, and therefore, who experience more negative consequences. In this regard, paid staff will be especially attended as, compared to volunteers, research on their perceptions on NPOs dynamics and conflicts is still scarce.

Conflicts between paid staff and volunteers

As abovementioned, relations between the two main stakeholders (volunteers & staff) are, nowadays an important topic of interest (Hwang & Suarez, 2019). To clearly understand the actual function of paid staff and volunteers as part of the same teams in NPOs, Ariza-Montes, et al., (2017) explain their different roles based on two criteria: professionalism and time available. Paid staff occupy responsible positions, overseeing complex activities due to their professional training, while volunteers collaborate on different tasks following a flexible schedule, based on their availability to participate and also their commitment (Ariza-Montes,

et al., 2015; Ariza-Montes et al., 2017). However, paid staff and volunteers' roles are sometimes not that easy to differentiate in NPOs. Their intricate organizational structure and the variety of tasks that they accomplish -sometimes considered incompatible activities- or their different aspirations, not only make difficult to clearly define their roles in the organization but also lead to disputes and conflicts among them (Deustch, 1973). In fact, recent changes in the NPO sector, that imply more dependence on the external funding instead of on the NPO's partners donations, has increased the need for professionalization to survive (Eisenberg & Eschenfelder, 2009). Therefore, the technical staff role is becoming more significant in this new NPO's structure. However, despite its relevance, only some studies explored, and just in a descriptive manner, which are the conflicts that rise up in NPOs, as a consequence of paid staff and volunteers' interaction. Indeed, it is not without a reason that Pearce (1993) described these conflicts as "one of the unpleasant secrets of nonprofit organizations" (Pearce, 1993, p.142). Further research is needed to clearly understand conflicts in NPOs.

In this regard, it is particularly remarkable how research has traditionally paid an unbalanced attention to both stakeholders; on the one hand volunteers, who usually capture the spotlight as protagonists of these organizations' values, and on the other hand, paid staff, whose needs, contributions and role in NPOs' dynamics are most of the times overlooked. As a matter of fact, recent studies deeply analyze the role of volunteers in NPOs, for instance, in terms of volunteers' involvement, considering both organizations and volunteers' perspectives on commitment, intention to leave or working conditions (Nesbit et al., 2017). Also, volunteers' profiles, including their cultural and demographic correlates (Ariza-Montes et al., 2018), education level, social resources and volunteering consequences have been studied on NPOs research (see Wilson, 2000 for a review). Even so, specific leadership strategies have been analyzed in order to guarantee an appropriate volunteering management (Studer, 2016).

Nevertheless, research on NPOs has systematically overlooked a main actor's perspective regarding NPOs dynamics: paid staff's perspective.

A possible explanation for these circumstances is that volunteering is one of the key NPOs' social and human capital resources, understood as a proactive and committed behavior based on offering time freely to help others (Wilson, 2000) and providing a service to society (Farmer & Fedor, 2001). Cnaan et al., (1996) already highlighted that NPOs usually rely to a large extent on volunteers compared to paid staff. Therefore, previous studies mainly focused on the existence of volunteers, as a factor that determines both the organizational culture and identity of these organizations, where values, participation and integration traditionally prevail over a managerial approach focused on effectiveness and efficiency (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011). This increasing interest resides on the importance that volunteers gained in order to maintain an optimal functioning of NPOs during difficult socioeconomic crisis periods (Baluch 2012), particularly during financial constraints, both due to the absence of institutional support from public administration and the decrease of private donations (Salamon, 2010). Under these circumstances, NPOs were forced to recruit volunteers instead of hiring paid staff, blurring the lines between both roles. Consequently, some authors even consider that volunteers act sometimes, as unpaid and low-skilled paid staff (Ganesh & McAllum, 2012). Thus, when both volunteers and paid staff evaluate their current situation in NPOs, considering the other role as a reference, it is likely that they feel their rewards are decreasing compared to the new demands imposed by the organization, particularly related to work processes and power position (e.g. paid staff focusing on project management and volunteers assuming paperwork that keep them far from face to face relationships with users) (Festinger, 1954). This comparison will contribute to the appearance of conflicts between these two stakeholders, and particularly, different types of conflict based on the issue which is raising the disagreement. Therefore, considering these NPOs dynamics, paid staff and volunteers' coexistence will contribute to the

appearance of four types of conflict: process conflict, task conflict, status conflict and relationship conflict.

These circumstances lead to the appearance of *process conflicts*, defined as disagreements about how a task should be accomplished, including issues such as who should do what and how much responsibility each member of the group should take (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Indeed, Mook et al. (2014) demonstrated that, on the one hand, 10.8% of volunteers reported that they replace a paid staff member, 3.1% of those cases, permanently. On the other hand, volunteers also reported being replaced staff: by paid 7.6% reported being replaced, 2.1% of those cases are permanently replaced.

However, during the last decade, paid staff are inevitably acquiring more prominence in NPOs due to their metamorphosis in business-like organizations, as a response to their context demands (Eisenberg & Eschenfelder, 2009; Maier et al., 2016). Governments' policies, which nowadays rely on NPOs to provide basic social services to community (Henriksen et al., 2012), are setting proceedings to identify and finance the most effective NPOs (Salomon, 2015). This promotes the implementation of new procedures to maximize their productivity and adjust their methods to their applications' requirements (Berzin & Camarena, 2018; McAllum, 2018). These administrative procedures usually must be assumed by paid staff, as they require a constant supervision that cannot be guaranteed by volunteers, who usually have a very flexible work schedule as most of them have a remunerated job position elsewhere (Ariza-Montes et al. 2015, 2017).

This new scenario leads to *task conflicts* appearance, which are defined as disagreements or different opinions about the contents of a certain task (De Wit et al., 2012). The same blurred boundaries between professionalization and volunteerism that leads to process conflict, also provoke task conflict. NPOs' professionalization does not only create discrepancies regarding who should accomplish each task (e.g. social assistance or

administrative duties) but also concerning which task should be prioritize by the organization. Consequently, as Ganesh and McAllum (2012) explained, even volunteers are involved in administrative tasks at expense of decreasing their time engaging with social issues due to professional restrictions.

To face their “professionalization” process, NPOs have adopted different measures as a transition method trying to maintain, to a greater or lesser extent, the rationale that would be expected from a volunteering-based organization. Thus, some NPOs transfer their direction to professionals or paid staff (e.g. Oxfam), while others maintain a traditional volunteer’s leadership (e.g. Mans Units). Some NPOs, on the contrary, assign formal and informal roles to paid staff and volunteers in an attempt to maintain a balance between financial needs and values: a) a formal and institutional leadership role, where the NPO board is composed of volunteers, who are in charge of governance and leadership and b) the informal or managerial level, where paid staff have the responsibility for the operations and daily management of the projects, and volunteers should execute complete tasks, or substantial parts of the tasks. Under these circumstances, volunteers report difficulties to manage this professionalization process due to the complexity that entails to identify how these new demands and procedures can be balanced with a volunteering ideology (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011). However, for paid staff, this change has also a considerable impact, since their job demands increase exponentially. They must deal with several administrative duties, performance management and bureaucracy, tasks they often consider less relevant than their social labor, hindering their job (King, 2017).

Overall, the hierarchical structure of the NPOs, combining paid staff and volunteers, as well as the complexity of their work that requires a great coordination among organization members, seems to be an appropriate scenario to also elicit the so-called *status conflict*. This type of conflict implies trying to challenge or alter the implicit or explicit established hierarchy (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). The motives and base for participating in the organization, might

also drive volunteers to challenge the –often formal leading – role and position of paid staff. Also, paid staff might feel the need to reinforce their leading position to operational volunteers, while challenge the formal status of the board composed of volunteers with managerial responsibilities, who may have good intentions, but not always agree with the new professionalism perspective adopted by NPOs (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011).

Furthermore, previous research on this matter pointed out as a regular source of conflict the differences between volunteers and paid staff regarding which are their duties and responsibilities and their different criteria on how things should be done in the organization; for instance, in terms of volunteerism and professionalism clashes (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011; Netting et al., 2008). Additionally, these disparities in criteria and even diversity among team members in the organization, (e.g. in terms of backgrounds, age, and also roles) may even lead to a sense of identification in two different groups in the organization, paid staff and volunteers, that may justify a different perspective when it comes to described conflicts (Chenhall et al., 2016). This situation can also be a potential source of *relationship conflicts*, defined as the experience of personal incompatibilities or tensions that provoke feelings such as frustration or irritation (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). However, in NPOs, both volunteers and paid staff share a high commitment with their organization's social labor, mission, values and ideals (Alfes et al., 2015; Brown & Yoshioka, 2003). This commitment and common values can act as a barrier that prevent the appearance of this last type of conflict. Indeed, as Benitez et al., (2018) results point out, using avoidance as conflict management strategy, buffers the link between relationship conflict and negative emotional consequences in teams. Likewise, paid staff and volunteers may prevent relationship conflict appearance or escalation overlooking their personal differences to guarantee their projects success based on a common goal, that is helping others in need. Moreover, the increasing job demands and hierarchical dynamics contribute to unbalance paid staff and volunteers' contributions-rewards ratio and, as a consequence, they do not only

decrease their motivation but also when they compare their situation with volunteers' one their perception of conflict increase, particularly for those types of conflict related with work processes (task and process conflict) and positions of power and influence (status conflict).

Therefore, considering the foregoing description of how paid staff and volunteers' interaction and social comparison in the NPOs actual context can lead to different types of conflict, we propose that:

Proposition 1:a) Conflicts in NPOs can be categorized based on the taxonomy task, relationship, process and status conflicts and b) more task, process and status conflicts will exist, as opposed to relationship conflict, that although existent, will be less prominent in this context.

The heterogeneity of NPOs' teams not only in terms of roles (paid staff and volunteers) but also in terms of background, age or motivations, can lead to disagreements regarding the content (task conflict), and who should conduct the tasks (process conflict). Given these circumstances, either paid staff or volunteers they use their influence or positions to prevail or impose their perspectives or ideas as a reaction mechanism to face these organizational changes (status conflicts). Finally, such diversity is fertile soil for personal frictions between team members (relationship conflict); however, this last type of conflict may be mitigated due to both paid staff and volunteers' commitment with their social labor and organizational values, who focus on a common goal instead of on their personal differences.

Differences between paid staff and volunteers on conflict experience

As described before, previous research pointed out that the differences between volunteers and paid staff regarding which are their duties and responsibilities, as well as their different criteria on how things should be done in the organization are regular sources of conflict (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011; Netting et al., 2008). Indeed, as it was previously mentioned, this criteria's disparities may even lead to a sense of identification in two different groups in the organization,

paid staff and volunteers, that based on the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) and the equity theory (Adams, 1963, 1965) justify their different perspective when it comes to describe conflicts (Chenhall et al., 2016). Considering that the new trends in NPOs are increasing paid staff demands and responsibilities (e.g. professionalization (Maier et al., 2016), but their returns, in terms of recognition in the organization, salary, reputation or sense of achievement are still the same – or less – compared to volunteers, their perception of conflict and the negative effect of those perceptions on their satisfaction may be higher.

In order to evaluate how both paid staff and volunteers experience conflicts in NPOs, and therefore their consequences, context variables should also be into consideration. Thus, despite the large number of volunteers in these organizations (Cnaan et al., 1996), paid staff may be particularly vulnerable to experience conflicts in their teams. A main reason is that NPOs' professionalization process would also require a change of the employees' profile (Blake, 2012) encouraging an economic instead of social or vocational orientation (Piñón, 2010).

Nevertheless, paid staff profiles in NPOs are, on a normal basis, far away of these requirements, as they usually have a very prosocial background in terms of training (e.g. as health or human services professionals rather as business professionals). However, instead of focusing their work on social intervention, paid staff have to, first, deal with volunteers who are in the board of their organization; so, to whom they have to report, and second, lead projects in which they depend on volunteers to do large parts of the job. In this matter, they must rely on the goodwill and commitment of these volunteers, experiencing a lack of formal power, even though they have responsibility and related authority (Medina et al., 2008).

These complex dynamics create internal conflicts between volunteers and paid staff (McAllum, 2018) being particularly detrimental for the latter, who are ultimate responsible of the technical implementation and administrative management of the different NPOs' projects.

Volunteers, on their behalf, feel less pressure to maintain their collaboration with a specific NPO in case they are not satisfied or they consider that their psychological contract with the organization has being breached or violated; since they are not bound by an employment contract, they feel free to contribute to their social causes somewhere else, leaving the organization and therefore, avoiding negative conflict consequences to a greater extend, compared to paid staff (Vantilborg, 2015). Overall, paid staff typically are “in-between”, usually working (more than) full time, and in coordinating positions. Given their labor contract, they are also in different ways dependent on the organization. Therefore, their final contributions-rewards balance in the actual NPOs situation is negative compared to volunteers, whose rewards from their prosocial behavior usually exceed their flexible contributions to the organizations (Adams, 1963, 1965; Festinger, 1954; Penner et al., 2005)

For that reason, we propose that:

Proposition 2: In NPOs contexts, paid staff report more conflicts (task, process, status, and relationships conflict) than volunteers, suffering also more negative consequences.

2.2 Materials and Methods

Participants

We examined a large and representative NPO in Spain, focusing our research on their regional division in the Community of Madrid, composed by 20 local divisions (806 paid staff members and 8442 volunteers). Although this study focuses on a division, this is a worldwide organization that replies the same functional and hierarchical structure in every country. Therefore, our results can also be applicable to all the divisions of these NPO. Concerning its functional constitution, a strong hierarchical management structure is combined with a democratic decision-making body (the so called “Committees”) where volunteers occupy the top positions of the organization both at regional and local levels, (called “Presidents”). These Committees are responsible for acting in accordance with the general objectives, policy,

strategy and criteria established by the Institution's higher bodies. However, daily activities and strategic decisions concerning their on-going projects are made by paid staff. Finally, social projects are run in each local assembly. These projects are developed by teams composed mainly by volunteers but also by paid staff. On the one hand, volunteers collaborate with the organization part time with a flexible schedule, depending on their personal circumstances. Also, they have very different profiles in terms of age, professional background, experience working with users or even seniority in the organization. On the other hand, a reduced number of paid staff are in charge of coordinating these projects, both in terms of administration and social intervention, and also supporting and guiding volunteers on their activity. Most paid staff participants are social workers and psychologists, and have experience dealing with vulnerable collectives and users in social risk.

A total of 60 participants (35 women, 25 men) belonging to different groups of stakeholders in the organization (paid staff and volunteers), working at the headquarters of the NPO in the Comunidad de Madrid and at each local assembly (a total of 10 local assemblies), were part of the collecting data process: 36 paid staff (13 women, 23 men) and 24 volunteers: regular volunteers (8 women, 8 men) and volunteers with management responsibilities, the so-called Presidents (4 women, 4 men). Regarding their educational background, paid staff are university graduates most of them on health and social sciences. Volunteers report a wide variety of educational background (graduates, professional training, secondary and primary education) and occupations (for example, managers, civil servants, housekeepers or retired professionals). Regarding participants' age, on the one hand, paid staff are between 35-47 years old and, on the other hand, volunteers are between 19-73 years old, which is representative of the diversity in this organization, and particularly among volunteers.

Procedure

Data were collected in two shifts between December 2016 and February 2017, to minimize possible disruptions of the organization's activities. Qualitative methodology based on focus group was used for several reasons: first, because of the aim of exploring the existent conflicts in non-profit organizational context; second, the heterogeneity of NPO's activities and projects created doubts concerning the appropriateness of a quantitative analysis; and third, because there was the opportunity of collecting data from the reduced number of volunteers with leadership responsibilities, that could explain the internal conflict dynamics in depth. A total of seven homogeneous focus-groups discussions were organized, based on the main groups of stakeholders: four groups of paid staff (from the headquarters and local assemblies), two groups of volunteers, and a group of volunteers with leadership responsibilities (Presidents). Each group was formed by 8 to 10 key informants, who were willing to share their knowledge, experiences, and thoughts regarding conflicts in the organization (Kumar et al., 1993). Participants were invited by e-mail and voluntarily agreed to join the activity that finally took place at the Headquarters of the organization. Regarding participant selection, participants were recruited based on the projects on-going during the data collection (for volunteers and paid staff). Also, paid staff occupying coordinating roles (headquarters) and Presidents (volunteers), were all invited to participate.

During the focus-groups discussions participants described different conflict situations they experienced in their daily work, as well as how they handled them. These discussions were organized following a previously designed semi-structured interview, including the following guide questions: a) presentation of the participants and their role in the organization; b) organizational structure and work procedures; c) experience of conflicts in the organization; d) conflict management strategies and e) conflict consequences (see Appendix A). Sessions lasted

between 60 and 90 minutes. Confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed. Afterwards participants gave their consent, sessions were recorded in audio and transcribed verbatim.

Transcripts were analyzed using the software for coding qualitative data Atlas.ti 7 (Friese, 2013). Following a template analysis approach (King, 2004), a list of codes was defined based on the main themes identified on the focus-groups' transcripts (see Appendix B). Some of these codes were defined *a priori*, based on the themes included in the semi-structured interview scripts. However, *a posteriori* codes were added while reading and interpreting the texts, to complete an exhaustive analysis (King, 2004). To ensure coding reliability, all the authors codified the first transcript separately and then compared their results to standardization purposes. Based on that comparison, codes that differed across these preliminary results were deleted for further analysis, which were carried out by the first author. A total of 93 codes regarding existing conflicts and its consequences were obtained (see Appendix B for coding list). These codes were grouped in 37 families of codes for reporting purposes.

2.3 Results

Focus-group discussions were highly participative, and results were consistent across the different groups of stakeholders. Most conflicts reported were related to the cooperation between paid staff and volunteers. Among volunteers, those with leadership responsibilities- presidents- reported more conflicts with paid staff, than volunteers, who collaborate in projects attending users, but also related to role conflict and organizational complexity. Less conflicts were reported among the paid staff (including hierarchical conflict), or among volunteers. There is an exception for paid staff in a coordinating role (headquarters), which regularly creates communication problems and who are sometimes considered outsiders by paid staff working at local assemblies due to their focus on administrative issues. Regarding the analysis of the different types of conflicts, the expected four were reported by paid staff and volunteers: task, process, status, and relationship conflict.

As it was expected in Proposition 1a, task, process, status and relationship conflicts are identified in nonprofit organizational context. Also, as it was proposed in this study (Proposition 1b), relationship conflicts are less reported by both groups of stakeholders. Table 1 presents examples of such conflicts, from both perspectives: paid staff and volunteers. Proposition 2 is also confirmed, since as it was abovementioned, paid staff report more conflicts (task, process, status and relationships conflict) than volunteers, identifying also more negative consequences.

As Table 1 shows, both paid staff and volunteers report all types of conflict, however these are not precisely about the same issues. It is also important to note though that, depending on the hierarchical and functional position, participants' reasoning about the conflict issues differs. That is the case for volunteers and paid staff, whose perspectives are occasionally even opposite.

Task conflict

Project coordination complexity, task diversity, deadlines, task prioritization and quality of attention

Paid staff. *“This is a complex organization, we are lot of people, we manage a lot of things and, above all, everyone looks for immediacy” (R.A., Paid Staff, headquarters).* Participants highlight NPO's complexity, in terms of internal structure, different collectives working together, and task diversity. Besides their work as social workers or psychologists, paid staff are responsible for administrative tasks (e.g. project justification) to obtain the financial support. This is a very demanding and time-consuming task; procedures are constantly changing, and they feel overwhelmed by deadlines. They are requested to register quantitative information using changeable and complex software programs, that even duplicate processes: *“We live under pressure: this data must be in the Economic Department right now. And I have 50 users here that I must attend” (M.U., Paid Staff).*

Table 1

Examples of task, process, status and relationship conflicts described by paid staff and volunteers.

<u>Conflicts mentioned</u>	<u>Role in organization</u>	
	<u>Volunteers</u>	<u>Paid staff</u>
Task	<i>“Projects are conditioned by application deadlines, subsidies, budget estimation... if this workload is not assumed by a previously established structure, administrative duties surpass taking care of our users.” (S.A., President, Volunteer)</i>	<i>“Goals and how we are supposed to achieved them change along the year, then, it is impossible... that generates conflict among both paid staff and volunteers. (S.U., Paid Staff)</i>
Process	<i>Responsibilities are passing to technical directions (paid staff). And I think that it takes away our prominence, because at the end of the day we forget that this is an entity formed by volunteers (S.A., President, Volunteer)</i>	<i>“I think that sometimes conflicts between departments... are provoked by the intricate procedures we have to follow...” (V.E., Paid staff)</i>
Status	<i>“What is government and what is administration? I think that everything is government (...) In my opinion, recently, less importance is given to government council (volunteers) work and more importance to paid staff work” (B.E., President, Volunteer)</i>	<i>“So many times, the government council (volunteers) made decisions without considering paid staff’s perspective or even asking for our opinion or advice... Then, after several months, they conclude the same as we do only in three days working on social intervention.” (A.L., Paid staff)</i>
Relationship	<i>“I have close friends in (the organization). However, some people may be your friend, and some people may be not. Those tell me, “You (as volunteer) are here stealing a job position...” (S.E., Volunteer)</i>	<i>“They’ve got this idea of being a volunteer... suddenly they send emails, very annoyed because they are not treated well in the organization, and it was just a misunderstanding... (B.L., Paid staff)</i>

In this regard, paid staff and volunteers dissent from the headquarters’ management regarding the prioritization of issues. From the headquarters, project justification is highlighted as a priority to maintain the financial support needed to carry out their social labor; however,

paid staff, in the same line as volunteers, would like to focus on social intervention, preventing a decrease on the quality of the attention they provide to users.

Volunteers. These conflicts, specially working towards a deadline and project's coordination are reported also by volunteers, particularly by Presidents, who also deal with administrative and coordination duties. They are aware of task diversity and the importance given by the regional office to project justification, but they are also concerned about the quality of users' attention sharing the same perception as local paid staff; attending users should be their priority.

"The problem is that there is a lot of work that is being devoted by social workers to fulfill administrative tasks instead of being focused on social intervention" (S.A., President, Volunteer).

Lack of personnel & resources

Paid staff. *"If these are the resources, we have to work in a different way to achieve everything that is asked from us, we have to increase our own resources" (A.R., Paid Staff).* Paid staff pointed out that they must be in charge of several activities during their workday due to the organization's lack of personnel and economic resources, *"if we plan an activity, and we are supposed to be seven, but then we are three, or less, and someone gets sick ... that is our daily routine" (I.M., Paid Staff).*

They are also worried about how would volunteers cope with difficult and emotional situations with users; due to their lack of training or previous experience, it is more likely that they made wrong decisions allocating resources among users:

"A volunteer, who is the sixth time that he or she faces that situation, obviously stands up for users because he or she feels closer to them than us... delivering an emergency aid and then the organization gives forty euros that was meant to be for food" (E.L., Paid staff).

Volunteers. *“You can have 21 paid staff employees in a project team today, none in three months and then 20 different employees” (S.A., President, volunteer).* Presidents described how they usually invested time and effort creating well-coordinated teams as well as training paid staff in specific issues of the project. However, due to the lack of personnel also at the regional level of the organization, well-trained paid staff employees are transferred to the regional assembly. Therefore, local teams must start again bringing together a new team:

“We have invested a lot of work creating teams, and, when that employee is already trained, he or she is transferred to a different local or regional assembly” (A.E., President, Volunteer).

Lack of communication and Commitment

Paid staff. *“I’ve lived many situations, and nothing has been finally achieved... there is a lack of commitment, maybe from both sides, but above all, from management itself” (I.M., Paid Staff).*

Due to communication deficiencies and the perception of inactivity of the regional assembly, distrust is a main source of conflict. Paid staff and volunteers distrust regional assembly’s management capacity and do not agree with the communication policies, not only regarding internal issues but also about how information is made public (e.g. malicious rumors about their charity activities not refuted).

Overall, the head office is not either consistently implementing new procedures or activities to promote well-being and job satisfaction among paid staff and volunteers and it is usually unapproachable to transfer problems’ information. This situation increases distrust and emotional discomfort among the members of the organization as well as an overall lack of credibility of regional management. The head office is aware of this problem; however, managers there blame the organization’s multitasking method: paid staff are working on

different projects simultaneously, receiving instructions and requirements from different supervisors that set their own priorities and there is no communication between them.

Volunteers. Since volunteers especially identify themselves with the organization's goals and values, they feel personally attacked when it is criticized, or it suffers any discredit accusation not being refuted by the headquarters. *"It is essential that higher hierarchical levels transmit the values of this organization, especially when its public image is attacked"*. (F.E., Volunteer).

Volunteers also consider that additional conflicts (such as paid staff transferring among assemblies), influence paid staff commitment, both with their tasks and with the organization. Therefore, sometimes it is extremely hard to find someone that may help them out when there is a problem, or they need advice.

"If managers are constantly changing, we all wait for someone else to take charge on things, so they never get done... Here nobody takes the phone. There is a great lack of communication" (S.E., Volunteer).

Process conflict

Undefined tasks

Paid staff. *"Undefined tasks generate daily conflicts among teams"* (J.E. Paid Staff, headquarters). Paid staff must adopt a multitasking approach to cope with the highly diverse task flow. Furthermore, both volunteers and paid staff report that the lack of personnel stands in the way of efficiency. Thus, volunteers are required to support paid staff to offer an appropriate attention to users and meet financial justification requirements, *"many times we asked volunteers to help us to finish administrative duties instead of what they would like to do, that is helping users"* (C.R., Paid Staff).

Volunteers. Volunteers, on the contrary, consider that their role should be mainly to attend users while paid staff, who receive economic retribution and are responsible of the NPO's activity, should also accomplish administrative tasks.

"Volunteering moves the organization. I have noticed in a way, the idea that volunteers work or have to do paperwork, making paid staff's lives easier and it should be just the opposite". (Y.O., Volunteer).

Role conflict and role ambiguity

Paid staff. *"There is a problem, which is caused by...economic crisis. Less money means less paid staff, so we recruit volunteers"(E.L., paid staff).* Due to the recent economic crisis, NPOs' hiring capacity decreased dramatically. Therefore, volunteers' activity has supported the organization more than never.

Paid staff consider volunteers' contributions essential, however, they are also worried about their job positions; considering the voluntary character of the organization, their perceived role ambiguity, and the lack of economic resources, they are concerned about being replaced by "unpaid" volunteers. Furthermore, they are concerned about how volunteers may cope with users' problems, without specific training, since it is a high emotional and demanding work that should be managed carefully.

Volunteers. *"There are people who do not want volunteers; because in the end we let ourselves be handled by users...We distort their work a lot, they do not see us as a help". (P.A., Volunteer).*

Although they understand paid staff's reservations, overall, volunteers consider that they are very capable of attending users. Indeed, they demand more responsibilities on this matter, since volunteering is one of the main pillars of the institution's ideology. Moreover, volunteers argue that users may perceived that paid staff members are acting as professionals instead of just providing social support, so they can establish a closer relationship with them.

"As volunteers, we want our role to be more interactive with users because I think that they may be more comfortable talking to us, than with someone with more authority" (A.R., Volunteer).

Although volunteers and paid staff's opinions differed regarding their role with users, both demand specific training. Each project has specific characteristics that require different competences, that are usually not covered during their initial training.

Status conflicts

Hierarchical structure and leadership based on power

Paid staff. *"Ours is a top-heavy hierarchical structure"* (O.L., Paid Staff). The very structured and vertical hierarchy hinders both decision-making processes and communication. Paid staff explain that leadership is usually based on power, and decisions made at higher hierarchical levels must be obey even when that entails changes in the normal functioning of the organization: *"Instructions are passed by from the higher levels of the hierarchical structure and it is not egalitarian under any circumstances... the basis of this type of leadership is fear"* (O.L., Paid Staff).

Volunteers. Overall, local volunteers do not perceive that the prevailing leadership based in the organization is based on power. However, presidents, report conflicts related to the very hierarchical structure of the organization that prevent top levels of knowing the local assemblies' reality.

"Those at the top do not share the same vision. They must be aware that the national, regional and local structure are different, because unlike them that usually work with paid staff, I'm working mostly with volunteers" (C.M., Volunteer, President).

Distrust on Head Office management

Paid staff. Paid staff consider that they can provide first-hand information about intervention and users' needs, so they should contribute to decision-making processes in a more

active way. In fact, not being able to do so is very stressful and even frustrating: *“When ‘higher’ levels plan everything, no one asks us, so we have the feeling that we are just services’ vending machines” (O.L., Paid staff).*

Overall, strategic decisions are made by head office’s personnel, who are usually not aware of each local assembly particularities. Due to the lack of communication between hierarchical levels, relevant information to plan interventions and distribute resources is missing. Thus, when there is a problem inside the organization or even situations that need to be promptly sorted, it is not easy to find out who should make the decisions to solve it.

Nevertheless, regional staff managers consider that sometimes, participation in decision-making processes is taking for granted. It is seen as a right instead of as a deference or positive characteristic whose aim is to create a democratic work environment where everybody can contribute: *“In this organization we have made participation and consensus something that instead of being a positive attribute, ends up becoming a requirement: if I do not participate and I make decisions I do not get involved” (B.L., Paid staff, headquarters).*

Volunteers. Volunteers who are part of the government body (Presidents), claim that, according to their role expectations in a volunteering organization, they should be able to participate in strategic decisions in their local assemblies. Instead, they receive instructions from regional paid staff, who only gather information about social intervention from paid staff or during periodical meetings:

“As local president, I make non-important decisions on a daily basis, because the guidelines, relevant decisions, rules and objectives, are determined by the Head Office (run by paid staff)” (I.D., President, Volunteer).

Performance Evaluation, poor feedback and ways to transmit problems

Paid staff. Paid staff considers that the organization is reorienting their performance evaluation, basing it on quantitative parameters, instead of qualitative ones: *“I think that*

sometimes our supervisors' value more how do we organize administrative tasks instead of what it really is our aim here and why we studied our degree, social intervention and working with users". (M.O, Paid staff).

Additionally, they point out that they do not receive enough feedback during the evaluation process, and they are not able to give feedback to their supervisors. Although the evaluation procedure was supposed to be a 360° evaluation, it is vertical and top-down. Therefore, problems are not solved since the responsible person is not even aware of them.

"It is a pity, because the idea of being evaluated... is interesting... a way of improvement..., but if there is a two-way flow communication" (E.M., Paid staff).

Volunteers. *"We are not evaluated, they just say you are it doing wrong" (A.L., Volunteer, President).* Both paid staff and presidents (volunteers) explain that not only it is difficult to transmit their concerns to higher hierarchical levels, but they also claim for their constructive feedback. Based on the performance evaluation procedures, they consider that only their mistakes are highlighted without having the chance to discuss which problems or difficulties they have.

Power imbalance

Paid staff. Paid staff explain that volunteers are more powerful since they are protected by the organizational vision (voluntary organization), values and even policies. Thus, paid staff perceive their contract as a bond that entails not only obligations, but also detrimental consequences in terms of power imbalanced compared to volunteers; they can leave the organization whenever they want or issue a complaint against paid staff without assuming any occupational risk. Overall, they considered that, when there is a conflict situation, volunteers' rights may act against paid staff's rights:

"When a volunteer confronts you or questions your work, many times you do not have capacity to confront him. Because they have nothing to lose" (P.A., Paid Staff).

Volunteer. On the contrary, volunteers consider that, because they are employees, paid staff must cope with certain tasks, but they are also supported by HR and they can demand changes by means of their labor contract. In return, they consider that paid staff are responsible for keeping the organization functioning smoothly:

"They are the ones who have the power, that are remunerated, and they always know what their job is... each of us have our status. I am here to offer my time, and my help. If the situation does not convince me, I leave... In return, you can call HR department saying I want to be in a different project, I do not feel good where I am". (P.A., Volunteer).

Paid staff transferring

Paid staff. *"As an organization, we have not got a clear procedure to follow in certain conflicts, therefore it is solve transferring the people involved to a different project team"* (I.S., Paid Staff). Paid staff transferring is not only used as a strategy to relieve the lack of personnel; paid staff consider it is also used as an avoiding conflict management strategy. The organization transfer those members involved in team conflicts to another assembly, instead of trying to find a solution that could prevent its reoccurrence. Consequently, on occasion, those teams receiving staff transfers decrease their performance and motivation, since new members do not fit with the group or they create new problems, so conflicts spread out to different teams: *"There are people who work great, who are super motivated, and you can see that, because of a transfer, that person is decreasing his or her motivation, and passing on that demotivation to the team"* (J.E., Paid staff).

Paid staff reported an additional problem related to personnel transferring; when they truly want to leave a certain team, they do not receive any answer to their petition from management. Therefore, they feel that the organization does not look after their needs and do not listen to their requests, *"there are workers who are caught up in their positions, we are not transfer anywhere else even if we ask for it (I.S., Paid staff).*

Although this problem is also detected at the regional level, conflict escalation seems to increase their difficulties to find a straightforward solution and they solve it moving those employees involved:

"Sometimes if it would had been detected before or if it would had been discussed, I think it could have been solved, could it? Now there is a situation of tension, of labor conflict, because people had to be transferred, because now they are afraid" (R.A., Paid Staff, headquarters).

Volunteers. Volunteers perceived that these transfers affect paid staff's commitment with the organization and the task they oversee. Although the number of volunteers may buffer the negative effect of their changeable situation, that is not the case of paid staff, who are employed by the organization and should fulfill certain duties. Volunteers explain that their personal and professional circumstances affect how much time they can spend collaborating with the NPO, *"our strength is that there is a lot of volunteering, and our weakness is that, finally, volunteers, no matter how much committed they are, have obligations outside the organization, with its ups and downs" (Y.O., Volunteer).*

Relationship conflict

Personal disagreements and unresolved personal issues

Paid staff. *"We are like a big family; we do not always get along with each other and we usually do not agree with the inheritance" (M.T., Paid staff).* Paid staff explained that volunteers' personal characteristics usually leads to conflict in their teams. Since there are not selection procedures to either accept in the organization or assigned volunteers to projects, only their personal preferences, sometimes they do not fit with the team or they try to impose their own way of doing things. Under these circumstances, paid staff explain that, due to their volunteer status, they manage these misunderstandings reporting their complaints to the highest hierarchical levels, denouncing that they are not feeling well treated by paid staff. This behavior

is considered by paid staff a lack of respect and recognition of their work, even generating resentment among team members.

“Volunteers have their own ideas and some of them try to impose them...there are troublesome volunteers, very difficult ones, or those whose personal characteristics just do not fit in the project or local assembly and if we do not change our way of doing our work based on their ideas, they create problems in the team”. (A.R., Paid staff).

Volunteers. *“Do not tell me what I have to do, if you are burnt out do not pass your frustration on me”.* (S.E., Volunteers). Volunteers explain that paid staff sometimes see them as a threat, someone that can replace them for free supported by the organization’s values, as it was previously mentioned. These circumstances do not only lead to role conflict and role ambiguity but also create personal incompatibilities between them.

“I have close friends in (the organization). However, some people may be your friend, and some people may be not. Those tell me, “You (as volunteer) are here stealing a job position...” (S.E., Volunteer).

Consequences of conflicts

Frustration and anxiety

Paid staff. *“Some people are so frustrated”* (I.S., Paid staff). Paid staff report a frustration feeling stemmed from work overload, for example due to the slow pace of administrative duties and lack of trust in regional decision-making processes. They are not able to transmit their concerns or doubts to higher hierarchical levels due to the lack of direct communication channels, therefore, they are very insecure if they have to act without consulting with their supervisors what should be done, which occurs quite often due to the urgency of their activity with users: *“I think that HR department usually do not know what their own employees do and the difficult situations they have to deal with”* (I.S., Paid staff).

Volunteers. Volunteers explain that, in some way, paid staff transfers their anxiety and stress to volunteers in an unconscious manner. Since they feel pressured by their working conditions and the obligatory nature of their tasks, they discharge their frustration on volunteers, increasing their demands instead of supporting them:

"I understand that a person has to channel those problems or manage them somehow, but it overloads and stress out volunteers, that is the reason why some people decide to leave this organization and go to a different entity" (Y.O., Volunteer).

Insecurity to act without consulting, fear of reprisals, lack of motivation and emotional exhaustion

Paid staff. Besides suffering long-term frustration and anxiety, paid staff feel vulnerable and not supported or protected by the organization, even afraid of suffering reprisals if they make a mistake: *"our stress level is quite high since we are constantly trying to transmit our problems and concerns but that they have not listened to us for a long time" (O.L., Paid staff).*

Therefore, teams' motivation, organizational commitment and satisfaction with their activity decreases, and overall team emotional exhaustion takes place: *"if they do not watch over you, how are you going to look after those you are supposed to be taking care of?" (I.S., Paid staff)*

"Volunteers are lost, paid staff have a different nuance" (E.V., Paid staff). Due to their different position in the organization, paid staff and volunteers' responses to this lack of job satisfaction are quite different. Paid staff generally try to cope with the situation during extended periods of time in order to keep their job position, which leads to a transferring request or even absenteeism.

"Losing volunteers and losing workers... because workers do not get lost because they leave the organization. In my previous position, I lost motivation and, therefore, I was less useful...they lost me as a worker" (D.A., Paid staff).

Volunteers. When volunteers are not satisfied with their activity in the organization, they do not perceive an obligation to stay there under unpleasant circumstances. Due to their commitment values and motivation to help, they try to carry on asking also for a new project to collaborate, but if their situation does not change, they just leave the organization.

“I am here to offer my time and my help, if the situation doesn't convince me, I leave”

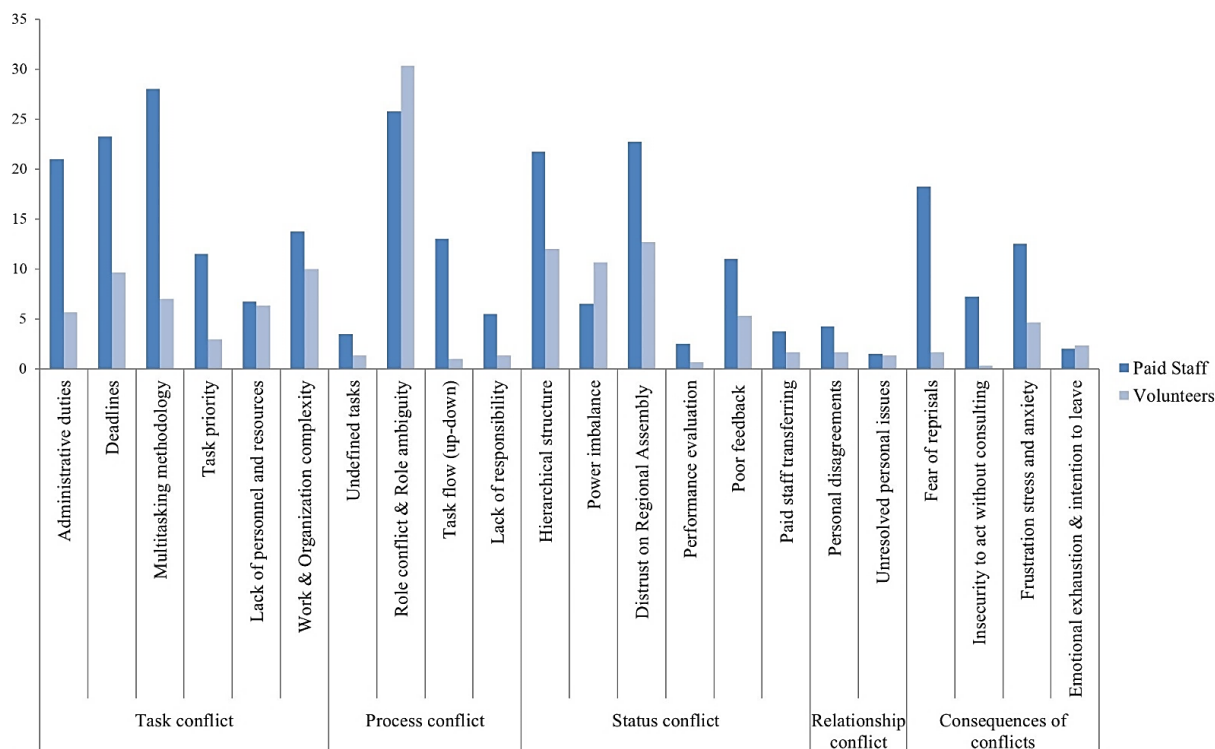
(P.A., Volunteer).

Additionally, as stated in Proposition 2, we also analyzed who report more conflict and who will suffer more negative consequences derived from this experience of conflict. In this regard, as Figure 1 shows, results support this proposition; overall, paid staff experience more conflicts (considering the fourth types analyzed) and as expected, report suffering more negative consequences due to this conflict experience. In NPOs contexts, paid staff report more conflicts (task, process, status, and relationships conflict) than volunteers, suffering also more negative consequences.

Power imbalance together with role conflict, role ambiguity and intention to leave are the most reported conflict issues among volunteers. However, paid staff are more concern about administrative duties and multitasking methodology, although they also report role conflict and role ambiguity as a main cause of conflict, since they would expect their job to be based on their academic and professional background instead of being related to administrative tasks. Compared to volunteers, paid staff reported higher levels of fear of reprisals and insecurity to act without consulting.

Figure 1

Incidence of most reported conflicts their consequences (based on the number of cites) by paid staff and volunteers.



Among paid staff, those working with volunteers as part of the same teams at local assemblies is the group reporting more conflicts, particularly related to role conflict. Among volunteers, presidents, due to their managerial role, report more conflicts that local volunteers. Indeed, presidents report a similar levels of role conflict and distrust on the headquarters to paid staff, illustrating the effects of the intricate power dynamics and hierarchical complexity in the organization.

Based on these results, our two propositions are supported. Paid staff and volunteers differed on their perceptions of these types of conflicts, their prevalence, and causes: paid staff do not only perceive more conflicts but also report more negative consequences. Table 2 shows a summary of the main specific conflict issues and consequences reported by our participants.

Table 2

Conflicts detected in NPOs considering traditional conflict taxonomies and their reported negative consequences

Types of conflicts				Negative consequences of conflicts
<u>Task conflict</u>	<u>Process conflict</u>	<u>Status conflict</u>	<u>Relationship conflict</u>	
Deadlines	Assumption of responsibilities	Paid staff transferring	Personal disagreements	Frustration / anxiety
Quality of attention	Actual and expected functions of paid staff and volunteers (Role conflict)	Evaluation Differences	Unresolved personal issues:	Lack of motivation
Administrative duties	Role ambiguity	Performance Evaluation	- Lack of respect	Insecurity to act without consulting
Task prioritization	Undefined tasks	Poor feedback / ways to transmit problems	- Lack of recognition	Fear of reprisals
Multitasking methodology	Lack of responsibility	Power imbalance	- Resentment	Absenteeism
Project coordination's complexity	Differences between assemblies	Regional assembly's inactivity		Emotional exhaustion /
Lack of personnel/resources		Distrust on Regional Assembly's decision-making processes		Intention to leave
Commitment		Regional assembly's competences and knowledge about local assemblies		
Work complexity		Leadership based on power		
Lack of communication		Hierarchical structure		
		Local decisions made at regional level		

2.4 Discussion

The main objective of this study was to progress on the previous research findings analyzing conflicts in NPOs, considering as theoretical framework several consolidated Organizational Psychology theories: on the one hand, the conflict theory (Deutsch, 1973) to analyze how conflicts arise in this context and on the other hand the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) and the equity theory (Adams, 1963, 1965) to analyze the differences paid staff and volunteers perceptions regarding these conflicts, as well as their consequences.

This study demonstrates that, to understand NPOs conflicts, we need an extended conflict taxonomy: task, relationship, process, and status conflict. The well-known taxonomy of organizational conflicts that differentiate between task, relationship, and process conflict (Jehn, 1995) is insufficient for understand the conflict nature in NPOs. Our results also highlight the importance of how these conflicts develops in NPOs and which situations or issues trigger their appearance, providing the opportunity not to only manage, but also prevent conflict situations in this organizational context by means of understanding the phenomenon and how it is developed. This is particularly relevant considering NPOs particularities such as work organization, role dynamics and contributions-rewards balance between paid staff and volunteers, that make the difference and create the perfect “breeding ground” to conflicts.

For NPOs, maintain and protect their reputation and donors’ trust is essential in order to guaranteed, to a greater extent, their projects survival (Müller-Stewens, Dinh, Hartmann, Eppler & Bünzli, 2019); therefore, internal conflicts are concealed. However, there are two main factors that are increasing research interest in this issue and therefore, evincing the problem. Firstly, volunteers are essential to NPOs’ labor, otherwise they would not be able to reach their organizational goals only by means of employees (Englert

& Helmig, 2018), and, by extension, to Governments that rely on these organizations to attend social issues (Henriksen et al. 2012). Secondly, the professionalization of NPOs and the implementation of managerial practices to guarantee their efficiency, that usually clashes with their volunteering values (Ganesh & McAllum, 2012). In this regard, our results analyzing these two stakeholders' perspective are indeed consistent with their previous studies analyzing paid staff and volunteers' interaction as a trigger of conflict in NPOs (McDuff, 2012; Rimes, Nesbit, Christensen & Brudney, 2017). However, our study goes a step further identifying and labelling the existing types of conflicts provoked by these dynamics and these organizations' characteristics and therefore, facilitating that actions to prevent or manage them are promoted in NPOs.

In this regard, work overload and work dynamics, including resources investments, are promoting both task and process conflicts. The implementation of business-like policies (Maier et al. 2016) as part of a "professionalism" or "managerialism" trend in NPOs (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011; McAllum, 2018), is increasing not only task conflicts due to the implementation of multitasking methods, but also administrative duties and deadlines. The lack of personnel and resources as well as communication deficiencies make this situation worse. Process conflicts are mainly provoked by both paid staff and volunteers' role ambiguity and role conflict who are not sure of their exact role in the organization and even feel they are fulfilling the duties of two different positions. Work dynamics and shortage of resources together with decision-making processes leads to status conflicts in NPOs. The very hierarchical structure in this organizations prevents feedback between different levels and promotes power imbalance perceptions, uncertainty and distrust between paid staff and volunteers but also between different hierarchical levels. However, although it is reported by both stakeholders, among these four types of conflicts, relationship conflict is the least reported conflict by

both volunteers and paid staff. This result is remarkable since it highlights that, although our results also coincide with previous studies regarding volunteers and paid staff identity differences (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011) that may create personal incompatibilities, in NPOs the importance of values and engagement with the social aim of the organization can be considered a protective factor against conflicts' negative consequences, especially for volunteers. An interesting future line of research is the analysis of how the type of job protect employees to the appearance of relationships conflicts. Data in this study suggest that working on social issues with vulnerable people (refugees, children, human trafficking, etc.), protect employees from negative relationship conflicts since they give priority to their common goals instead of to their personal incompatibilities. Therefore, reflecting on the equity theory (Adams, 1963, 1965), for relationship conflict, the contributions-rewards balance is closer to equilibrium than for those conflicts related to work processes and power position in the organization. This effect is also demonstrated by the fact that both groups report low levels of turnover intention, despite the high rates of conflict reported, especially for paid staff.

Likewise, regarding the identities' differences and the social comparison between volunteers and paid staff, both stakeholders demand, to a certain extent, leading the organization; volunteers based on organizational values and position and paid staff based on their expertise (Munduate & Medina, 2017). This also relates to motivation and expectations; when managerial structures are introduced in this kind of organizations, particularly volunteers report that administrative duties are not their aim or even responsibility, as a natural reaction to maintain their great positive balance between their contributions and the emotional rewards obtained from volunteering.

Overall, results show that paid staff report more conflicts than volunteers. Indeed, based on the number of reported conflicts, it can be concluded that paid staff is absorbed

in a loss conflict spiral, starting with workload and administrative duties, getting worse with discrepancies regarding decision-making process and ending with fear of reappraisal and anxiety, even considering their employment contract as a disadvantage, that force them to stay in the organization. Paid staff report the greatest number of conflicts for all types of conflicts, but especially for multitasking methodology and administrative duties and role conflict. These results highlight the importance of considering paid staff perspective when analyzing conflicts in NPOs.

Paid staff indeed experience more conflicts than volunteers. Even so, previous research has traditionally put a spotlight on volunteers, overshadowing both their needs in their working context and the consequences of leaving them out. Volunteers, on the contrary, who are free to leave the organization, decide to stay because their social contribution is more important for them than those conflict situations they may experience in the organization. An exception in this group are Presidents, volunteers with managerial responsibilities, who identify more conflicts than local volunteers and even similar or more conflicts than paid staff, on certain issues. This difference can be explained by the nature of their job that implies fundamentally different power positions towards paid staff; presidents consider that paid staff with management duties at the headquarters, are who really plan all the line of action without involving them on their decisions, and simultaneously, they deal with volunteer's coordination.

These results also reflect the effects of the intricate role dynamics that prevails in many NPOs, and the consequences of professionalization, not only for volunteers, who report higher levels of role ambiguity (process conflict) due to this transition, but also paid staff, since they have to deal with the administrative processes. In this regard, considering the organization's voluntary character, Presidents, who are volunteers with management responsibilities, feel that their managing role is being taken away by paid

staff. Moreover, paid staff do not agree on being focus on administrative tasks instead of attending users, since they consider it is not congruent with their formal training.

Therefore, regarding the consequences of conflict, findings suggest that paid staff suffer more negative consequences than volunteers, mainly frustration, stress and anxiety, whereas emotional exhaustion and turnover intentions are low. As it was abovementioned, it is interesting to remark the low level and intensity of the relationship conflicts perceived both by the paid staff and the volunteers. It is well-known the negative consequences that this type of conflict has for the organizations and those who suffer it (Medina et al., 2005). Thus, this may explain the low levels of emotional exhaustion and turnover intention for both groups, paid staff and volunteers (Benitez, Medina, & Munduate, 2011). It is also relevant how this NPO's prosocial work seems to protect workers from relationship conflict and their negative consequences, such as the desire to leave the organization or emotional exhaustion.

Practical implications

Our results suggest several practical implications. First, organizations where paid staff and volunteers work together, such NPOs, should be aware of the existence of task, process, relationship, and status conflicts in their context and particularly between these two main stakeholders. Second, these conflicts are embedded in the organization's procedures and characteristics; the structure, work nature and even the understanding of organizational values promote them. Therefore, using our results as a checklist, supervisors and team leaders can identify and therefore, manage adequately or even prevent, these conflicts. Third, it is important for HR Departments to focus on the situation of paid staff, who deserve special attention. Although the focus has been traditionally put on volunteers, based on our results, paid staff perceive more conflicts and have a more negative situation in the organizations. Thus, as a general advice, paid

staff in NPOs should be paid not only a salary but also attention and care from their organization.

Potential limitations and future studies

This study has some limitations that must be considered in order to generalize the obtained results. This study was conducted in an only NPO branch, so future studies should replicate the analysis in different NPOs to confirm that our conclusions are applicable to different organizations. Nevertheless, as a positive aspect of our participant NPO, this is a worldwide organization that replies the same functional and hierarchical structure in every country, so these results can potentially be generalized to all these divisions around the world. Moreover, despite the possible differences among NPOs, our results are consistent with previous studies. Furthermore, qualitative data limits the explanatory potential of the study and the number of participants involved in the research. However, it also provided the opportunity to understand and explore the complexity of NPOs and the existent conflict dynamics in this singular work environment. Future studies should analyze conflicts in these organizations using also quantitative approaches that make possible to conduct a deeper analysis of conflict situations and those variables influencing them.

Conclusions

This study constitutes a remarkable contribution to NPOs knowledge from a theoretical and practical perspective. From a theoretical view, this study not only analyzes specific types of conflict in NPOs (task, process, status, and relationship conflict) but also considers doing so from paid staff and volunteers' different perspectives. Additionally, it is built up on three consolidated theories: the conflict theory (Deustch, 1973), the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) and the equity theory (Adams, 1963, 1965). From a practical perspective, some general recommendations to NPOs can be extract from our

results. First, explicitly identify conflicts in these organizations helps parties to manage them, however, training is crucial, particularly for those who have management responsibilities, usually paid staff. NPOs' leaders can prevent or minimize these conflicts and their consequences introducing some routines in the organization, such as monitoring paid staff and volunteers' relationship combining qualitative and quantitative data. Second, it must be taken into consideration the organizational changes that NPOs are facing (e.g. decrease of economic resources, professionalization), that results on paid staff not only experiencing more conflicts but also suffering more negative consequences. These organizations should especially be concerned about paid staff's needs, as much as for volunteers' ones, to guarantee the achievement of their social aims. Overall, promoting transparency between stakeholders and training to overcome differences would contribute to improve NPOs functioning both internally and externally.

CHAPTER 3

**“To be, or not to be... satisfied in NPOs”:
A serial multiple mediation and clustering
analysis of paid staff and volunteers’
profiles²**

² This chapter is under review

Chapter 3

“To be, or not to be... satisfied in NPOs”:

A serial multiple mediation and clustering analysis of paid staff and volunteers’

profiles

Abstract

NPOs are a complex working context whose main characteristic resides on the dichotomy between paid staff and volunteers. Despite it benefits for goal achievement, this circumstance can be also a challenge, for both collectives’ interaction, for their comprehension of their own role and to HR management. The aim of this study is to explore factors that may contribute to promote job satisfaction among NPOs members. Combining two different data analyses, serial multiple mediation analyses and cluster analyses, we first analyze if there are differences between paid staff and volunteers in perceived intrapersonal conflict and performance and its effect on job satisfaction, and second, we analyze if there is an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of NPOs, despite the formal roles that coexist in these organizations (paid staff and volunteers). Results confirm that paid staff and volunteers differ on their perceived job satisfaction level, with volunteers being more satisfied. This relationship is serially mediated by role conflict, role ambiguity and performance.

Another characteristic of the NPOs is that the dichotomy between paid staff and volunteers does not capture well the reality of the labor relationships between both stakeholders and the organization itself. To explore this phenomenon, we perform a cluster analysis based on paid staff and volunteers’ perceptions. Cluster analyses demonstrate the existence of three homogenous profiles. Additionally, practical implications for HR management in NPOs and future research lines to understand this organizational context dynamics are also discussed.

3.1 Introduction

Nonprofit organizations (NPOs) are characterized by its intricate organizational structure and its heterogeneity, mostly defined by the coexistence of two main stakeholders: paid staff and volunteers (Studer, 2016). This dichotomy is a distinguishable positive feature of NPOs, as volunteers are a valuable resource to reach organizational objectives and they can exert positive influence on organizations and users (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2011). However, at the same time, it can also be a source of conflict due to tensions between both roles; paid staff and volunteers usually have different perspectives on processes and working situations that contribute to the complexity of their interactions (López-Cabrera et al. 2020; Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013).

To guarantee NPOs functioning, paid staff and volunteers are “contempt to get along” with each other, as they must complement their activities. Paid staff are responsible of management and coordination, monitoring complex activities and supervising tasks related to their professional background; whereas volunteers collaborate on the different projects insomuch as they have availability to be involved and committed to the organization (Ariza-Montes et al., 2015, 2017). However, despite paid staff responsibilities on daily management, volunteers are considered a core value in NPOs. Volunteering is considered part of the foundations of these organizations together with working towards a mission, usually based on providing help and support to others (Wilson 2000). Therefore, volunteers also have responsibilities in decision making bodies in the organization and usually set the direction of organizational aims and values.

Overall, in real practice, boundaries between paid staff and volunteers’ roles are not that easy to differentiate in NPOs, even for both parties involved, and eventually role discrepancies are a common issue in this work context. It is not unusual that paid staff report the feeling of being replaced by volunteers and volunteers of being replacing paid

staff, respectively (Mook et al., 2014). Indeed, volunteer involvement in NPOs can also contribute to impairing paid staff motivation to accomplish their duties and their person organization (P-O) fit (Jin et al., 2018), as well as their professional identity and their role characteristics and activities (Follman et al., 2016).

To understand this situation, it is also necessary to consider the organizational change that NPOs are facing because of financial struggles. In NPOs, social labor is a relevant source of motivation, satisfaction, and even organizational identity for their members, especially for volunteers (Warburton et al. 2018). Indeed, in these organizations, even efficiency has been traditionally relegated in favor of values such as participation or integration (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011; Smith, 2018). However, in the last years, to respond to the current social changes and survive in a competitive environment, this paradigm is changing. NPOs are suffering a professionalization process to guarantee the obtaining enough resources for their survival (Maier et al., 2016; Müller-Stewens et al., 2019). Consequently, paid staff increased their influence. A clear example of these changes is governments setting standards and procedures to identify and finance the most effective NPOs (Salomon, 2015) when they need to rely on third parties to manage humanitarian crisis and provide basic social services to community (Clausen, 2021; Henriksen et al., 2012).

These organizational changes imply the acquisition of a new “managerial” perspective, which is usually nonexistent or ineffective in NPOs, and entails additional job demands particularly from paid staff and volunteers (Berzin & Camarena, 2018; McAllum, 2018; Petrella et al., 2021). In this context, adapted HR and human capital policies are essential to guarantee an optimal paid staff and volunteers’ job satisfaction as well as an adequate performance (Ridder et al., 2012). In a previous research, López-Cabrera et al., (2020) stated that the complexity of NPOs organizational structure and the

variety of tasks that they accomplish – sometimes considered incompatible activities – as well as their different aspirations and perspectives – even on the same aspects of their work – lead to disputes, interpersonal conflicts, and subsequent negative emotional consequences (López-Cabrera et al. 2020). Particularly, both paid staff and volunteer find difficult to understand what it is expected from their own positions, which leads to intrapersonal conflicts such as role conflict and role ambiguity. Indeed, both collectives reported this circumstance when describing process conflict, disagreement about how a task should be accomplished, including issues such as who should do what and how much responsibility each member of the group should take (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001).

However, due to new circumstances in the NPO economical context, it is relevant to analyze the organizational processes that facilitates the reduction of rotation and promote staff and volunteers' organizational commitment and, overall satisfaction. In this regard, it is essential to consider the differences between paid staff and volunteers and their perspectives. Particularly, a better understanding of what contributes to promote job satisfaction among these collectives may determine how to manage their differences and needs. Otherwise, NPOs face the serious risk of losing members, particularly among volunteers who are not bonded by a contract (Bittschi et al., 2019).

To do so, in this study we first paid especial attention to both roles -paid staff and volunteers-, their perceived intrapersonal conflicts and its effect on performance and job satisfaction. To provide HR managers with valuable information to understand their workforce (including volunteers), we examine the existent differences between both roles, regarding their perceptions of the organizational context and personal characteristics, inferring homogenous patterns or profiles that may help HRM to manage their organizations properly, being able to reach their goals.

Research questions

The aim of this study is to explore factors that may contribute to promote job satisfaction among NPOs members. In this regard, we propose two main research questions.

First, we analyze if there are differences between paid staff and volunteers in perceived intrapersonal conflict and performance and its effect on job satisfaction. Previous studies on this matter pointed out the differences between paid staff and volunteer's perception, particularly regarding interpersonal conflict and its negative consequences (López-Cabrera et al., 2020). These results remark pronounced differences on process conflict and specifically on conflicts related to roles (paid staff and volunteers), such as who is in charge or responsible of different tasks. Therefore, in this study we analyze if being part of paid staff or volunteer's collective in NPO affects their perceived intrapersonal conflict (role conflict and role ambiguity), and consequently, each collectives' performance, and job satisfaction.

Second, and because of NPO internal characteristics, we explore a) if there is an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of NPOs, despite the formal roles that coexist in these organizations (paid staff and volunteers), b) what are the effects of different profiles over conflict, performance, and job satisfaction. Managing this information, policies and human resources management practices can be adapted according to the real needs of organizational members, optimizing paid-staff and volunteer's management to increase their satisfaction and finally reduce NPO dropout.

Dealing with paid staff and volunteers' differences of intrapersonal conflicts and performance and the effects on job satisfaction.

Due to the changeable scenario that NPOs are currently facing (Maier et al., 2016), there is a certain ambiguity about responsibilities and tasks. Neither paid staff nor volunteers are usually sure about what are their duties and what tasks are their responsibility in their

working projects. Therefore, to guarantee an appropriate organizational functioning it is very relevant to understand how both of paid staff and volunteers manage this uncertainty in their job and its consequences (King, 2017).

Previous research reported several problems in this matter. The recruitment of paid staff in some NPO due to professionalization processes may clash with their internal culture. At the same time, NPO goals require a high level of specialization guarantee only by expert employees. For instance, paid staff believe that, to some extent, they are being replaced by volunteers; they consider that the essential activities in NPOs should be led by permanent staff and volunteering should be a supportive role (Mook et al. 2014). However, this perspective or change in roles distribution is not consistent with most NPOs culture, whose origins and development are usually based on volunteering.

However, volunteers usually lack specific training to deal with vulnerable users, so paid staff must monitor their activity, besides their multiple office tasks. Indeed, paid staff also think that they are who received the required formal social intervention training and that should be the main reason why they were hired; therefore, it should also be their main function as employees (López-Cabrera et al., 2020). Volunteers also feel they are being set aside by paid staff, as they are requested to support on administrative duties and coordinating tasks. They want to be involved in social attendance; however, they consider that paid staff are also gaining relevance on this matter (McAllum, 2018). Overall, both paid staff and volunteers report discrepancies between what they expect to do and what they do in their positions.

Thus, considering NPOs particularities, consequences on job satisfaction can vary depending on the role (paid staff or volunteer) as responsibilities and expectations are different for both groups. As Borzaga and Tortia (2006) pointed out, volunteers are protected by intrinsic aspects of their work in their organizations, and they feel rewarded

just being able to offer support to people in need. They are not contract bonded with the NPOS, so when they do not agree with the conditions of their collaboration, they might feel free to leave the organization (López Cabrera, et. al. 2020). Therefore, to promote engagement among volunteers, satisfaction with their activities is crucial (Nagel et al., 2020). However, although job satisfaction can contribute to paid staff engagement, they are also bound to the organization by a working contract that increases their obligations and limit their possibilities of leaving the organization without facing personal or even legal consequences. This is an extra burden for paid staff that can contribute to highlight differences on job satisfaction compared to volunteers. Therefore, we hypothesized that:

H1: Paid staff and volunteers will report different levels of job satisfaction. Paid staff will report less job satisfaction than volunteers.

Considering the role in NPOs as a predictor of job satisfaction, it is important to understand the mechanism or processes involved in these differences between paid staff and volunteers. As explained by role theory (Kahn et al., 1964) when expected behaviors can be considered ambiguous or accountabilities are not clear, these circumstances would lead to role conflicts and role ambiguity among both collectives, paid staff, and volunteers. Therefore, these two processes can contribute to explain the differences on job satisfaction between both collectives.

Role conflict takes place when a person is expected to fulfill the duties of two contradictory positions; that is, there is a lack of compatibility between expectation and reality from a job or position (Rizzo, 1970). This situation usually comes, for instance, from incompatible demands requested by coworkers or supervisors, incompatible pressures due to membership in multiple groups, or conflict between personal values and activities related to the role (Tarrant & Sabo, 2010).

Concerning NPOs, this intrapersonal conflict take place especially among paid staff, for example when social workers or psychologists, are expected to oversee administrative procedures and to get involved in social intervention (López-Cabrera et al., 2020; Tham, 2014). Volunteers, on a different degree, may also face this problem, particularly those who are involved in decision-making processes, consider that the actual shift to professionalization is clashing with the volunteering values of the organization. Those collaborating in projects with paid staff may even feel they are taking away a job position, since roles are too vaguely established (Hasenfeld, 2010; Overgaard, 2015). These circumstances may contribute to decrease job satisfaction. Thus, we hypothesize that:

H2: Paid staff and volunteers' differences on job satisfaction will be mediated by role conflict.

Besides fulfilling tasks that contribute to blur the limits between paid staff and volunteers' expected competencies (McAllum, 2018), NPOs members also must deal with new procedures implemented as part of organizational changes such as professionalization (Müller-Stewens et al., 2019). For instance, projects linked to public funding management entail the implementation of a new economic justification procedures and additional administrative duties that are confusing for both paid staff, who are trained in social intervention instead of in management, and volunteers, whose aim in the organization is usually to provide support to people in need (López-Cabrera et al., 2020). These circumstances can be conceptualized as role ambiguity, defined as the lack of clear information about tasks, methods, and consequences of role performance, and it is usually related to organizational complexity and organizational changes (Rizzo et al., 1970).

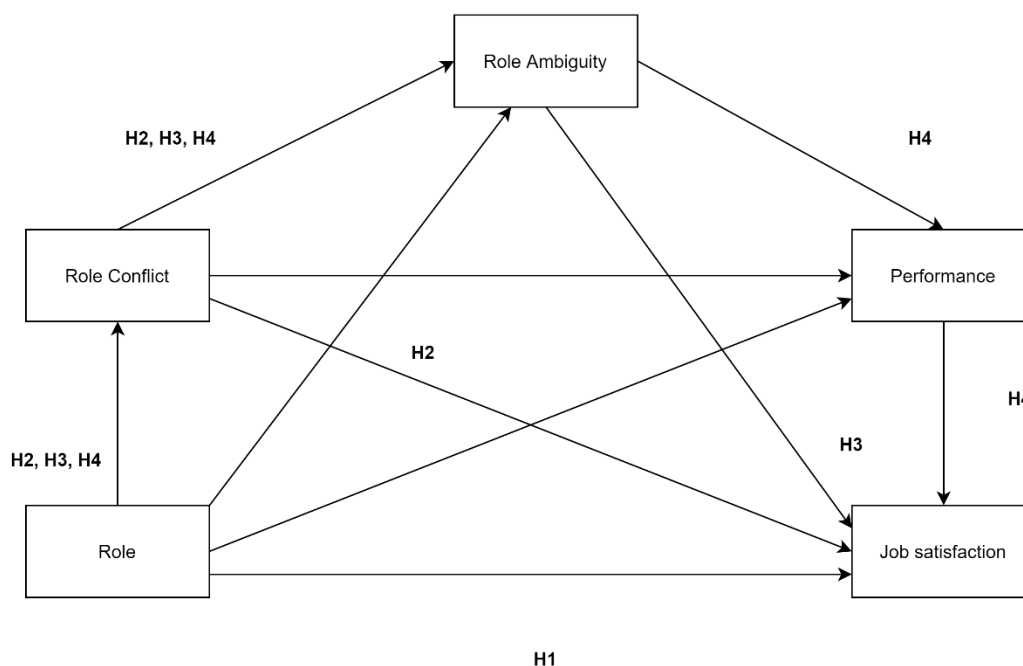
Consequently, paid staff and volunteers' experience of role conflict and role ambiguity generates uncertainty that has negative consequences not only for both collectives, affecting their job satisfaction, but it can also be detrimental for goal achievement and performance. Indeed, as previously mentioned studies confirm that role conflict is a significant (negative) predictor of job satisfaction (Belias et al., 2015; Carpenter et al., 2003, 2015) to the extent that it also can be linked to intention to leave (Mor Barak, 2015). This is also the case for role ambiguity, which is also considered a source of dissatisfaction (Pousette, 2001). Therefore, we hypothesized that the perception of role conflict and role ambiguity, together, may also influence paid staff and volunteers job satisfaction (Koustelios et al., 2004).

H3: Paid staff and volunteers' differences on job satisfaction are serially mediated by role conflict and role ambiguity.

Although managing role conflict and role ambiguity could be crucial to guarantee job satisfaction, performance in NPOs can impact on paid staff and volunteers job satisfaction, particularly considering that it usually implies social assistance (Treinta et al., 2020). In NPOs the perception that social projects and activities can help others in need, may have a buffering effect on the negative impact of role conflict and role ambiguity. Thus, although there is lack of compatibility between expectation and their job reality than can reduce job satisfaction, being able to help others may buffers this negative effect. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

H4: Paid staff and volunteers' differences on job satisfaction are serially mediated by role conflict and role ambiguity and performance.

The theoretical model and hypotheses are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1*Theoretical model and hypotheses***Getting to know NPOs workforce: the importance of profile patterns.**

From an organizational intervention perspective, it is crucial that HRM knows the characteristics of their organizational members to promote their satisfaction at work and increase their performance (Bastida et al., 2018). However, NPOs are very heterogenous, not only considering the existence of two different roles, but these collectives are also diverse themselves (Netting et al., 2008). Paid staff encompass different professional backgrounds such as psychologists and social workers, working on social projects, together with lawyers or economists occupying management-oriented positions. Volunteers, besides different educational backgrounds, may also have very diverse educational level (primary education to doctorate), working situation (student, employed, unemployed, retire) and sociodemographic profile, including age, previous experience dealing with social intervention, or seniority in the organization (McAllum, 2018).

Additionally, paid staff and volunteers cannot be considered stables categories, since a person can be temporarily hired by the NPO for a project and, at certain time,

continue his/her work as a volunteer in the same organization once his/her working contract ends. The opposite case is also feasible, and volunteers can be hired, at a certain moment, becoming part of paid staff. For instance, this usually happens with young volunteers that may access to a job position once they have finished their studies. For this reason, to analyze the differences between these two categories, paid staff and volunteers, it is not possible to solely do it by contemplate whether the person has a contract at the time they are being interviewed.

Instead, to understand these differences within volunteers and paid staff we intend to analyze profiles in NPOs rather than isolated dimensions. Going beyond volunteers and paid staff categorization, it is possible to provide HR managers with valuable information based on their perceptions and interiorization of organizational procedures, to identify needs and problems in advance. As criteria variables to create these profiles we considered perception of intrapersonal conflict (role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload) conflict consequences (job satisfaction, job performance) and sociodemographic variables (age, seniority in the NPO, seniority in the project). Among intrapersonal conflicts, we also added role overload to profile analysis. Role overload can be relevant due to its connection with role ambiguity. The lack of clarity regarding paid staff and volunteers' responsibilities can contribute to induce both collectives to accomplish more tasks than they are able to do in a particular time frame. This situation can impact job performance and job satisfaction, being even more relevant when those suffering this overload have been working in the organization for a long period. These variables have been studied in previous research and proved to be relevant for HRM (e.g. Bastida et al., 2018; Bittschi et al., 2019; López-Cabrera et al., 2020)

3.2 Method

The participant NPO

In this study, we examined a large, representative, and worldwide NPO, particularly focusing on one of the main regional divisions, located in one of the largest regions in Spain. This regional division is composed of 20 local divisions, where 806 paid staff members and 8,442 volunteers, work together on different social projects. We decided to focus in one large division of a worldwide NPO since it replicates the same functional and hierarchical structure in every division at both national and international levels. This NPO is worldwide present so the results obtained in this study can be applied to all its divisions. These two roles are intricately connected on both its functional and hierarchical structure. The main democratic decision-making bodies, both at regional and local level, are known as “Committees”. These Committees are responsible for guaranteeing the observance of the general objectives, policy, strategy, and criteria established by the Institution’s higher bodies. The top positions of these Committees are occupied by volunteers (named “Presidents”). Additionally, paid staff are responsible for daily activities and strategic decisions concerning the ongoing social projects.

Regarding the different social projects, volunteers and paid staff are part of the same teams, although their activities are influenced by their roles: volunteers, who present a very heterogeneous profile (in terms of age, working experience, professional background, or availability) collaborate part time with a flexible schedule. Whereas a reduced number of paid staff coordinate these projects, overseeing both administration and social intervention, and supporting and guiding volunteers on their activity. Concerning their professional profile, paid staff in this NPO’s social projects are usually social workers and psychologists who have plenty experience in this social context, particularly dealing with vulnerable collectives and users in social risk.

This NPO replicates its hierarchical and functional structure on every division worldwide; therefore, these results can be applicable to all of them.

Participants

After receiving the invitation of the NPO HR and Volunteering Departments respectively, a total of 161 participants agreed to take part in the study. Data collection was conducted both online and using hard copy questionnaires. Online questionnaires were distributed by email, using Qualtrics. Hardcopy questionnaires were collected after a mediation training session, organized by the NPO and the research team. Participation in this activity was optional and open to all the organization members.

After data processing, 113 questionnaires were eligible for further analyses, as it is described in the procedure section. Therefore, a total of 39 paid staff members (men=13; women= 26) and 74 volunteers (men= 26; women= 43) participated in this study. Regarding their educational background, paid staff are university graduates, most of them on health and social sciences. Most volunteers were also university graduates, however, this group reports a more variety of educational background, including professional training, secondary and primary education, and occupations, such as civil servants, housekeepers, or retired professionals. Regarding participants' age, on the one hand, paid staff are between 24 and 55 years old ($M= 38.64$; $SD= 7.37$) and, on the other hand, volunteers are between 18 and 78 years old ($M= 51.26$; $SD= 16.11$), which is representative of the diversity in this organization, particularly among volunteers.

Measures

Intrapersonal conflicts: Role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload

Intrapersonal conflict was measured based on three different variables: role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload. Role conflict, (e.g. "Are you required to do contradictory activities at work?") ($\alpha= .82$) and role overload, (e.g. "Does your work have clear

objectives?") ($\alpha = .84$) were measured using the Spanish version of the Copenhagen Psychosocial Questionnaire (COPSOQ) by Moncada et al., (2005). Role overload, (e.g. *"The workload is so high that it does not allow me to do everything right"*) ($\alpha = .89$) was measured using a Spanish adaptation scale by González-Romá & Lloret, 1998) included in the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire (MOAQ, Camman et al., 1979). Each scale consists of 3-items rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1= *"Never"* to 5= *"Always"*.

Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction was measured with the Spanish adaptation of the 5-items version of Hartline and Ferrel (1996) scale by Benitez et al., (2007). This scale assesses different aspects of satisfaction at work (e.g. *"Your satisfaction with the compensation that you receive for you work at this organization"*, *"Overall, are you satisfied with your job in this organization"*) ($\alpha = .82$). Items were rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1= *"Dissatisfied"* to 5= *"Very satisfied"*.

Performance

Performance regarding their social projects was measured using 4-items scale used by Hempel et al. (2012). These authors originally retrieved these items from Ancona and Caldwell's (1992) criteria to evaluate team performance (e.g. *"Efficiency, quality, technical innovation and work excellence"*) ($\alpha = .89$). Items were rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1= *"Low"* to 5= *"Very good"*.

Procedure

Data collection

The participant NPO selected those projects where teams are composed by both paid staff and volunteers and informed team managers to promote their team's participation. During the first phase of the data collection, participants received directly from the

research group an invitation by email requesting their collaboration in the study by answering an online questionnaire using the software Qualtrics. To guarantee anonymity, traceable personal information, was not registered when participants accessed and voluntarily completed the questionnaire such as emails or name. Following this procedure, 97 questionnaires were collected, 48 from paid staff and 57 from volunteers. Additionally, we decided to second phase of the data collection, new participants were invited to participate during an in-person training in conflict resolution techniques developed at the Regional Assembly of the NPO. These participants completed the same questionnaire, this time in hardcopy, instead of online. Following the same anonymity procedure, hardcopy questionnaires did not include traceable personal information. A total of 12 paid staff and 55 volunteers agreed to voluntarily take part in this second data collection.

In both data collections, participants were informed about the procedure beforehand. They were requested to give their explicit consent before starting to answer the questionnaire and confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed during the whole process. Altogether, 169 questionnaires were collected both online and hardcopy. Nevertheless, 56 responses were deleted based on the following criteria: a) questionnaires were registered when participants accessed online but they did not complete them; b) participants only answered to a very limited number of items, not completing even a single scale and c) participants had not experience in the organization by the time they completed the questionnaire. Finally, a total of 113 responses were processed, 39 paid staff members (men=13; women= 26) and 74 volunteers (men= 26; women= 43)

Data Analyses

Descriptive and correlation analyses were conducted. Results are presented in Table 1.

To test our Hypotheses, two different analyses were conducted: serial multiple mediation analysis and cluster analysis.

Serial Mediation Model

Serial multiple mediation analyses were conducted using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 6, 3 mediators) designed by Hayes (2018), to analyze the relationship among conflicts related to the role (role conflict and role ambiguity) and two possible consequences: job performance and job satisfaction. This model estimates the direct and indirect effects of the independent variable (role) on the dependent variable (job satisfaction), also considering several mediators (role conflict - role ambiguity - performance). In the model, each mediator is being a cause of the other mediator serially.

Cluster analyses

To explore the different profiles in this NPO context we conducted a cluster analysis. This data mining technique allows to identify and classify groups (clusters) based on information found within the data, describing samples and its relationships (Larose, 2005). Participants belonging to the same cluster show a similarity pattern while being as dissimilar as possible from participants who integrate the other clusters. We analyzed which profiles can be detected based on participants' perception of intrapersonal conflict (role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload) conflict consequences (job satisfaction, job performance), and sociodemographic variables (age, seniority in the NPO, seniority in the project).

To contrast our hypotheses, we conducted two different cluster algorithms, hierarchical cluster, to determine the optimal number of clusters in the data, and k-means cluster, which establishes the presence of clusters by finding their centroid points. A

centroid point is the average of all the data points in the cluster. By iteratively assessing the Euclidean distance between each point in the dataset, each one can be assigned to a cluster. The centroid points are random to begin with and will change each time as the process is carried out. Both cluster analyses were conducted using Z scores as measurement scales differed in some variables (Mohamad & Usman, 2013).

Finally, a between-groups one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine whether there are significant differences on the dependent variables across the different clusters.

3.3 Results

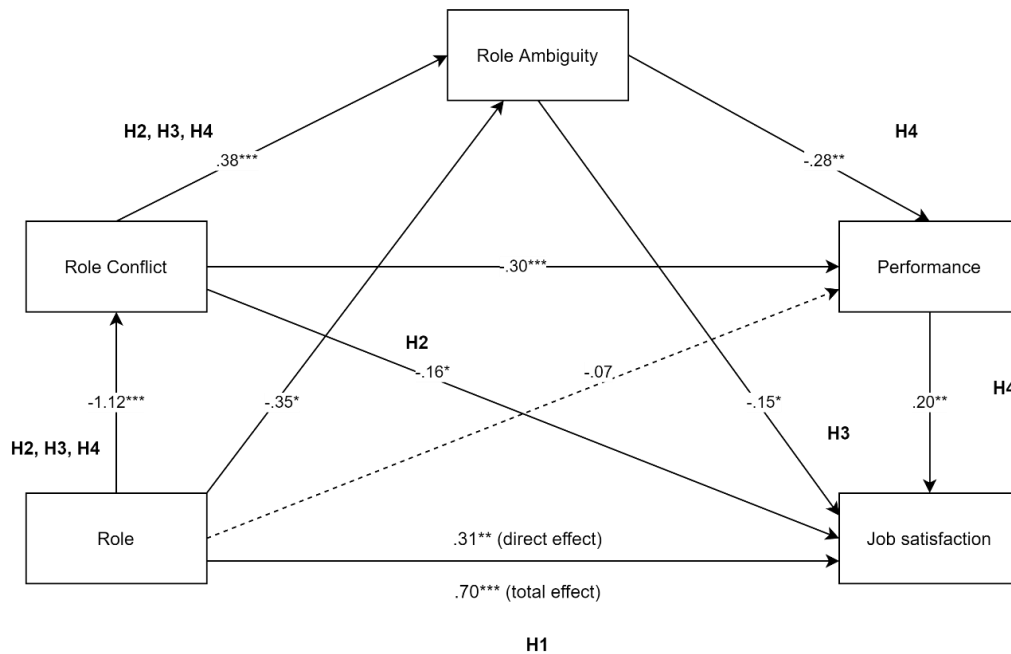
Descriptive statistics including means and standard deviations for primary study variables appear in Table 1. Before testing the SMM model, including those for paid staff and volunteers separately. Correlations were computed within a bivariate framework and are also displayed in Table 1. Results indicate that, in both collectives, intrapersonal conflicts' correlations (role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload) are significant and positive. Performance and job satisfaction also correlates significantly and positively. However, intrapersonal conflicts correlations with performance and job satisfactions are significant and negative.

Serial Mediation Model

All path coefficients were calculated using regression analysis with PROCESS for SPSS (Hayes, 2018). This approach has advantages compared to other statistical methods, as it enables isolation of each mediator's indirect effect as well as the complete indirect effect of the serial mediators (Van Jaarsveld et al., 2010). The complete serial mediation model is presented in Figure 2 and regression coefficients, standard errors, and model summary information for the serial multiple mediator model is presented in Table 2.

Figure 2

Complete serial multiple mediation model and path coefficients



Note: $***p < .001$; $**p < .01$ $*p < .05$

Indirect effects are tested by means of a bootstrapping procedure (10000 subsamples), addressing some weaknesses associated with Sobel test (Van Jaarsveld et al., 2010). Results for indirect effects along with the 95 % bias-corrected bootstrapped confidence intervals for the path estimates are presented in Table 3. The results demonstrate that the 95% confidence intervals for all hypothesized indirect effects do not contain zero, confirming the proposed constructs (role conflict, role ambiguity, performance) as serial mediators between role and job satisfaction (Terglav et al., 2016)

Table 1*Descriptive statistics and correlations.*

	Total NPO				Paid staff				Volunteers										
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	
1. Role conflict	2.14	.93					2.87	.84					1.75	.73					
2. Role ambiguity	1.99	.84	.54**				2.50	.84	.57**				1.72	.72	.25*				
3. Role overload	2.46	1.25	.74**	.56**			3.65	1.06	.65**	.50**			1.83	.80	.53**	.30**			
4. Performance	3.42	.78	-.50**	-.48**	-.46**		3.10	.87	-.56**	-.50**	-.31**		3.59	.67	-.31**	-.33**	-.42**		
5. Job satisfaction	4.06	.65	-.58**	-.53**	-.55**	.52**	3.60	.61	-.40*	-.57**	-.33*	.41**	4.30	.52	-.42**	-.27*	-.28*	.46**	

Note: **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2

Regression coefficients, standard errors, and model summary information for the serial multiple mediator model

Antecedent	M1 (RC)			M2 (RA)			M3 (PERF)			Y (JSAT)		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
X (R)	-1.11	.15	.000	-.35	.17	<.05	-.07	.18	>.05	.31	.13	<.05
M1 (RC)	-	-	-	.39	.09	.000	-.30	.10	<.05	-.16	.07	<.05
M2 (RA)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.28	.10	<.01	-.15	.07	<.05
M3(PERF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.20	.07	<.01
	$R^2=.32$			$R^2=.32$			$R^2=.31$			$R^2=.48$		
	$F(1,111) = 53.24; p=.000$			$F(2,110) = 25.57; p=.000$			$F(3,109) = 16.42; p=.000$			$F(4,108) = 24.49; p=.000$		

Note: R: Role, RC: Role Conflict, RA: Role Ambiguity, PERF: Performance, JSAT: Job Satisfaction, M: Mediator.

To test H1, we analyzed the total effect of role (paid staff and volunteers) on job satisfaction ($b=.70$, $SE=.11$, $p=.000$), which is significant. Therefore, there is a difference in perceived job satisfaction between paid staff ($M= 3.60$; $SD=.61$) and volunteers ($M=4.30$; $SD=.52$). As hypothesized, paid staff report less job satisfaction. The indirect effect is also significant ($b = .18$, $SE= .08$, $CI= [+0.03; +.36]$). Thus, H1 is accepted.

According to the results, there is a difference in perceived role conflict between paid staff ($M=2.87$; $SD=.84$) and volunteers ($M=1.75$; $SD=.73$). Role conflict mediates the relationship between role and job satisfaction; as role conflict increases, job satisfaction decreases. Results demonstrate that role predicted role conflict ($b=-1.11$, $SE=.15$, $p=.000$) and that role conflict predicted job satisfaction ($b=-.16$, $SE=.07$, $p<.05$). The significance test required prediction of an indirect effect of role influencing job satisfaction. Results show a significant indirect effect ($b=.18$, $SE=.08$, CI bootstrapped 95% $CI= [+0.03; +.36]$), supporting H2.

Also, results demonstrate that role conflict and role ambiguity, together, mediate the relationship between role and job satisfaction. The perception of role conflict increases the role ambiguity among participants, which decreases job satisfaction. Role predicted role conflict, and role conflict predicted role ambiguity ($b=.38$, $SE=.09$, $p=.000$). Finally, role ambiguity predicted job satisfaction ($b=-.15$, $SE=.07$, $p<.05$) As indirect effect analysis was also significant ($b= .06$, $SE=.04$, bootstrapped 95% $CI= [+0.003; +.16]$), H3 is supported.

Finally, the complete serial multiple mediation model was tested to contrast H4. H4 hypothesize that role (paid staff, volunteer) affects the reported job satisfaction, being this relationship mediated by role conflict, role ambiguity and performance. The indirect effect of role on job satisfaction through the mediation of role conflict, role ambiguity and performance was significant ($b = .02$, $SE = .01$, $CI= [+0.003; +.06]$). Therefore, the results of the analysis show that there is a difference in perceived role conflict between paid staff and volunteers, as

previously mentioned. Role conflict relates to higher role ambiguity, which relate to lower higher levels of performance. At the same time, performance is associated with higher levels of job satisfaction. Thus, H4 is supported, paid staff and volunteers' differences on job satisfaction are serially mediated by role conflict and role ambiguity and performance. This serial mediation is partial as direct effect of role on job satisfaction is still significant, as stated in H1. However, direct effect ($b=.31$, $SE=.12$, $p<.01$) is smaller than total effect ($b=.70$, $SE=.11$, $p<.001$). As a result, the study accepts all its hypotheses.

Additionally, this serial multiple mediation model emerged additional associations. Only three indirect effects were not significant: a) role, role ambiguity, job satisfaction; b) role, performance, job satisfaction, and c) role, role ambiguity, performance, satisfaction. Complete results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Significant indirect effects of the serial multiple mediation model

Indirect path	Effect	SE	95% CI ^a
Total	.40	.10	[.21, .59]*
R→RC→JSAT	.18	.08	[.03, .36]*
R→RA→JSAT	.05	.04	[-.003, .16]
R→PERF→JSAT	-.01	.03	[-.09, .05]
R→RC→RA→JSAT	.06	.04	[.003, .16]*
R→RC→PERF→JSAT	.06	.03	[.01, .14]*
R→RA→PERF→JSAT	.02	.02	[-.001, .06]
R→RC→RA→PERF→JSAT	.02	.01	[.003, .06]*

Note. ^a10,000 bootstrap samples for bias-corrected bootstrap confidence intervals.

R: Role, RC: Role Conflict, RA: Role Ambiguity, PERF: Performance, JSAT:

Job Satisfaction. * Significant indirect effect, as CI intervals do not contain value 0.

As it can be observed, the non-significant indirect effects do not include role conflict as moderator. These results suggest that the perception of having to fulfill the duties of two contradictory positions or the perceive incompatibility between expectation and reality from a job or position are a key mediator between roles and role ambiguity (lack of clarity of one's job profile), performance and job satisfaction.

Cluster Analyses

Considering our second aim, cluster analyses were conducted to explore the existence of homogeneous profiles among members of NPOs, inferring patterns based on their perceptions of the organizational context and personal characteristics. Particularly, we analyzed which profiles report significant higher levels of job satisfaction and what factors are related to these perceptions.

First, we conducted hierarchical cluster analysis using Euclidean distance as interval measure and Ward's method, using the F value (like in ANOVA) to maximize the significance of differences between clusters. Based on the dendrogram and agglomeration schedule, a 2, 3 and 6 clusters solution were found. These solutions were explored using k-means clusters and exploring graphically the cases dispersion graphics using a Factorial Analysis, based on Principal Components Analysis as extraction method and Varimax with Kaiser Normalization as rotation method (Factor1- *Perception of the organization*: role conflict, role ambiguity, satisfaction, role overload and performance; Factor 2- *Internalization of organizational structure and procedures*: age, seniority in NPO, seniority in current project).

The 3-clusters solution improved on the 2-clusters model, by splitting a cluster into two distinctive groups. The 6-cluster solution, however, did not create any organizationally additional relevant segments, as mostly included very limited number of cases. Therefore, the 3-clusters solution was selected (see Figure 1 for 3-clusters dispersion graphics and NPOs'

members distribution among them). Graphs comparing the paid staff-volunteers distribution among the three clusters solution are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 1

3-Cluster solution

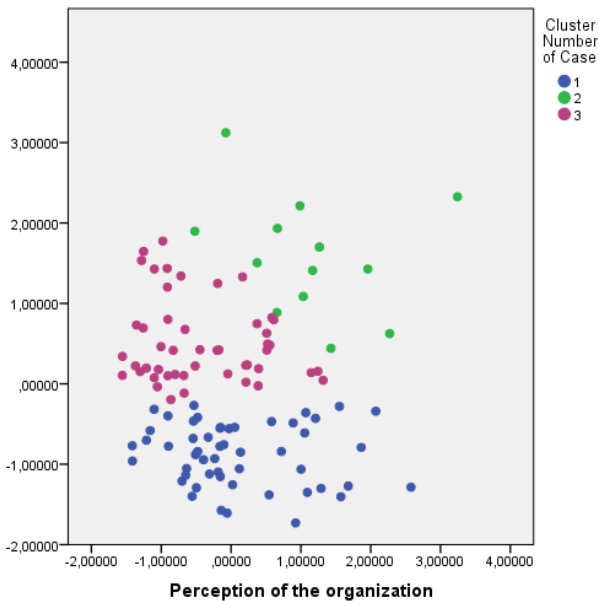


Figure 2

Paid staff and volunteer's distribution among profiles

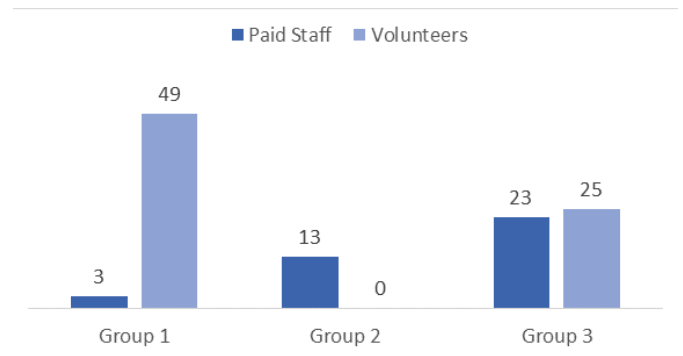
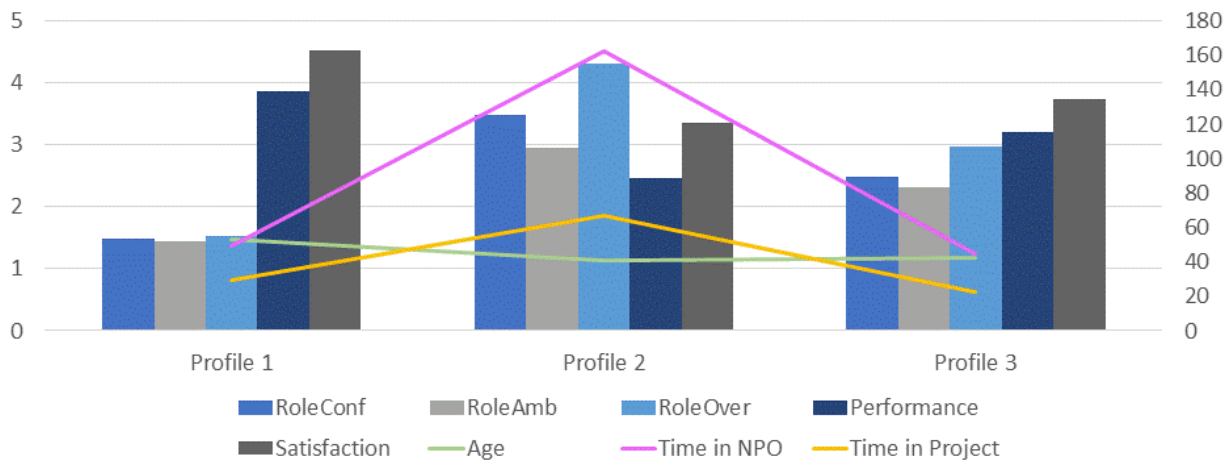


Figure 3

Profiles based on the 3-cluster solution



Note: Time in NPO and project was measured in months. Age was measured in years.

Variables are presented in order, from left-right, up-down.

Finally, a between-groups one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine whether there are significant differences on the dependent variables across the different clusters (Table 4). Multiple comparisons between the mean scores of the different clusters (or profiles) are reported based on post-hoc Tukey HSD as well as the effect size, calculated based on eta squared.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and One-Way ANOVA in perception of the organization and internalization of organizational structures and procedures.

Measure	Profile 1		Profile 2		Profile 3		<i>F</i> (2,110)	η^2	Multiple comparisons (Post-hoc Tukey HSD)
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Role conflict	1.49	.51	3.49	.74	2.47	.76	59.35***	.52	1-2***; 1-3***; 2-3***
Role ambiguity	1.44	.56	2.95	.87	2.32	.69	37.62***	.40	1-2***; 1-3***; 2-3**
Role overload	1.53	.59	4.30	.63	2.97	1.03	77.12***	.58	1-2***; 1-3***; 2-3***
Performance	3.87	.56	2.46	.61	3.20	.70	31.05***	.36	1-2***; 1-3***; 2-3***
Job satisfaction	4.53	.38	3.35	.57	3.74	.52	51.99***	.49	1-2***; 1-3***; 2-3*
Age	52.81	16.03	40.46	6.00	42.25	13.16	8.61***	.13	1-2*; 1-3***; 2-3
Time in NPO	49.52	55.24	162.23	57.30	44.27	54.10	25.38***	.32	1-2***; 1-3; 2-3***
Time in project	29.60	28.22	66.77	46.43	22.31	19.54	13.26***	.19	1-2***; 1-3; 2-3***

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

Profile 1 is composed mostly by volunteers, 94,23%, and only 5.77% of paid staff. On the contrary, in Profile 2 members are 100% paid staff. Profile 3 is the most balanced group, regarding the distribution of organizational roles. It is composed of 47.92% of paid staff and 52.08% of volunteers. Results demonstrate that there are significant differences in all the variables measured among the three profiles established by the previous cluster analyses. To analyze whether there are significant differences between each group multiple comparisons analyses were conducted. Results are summarized in Table 4.

Mean comparisons on *role conflict*, *role ambiguity* and *role overload* demonstrate that participants clustering in Profile 2, all of them paid staff, report the highest mean scores compared to Profile 1 and Profile 3. Indeed, Profile 1, composed mostly by volunteers, report the lowest mean scores for these variables. Means comparisons among the three profiles are statistically significant. Regarding *job satisfaction* and *performance*, results demonstrate that there are significant differences among the three profiles. Profile 1 presents the highest mean scores for both variables; however, participants clustered in Profile 2 presents the lowest score for job satisfaction and perception of performance.

Finally, results show significant differences on *age*, *time in the NPO* and *in projects*. Regarding age, Profile 1, in which volunteers clearly predominate, presents the highest mean scores. Indeed, there are significant mean scores between Profiles 1 and 2, and Profiles 1 and 3, respectively. Indeed, age seems to be a main difference between profiles 1 and 3 in which there are majority of volunteers. Profiles 2 and 3 do not present significant differences on age. Regarding seniority in NPOs and in actual projects, Profile 2 presents the highest scores. This is coherent with the organizational characteristics, as paid staff have stable job positions (Profile 2), compared to volunteer's flexible participation on NPO's activities (Profile 1 and 3), who present a lower mean score for time in NPO and projects. These differences are significant when comparing Profiles 1 and 2 and Profiles 2 and 3, respectively. Table 5 summarizes the three profiles identified in NPO.

Table 5*Profiles in NPO: a summary*

<p>Profile 1 Senior volunteers</p>	<p>More than 4 years collaborating in the NPO, less than two years working in their project. They report very high levels of job satisfaction and perception of performance. Role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload reported levels are quite low:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Based on their perceptions, they do not have to deal with duties of contradictory positions (role conflict). - They consider they have received clear information about their tasks and its methods, or at least it is not considered a problem (role ambiguity) - They do not consider they have problems dealing with all their work (role overload)
<p>Profile 2 Long-term paid staff</p>	<p>More than 13 years working in the NPO, more than five years working in their current project. They report medium levels of job satisfaction and medium-low of performance. Role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload reported levels are quite high:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Based on their perceptions, they consider that they have dealt with duties of contradictory positions (role conflict). - They consider they do not have clear information about their tasks and its methods, or at least, which affects their work (role ambiguity). - They also report very high levels of role overload, they have not enough resources (for example, time) to deal with all their work (role overload). - Probably, they are the most affected by professionalization related organizational changes.
<p>Profile 3 Volunteers and recent paid staff</p>	<p>Less than 4 years working/collaborating in the NPO, less than two years working in their current projects. They report medium-high levels of job satisfaction and performance. Role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload reported levels are quite low but higher than in profile 1.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Based on their perceptions, they do not have to deal with duties of contradictory positions (role conflict). - They consider they have received clear information about their tasks and its methods, or at least it is not considered a problem (role ambiguity) - They do not consider they have problems dealing with all their work (role overload)

3.4 Discussion

NPOs are a complex working context whose main characteristic resides on the dichotomy between paid staff and volunteers (Netting et al., 2005). Despite the benefits that this organizational feature has for goal achievement, it also entails difficulties not only for interaction between both collectives, leading to interpersonal conflicts (Kreitzer & Jäger, 2011; López-Cabrera et al., 2020; McAllum, 2018), but also to guarantee a complete understanding of their own role (King, 2017). Also, it can be a challenge to HR and volunteers' managers, as both groups usually have different perspectives of their working context and different needs, for example to achieve job satisfaction (López-Cabrera et al., 2020).

The aim of this study was to understand the existent differences between paid staff and volunteers, regarding their perceptions of the organizational context, and personal characteristics. Particularly, we explored 1) which factors may contribute to promote job satisfaction among NPOs members, 2) if considering these factors, it is possible to create an additional categorization of NPOs workforce that permits to HR and volunteering managers to anticipate problems and promote job satisfaction.

Results demonstrate that paid staff and volunteers report significantly different job satisfaction, indeed, paid staff report less job satisfaction. These results are consistent with previous research supporting this difference (Rimes et al., 2017). However, these differences are traditionally explained based on the importance that particularly volunteers give to values, which in most NPOs is related to helping others (Bang et al., 2013). The present study goes a step further contributing to the understanding of how and why these differences exist among both collectives, analyzing the effect of role conflict, role ambiguity and performance, that proves to serially mediate the effect of role on job satisfaction.

Paid staff reported higher levels of role conflict and role ambiguity, as they considered they must fulfill the duties of two different positions which they considered unclearly defined.

Considering this serially mediation effect, our results are quite relevant particularly for paid staff, who have been usually overlooked when analyzing NPOs even though they are, indeed, less satisfied with their job than volunteers.

Boundaries between paid staff and volunteers' duties are, in real practice, difficult to differentiate, particularly during the last years (McAllum, 2018). This organizational context is changing due to the professionalization process that NPOs are facing to cope with economic challenges (Clause, 2021; Müller-Stewens et al., 2019). Indeed, this uncertainty entails problems not only for interaction between both collectives, but also to guarantee a complete understanding of their own role. Consequently, both collectives have reported role conflict and role ambiguity as main concerns for their daily development of their work (López-Cabrera et al., 2020). Therefore, paid staff and volunteers are not homogenous roles, indeed, their even more complex than expected. This results in discrepancies not only between groups, but also at the person-role level.

Regarding performance, previous studies pointed out that especially role conflicts have a negative effect on performance (Amilin, 2017). However, the results of the serial mediation model presented in this study indicate that performance has a buffering effect of the negative influence of role conflict and role ambiguity on job satisfaction. This can be explained by the fact that in NPOs, a positive perception of project performance implies that their social interventions are considered effective. Results demonstrating that volunteering job satisfaction is higher are consistent, based on the relevance that values have particularly for volunteers. However, in this study, this result demonstrates that, to some extent, the social relevance of NPOs activity is a protective factor to the overall workforce, including paid staff.

This study also analyzes the existence of homogenous patterns or profiles that may help HRM to provide specific support and foresee problems, being able to act as soon as possible, besides the formal classification in NPOs paid staff and volunteers. According to cluster

analyses, Profiles 1 and 2 reflects quite consistently different perceptions from volunteers and long-term paid staff, respectively. Indeed, Profile 1 reports higher scores for those variables related to positive perceptions of the NPO (job satisfaction, performance). On the contrary, Profile 2 participants report higher scores for those measures related to conflict (role conflict, role overload, role ambiguity). These differences are consistent with both our first research question results and with previous studies (López-Cabrera et al., 2020).

However, Profile 3 results may be very relevant for HRM management purposes. Results indicate that this group, composed of volunteers and paid staff, may be a “transition” group; it comprises volunteers and, based on time in the organization, recent paid staff. Overall, this group present medium-low scores in most variables which can be an opportunity to solve problems on early stages as well as promote job satisfaction. Therefore, paying attention to Profile 3 can also provide a perspective on how roles evolved along time in this NPO. Indeed, time in NPOs seems to be determinant to significantly increase stable paid staff results related to role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload compared to volunteers. This increase can be explained based on social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) and equity theory (Adams 1963, 1965). Paid staff create their role perceptions and evaluate their contributions, rewards and efforts to some extent comparing them with volunteers’ role. If, despite their seniority in the organization, paid staff still perceive discrepancies regarding their expectations and their real tasks and activities, with the organization doing nothing to clarify them, there is not perception of fairness because of that social comparison. This unbalance can lead to both intrapersonal conflicts but also interpersonal conflicts, as discussed by López-Cabrera et al., (2020). On the contrary, volunteers report higher scores for job satisfaction and performance, which are positive measures to both the organization and volunteers. It is also remarkable the differences on age between Profiles 3 and 1. Volunteers in Profile 1 are senior volunteers, which implies that they may have more work experience in their job positions. Therefore, they can also

manage better possible role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload, and consequently, they report better job satisfaction.

Overall, it is crucial that HR management understand how paid staff and volunteers perceived differently their organizational context and the effect that those perceptions have on their job satisfaction; therefore, they will be able to prevent conflicts and promote policies that fits to all their stakeholders needs. However, if they only focus on fixed paid staff-volunteers categorization, it would be difficult to manage the heterogeneity that these collectives present. Focusing only on these “formal labels” overlook crucial information to guarantee on the one hand, their comprehension and management of their own roles, and on the other hand, their monitorization by managers and supervisors.

Theoretical and practical implications

This research has important practical and theoretical implications particularly on HR management and NPOs understanding. First, it contributes to understand the mechanism that promote differences on job satisfaction among paid staff and volunteers based on role conflict, role ambiguity and performance. In this regard, role conflict and role ambiguity have a negative impact on job satisfaction, particularly for paid staff who report higher levels of intrapersonal conflict. On the contrary, performance buffers this negative effect. This information is quite relevant to create HR policies that decrease volunteers and, particularly, paid staff’s uncertainty regarding their role. A detailed description of their positions and the tasks related to them, could be a way to promote job satisfaction in NPOs workforce, also by increasing their perception of good performance. This is particularly relevant considering the organizational changes that NPOs are facing due to their professionalization process, that increases uncertainty among paid staff and volunteers.

Also, this study provides relevant practical information on different profiles in NPOs. These results reinforced the differences between paid staff, who report more intrapersonal conflict and

less performance and job satisfaction, and volunteers, who reported the opposite tendency. Results demonstrate the existence of an intermediate group, composed of recent paid staff and volunteers. Considering this information, HR manager can design strategic initiatives oriented to attend to each profiles' needs, such as courses or supporting procedure. This would be the case, for example for long-term paid staff (Profile 2) who seem to be the group that faces more intrapersonal conflicts, may be more affected by organizational changes.

Potential limitations and future studies

This study has some limitations that, although can be considered as opportunities for future research, must be also considered to generalize the results obtained.

First, the cross-sectional design of this research restricts the extent that cause-effect relationship can be assumed from the results. Although this limitation should be considered, it still provides valuable information for HR practices that is coherent with previous research on the matter, including qualitative studies. Future studies should consider setting out longitudinal studies being able to analyze changes among profiles in NPOs. Second, this research is based on self-reported measures, as we intend to analyze paid staff and volunteers' perceptions of their working context. Therefore, common method bias can be a concern in this study. However, some measures were taken to minimize this bias, including the use of established scales, include different sets of instructions and filler items for each variable and scales were organized avoiding the replication of the order of the hypothesis (Alfes et al., 2013; Podsakoff et al., 2012; Teruglav et al., 2016). Future studies should also consider a multi-source and multilevel design, including for example users and HR data as performance measures and considering different projects as working groups within a common organization.

Third, regarding the sampling method, our study was conducted in an only NPO branch, using a convenience sample. Although participants were invited and they freely decided to participate, which added some randomization, it is not possible to guarantee that the sample is fully

representative of NPOs workforce. However, as previously mentioned, results are consistent with previous research in third sector. Also, as a positive remarkable aspect of our participant NPO, it is a worldwide organization that replicates the same functional and hierarchical structure in every national and international location. Therefore, results can potentially be generalized to all these divisions around the world. Future studies should replicate the analysis in different NPOs with different cultures, using random sampling method, to contribute to generalize our conclusions to different organizations.

Conclusions

This study contributes to the understanding of the complex NPOs workforce, focusing on the perceived differences between two different roles: paid staff and volunteers. First, from a theoretical perspective, it improves the comprehension of the mechanisms and relations that lead to differences between both roles regarding job satisfaction, performance, role conflict and role ambiguity. Results demonstrate that paid staff and volunteers report significantly different job satisfaction, indeed, paid staff report less job satisfaction. Paid staff report more intrapersonal conflicts and less performance and satisfaction, whereas volunteers' results are completely opposed, reporting higher levels of perceived performance and job satisfaction and less intrapersonal conflicts. Role conflict relates to higher role ambiguity, which relates to lower higher levels of performance. At the same time, performance is associated with higher levels of job satisfaction. Results also demonstrate that paid staff and volunteers' differences on job satisfaction are serially mediated by role conflict and role ambiguity and performance. Second, as main practical implication, results demonstrate the existence of an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of NPOs, besides the formal roles that coexist in these organizations (paid staff and volunteers). These profiles that can constitute a crucial analytic tool to HRM in this context as managing this information, HR managers can design policies and initiative according to the real needs of organizational members, optimizing

paid-staff and volunteer's management to increase their satisfaction and even reduce NPO dropout. Overall, this study highlights the complexity of NPOs not only on structure interpersonal relationship, or at person-role level, but also within roles. Notwithstanding, these results may facilitate both the understanding and management of this intricate, but fundamental to fulfill NPOs purposes workforce.

CHAPTER 4

**Removing barriers for disability at workplace
based on inclusive leadership:**

**A case study including employees with severe
mental illness³**

³ This chapter is under review

Chapter 4

Removing barriers for disability at workplace based on inclusive leadership: A case study including employees with severe mental illness

Abstract

People with severe mental illness have limited access to work opportunities compared to other colleagues without disabilities or even different ones, despite the negative implications not only for their well-being, but also for their identity, economic situation, and socialization. The aim of this research is to understand which factors may facilitate the effective inclusion of people with severe mental illness at work. In this qualitative study we explore a social enterprise whose purpose is indeed promoting the integration of this collective, focusing on three organizational factors: relationship between coworkers, the role of leaders and inclusive climate. Results highlight that an inclusive leadership style plays an essential role, fostering trust and psychological safety, necessary for the development of their skills in a safe environment, eliminating stigma and discrimination, helping to reduce possible conflicts and, ultimately, creating an inclusive climate. Practical implications and future research lines are also discussed.

“Persons with disabilities have the right to have good conditions in the workplace, to live independently, to equal opportunities, to participate fully in the life of their community. All have a right to a life without barriers. And it is our obligation, as a community, to ensure their full participation in society, on an equal basis with others.”

(Ursula von der Leyen, President of European Commission)

4.1 Introduction

The International Classification of Functioning, Disabling and Health (ICF) defines disability as the negative interaction between impairments, limitations of daily activities and participation restrictions (WHO, 2001). This is a rather diverse collective, including a) different types and degrees of disabilities, either physical disabilities (such as hearing impairment and wheelchair use), or psychological disabilities, (such as down syndrome or severe mental illness) (ILO, 2002); b) how the person face up this condition and c) the environmental resources at their disposal, either social or instrumental support. These two last factors contribute to a great extent to the inclusion of this collective, for example, as part of the workforce in organizations. Based on the aims promoted by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD, 2006), both research and regulations paid more attention to disability during the past decades.

Even so, according to the special *World Report on Disability*, in 2011 there were still more than a billion people (15% of the population) experiencing disability worldwide (WHO, 2011). This percentage is expected to keep growing due to the increase of chronic health conditions and population’s aging (WHO, 2015). To face these circumstances, in late 2019, the United Nations implemented the Disability Inclusion Strategy, an action plan and accountability framework to strengthen system-wide accessibility and mainstreaming of the rights of persons with disabilities (UNDIS, 2019). Also, in March 2021, the European Commission presented a strengthened Strategy for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2021-

2030, whose purpose is to ensure full participation of persons with disabilities, tackling the diverse challenges they face (European Commission, 2021), for example accessing to the labor market. Among these challenges, persons with disabilities, and particularly persons with severe mental illness (SMI), face more difficulties both for accessing the labor market (Bonaccio et al., 2020) and to develop their duties in their post (Beatty et al., 2019).

Indeed, both previously mentioned strategies contemplate employment as a main indicator of inclusiveness. According to the statistics presented by the EC, 50.8% of persons with disabilities are in employment compared to 75% without disabilities; 37.6% of persons with disabilities are inactive compared to 17.6% of persons without disabilities and 28.4% of persons with disabilities are at risk of poverty and social exclusion compared to 18.4% of persons without disabilities (European Commission, 2021). Overall, they have a lower average pay, lower job security, less formal and informal training, less participation in decisions, and consequently, less inclusion (Schur et al., 2009; van Ruitenbeek et al., 2020).

Among other disabilities, persons with severe mental illness have a particularly low employment rates during working ages (OECD, 2012). This is partly explained by the development of SMI that is usually diagnosed at early stages in life (15-25 years), having a drastic impact on education and professional training (Hakulinen et al., 2019). Indeed, as Dibi et al., (2021) remarked, it is after the SMI recognition, when employment rates decrease substantially. Being unable to access to employment is a fundamental aspect that has negative consequences for their social life, integration, and self-realization (Jahoda, 1982; Jahoda et al., 2008). Indeed, going beyond economic independence, employment also has a main effect on well-being, satisfaction, or identity (Paul & Batinic, 2009; Saunders & Nedelec, 2014). Therefore, a step further on this research field to facilitate person with SMI inclusion at work, is needed. Resuming the definition of disability by the ICF, disability is the interaction of person and environment (Vornholt et al., 2018); therefore, understanding the needs of persons with

SMI and analyzing and adapting the environment, that is the workplace, it is possible to make progresses on bringing on board employees with SMI in organizations.

The aim of this research is to understand which factors may facilitate the effective inclusion of people with severe mental illness in the workplace. To do so we analyze three interaction levels: a) the relationship between coworkers (Wehman, 2003), b) the relationship with supervisors, paying special attention to the role of the so-called inclusive leaders (Choi et al. 2017; Yang & Konrad, 2017) and c) perceptions of the organization, particularly, the organizational inclusion climate (Ashikali et al. 2020).

Organizations need to be prepared to work with people with severe mental illness and become inclusive contexts (Arenas, et al., 2018). Recently, the concept of ‘structural competence approach’ has been used to define how working with SMI patients should be (Desai et al., 2021). Structural competence implies that people dealing with SMI need to: a) understand patient's experiences of illness, b) intervening to manage structural factors at organizational levels and c) collaborate with community network of mental illness employees (Hansen & Braslow, 2017). Although this concept has been essentially developed in the clinical context, defining how mental health professionals should develop their work, it can be extrapolated to organizations with employees with SMI, since work can also be considered an important therapeutic context. Indeed, as Luciano et al. (2014) conclude in their systematic review of longitudinal studies, employment is associated with reductions in outpatient’s psychiatric treatment and improved self-esteem. Also, van Rijn et al. (2016) stated that employment has a moderate positive effect on quality of life. Therefore, based on the structural competence approach, the analysis of organizational factors is key to understand how to create inclusive workplaces for employees with mental illness.

In this case study, we explore a large social enterprise established with the aim of the inclusion of people with severe mental illness. We set out two main research questions. First,

we analyze how organizations can promote the inclusion of employees with SMI illness in the workplace. Second, we explore the implications of inclusive leadership and inclusive climate for well-being and job satisfaction of their organization workforce, particularly employees with SMI.

Considering these research questions, we set out four specific objectives:

- a) First, we explore the existent relationships between coworkers. To do so, we analyze types and intensity of interpersonal conflicts between coworkers and how they manage them.
- b) Second, we explore the role of (inclusive) leaders.
- c) Third, we explore the existence of inclusive organizational climate. To do so, we consider trust between employees and the organization and how psychological safety is perceived.
- d) Finally, we explore possible consequences of achieving inclusion: employees' satisfaction and well-being, particularly of people with severe mental illness.

Challenges for inclusion of persons with SMI: Conflicts, stigma, and discrimination

Diversity is progressively increasing in organizations, even more in those that hire employees with disabilities and particularly SMI. In this regard, conflict is a key explanatory variable in the relationship between diversity and performance (Jehn et al. 2008). Employees with disabilities, like other workforce members, have conflicts at the workplace. Conflict theory (De Dreu & Gelfand, 2008) defines conflicts as incompatibilities that may arise from several reasons, such as personal characteristics, expectations on the others or prior relations, the conflict issue, or the context in which it takes place as well as its consequences (De Dreu & Gelfand, 2008). Conflicts may have positive and negative consequences depending on the issue of conflict and how they are managed. Discrepancies on determining which tasks and activities must be accomplish -task conflicts (Jehn, 1997)-, may contribute to increase creativity and

improve decision making processes, but only when they are handled in a cooperative manner (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Munduate & Medina, 2014). On the contrary, task conflicts can escalate to personal discrepancies or personal incompatibilities -the so-called relationship conflict (Jehn, 1997)-, whose consequences are much more detrimental, for parties and organizations (Simons & Peterson, 2000). Indeed, persistent conflicts at work, especially relationship conflict, can be considered as an antecedent of workplace bullying (Baillien, et al., 2014).

Therefore, when diversity is not properly managed, it can lead to conflicts in organizations (Jehn et al., 2007; William & O'Reilly, 1998). For example, regarding cultural diversity and conflict, Coleman et al., (2017) stated that lasting forms of bias and discrimination are clearly identified and omnipresent in many organizations intensifying costly patterns of destructive cross-cultural and multicultural conflict.

Employees with disabilities, including SMI, as full members of working teams, can be also involved in interpersonal conflicts related to task or relationships with their coworkers and supervisors. In fact, previous research confirms that diversity and conflicts' relationship strongly depends on a team's context, that is, to a great extent, on the interaction between coworkers (Puck et al., 2010). However, when analyzing their complaints to the EEOC in USA, results conclude that complaints issued by persons with disabilities are less likely to be successfully resolved and they have more issues related with bullying or harassment situations (An et al, 2011). Previous research studying conflict involving persons with disabilities, and especially with severe mental illness, focus on two issues: stigma and discrimination (Li et al., 2020; Overton & Molina, 2008; Young et al., 2019).

According to the Stigma Theory (Goffman, 1963), those who do not meet society normative expectations – based on accepted norms, beliefs, values, or contexts- may suffered stigmatization. Goffman defined stigma as an “attribute that is deeply discrediting” that implies

to be considered “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). Based on this definition, Link and Phelan (2001) describe the stigma as the co-occurrence of five components: labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and finally discrimination. Likewise, Hinshaw and Stier (2008) explain that stigma involves stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination; referring to the cognitive labels applied to people with disability, the negative affect that those terms implies and at last, the negative behaviors towards those group members, respectively.

Such discriminatory actions are pernicious to everyone, but to a greater extent to people with disabilities (Goffman 1963; Hinshaw & Stier, 2008; Link & Phelan 2001; Major & O’Brien 2005). Particularly, those with severe mental illness are especially vulnerable of being denied opportunities and equal rights, even being excluded from community life, including the working context (Jahoda & Markova, 2004; Scior & Werner, 2016). Indeed, when studying stigma related to mental illness, researchers analyze dehumanization – or treat people with mental illness as less than fully human- (Boysen et al, 2020). This process can be based, for example, on stigmatizing attitudes or use of language (Cage et al., 2019; Martinez et al., 2011).

As the social comparison theory states (Festinger, 1954), individuals, or people with disabilities in this case, evaluate themselves in specific context by means of social comparison processes. Thus, this social cognitive process influences their self-evaluation and their self-perception (O’Byrne, 2017). Therefore, people with disabilities, and particularly those with severe mental illness, who usually perceive higher levels of stigma in their social interactions may have also negative social comparison (Peterson et al. 1992), and consequently, they are at risk of suffering decreased self-esteem, psychological distress, and other mental health problems (Mak et al. 2007; Paterson et al. 2012), and eventually, self-stigmatization (Hinshaw & Stier, 2008).

Promoting inclusiveness in organizations: inclusive leadership

Managing diversity and inclusion of employees with disabilities and mental illness as part of the workforce can be a challenge, but also an opportunity to create and promote protective factors such as inclusive climate. In this regard, leaders and managers play a main role in diversity and inclusion management, promoting people with disabilities entering and staying in the labor market with all the psychological benefits that this would imply (Brzykcy et al., 2019).

Leadership has been a main research topic in I-O Psychology. Several leadership theories have been stated along the years, focusing on different leaders' characteristics and behaviors and its consequences (see Avolio et al., 2009 for a review). However, in classic leadership theories diversity management and inclusion has been overlooked, as most research have been developed in very specific contexts and focusing mostly on leaders' characteristics (Ensari & Riggio, 2020). However, leadership theories should also encompass societal and organizational changes, such as the need of addressing equality and inclusion (Chin, 2010), particularly when the organizational context include employees with SMI, who introduce constant change in the workplace demanding high levels of flexibility from their organizations.

Notwithstanding, leadership is a key element to promote cooperation in diverse teams (Guillaume et al., 2017); in the same manner, inclusiveness achievement seems to depend on the interactions between team members, including leader-member interaction (Knies et al., 2016). In this regard, among traditional leadership theories, two relevant theories are Leader-Member Exchange Theory (LMX), that highlights the importance of the relational aspects to promote mutual development (Landy & Conte, 2010) and empowering leadership that highlights the process of sharing power and promotes follower's participation and confidence (Cheong et al., 2016).

Some other contemporary leadership theories such as authentic leadership and servant leadership are more specifically inclined to inclusion promotion (Ensari & Riggio, 2020). On

the one hand, authentic leadership is based on genuineness and integrity of the leader (Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Landy & Conte, 2010) and oriented to strengths development, enhancing honesty, prosocial behaviors and promoting transmission of information by means of role modeling (Boekhorst, 2015). On the other hand, servant leadership prioritizes employees' empowerment, showing genuine concern for employees' needs, being committed to solve exclusion issues (Ferdman, 2014) and building community in the organization (Obi & Bollen, 2017).

To foster inclusion, Randel et al. (2018) concluded that leaders should support team members' integration - promoting their feeling of *belonginess*-, and value their differences, therefore, reinforcing their *uniqueness* (Ashikali et al., 2020; Randel et al. 2018; Shore et al., 2011). These characteristics are consistent with the so-called inclusive leadership. Inclusive leadership can be built on the Leader-Member Exchange Theory (LMX), that highlights that "most effective leadership processes occur when leaders and followers are able to develop mature relationships (partnerships) and thus gain access to the many benefits these relationships bring" (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1991, p. 225). Indeed, inclusive leadership can be considered as an step further on LMX theory. The former adds the needed focus on diversity required to generalize the analysis of leader-members dyads (Ensari & Riggio, 2020); the latter can explain how inclusive leadership may promote trust and mutual concern between parties (leaders and followers), improving followers' well-being (Choi et al., 2017; Volmer et al. 2012).

Inclusive leadership states that the establishment of high-quality interactions between leaders and followers, promotes equality and inclusion, facilitating, among team members, reciprocal exchanges based on power sharing (Hollander, 2009; Nishii & Mayer, 2009). In this regard, Hollander (2009) established four main requisites that leader-followers' relationship must meet to guarantee its success, that is, the four Rs of Inclusive Leadership: Respect, Recognition, Responsiveness and Responsibility. Regarding disabilities, and particularly SMI,

these characteristics are essential, particularly regarding responsibility. Inclusive leaders can be catalysts of inclusion of employees with SMI in two directions. On the one hand, from a macro to a micro perspective, they can foster inclusive organizational practices and values into daily interpersonal interactions. On the other hand, from a micro to macro perspective, inclusive leaders can combine individual behaviors and experiences, interpersonal interactions, and group dynamics, and translate them into patterns with larger organizational or societal significance giving them meaning and visibility (Ferdman, 2020). Therefore, inclusive leaders can impact both leaders-followers' interactions and the whole organizational dynamics, promoting an inclusive climate that protects and empower their workforce, especially employees with SMI.

Inclusive climate

Considering the abovementioned needs and characteristics of employees with disabilities and particularly with SMI, it is crucial that leaders and employees achieve a strong relationship based on trust and psychological safety. Trust-based relationships with inclusive leaders, who are concern about their followers' needs, considering our research focus, employees with disabilities including SMI, may promotes psychological safety and, therefore, contribute to a positive work experience, losing fear of making mistakes and promoting learning (Hirak et al., 2012; Nembhard & Edmonson, 2012). As a result, on the one hand, leaders can be flexible and accommodate to employees' needs, and on the other hand, employees can develop all their potential in their job position while they feel supported by their leaders (Volmer et al. 2012).

Organizational climate is based on employees' shared perceptions regarding their work entity (Landy & Conte, 2010), including expected behaviors and rewards, which determines their behaviors and experience at work (Schneider et al., 2017).

The experience of inclusion, as abovementioned, includes a sense of belonging and value of one's individuality and uniqueness (Ferdman, 2014, Shore et al., 2011; Shore & Chung, 2021). Therefore, an inclusive climate is, precisely, the organizational conditions that promote this experience. Nishii et al., (2013), established three foundational dimensions: a) *perceived fairness*, on resources distribution, opportunities, or practices; b) *cultural integrations of differences*, proactive combination of all employees' individual understandings; and c) *inclusive decision making*, that facilitates the integration of diverse perspectives (Nishii & Leroy, 2020). Under these conditions, organizational members perceived they are better understood, their skills suit better their job demands and even higher levels of perceived support and engagement and job satisfaction, reporting less experience of discrimination (Nishii & Leroy, 2020; Mor Barak et al., 2016). Although all employees can benefit from inclusive climate, employees with disabilities, and particularly with SMI, require these conditions to develop all their potential and even to disclose their disability without being stigmatized (Santuzzi et al., 2021).

To sum up, inclusive leadership, trust-based relationships, and the resultant psychological safety, can set the foundations of an inclusive climate, which is a requisite for inclusion of employees with SMI at work. Thus, to promote the full inclusion of employees with SMI at their workplace avoiding negative backlash - such as conflicts or even stigma - and enhancing their job satisfaction and general well-being, it is critical to analyze the contribution of (inclusive) leaders, who are indeed considered as the main promoters of inclusive climate (Nishii & Leroy, 2020) whose initiatives are also translated to the workforce by managers. Indeed, managers consistency and clarity may determine the strength of inclusive climate (Green, 2004).

Previous research contributed to understand the different aspects that should be considered to guarantee the successful inclusion of employees with disabilities in the

workplace. However, it is not easy to put this theoretical knowledge into practice in a real diverse organizational context. In this study, we intend to contribute to HR good practices from an applied perspective analyzing which factors promote inclusion of persons with disabilities, particularly, employees with SMI.

The participant organization: a social enterprise

This case study analyzes a social enterprise focused on promoting inclusiveness of people with disability, including SMI, based in Andalucía, Spain. This organization provides an unique opportunity to really analyze inclusion mechanism and consequences, since first, employees with disabilities and SMI constitute more than the 50% of the workforce, which is very unusual considering that this collective is usually a minority in organizations; and second, they work with employees without disabilities as part of the same teams.

This organization is part of a society composed by public and private bodies whose aim is to promote employability and inclusion at work of people with disability, and particularly people with severe mental illness (SMI).

Its business model is based on social, economic, and environmental values, promoting disability inclusiveness from an innovative and sustainable perspective; therefore, all the organizational benefits are reverted to the own social enterprise. Their 13 lines of activity are organized in four divisions: innovation and technology, environment, logistics and catering. Regarding its workforce composition, it is remarkable that around 80% of their 650 employees have a disability, most of them SMI.

The specific social enterprise where this study was conducted maintains this same rate, and 80% of their workforce has a disability, organized in 26 departments. This organization has five scopes of activity: a) *electronics*, offering integral solutions for computer needs and certified technical service for telecare devices' repairment; b) *logistics*, offering supply, storage, installation and maintenance of orthopedic prosthetics clinical equipment to both individuals

and institutions and plastic repair system (PRS); c) *cleaning*, maintenance and cleaning services for industrial installations and cleaning service for clients with special needs; d) *catering*, service for companies and individuals, personalized menus for clients with special needs and e) *Telecare*, installation and home delivery maintenance and recovery of Telecare devices and coordination of technical actions and telephone assistance as well as the development of the required computer system to offering these services.

4.2 Method

Participants

Based on the hierarchical structure of the organizations and its main stakeholders, we organized six focus groups: employees without disability; managers (without disability, ND); employees with disability (non SMI- wheelchair use, hearing impairment, sensitive disability, cognitive disability); team coordinators (with and without disability – non SMI); employees with disability (SMI – schizophrenia, psychosis, major depression) and Department Managers (ND). Team coordinators and department managers work closely together, however, team coordinators oversee processes and are in constant contact with both tasks and employees and department managers are in charge of bureaucratic procedures and strategical decisions. They also intervene when there are problems or difficulties and keep a close contact with employees. A total of 44 participants (21 employees with disability - 18 with severe mental illness and 23 employees without disability; 22 men and 22 women) took part in the activity. Focus groups were composed of 5 to 13 participants, depending on each collective and its representation in the organization. Regarding participants age, employees were between 35-65 years old; however, most of them were in their 40s.

Procedure

In collaboration with the organization, we defined the selection criteria to create each focus group based on two main criteria: a) the different collectives that carried out their activity

in each department and b) the hierarchical structure of the institution. Participants were invited by email two weeks before the data collection to voluntarily take part in the activity.

Each focus group was composed by 5-13 participants, except for the Department Managers' group which were only 4 participants due the organization's structure. These key informants were willing to explain their experience working in the organization in terms of dynamics among peers and difficulties they face at work, including possible conflicts and critical incidents (Kumar et al, 1993). Sessions lasted between 60 and 90 minutes and were organized based on a semi-structured interview that guided the conversation (see Appendix C). The main topics were: 1) participants presentation and description of their role in the organization; 2) difficulties at work based on critical incidents (conflicts, stigma/discrimination, conflict management strategies); 3) evolution and consequences of these difficulties and 4) organizational problem-solving procedures.

After participants gave their explicit consent, sessions were recorded in audio and transcribed verbatim afterwards, guaranteeing participants' confidentiality during the whole process. Transcripts were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti 7 (Friese, 2013). Following a template analysis approach (King, 2004) codes were identified on the transcriptions. First, a list of *a priori* codes was created based on the main topics of the semi-structured interview script. Second, *a posteriori* codes were added while reading and interpreting the transcripts to ensure a thoroughly analysis of the information. To ensure coding reliability, all authors analyzed the first transcript separately, and compared their resultant codes afterwards, for standardization purposes. Based on that comparison, codes that differed across these first results were deleted for further analyses, conducted by the first author. Finally, a total of 51 codes were identified (see Appendix D).

4.3 Results

Results show that in our participant organization, both employees with and without disabilities, including SMI, considered that they have achieved an inclusive workplace where all members develop their skills in a trustworthy and safe environment. In this regard, they concluded that their shared values and commitment with their social labor is determinant. Overall, participants report low levels of conflicts, usually related to their tasks and goal setting. Relationship conflicts, when detected, are based on misunderstandings in most cases among employees with SMI. Participants explain that they manage these conflicts focusing on interests and prioritizing employees' well-being. In this regard the role of their leaders is crucial; they promote trustworthy relations among organizational members that contribute to guarantee psychological safety. Consequently, based on organizational members' perceptions, they achieved an inclusive organizational climate, where well-being, particularly for those who are more vulnerable, is almost considered an organizational goal.

Interpersonal conflicts in the organization: task and relationship conflicts, stigma and discrimination

Task conflict

All participants report low levels of conflict in the organization. In case they are detected, conflicts are usually related to their tasks and projects' goal setting. Task conflicts, or discrepancies related to daily activities, are identified mostly by managers, for instance, regarding which projects are going to start or how procedures should be carried out: *"It happened, for example, when we presented new projects. A colleague with a remarkable social profile told us: well, but this project that you are analyzing and considering to implement... I do not see how it is framed within our organizational and social purpose..."*. (Manager, ND).

Employees with and without disability, including those with SMI, remarked that conflicts are not usual in this organization, but also identify the existent dichotomy between

social and economic goals as a possible source of task conflict: *“This is an enterprise, and at the end of the day, we have to provide a service to our clients... Therefore, if one day due to circumstances, someone must accomplish a less demanding or routinize task, to guarantee the job is done, it must be done in that way”* (Employee with disability, NSMI). Employees with SMI also highlighted that, to develop their tasks smoothly, they must have a clear understanding of procedures; otherwise, the assembly line does not work, and conflicts may appear. This is particularly relevant for routinized tasks such as logistics or catering services. They explain that it is a problem when someone does not follow the procedures; the whole task is delayed, someone else must do it properly or they get angry and tempted to correct their coworkers’ work in public, although they always try to be respectful and avoid that kind of behavior. *“When we are not coordinated, it’s a problem. (Description of the correct procedure to assemble a hospital bed) ... If you don’t follow these instructions, your coworker has no space to do his job. In a client’s residence I’m not going to tell of a coworker, saying get out of my way, move from there, you are hopeless, it must be done like this... They must be professionals and knowing what to do”* (Employee with disability, SMI). Overall, a main concern among employees is the need to improve communication of the instructions between different hierarchical levels to organize the work.

Participants also distinguished between different departments when reflecting on task conflicts in the organization. All groups identify two areas or departments as the most stressful and, thus, susceptible to disputes: catering services and coordination of telecare services. In these departments, time-pressure, work-overload and dealing with unexpected circumstances (such as rescheduling routes or shifts due to health problems) lead to discrepancies regarding the task that must be accomplished. In this regard, all participants highlighted that in this organization they must deal with unexpected circumstances, thus being very flexible considering the health and mental conditions of a great extent of their workforce and sometimes

that leads to task conflicts. *“We are very different; every condition needs a different adaptation. Due to their characteristics and long-term recuperation when there is a relapse, severe mental illnesses are the most relevant for us and the ones that require more flexibility, but also physical disabilities, sensory disabilities...” (Employee with disability, NSMI).*

Leaders and team coordinators play a key role on providing the required flexibility and managing unexpected issues related to their team members' health condition, as it is detailed in the following sections.

Relationship conflict

According to the results, relationship conflicts are not very frequent in the organization. All participants highlighted that, considering this organization's characteristics, it is crucial to prevent this type of conflict. Particularly, team coordinators explained that employees with SMI can be very sensitive to these situations, not only due to its negative consequences, especially for their mental health, but also due to its origin and development. *“(Conflicts / problems) may cause more important consequences here, even if from an objective perspective the problem is not so important since employees with SMI have less capacity and less flexibility to support stressful situations or changes. Everything may have a much more serious effect here than in any other place.” (Team Manager, ND)*

Although only isolated cases are identified in the organization, according to the experiences reported, personal incompatibilities involving employees with SMI may arise due to comments' misinterpretations that in the long term can damage both interpersonal relations and team dynamics: *“They are people (employees with SMI) who are quite persuadable. If you have a person next to you who brings you nothing more than positive things... in the end those people are all doing wonderfully ... But if people next to you are negative, they are hurting them little by little, and finally the team is destroyed” (Team manager, ND).*

In every focus group, participants shared this reflection on relationship conflict, including employees with SMI. They explain that sometimes they get irritated by their coworkers, due to simple things: a look, an answer, or a reaction during a bad mood day. Particularly, team coordinators are aware of these situations and usually intervene to prevent these incidents from escalating to relationship conflict, for example, giving them space if they work together or facilitating a conversation between the parties involved. When this type of conflict is detected, the established conflict management procedures, are activated, as it is described in the following sections, which involves not only team coordinators and supervisors, but also psychologists to help in the process when employees with disabilities and SMI are involved in the conflict.

Stigma and discrimination

Participants with and without disabilities (NSMI) agreed that people with disabilities and particularly with SMI face stigma daily, particularly outside the organization. On the contrary, they do not identify it in the organization: *“I do not think there are stigmas here.... I think that everybody knows where they are...”* (Employee with disability, NSMI). It is remarkable that employees with disabilities (NSMI) related stigma with mental illness or intellectual disability; however, they do not connect stigma with any situation they may have experienced. *“It is true that in society it is very difficult to understand what mental disability is, it costs a lot of work ... They also transmit it so badly...”* (Employee with disability, NSMI).

Participants with SMI also considered that stigma is very rooted in society, although there were differences among them on how often they faced these situations. Some participants never experienced stigma themselves, while others easily explained a personal experience on how others changed their perception after being aware of their health condition: *“Outside the organization, in my daily life, I meet people, everything is great, everyone is friendly... If you say... I have this (severe mental illness) ... then they see you totally different, they act with you*

totally different” (Employee with disability, SMI). Some employees with SMI also highlighted the differences on social stigma between disabilities; some participants agreed that severe mental illness is more stigmatized in society than other disabilities, whereas other participants refuse to make this difference based on their personal experience:

“This is not like being blind or deaf... for us may be like any other illness, but for others... these conditions create social stigma...” (Employee with disability, SMI)

“For me, this is like any chronic disease, like diabetes...” (Employee with disability, SMI)

During the focus group they also shared their personal experiences and how they accept their health condition, as well as the difficulties that these stigmatized perceptions rooted in society affected their life, for example, to find a job. Particularly the older employees referred their youthhood as a very difficult period to deal with stigma. When they reflect on the widespread stigmatized perception of mental illness in society, they highlight as main reason how the media transmit information about this condition: *“When you interact with others, people usually identify someone they know, who has a disability... Because there are more people every day suffering mental illnesses. However, when you listen the news, they transmit information about persons with SMI as if they think we cannot do common things as cooking or take care of ourselves because we are retarded... It's just... it's not like that...”* (Employee with disability, SMI).

However, participants with SMI considered their actual workplace as a safe place where they feel supported by their coworkers and the entire organizational structure. Indeed, participants do not consider that discrimination take place in their organization; such behaviors are not tolerated at all, based on the organizations’ values concerning disability: *“If you notice that there is a risk of social exclusion the appropriate measures are taken by leaders and managers. All of us, who have a position of responsibility, we also have a supporting role. When*

a need is identified, we all have a clear idea about how we should act ... we support these people, so they feel cared for by the organization as well as by mental health services". (Team coordinator, ND).

When analyzing which characteristics contribute to this perception of inclusion at work, participants mentioned two basic elements: on the one hand, the high percentage of employees who have a disability and particularly SMI in the organization, and on the other hand the empathy and awareness of employees without disability about their reality. In this regard, for example, some employees without disability reported that they have family members with disabilities, including SMI, and, therefore, they are very sensitive to their needs. *"My son has schizophrenia. I know quite a lot about these conditions (mental illnesses), so I can manage quite well in the organization. I am not surprised or scared about anything I can see here"* (Employee, ND).

Organizational policies also seem to contribute to this, as they adapted their recruitment and selection process to promote that new employees' personality and personal characteristics also fit with the organization values and social labor: *"Apart from the job positions' requirements, the candidate's social profile is highly considered, that he or she is able to fit in the team, that respect and share the organizational values..."* (Team coordinator, ND)

Among participants, only one incident related to discrimination affecting an employee with disability (SMI) was reported; however, in this case, it concerned sexual orientation: *"I also think that there is a lot of light but there is also a lot of darkness, you know? At a certain moment, people's point of view changed, so my circumstances here were not the same as in the beginning, before I said this ... Afterwards, I was treated in a different way ..."* (Employee with disability, SMI).

When discussing discrimination, participants highlighted that, they usually perceive positive discrimination towards employees with severe mental illness in the organization: *"I*

have seen situations that (the organization) have protected them (colleagues with SMI), even in situations that were not logical... but their well-being prevailed, and others had to “swallow” and I include myself.... The good that you are going to do is greater and it compensates... otherwise, the situation can lead to a decompensation in this person that does not compensate you either (Employee with disability, NSMI)

Indeed, employees with SMI shared the same perception; they consider that sometimes they are overprotected compared to other members of the organization. They focused this difference on work flexibility, regarding conditions and support due to their needs (for example, time to go to the doctor or to recover after a crisis). However, they explained that to provide them these facilities, other employees have stricter conditions:

“We see a lot of difference towards the people with disability and those who do not have disabilities. When those without disabilities must go to the doctor, they have problems... it is an issue for them as well as for team coordinators. That means that coordinators must change the installations’ route and technicians cannot do their work either” (Employee with disability, SMI)

Managing conflict: cooperation based on interests

When describing how conflicts are managed in the organization, participants explained that when a conflict is detected, the procedure is always to promote dialogue between parties, trying to focus on their needs and interests and their shared organizational goals; definitely, trying to cooperate instead of competing: *“When we are facing a conflict situation in the team, we encourage people to share. To participate, to integrate ideas, because our work is a very social one. That it is a main purpose of the organization, we cannot be working each one for different purposes, right?” (Team coordinator with disability, NSMI)*

All groups described the same procedure, including both team coordinators and employees. According to their description, when there is a conflict, first, parties try to solve it,

discussing the issue and sharing their different perspectives. However, when they are not able to find a solution, the team coordinators and managers act as informal mediators. They are also responsible of preventing conflict, as they organize the job carefully considering previous disputes between coworkers and on-going disagreements, particularly when employees with SMI are involved. In this regard, when employees with SMI are involved in the incident, the so-called “support units” also intervene.

“We need support when there is a conflict in which employees with SMI get involved because it is compulsory based on the law. They are psychologists and they know how to deal with these circumstances, they are best prepared to do guide and coordinate the process. I think that it is very clear and everyone in the organization understands this” (Team coordinator, ND).

Support units are composed by psychologists, who monitored employees with SMI to guarantee their well-being and who are also in charge of formal mediation processes to solve conflicts in the organization when the previously described conflict management procedures do not work. Participants considered that these “support units” are a very valuable resource in the organization, as they provide expert advice for managers and coordinators and expert support to employees, particularly for those with mental illness and other disabilities.

Interacting with supervisors: Inclusive leadership

During the focus groups, participants with disabilities, including SMI, repeatedly mentioned their managers’ and team coordinator’ leadership style as main protection factor against conflicts and as a boost for psychological safety, trust and well-being.

Participants explain that they trust their leaders, both managers and coordinators, who provide them the support and security to overcome difficulties, both related with their task and their health conditions. Employees repeatedly mentioned their managers’ and team coordinator’ leadership style as main protection factor against conflicts and as a boost for psychological

safety, trust and well-being. In this regard, they feel protected; if they are not able to cope with a situation, they feel that they will have a complete organization to back them up:

“Here managers establish some guidelines, but they do it with affection, so particularly employees with SMI react much better. Because if they see they made a mistake, it is ok... They can see in advance what it’s going on. Once you achieve that the team works fine. There are no barriers, those with disabilities will give their 100%”. (Employee with disability, NSMI)

As participants described, managers and team coordinators’ leadership style are a main factor to guarantee inclusion well-being. Indeed, they sometimes even act as coaches, particularly team coordinators, who are in close contact with teams and monitor each task. They contribute to create an organizational climate that sees inclusion as an enrichment contribution, instead of as a stigma or discriminatory factor. They are aware of their responsibility of providing a secure workplace, for instance, promoting cooperative conflict resolutions, as explained previously, and supporting and helping people with disabilities to see their job as a motivating challenge, without forgetting they will find help and flexibility when needed: *“We have to integrate them, not to feel sorry for them. We must consider them autonomous people, demanding them to be responsible of their work, understanding them when they cannot accomplish their tasks. That is how I understand integration, in my opinion, being lenient we are not integrating anyone”. (Department Manager, ND).*

Particularly team coordinators explained that they must avoid treating employees with SMI in a condescending manner; on the contrary, they must use scaffolding as main technique to help them to give their best in their job day by day. Employees with SMI, share this perception, considering this attitude of avoiding excessive pressure, as crucial to give them confidence while improving as professionals: *“I am aware of the situation because I have experienced it myself. Employees with mental illness need to be pressure based on their needs,*

then it is helpful for our rehabilitation, recovery, it helps us, but you have to do it step by step”.
(Employee with disability, SMI).

In this regard, leaders in this organization (both team coordinators and managers) stand out for their open-door attitude, promoting constant communication and promoting that everyone share their ideas and proposals to improve the organization. They are always available for attending employees’ needs, and they monitored employees with disability symptoms and health, as they understand that they must do as much as they can to prevent breakdowns. *“I know my team, I can identify when something is not ok, only giving them a look, so I can ask them: What is the matter?... They say I could not sleep; I have an issue with a coworker, I have a problem at home... I do that with everyone in my department, employees with and without disabilities...”* (Department Manager, ND)

In this regard, they are also very aware of the contributions of coworkers with disability and particularly SMI, who can detect difficulties and symptoms in advance and who are ready to help or notify these circumstances to their team managers and leaders, so they can provide the necessary help and support: *“The general manager we used to have, when he noticed that someone was going to have a breakdown, he wanted to be informed before it happened. You can detect when you are going to have a breakdown... Then he organized the work so you can have a rest, because once you have a crisis you do not know when you're going to feel good again... you do not know when you're going to recover...”* (Employee with disability, SMI). The flexibility required to face these changeable circumstances, is also hard for leaders and coordinators, who are stressed out due to last minute changes, but they understand that it is part of the special characteristics of the organization and its workforce.

In sum, participants described their leaders as supportive, flexible, respectful, and open to listen in an honest manner to their team members’ needs, fostering trust and psychological

safety. Additionally, they are also aware of goals as well as of individual contributions, and they do not ask for more than employees can do when they are most vulnerable.

Achieving inclusive climate: the role of trust and psychological safety

Supervisors and team coordinators' inclusive and supportive leadership style promotes high levels of trust and psychological safety in the organization. However, based on our participants' experience, they perceive that every member of the organization contributes to this, creating a workplace where everyone, despite of their health conditions, feel part of a common project: *"It is like we are different parts of the same body; this happens because since the beginning, all of us have participated in creating this organization, and every contribution is equally important"* (Department manager, ND).

Participants not only explained the absence or low levels of conflicts, stigma, and discrimination; they highlight their mutual concern for each other, as well as the support and care of those who may need it, particularly employees with SMI.

"When you are concern a little about their life, they (employees with SMI) create a very special bond with you, they understand you and you understand them perfectly." (Employee with disability, NSMI).

This shared perception was confirmed during every focus group; participants described the organization as a family, highlighting the organization's inclusive climate. Participants with SMI also described an additional factor that promotes this inclusive climate, which is the possibility of finding understanding among other coworkers with other severe mental illness. As opposed to other organizations and workplaces, where disabilities are an exception, they can share their situation with others who are in similar circumstances:

"Why do we feel like family? I think we have a lot of ground gained due to the difficulty that brings us here. That makes us understand the person next to us and not only that, not only

with people that we can feel a little identified, but with people who have other health conditions ... because you live it every day.” (Employee with disability, SMI)

Indeed, employees with severe mental illness who usually suffered high levels of stigma outside the work context, deeply appreciate how open and naturally they can be with their different mental illness; they feel confident talking about it without being afraid of any backlash, reflecting a high perception of psychological safety: *“We have different mental illnesses, but symptoms usually coincide; you suddenly feel the center of attention, you think that something said on the radio is a message for you... and others can help you to deal with them as they understand you... and no one will judge you. We can even joke about it; everything is so natural” (Employee with disability, SMI)*

In this regard, managers, team coordinators and employees without disabilities, on the one hand, explained that they are aware of the circumstances of their coworkers with disabilities, and they are always ready to adapt the daily schedule or the task distribution when their coworker with disabilities have difficulties. They trust completely on their capacity to do the work; in fact, they admire their compromise with the organization and their high performance, which is in line with organization’s standards and goals. *“It is very important to have someone who can listen to them, who genuinely try to help them. Obviously, they must do their work... but... the fact that you trust them, and they can trust you to say: I have a bad day... Your response will be do not worry, do what you can, and others will support you... the same way tomorrow you will be one supporting others... (Team coordinator with disability, NSMI)*

Employees justify this trust based on their own responsibility and compromise with the organization: *“We must take responsibility of what we do, it is ok if you have a bad day, but you cannot slope off and wait until that someone else do your job. We are a family in which each one has to be responsible for what he does and what he has to do.” (Employee with disability, SMI)*

On the other hand, employees with disability, particularly employees with mental illness, whose health condition makes them feel more vulnerable to unpredictable breakdowns, also trust on their coworkers and leaders to share their needs and concerns. In this regard, they highlighted, again, the possibility to freely communicate to their managers and team coordinators any problem, even if it is regarding a personal matter, finding the required support and assistance: *“You always have someone to talk to. At least they listen to you, then things may get solved or not, but they listen to you” (Employee with disability SMI)*

Participants explained that overall, among teammates, it is easier to develop a closer relationship. This is especially relevant for employees with SMI, who have more difficulties developing trust with external members. Employees with severe mental illness also support this idea; they explained that it is easier to find support on their team than in coworkers working in different departments. When describing differences between departments regarding social interactions, participants explain that in some of them the nature of the work promotes interaction among coworkers, so they include them as part of their social network outside the organization. However, there are other participants who prefer to separate both personal and work environments.

However, overall, employees with SMI described their workplace as a “safe place” where they can develop all their potential, with the certainty that if they need help or make a mistake as any other colleague in the organization, they will be supported and encourage to carry on with their duties.

Benefits of achieving inclusion: job satisfaction and well-being

According to the results, participants reported very high levels of job satisfaction and well-being based on three main reasons very related to inclusive climate and leadership: a) because of their working conditions in the organization; b) the human character and social labor of the

organization, promoting inclusion and employment among people with disabilities including SMI and c) constant learning, both on social abilities and professional training.

Employees without disabilities, including those with coordination and management responsibilities, explained that although they were not always aware of the organizations' characteristics when they first started, they are completely happy for the opportunity of being part of this project. *"Everyone is happy. They say they consider that the organization takes care of them and that is something you cannot easily find somewhere else."* (Team manager, ND). Indeed, some of them confessed that, at first, they thought this would be a temporary job position, but now they would not leave this organization. Besides their actual working conditions and they have been taken care of, they also justified their job satisfaction based on the social relevance of the organization and their personal growth: *"I was reluctant at first to work here. I thought I could be here for 3 months and then continue working for my goal at that moment. But at the end... I got caught. I've been here for 10 years and I've felt better than in my own home, because they have taken care of me personally, the managers have taken care of me, they guided me, they have taught me so many things that I did not know... how to talk to others being empathic... It is very rewarding"*. (Department Manager, ND)

They feel proud of being part of an organization where employees with disabilities, including people with mental illness, can develop a profession which is so positive for their well-being. They also mentioned that sometimes they must make an extra effort to guarantee the organization's functioning and, therefore, they suffer high levels of stress at certain moments depending on the department, even being at risk of suffering burnout if the situation is maintained over time. However, when they put all in balance, it is very positive; they also considered that their own personal growth has also been quite significant. Employees with disabilities also shared this opinion: *"Personally, I've grown so much as a professional in this organization, I've learnt a lot. I usually attend several training courses. The truth is that the*

organization has improved along these years, we have moved forward” (Employee with disability, NSMI)

Among participants, employees with SMI were the most enthusiastic about working in this organization, also reporting high levels of job satisfaction and well-being. In line with other employees, they felt supported by their colleagues and managers, and they appreciated the organizational flexibility and support provided to handle their health conditions while, at the same time, they are developing as professionals. Also, these participants highlighted how important is for them to have other colleagues who can understand first-hand their circumstances, that is, other employees with SMI. *“I just loved it ... You do not know each other, right? But he said that he is not taking his medication anymore and she asked, but did the doctor tell you not to do it? That is very typical here, we take care of each other.” (Employee with disability, SMI)*

According to their own experience, they feel grateful and fulfilled for being able to work in an organization with these characteristics and working conditions, where job demands can be adapted to their circumstances. Indeed, some of these participants even described their job position as a therapy: *“Working here is a therapy, because of the colleagues that you can relate quite well with them, due to our similar health conditions and... I can say that the work is relaxed, that it is not either so relaxed ... it depends on the department, but you can handle it...” (Employee with disability, SMI)*

Employees with SMI also explained the positive implications that having a job position in this organization have for their personal well-being, not only as employees but also as autonomous individuals in society; it means they have the chance of being economically independent and find stability. In their own words, they have the chance of feeling “normal”, avoiding at least to some extent, the stigmatization due to their illness:

“Coming here every day, makes me realize I have a job, I feel “normal”. If I had found this job when I was 18 years old, when I started with this illness... my life would have been very different. In this situation, until you are at least 40, you are usually experiencing setbacks for years, going from one place to the other...” (Employee with disability, SMI)

4.4 Discussion

The aim of this research was to understand which factors may facilitate the effective inclusion of people with severe mental illness in the workplace. Several studies have focus on how to promote inclusion in organizations; however, this study focuses on a very special collective – persons with SMI – exploring how inclusion take place on workgroups where employees with and without disabilities coexist. By means of a case study, we analyzed three interaction levels in this organization: the relationship between coworkers, including conflicts (Wehman, 2003), the relationship with inclusive leaders (Choi et al. 2017) and the organizational inclusion climate (Ashikali et al. 2020). Also, we explore the consequences of perceiving inclusion at work, particularly the effect of inclusive climate on employees with SMI’s well-being and satisfaction. In this study it is also remarkable the use of qualitative methodology, that allowed us to provide a more in- depth analysis of the dynamics between employees with and without disabilities including SMI. Indeed, participants with SMI, may have difficulties understanding or interpreting the content of quantitative methods, restricting their contributions. Using a semi structured interview, we guaranteed that they have enough liberty to contribute with their own ideas and perspectives.

According to the obtained results, participants report low levels of conflict between coworkers with and without disabilities, including SMI. Overall, when conflicts occurred in this social enterprise, these are related to tasks and objectives. Some relationship conflicts are also detected, particularly based on misunderstandings between employees with SMI. Participants explained that these conflicts are managed by focusing on interests, prioritizing the

well-being of employees; indeed, they highlight the absence of stigma and discrimination. Therefore, overall results demonstrated that all members of the organizations considered that, despite daily work-related problems, they have achieved full inclusion of all members, including those with disabilities and SMI.

We also analyzed which factors contribute to these positive results regarding inclusion, particularly focusing on the role of leaders. Reflecting on their supervisors and managers leadership style, participants described inclusive leaders' behaviors as predominant in this organization. They promote trust-based relationships among the members of the organization, helping to guarantee psychological safety. Consequently, as explained by the participants, they have managed to create an inclusive organizational climate where the well-being and job satisfaction of the most vulnerable members is considered a priority organizational objective. Thus, all participants reported very high levels of satisfaction and well-being at work.

Reflecting on the results obtained, inclusive leadership plays an essential role on facilitating employees with SMI incorporation and participation as full members. When considering inclusive leadership, in this organization both leaders and team managers are included. Previous studies, also highlight the role of these two figures as promoters of inclusion climate; inclusive leaders are considered the main inclusive 'climate architects', and inclusive managers are considered 'climate engineers' (Zohar, 2002). Based on our results, participants explained that they perceived constant monitoring from team managers, and at the same time they feel supported and listened by leaders, who are always available for them. Indeed, it is also remarkable that due to the size of the participant organization, leaders can be in close contact with teams, so their influence on promoting inclusive climate, as well as trustworthy relationships and psychological safety among employees is even greater. Therefore, both figures contributed to see diversity as an enrichment feature, instead of as a stigma or discriminative factor. This is also reflected on the low levels of conflict reported in our study,

despite the foreseeable discrepancies that may take place among coworkers because of diversity. In line with the description by Nishii and Leroy (2020), inclusive leaders in this organization combine different behaviors that contribute to the creation of an inclusive climate, such as *articulating* the meaning of inclusion, *role modeling* values related to inclusion, *reinforcing* employees' inclusive behaviors, and *assessing* each employee's behavior to check inclusion understanding and make corrections. Based on the information provided by participants, promoting inclusion is not a collateral effect of diversity, but a main organizational goal, as important as performance. That means that, from an organizational perspective, inclusive leaders receive all the support to manage this diversity. They clearly promote that all their employees feel they belong to the organization, indeed, participants feel they "create" the organization and that their uniqueness is reinforced and valued (Ashikali et al., 2020). This contributes to the shared perception of inclusive climate.

Considering these results, in this social enterprise where according to participants' experience, inclusion of employees with disability and SMI has been fully achieved, inclusive leaders' characteristics clearly emerge as a main source of success. Employees report a sense of uniqueness and belongingness that characterize inclusion (Shore & Chung, 2021). However, we consider that, in this study, another relevant factor emerges related to these perceptions, that is the sense of mattering (Rosenburg & McCulloch, 1981). Although, the essence of this concept can be discerned in some contemporary leadership models that value inclusiveness, such as servant leadership and authentic leadership (Ensari & Riggio, 2020), to clearly set out this concept as part the theoretical framework of inclusive leadership style would be an interesting contribution.

Although the complete workforce benefits from this inclusion approach, it must be highlighted that as this organization works with a vulnerable collective such as people with SMI, inclusive leaders sometimes also need specific advice to manage incidents, to prevent

negative backlash for employees with SMI. In line with the structural competence approach that promotes understanding the experience of illness (Delsai, 2021) this social enterprise can rely on “support units” which are part of the HR department composed of psychologists that intervene when there is an issue involving employees with disability and SMI. Also, it is important to highlight that based on participants' perceptions, the daily work in the organization works as in the long-term selection process, filtering employees' profiles. All employees but particularly those without SMI share similar profile: social oriented, open-minded, and flexible. Those who do not fit in this description usually decide to leave the organization after a short period; on the contrary, those who present these characteristics or who are able to adapt to the prevalent organizational characteristics in an effective manner, remain as part of the workforce. Consequently, those who stay reinforce inclusive behaviors in the organization, facilitating the existence of both inclusive leadership and inclusive climate.

To conclude, organizations must be prepared to deal with diversity, becoming inclusive contexts that reflect the changing social reality, including recognition of persons with SMI and other disabilities as full members of their workforce (Arenas et al., 2018). Indeed, achieving inclusion is an extremely relevant goal, not only to meet the requirements of today's diverse workforces, but also to fulfill the equity goals set out and promoted by international institutions and governments such as the European Union (European Commission, 2021). According to these policies, employment significance for persons with disabilities and particularly with SMI, is a right that goes beyond economic rewards, it also influences well-being, satisfaction and even self-realization (Paul & Batinic, 2009; Saunders & Nedelec, 2014). Therefore, removing the barriers that people with SMI face in the workplace should be a priority. Although it can also be challenging to translate it into practice (Mor Bark et al., 2021), for all parties involved, achieving full inclusion would benefit all members of the organization, improving their well-being. Indeed, particularly for employees with SMI, who usually face the greatest challenges

to access to labor market (Bonaccio et al., 2020), achieving this level of inclusion at work is also a source of resources, besides of well-being. Therefore, consistent with Job Demands-Resources model (JD-R model) that consider as job resources any organizational aspect that stimulates employees' development and personal growth (Demerouti et al., 2001; Bakker et al., 2005), inclusive leadership, and thus, the resulting sense of uniqueness, belongingness and also mattering, can be considered valuable resources. Especially, the sense of mattering at work, of feeling significant and relevant for the success of the organization (Flett et al., 2019) may have a spillover effect on personal and family life. This line of thought would establish work as a key aspect to develop resources for persons with disabilities, particularly SMI.

Practical implications

The main practical implication of this case study is to confirm that promoting positive leadership styles such as inclusive leadership, it is possible to achieve the full inclusion of persons with SMI at work, as well as contribute to improve climate perceptions. Indeed, based on these results, to promote inclusion at all levels in the organization - between coworker, between leaders and followers - is not only possible but also recommendable considering the benefits for all member integrating the organization. However, organizations should pay special attention to leadership styles, as inclusive leaders are essential to guarantee inclusion and the positive consequences related to it.

An additional practical implication is the verification of the required professional assistance when managing diversity including vulnerable collectives such as SMI.

A clear example that can be found in this social enterprise is the figure of "support units", when dealing with diversity in general and with disability and SMI in particular. Sometimes, besides their leadership style, leaders consider diversity as a challenge, as they feel they are not able to cope it due to their lack of competences or resources. On the same manner that their inclusive leadership may contribute to create an inclusive climate, that clearly benefits

the whole organization, they can also influence organizational dynamics in a negative way, for example when they do not receive the required support to deal with inclusion. The successful example of inclusive leaders in this social enterprise can serve as models to export theoretical recommendations about inclusion to real contexts.

Potential limitations and future research

As a case study, this research has been conducted in an only social enterprise, whose characteristics are not easily comparable to other organizations. However, it also provides a unique organizational context to analyze how to promote inclusion of a very particular group of interest, employees with SMI. In this regard, it is also important to highlight the difficulties that, within the collective of persons with disabilities, persons with SMI are the ones facing more difficulties to access to the labor market. Therefore, to develop a case study in this participant organization is a great opportunity to understand how they perceive their working dynamics, learning valuable strategies that may be transferred to other organizations. In this regard, future studies could further explore the connections between the sense of mattering and inclusive leadership, due to its relevance as a source of resource and spillover effect possibility to persons with SMI personal context.

Regarding the methodology, qualitative data and analyses have a limited explanatory potential, also considering that the number of participants is also limited. However, due to the complexity and the dynamics that take place when analyzing diversity, particularly when most participants have a SMI, this methodology provided the opportunity to understand this singular work environment. During focus groups, participants, particularly employees with SMI, also had the opportunity to elaborate their responses; this would have been impossible using quantitative methodology based on questionnaires. Nevertheless, future studies should complement these findings using quantitative approaches that make possible to conduct a

deeper analysis of inclusion and those variables influencing it, establishing causality relationships.

Conclusions

This case study illustrates an effective example of inclusion in organizations with diversity, particularly employees with and without disabilities, including SMI. Results indicate that despite the complexity of diversity and the special needs of a high percentage of workforce members, it is possible to avoid conflicts or at least manage them effectively focusing on cooperation; up to the point of not identifying stigma and discrimination within the organization. In this regard, a main contribution of this study is the analysis of the role of inclusive leaders to achieve an inclusive climate, that guarantee the full incorporation of employees with SMI to the labor market and promote trustworthy relationships and psychological safety among employees. Indeed, this study also propose to understand those factors related to inclusion and inclusive leadership (uniqueness and belongingness) and also including sense of mattering as resources that can contribute to improve well-being, particularly for persons with disabilities and SMI, both at work and in personal and family life. In this regard, it must be outlined the relevance of the qualitative analysis of employee with SMI perspectives on this matter, that allowed us to understand both the complexity of dealing with diversity but, at the same time, its social relevance, and benefits for organizations and individuals. Particularly, this study demonstrates the benefits of inclusion for job satisfaction and well-being while, at the same time, set guidelines for leaders to cope with diverse challenges in a successful manner.

CHAPTER 5

General discussion and conclusions

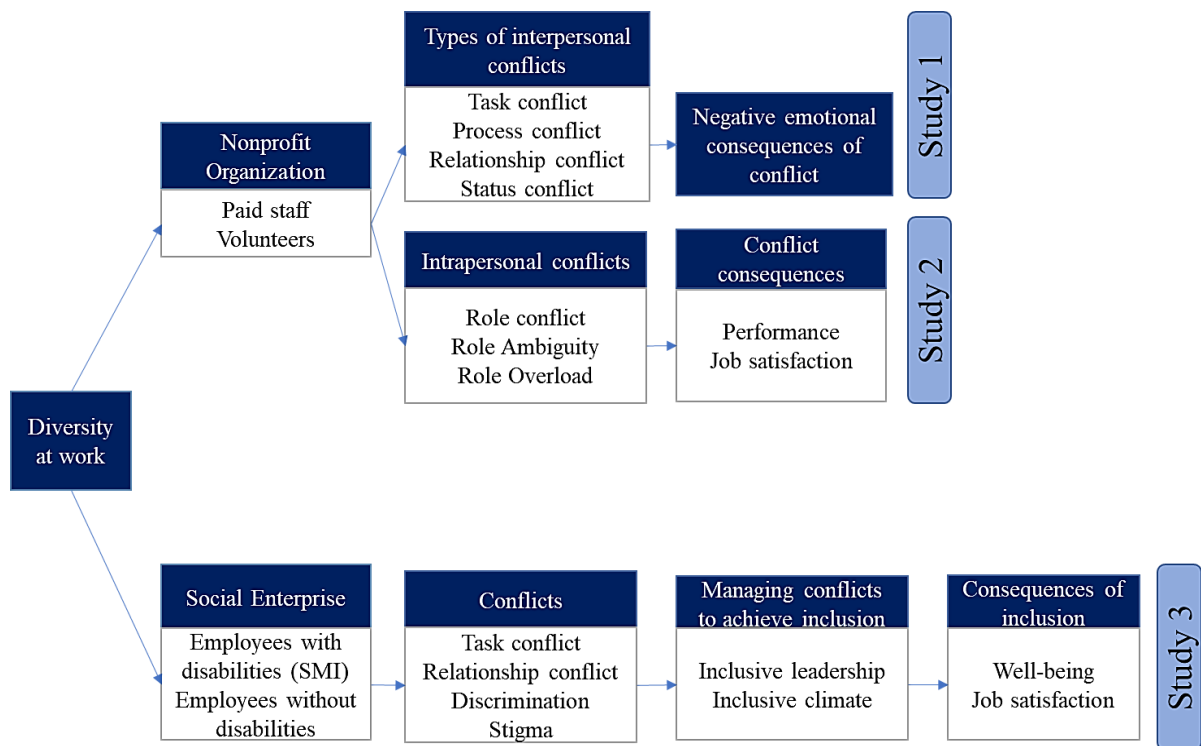
5.1 General discussion

The main objective of this doctoral dissertation is to analyze conflict and conflict management in organizations considering diversity as a broader concept, including professionals and special interest groups, particularly volunteers and employees with disabilities, including SMI. We aimed to explore question such as: Does conflicts take place in these organizations? Which types of conflicts take place? How these conflicts are perceived and managed by different stakeholders? which are the consequences for parties involved? and how can HRM manage and prevent these conflicts?

In this final chapter, we will summarize the main findings of our three empirical studies, continuing with a more general discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of this research. As a guidance to discuss our work, we present one more time the heuristic model developed as framework of this research, as introduced in the first chapter of this dissertation.

Figure 1

Heuristic model of this doctoral dissertation



5.2 The importance of understanding conflicts in organizations with diverse workforce: Main findings

Along three studies, we analyzed the existent interpersonal conflicts in organizations with diversity, the dynamics and differences between groups of stakeholders or roles within the organizations, regarding conflict identification, conflict management and consequences of conflicts, the effects that diversity has for individuals perception of intrapersonal conflict, performance and job satisfaction and finally, based on a case study, we explore how to promote inclusion in organizations with diversity, from both interpersonal and organizational perspectives.

In our first study, we analyzed types, prevalence, and consequences of conflicts in a large NPO. Conflicts were analyzed considering volunteers' perspective, who have been the consistent protagonist in NPO research, paid staff's perspective as one of the main stakeholders in these organizations, whose relative power has increased due to the professionalization of the NPO's sector. A total of 60 participants (36 paid staff and 24 volunteers) took part in this qualitative study, based on focus groups. Results confirmed the existence of four types of conflicts: task, process, status, and relationship conflicts. Relationship conflict is the least reported type, revealing the protection factor that values and engagement with a social aim have on this organizational context. This is consistent with the results obtained by Benitez et al., (2018), that pointed out the buffering effects of using avoidance as strategy to buffer negative effects of conflict. That is, paid staff and volunteers tend to overlook their relationship conflicts provoked by identity differences, focusing on organizational values and goals (Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011). The most relevant finding is the strong difference between paid staff and volunteers in conflict perceptions, demonstrating that paid staff, overall, show higher levels of conflicts than volunteers. Findings also show stronger negative consequences for paid staff compared to volunteers.

In our second study, trying to delve into the explanatory mechanisms of differences between paid staff and volunteers, we explored factors that may contribute to promote job satisfaction among NPOs members. A total of 113 participant took part in this study (39 paid staff and 74 volunteers). Combining two different data analyses, serial multiple mediation analyses and cluster analyses, we first analyzed if there are differences between paid staff and volunteers in perceived intrapersonal conflict and performance and its effect on job satisfaction; and second, we analyzed if there is an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of NPOs, despite the formal roles that coexist in these organizations (paid staff and volunteers). Results confirm that paid staff and volunteers differ on their perceived job satisfaction level, with volunteers being more satisfied. This result is consistent with previous studies analyzing job satisfaction in these collectives, that also found out that volunteers seem to be more satisfied than paid staff (Rimes et al., 2017). In our study, we went a step further analyzing the effect of intrapersonal conflicts and performance in roles and job satisfaction relationship. Based on our results, this relationship is serially mediated by role conflict, role ambiguity and performance. According to our results, paid staff also report more role conflict and role ambiguity but less perception of performance. Cluster analyses demonstrate that three homogenous profiles can be identified within NPOs workforce: senior volunteers, long-term paid staff, and volunteers and recent paid staff. Senior volunteers report the lowest scores for intrapersonal conflict and the highest ones for performance and job satisfaction. Based on their perceptions, they do not have to deal with duties of contradictory positions (role conflict); they have received clear information about their tasks and its methods, or at least it is not considered a problem (role ambiguity) and they do not consider they have problems dealing with all their work (role overload).

Long-term paid staff report the highest intrapersonal conflicts scores and the lowest scores for job satisfaction and performance. Therefore, based on their perceptions, they consider

that they have dealt with duties of contradictory positions (role conflict); they consider they do not have clear information about their tasks and its methods, or at least, which affects their work (role ambiguity) and they also report very high levels of role overload, they have not enough resources (for example, time) to deal with all their work (role overload). Based on these results, probably, they are the most affected by organizational changes related to professionalization.

The third profile, composed of recent paid staff and volunteers, report medium score in performance and job satisfaction and medium-low intrapersonal conflict. Thus, based on their perceptions, they do not have to deal with duties of contradictory positions (role conflict); they consider they have received clear information about their tasks and its methods, or at least it is not considered a problem (role ambiguity) and they do not consider they have problems dealing with all their work (role overload).

Regarding our third study, we conducted a case study in a social enterprise. Its aim was to understand which factors may facilitate the effective inclusion of people with severe mental illness at work. Particularly, we explore the relationship between coworkers, including existent conflicts, the role of leaders and inclusive climate. A total of 44 participants with disabilities, SMI and without disabilities (21 DNSMI; 18 SMI; 23 ND) participated in this qualitative study. Results highlighted that inclusive leadership style plays an essential role promoting inclusive climate (Ensari & Riggio, 2020). According to our results, inclusive leadership is characterized by promoting interactions among coworkers with and without disabilities (including SMI) based on trust and psychological safety. Inclusive leadership also contributes to promoting characteristics that are necessary for the development of their skills in a safe environment, eliminating stigma and discrimination, helping to reduce possible conflicts and, ultimately, promoting well-being (Choi et al., 2017) and creating an inclusive climate that promotes the integration of different perspectives and identities (Dwertmann et al., 2016). Based on these results, we discussed the relevance of the so-called sense of mattering, or sense of being

significant (Rosenburg & McCulloch, 1981) as an addition to the sense of uniqueness and belongingness that Shore et al., (2011) enounced as basis of inclusion.

5.3 Methodological implications

A main contribution of this dissertation from a methodological perspective is the multi-method design of the doctoral research. The use of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Using qualitative research method, we were able to provide a more in- depth analysis of the dynamics between paid staff and employees and employees with and without disabilities including SMI, respectively. Indeed, this is particularly important for participants with SMI, that may have difficulties understanding or interpreting the content of a questionnaire. Notwithstanding, this dissertation also includes quantitative methodology, that complemented the qualitative one, allowing to increase participation, and providing a holistic approach to the aim of study of this dissertation. Overall, combining both methods can contribute to the mutual validation of data and findings as well as to produce a more coherent and complete picture of the research goal (Kelle, 2006).

5.4 Theoretical implications

From theory to practice: applying conflicts taxonomies in NPOs

This dissertation demonstrates that, to understand the conflict nature in NPOs, the well-known taxonomy of organizational conflicts that differentiate between task, relationship, and process conflict (Jehn & Mannix, 2001) is not enough. To reflect the structural complexity of these organizations and reflect the interpersonal dynamics between stakeholders, we need an extended conflict taxonomy: task, relationship, process, and status conflict (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Particularly, to truly understand conflicts in NPOs, status conflict is crucial. These organizations are in constant change particularly due to professionalization processes, that challenges the already complex NPOs' hierarchical structure. Consequently, power contests and influences to impose their perspectives or ideas can appear among paid staff and volunteers.

Considering status conflict as part of the conflict taxonomy will permit to identify and understand these processes derived from the coexistence of two groups of stakeholders.

Conflict research in third sector organizations is still scarce and research findings obtained in different sectors have been traditionally applied to these organizations despite its distinctive characteristics, such as the coexistence of different stakeholders as part of the workforce. That is the case of NPOs, where paid staff and volunteers work together as part of the same teams. When analyzing disputes or problems between these two collectives, descriptions are vague, usually labeled as “problems” in an attempt of avoiding the use of the term “conflict” as if it would imply a negative connotation for this sector (Müller-Stewens et al., 2019). Consequently, prevent and manage interpersonal conflicts in these organizations becomes a very difficult task.

Understanding paid staff and volunteers’ differences

In this dissertation, to understand how conflict arises between these two roles and also between role-person, we extent to this organizational context the principles of the social comparison theory by Festinger (1954). This theory states that individuals create their perceptions and opinions comparing themselves with other social groups. Thus, paid staff and volunteers, also evaluate their contributions to work, rewards and efforts based on those of the other main group in their working context. Considering the equity theory referring to motivational mechanisms proposed by Adams (1963, 1965) if there is not perception of fairness because of that social comparison, this imbalance can lead to conflicts between these two groups or identities, affecting their motivation and job satisfaction. Moreover, we apply two main concepts or role conflict theory, role conflict and role ambiguity, to analyze the discrepancies that paid staff and volunteers face at work. In this regard, it is important to highlight that, in this dissertation, we also focus on understanding paid staff’s perceptions and needs, which are commonly oversee

in NPOs research, that focus on volunteers as one of their main sources of identity (Ganesh & McAllum, (2012).

Emergence of inclusive leadership in organizations with employees with disability (and SMI)

This dissertation highlights the theoretical relevance of inclusive leadership in organizations with diversity, particularly in organizations with employees with disabilities and SMI. Traditionally, leadership theories developed in HR and Organizational Psychology have been applied in organizations managing diversity, overseeing the distinctive characteristics of vulnerable collective. Under these circumstances, questions may arise, and even certain areas of theory and research may remain uncovered. Thus, to achieve full inclusion, leadership theories should be updated, considering the real circumstances of organizations managing diversity.

In this dissertation, we precisely contribute to this goal. In our research, the main characteristics of inclusive leadership emerge as main factors to promote inclusion at work in a context with diversity. Therefore, we support inclusive leadership theory based on the experiences of the principal actors of this theoretical approach, that is vulnerable collectives and their coworkers. The emergence of inclusive leadership as predominant leadership style already is a step forward to understand which strategies contribute to full inclusion achievement at work. Indeed, we contemplate that inclusive leadership theory, besides considering essential to promote the sense of uniqueness and belongingness (Randel et al., 2018; Shore et al. 2011), should also include among its main characteristic the promotion of the sense of mattering among organizational members (Flett et al., 2019; Rosenberg & McCullough, 1981). The sense of mattering implies feeling significant and relevant for the success of the organization (Flett et al., 2019). The sense of mattering at work may also have positive consequences in other contexts such as on personal and family life due to a spillover effect. Particularly, work can

contribute to develop resources for persons with disabilities, including SMI. As Job Demands-Resources model states, this is an organizational aspect that “stimulates personal growth and development” (Demerouti, et al., 2001, p.501). Therefore, besides a theoretical contribution on inclusive leadership, we hope this reflection also opens future research lines and approaches to analyze inclusion at work and its benefits.

5.5 Practical implications

Identification and categorization of conflicts in NPOs between paid staff and volunteers

This research goes a step further identifying and labeling the existing types of conflicts provoked by these dynamics and these organizations’ characteristics and, therefore, facilitating that actions to prevent or manage them are promoted in NPOs. Particularly, we elaborated a checklist including the main conflicts or problems reported by paid staff and volunteers, classified based on the well-known taxonomy of organizational conflicts that differentiate between task, relationship, process conflict and status conflict (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). We consider that this contribution can be a turning point on conflict management in NPOs, where conflicts are usually overseen in the absence of understanding and tools to manage them cooperatively, avoiding negative consequences for both collectives.

Going beyond formal roles: profile analysis in NPOs

Nonprofit organizations are diverse due to the coexistence of paid staff and volunteers; however, these organizations’ heterogeneity goes beyond formal categories. This dissertation contributes to NPOs management outlining the existence of complementary profiles based on paid staff and volunteers’ characteristics and perceptions. These profiles can constitute a crucial analytic tool to HRM in this context as, considering this information, HR managers can design policies and initiatives according to the real needs of organizational members, promoting improvements on their performance and job satisfaction.

Strategies to manage diversity: the role of inclusive leadership

The results obtained in this research highlights the benefits of promoting inclusive leadership in organizations with diversity. Good practices can be inferred from the explanations and descriptions of the interpersonal dynamics promoted by inclusive leadership. This good practices for inclusive leaders include facilitating, among team members, reciprocal exchanges based on power sharing, serving as role models for others in the organization, promoting trustworthy relationships with open-doors communication strategies, reinforcing inclusive behaviors, expressing genuine interest for employees' well-being (Hollander, 2009; Nishii & Mayer, 2009), or integrating of diverse perspectives (Nishii & Leroy, 2020). Consequently, inclusive climate, that contributes to guarantee an appropriate diversity management, can be implemented, and, moreover, detrimental dynamics such as stigma and discrimination (Mor Barak et al., 2016; Santuzzi et al., 2021) might be suppressed on diverse organizations.

5.6 Conclusions

Overall, the main conclusion derived from this doctoral dissertation are presented below:

1. In NPOs, four types of conflicts may exist: task, process, status, and relationship conflicts. Relationship conflict is the least reported type, revealing the protection factor that values and engagement with a social aim have on this organizational context.
2. Paid staff, overall, show higher levels of conflicts than volunteers. They also suffer stronger negative consequences compared to volunteers.
3. Paid staff and volunteers differ on their perceived job satisfaction level, with volunteers being more satisfied. This relationship is serially mediated by role conflict, role ambiguity and performance. Paid staff report more role conflict and role ambiguity but less perception of performance.
4. Besides the formal roles that coexist in these organizations (paid staff and volunteers) there is an additional profiles distribution that reflects more adequately the reality of

NPOs. These profiles can constitute a crucial analytic tool to HRM in this context as managing this information as HR managers can design policies and initiative according to the real needs of organizational members, optimizing paid-staff and volunteer's management to increase their satisfaction and even reduce NPO dropout.

5. Inclusive leadership style plays an essential role promoting inclusive climate. Inclusive leaders foster trust and psychological safety, which are necessary for the development of their skills in a safe environment, eliminating stigma and discrimination and contributing to reduce task and relationship conflicts. The emergence of inclusive leadership as predominant leadership style is a step forward to understand which strategies contribute to full inclusion achievement at work. Also, inclusive leadership, and thus, the resulting sense of uniqueness, belongingness and also mattering, can be considered valuable resources, following the JD-R model approach.
6. Diversity, and, by extension, the need of inclusion, is nowadays the norm more than the exception in organizations, as well as in society. Therefore, as researchers we have the responsibility to contribute making workplaces a better place to be and to develop as professionals and as society members. I hope this dissertation, that provides theoretical bases, practical strategies, and analytic tools can contribute to create inclusive workplaces, bringing us one step closer to this purpose.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Semi structured interview – Focus groups nonprofit organization

- a) Presentation of the participants and their role in the organization
- b) Organizational structure and work procedures
 - Hierarchy, policies, processes
 - Previous organizational changes
 - Experience as paid staff / volunteers
- c) Experience of conflicts in the organization
 - Critical incidents: context and categorization
 - Parties involved and conflict intensity
- d) Conflict management strategies
 - How did conflicts come to a solution? Who intervene?
 - How do you feel during this process?
- e) Conflict consequences
 - For parties involved, for organization

Appendix B

List of a priori and a posteriori codes.

A priori codes		A posteriori codes	
1. Conflict regarding decision making processes	22. Take others' responsibilities	56. Lack of institutional socialization	
2. Relationship conflict in teams	23. Commitment	57. Lack of volunteers	
3. Conflicts between volunteers and paid staff	24. Distrust on headquarters' decisions	58. Communication	
*Empathy between working positions	25. Lack of headquarters' competences	59. Promotion of labor climate	
4. Volunteers and Paid Staff roles	26. Lack of empathy between working positions	60. Volunteer training	
5. Volunteers' power	27. Insecurity to act without consulting	61. Paid staff training	
6. Work complexity (working with users)	28. Discomfort among team members	62. Frustration	
7. Conflict escalation	29. Participation and consensus as an obligation	63. Schedules that differ from the established timetables	
8. Organizational complexity	30. Privileges as rights	64. Public image	
9. Project's coordination complexity	31. Lack of responsibility	65. Paid staff's involvement	
10. Deadlines	32. Undefined tasks	66. Volunteers' emotional labor	
11. Differences between local assemblies	33. Volunteers' role enrichment	67. Relationship with management	
12. Communication	34. Absenteeism	68. Importance of paid staff	
13. Training	35. Volunteers' attitude	69. Importance of volunteering	
14. Leadership	36. Positive aspects of the evaluation	70. Influence of personal characteristics	
15. Planning	37. Organizational change	71. Improvement detected	
16. Volunteers temporariness	38. Positive consequences of change of management	72. Project justification	
17. Decision making processes	39. Negative consequences of volunteers' inexperience	73. President's role	
18. Organizational members' vocation	40. Inactivity and lack of awareness of regional assembly	74. Slowness, lack of reaction of the organization	
19. Time management	41. Paid staff vulnerability	75. Amount of information managed	
20. Differences in conflicts due to seniority	42. Evaluation differences	76. Organizational improvements	
21. Quality of attention	43. Difficulties in the organization and coordination of events	77. Multitasking methodology	
	44. Burned out teams	78. Need of enrichment of meetings	
	45. Stress and anxiety	79. Transferring responsibilities	
	46. Vertical evaluation of performance	80. Prioritization of the activity	
	47. Lack of alternatives to transmit problems	81. Different local realities for training	
	48. Lack of coordination	82. Cut back on social intervention	
	49. Lack of effectiveness of management	83. Resistance to change	
	50. Lack of spaces	84. Paid staff supporting volunteers	
	51. Lack of feedback between hierarchical levels	85. Rumors	
	52. Lack of intervention methodology	86. Volunteer satisfaction	
	53. Lack of motivation	87. Somatization	
	54. Lack of paid staff	88. Duplicate tasks	
	55. Lack of resources	89. Administrative duties	
		90. Paid staff transferring	
		91. Task flow (up-down)	
		92. Quantitative assessment	
		93. Volunteers acting as paid staff	

(*) This a priori code was modified and replaced by the a posteriori code in bold font.

Appendix C

Semi structured interview – Focus groups social enterprise

- a) Participants' presentation and description of their role in the organization.
 - Presentation, description of their activity
 - How did they start working this social enterprise? Experience as member of this organization
- b) Difficulties at work based on critical incidents
 - Critical incidents or conflicts
 - Perception of stigma/discrimination
 - Parties involved and conflict intensity
- c) Evolution and consequences of difficulties/conflicts
 - How did conflicts come to a solution? Who intervene?
 - How do you feel during this process?
 - Consequences for employees with and without mental illness
- d) Organizational problem-solving procedures.
 - Policies, organizational structure, changes in the organization
 - Role of leaders and team managers
 - Dynamics within the organization/between coworkers: social interaction, trust among coworkers, perceptions

Appendix D

List of a priori and a posteriori codes

A priori codes		A posteriori codes
1. Task conflict	16. Active listening	37. Lack of information between departments
2. Relationship conflict	17. SMI sensitivity	38. Consequences of lack of information: Delays / conflicts
3. Trust	18. Team acceptance	39. Lack of knowledge of SMI (without disability)
4. Power as CMS	19. Integration in the organization	40. Differences in expectations
5. Rights as CMS	20. Symptom's monitoring (SMI)	41. Difficulties adapting to change (SMI)
6. Interest as CMS	21. Job flexibility	42. Difficulties to unite the teams (after incorporations)
7. Cooperation	22. Organizational flexibility (medical appointments)	43. Retaliate for lack of effort to fit in
8. Competition	23. Value of work (SMI)	44. Supervisors' support
9. Discrimination	24. Disabilities complexity	45. Teams as a family
10. Stigma	25. Compromise with the organization (SMI)	46. Peer support/socialization
11. Employees' well-being	26. Understanding of disability as trial-error method (supervisors)	47. Shared values
12. Trust	27. Social support in the organization	48. Observational learning
13. Psychological safety	28. Socialization process	49. Climate: contributions of members of the organization
14. Inclusive leadership	29. Social support among SMI	50. Socialize in non-work activities (have breakfast)
15. Inclusive climate	30. Absence of stigma among coworkers	51. Inclusion at work
	31. Stigma in society	
	32. Problem solving strategies	
	33. Management of contingencies	
	34. Stress management	
	35. Communication difficulties	
	36. Organizational problems	

ACADEMIC CV

María del Rocío López Cabrera is a PhD candidate in Psychology of Human Resources at the University of Seville (Spain) and in Psychology at the KU Leuven (Belgium) Her research focus is on conflict management, mediation and HRM in organizations with diversity. As a Doctoral scholarship holder at the University of Seville, she combines her research work with teaching activities in the Degree in Psychology at the University of Seville. After studying Psychology at the University of Seville, she obtained a Double Degree in MSc. in Work and Organizational Psychology by Maastricht University and the University of Seville. She is member of the research group “Grupo de Investigación y Desarrollo de los Recursos Humanos y Organizaciones” (INDRHO) (PAIDI HUM-568).

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Research projects

Análisis de las Negociaciones Informales y Sus Consecuencias para la Organización y los Trabajadores

Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities

Reference: PID2019-110093GB-I00

Duration: 2020 - 2023

Coordination: Francisco José Medina Díaz and Inés Martínez Corts

Mediación en Conflictos de Discriminación Social en el Lugar de Trabajo

Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness and European Union FEDER funds.

Reference: PSI2015-64894-P

Duration: 2016 -2018

Coordination: Lourdes Munduate Jaca and Francisco José Medina Díaz.

Scientific publications

López-Cabrera, R.; Arenas, A.; Medina, F.J.; Euwema, M. y Munduate, L. (2020). Inside “Pandora’s box” of solidarity: conflicts between paid staff and volunteers in the nonprofit sector. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11:556. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00556 **JCR: 2.129 Impact Factor Q2**, (Multidisciplinary Psychology).

López-Cabrera, R. (2020). Aprendizaje basado en problemas en Psicología de las Organizaciones: aplicación de un Ciclo de Mejora. In Navarro, E. (Ed.). Ciclos de Mejora 2019. Experiencia de Innovación Docente de la Universidad de Sevilla. pp.2141-2163 Editorial Universidad de Sevilla. ISBN: 978-84-472-2191-2

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Most relevant presentations at Scientific Conferences

- López-Cabrera, R; Arenas, A.; Medina, F.J., Euwema, M., y Munduate, L. (September 8th, 9th and 10th, 2020). **Leadership for inclusion in organizations: A Case Study.** Presented at X HR Scientific Research Conference. Valencia (Spain)
- López-Cabrera, R; Arenas, A.; Medina, F.J., Euwema, M., y Munduate, L. (September 11th-12th and 20th, 2019). **Perceptions of conflicts in nonprofit organizations and their consequences: Effects on paid staff and volunteers' job satisfaction.** Presented at IX HR Scientific Research Conference. Valencia (Spain)
- López-Cabrera, R; Arenas, A.; Medina, F.J., Butts, T. y Munduate, L. (October 25th-26th, 2018). **Conflicts in Third Sector: Process and status conflicts in a volunteering nonprofit organisation in Spain.** Presented at XI International Workshop in Human Resource Management, University Pablo de Olavide, Seville, Spain
- López-Cabrera, R; Arenas, A.; Medina, F.J., Butts, T. y Munduate, L. (July, 8th -11th, 2018). **Helping ourselves to help others: Analyzing conflicts in a NPO, A volunteers and paid staff perspective.** Presented at 31st Conference International Association of Conflict Management (IACM). Philadelphia, EEUU.
- López-Cabrera, R., Arenas, A., Medina, F. J., Butts, T., & Munduate, L. (March 1st -3rd, 2018) **Ayudándonos para ayudar: Análisis de los conflictos en una ONG. Perspectiva del personal laboral y voluntariado.** Presented at 2nd Congress of Work Psychology and Human Resources. Valencia, Spain
- López-Cabrera, R., Arenas, A., Di Marco, D., & Munduate, L. (June 1st -2nd, 2016) **Personalidad y estilos de gestión del conflicto: claves para la prevención del acoso laboral.** Presented at the 1st Congress of Work Psychology and Human Resources. Madrid, Spain

Grants and Awards

Research Stay Grant for Doctoral Scholarship Holders - Ayuda para Estancias breves en España y en el extranjero para beneficiarios de Becas predoctorales o PIF de la US y de Becas de la Fundación Cámara, Convocatoria 2019 con (2019)

(VII Research Plan and Transfer. University of Seville, Ref: VIPPIT-2019-EBRV)

International Mobility Grant for Researchers (IACM 31st Conference, EEUU) – Ayuda para la movilidad internacional del personal dedicado a la investigación. (2018)

VI Research Plan and Transfer. University of Seville.

Doctoral Scholarship (February, 2017 – 2021)

(V Research Plan I+D+i University of Seville, Ref.: PP2016-7159)

Other presentations and professional activities

Colloquium: International task force about Inclusive Organizations. How to prepare organizations for the integration of employees with disabilities. (Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton. UC Berkeley; Fred Zijlstra & Gemma van Ruitenbeek. Maastricht University; Francisco J. Medina, Nuria Gamero & Rocío López-Cabrera. University of Seville). University of Seville. November 8th and 9th, 2018.