

Applied Psychology Series

Values and Ethics of Industrial-Organizational Psychology

THIRD EDITION

20th
Anniversary
Edition



Joel Lefkowitz

ROUTLEDGE

“This thought-provoking book provides a thorough yet digestible presentation of theory, research, and practical considerations in the ethical conduct of work in our profession. In his third edition of this one-of-a kind text, Lefkowitz has incorporated new research, thinking, and illustrative examples. He writes about complex issues in a conversational manner with helpful summaries provided throughout the text. He clearly communicates when and how his own views and motives are reflected in his writing, challenging the reader to self-reflect on their own values and how those influence their own ethical decision-making. All I-O psychologists, regardless of career stage or professional role, will find something to learn here.”

Deirdre J. Knapp, *Principal Scientist, Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO), USA*

“I don’t say this often, but this book is truly important. It cogently, practically, and clearly brings insight, evidence, theory, and philosophy forward to meaningfully understand ethics and morality at work and in organizations. At the same time, the book inspires you to be the best human, practitioner, and scholar you can be and shares approaches and perspectives to help with that journey.”

Steven Rogelberg, Ph.D., *Chancellor’s Professor and Immediate Past President of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology*

“Only read this book if you want to get an expanded image of how to think about, study and help people and organizations be all they can be for the betterment of them and society. Joel Lefkowitz is amazing in his ability to meaningfully present the thinking and ideas of the great philosophers and ethicists—and then he shows with explicit examples how, by adding moral and ethical values to what we do and how we do it, our lives and the lives of those we study and work with will be enhanced. And you need not be an I-O Psychologist to find the book a mind-expanding great read—anyone in HR, OB, OD and so forth will find new ways to think about what they do and how to do it better for all. Did I say I loved the book?”

Benjamin Schneider, *Professor Emeritus, University of Maryland. Past President, Society for Industrial-Organizational Psychology, USA*



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VALUES AND ETHICS OF INDUSTRIAL-ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

This foundational text was one of the first books to integrate work from moral philosophy, developmental/moral psychology, applied psychology, political and social economy, and political science, as well as business scholarship. Twenty years on, this third edition utilizes ideas from the first two to provide readers with a practical model for ethical decision making and includes examples from I-O research and practice, as well as current business events.

The book incorporates diverse perspectives into a “framework for taking moral action” based on learning points from each chapter. Examples and references have been updated throughout, and sections on moral psychology, economic justice, the “replicability crisis,” and open science have been expanded and the “radical behavioral challenge” to ethical decision-making is critiqued. In fifteen clearly structured and theory-based chapters, the author also presents a variety of ethical incidents reported by practicing I-O psychologists.

This is the ideal resource for Ethics and I-O courses at the graduate and doctoral level. Academics in Organizational Behavior and Human Resource Management will also benefit from this book, as well as anyone interested in Ethics in Psychology and Business.

Joel Lefkowitz is Professor Emeritus at the Baruch College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, USA, where he headed the I-O doctoral program from its inception in 1982 until 2009. He still regularly teaches the doctoral course in Ethical, Professional and Legal Issues for Psychologists, and is a Fellow of the Society for Industrial-Organizational Psychology, The American Psychological Association—Divisions 9 and 14, and the Association for Psychological Science.

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VALUES AND ETHICS OF INDUSTRIAL- ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Third Edition

Joel Lefkowitz

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This book is dedicated to back-office clerks doing data entry
in the financial districts of New York;
goldminers in the dark and the wet and the heat
more than a mile beneath the Black Hills of South Dakota;
a police officer alone in his cruiser at 3:00 a.m.
after several days of street violence in Dayton, Ohio;
young women high school graduates
learning power sewing machine operation for piece rates
in Pennsylvania and New England;
partially literate washers and pressers in a steamy industrial laundry
in rural Louisiana;
aircraft parts production workers in Cleveland;
and many more....
Because they graciously allowed themselves
to be observed, interviewed, surveyed, tested, evaluated or trained,
I came to appreciate what it is like to work in America.

And to Seta, who continues to model so brilliantly the role of
passionate scholar-author.

And in a world seeming heavier and heavier, in appreciation for
the lightness and effervescence of Max, Skye and Gavin.



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CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>List of Boxes</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Series Foreword</i>	<i>xiv</i>
1 Introduction	1
SECTION I	
Moral Philosophy and Psychology	19
2 Meta-Ethics	21
3 Normative Ethical Theories: I. Deontology	45
4 Normative Ethical Theories: II. Consequentialism	68
5 Normative Ethical Theories: III. Virtue Ethics	83
6 Moral Psychology: I. Moral Development	104
7 Moral Psychology: II. Taking Moral Action	157

SECTION II	
Values	193
8 The Guiding Role of Values in Ethical Decision Making and Social Policy	195
9 Values and Value Conflicts in the Professions	259
10 The Contentious Role of Values in Psychology	280
11 Business Values	312
12 The Values and Ethics of Industrial-Organizational Psychology	360
SECTION III	
The Responsible Conduct of Research	421
13 Research Ethics: Informed Consent, Confidentiality and the Use of Deception	423
14 Scientific Integrity	476
SECTION IV	
Conclusion	515
15 A Model for Taking Moral Action	517
<i>References</i>	552
<i>Index</i>	648

FIGURES

6.1	A developmental model of moral action.	107
8.1	The gap between productivity and a typical worker's compensation has increased dramatically since 1979. Productivity growth and hourly compensation growth, 1948–2019.	240
8.2	Cumulative percent change in real annual wages, by wage group, 1979–2019.	241
8.3	As union membership declines, income inequality increases. Union membership and share of income going to the top 10%, 1917–2017.	250
14.1	Potential effects of conflict of interest on research and public opinion.	477

TABLES

5.1	Some Groupings of Virtues and Values	90
6.1	A Comparison of Piaget’s Stages of Moral Development and Their Constituent Dimensions	121
6.2	Kohlberg’s Stages of Moral Development	124
6.3	Five Intuitive Moral Modules and Their Associated Expression	141
6.4	Five Structural Forms of Ethical Dilemma and Other Misbehavior	149
6.5	Sample Responses Representing the Forms of Dilemma or Misbehavior	152
7.1	Overlapping Constructs Representing Misconduct in Organizations	177
8.1	A Structural—Functional Analysis of the Values of Major American Institutions	210
8.2	Three Models of Social Justice	222
8.3	2013-to-2014 Company Performance and 2014 C.E.O. Compensation	243
8.4	Value of the U.S. Federal Minimum Wage (FMW), 1980–2020	252
11.1	Anticipated Outcomes of Four Alternative Economic Policies in Which a Minimum Outcome of 21 <i>Benefit Units (BUs)</i> Is Necessary to Maintain an Adequate Level of Well-being	322
15.1	Examples of Academic and Practitioner Ethical Situations Reported in 2019	525

BOXES

1.1	Core issues in normative ethics—two questions	3
1.2	Ethical issues that didn't exist a few years ago	12
7.1	Definitions of ethical job performance dimensions	179
9.1	Organizational versus professional standards	271
11.1	Principles of stakeholder management	341
12.1	Potential roles available to the I-O psychologist and other human resource managers with respect to ethical problems	392
12.2	Identity crisis—a fable	409
13.1	A categorization of research in I-O psychology based on its intended beneficiaries	426
13.2	General guidelines for informed consent (IC)	434
13.3	An example of deception by concealing the existence of the research study	452
14.1	The federal government's definition of research misconduct and requisite evidence	483
14.2	The vicious cycle of disappointing research	492

SERIES FOREWORD

The goal of the Applied Psychology Series is to create books that exemplify the use of scientific research, theory, and findings to solve real problems in organizations and society. Lefkowitz's *Values and Ethics of Industrial-Organizational Psychology, Third Ed.*, takes this approach. The current volume updates and significantly expands the second edition, preserving the strengths of previous work while incorporating new material with a slightly new focus.

Lefkowitz introduces a wide-ranging book with thoughtful discussion of the meaning of ethical behavior and of philosophers' long quest to understand the meaning and determinants of ethics. Lefkowitz shares his rationale for the subtle change in the book's title from previous editions, specifically, to emphasize the primacy of "values". He also notes the importance of filling the gap between ethical principles and practice. Following this introductory chapter, the first section of the book ("Moral Philosophy and Psychology"; Chapters 2–7) provides a discussion of the current streams of thought regarding ethics in the long history of western civilization. Lefkowitz pays careful attention to identifying concrete principles that can be applied to help make ethical decisions in organizations. In Part II ("Values"; Chapters 8–12), he builds a detailed and rigorous model for analyzing ethical choices in organizations. In Part III ("The Responsible Conduct of Research"; Chapters 13–14), he applies these principles to understand the ethical conduct of business, as well as the ethical conduct of research in practice in applied psychology. In the concluding section, Lefkowitz provides a detailed strategy for resolving ethical dilemmas at work, making ethical decisions, and taking moral action.

Lefkowitz draws from a broad literature, presenting thoughtful syntheses of a number of disciplines. He makes a strong case for the need to take ethical reasoning seriously. Importantly, the book integrates both the philosophical foundations and the practical implications of the systematic study of ethical behavior in organizations. We welcome the addition of *Values and Ethics of Industrial-Organizational Psychology, Third Ed.*, to the Applied Psychology Series.



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INTRODUCTION

A successful academic author once told me that an effective book is based primarily on just one good idea—irrespective of how broad the topic or complex the material is. Well, the overarching thesis of this book is that contrary to a widespread view, professional ethics is not an unreasonable set of rules or expectations designed by intrusive idealists to make our lives more difficult.

As psychologists we study human behavior. To do so, we depend on the goodwill and trust of the persons who cooperate with us voluntarily, sometimes revealing their private selves to us, enabling us to do our applied work and research. As industrial and organizational (I-O) psychologists, we further depend on the goodwill of organizational decision-makers who trust us when we say that we can improve the effectiveness of their enterprises. As professionals, we cannot do that work very well, at least not for very long, if we do not treat all of those persons ethically—that is, honestly, fairly and with respect and dignity. It has been observed that

the idea of dignity as underlying the intrinsic value on human life and liberty has been central to societal progress since the Middle Ages Dignity represents a pillar of our moral and political heritage; so much so that even some economic historians argue that the attribution of human dignity was a key success factor of social and economic development in the West.

(Pirson et al., 2016, p.465)

Accordingly, it has played a central (albeit sometimes implicit) role in moral philosophy, social science, business ethics and attempts to humanize organizations. And in two recent surveys “Ethical, legal, & professional contexts” was rated 4th-highest among 25 domains of competency by I-O graduate program

2 Introduction

directors (Payne et al., 2015) and 2nd-highest among 21 content areas by practicing I-O psychologists (Steiner & Yancey, 2013).¹

But our motives ought not to be solely instrumental. Indeed, as reviewed in chapters 3 and 5, the hallmark of some moral theories is the rejection of such utilities or “cost-benefit analyses” as a means of judging ethical behavior. As is characteristic of all professionals we assume the responsibility of “the service ideal.” As psychologists we carry with us a humanistic tradition that includes a concern for promoting people’s welfare, some of which is formalized in our ethical codes. Thus, ethical issues of fairness and justice and of duty and beneficence are central to our core values as professional psychologists. That is also in keeping with contemporary views regarding personal morality: “Living a fully ethical life involves doing the most good we can” (Singer, 2015, p. vii); “the central core of morality [is] to treat others only in ways that could be justified to them” (Scanlon, 1998, p. 361). Similar voices are being raised in academe—e.g., in advocating an expansion of the criteria for hiring, tenure and promotion beyond the traditional ones of research, service and teaching, to a fourth dimension of “doing for the greater good,” including intrinsic values like ethical behavior, fostering community well-being, and quality of mentoring (Luthar, 2017; Sternberg, 2016).

Some of the more controversial portions of this book, however, include the criticism that much of I-O psychology drifted rather far from those core values and to a considerable degree replaced them with a narrow version of business values that are not commensurate with psychology’s humanistic heritage. I agree with Kelman (2021) that “ultimately a responsible psychologist is a responsible citizen” (p. 3). At their best, they are both guided by the fundamental values of society. And this can be illustrated by the core meta-questions posed in Box 1.1. (Throughout the book I have refrained from offering commentary on the box illustrations—leaving that material for the reader’s own reflections and/or group discussion.)

There seem to be essentially four kinds of publications concerned with ethics. Each type is rather different from the others and makes a relatively unique contribution, notwithstanding that there is some inevitable overlap among them. The first category of publications consists of normative guidelines in the form of ethical codes that have been promulgated by governments, professional and trade associations, individual organizations (including business corporations) and others. Such codes are offered as presumably helpful and practical guides to ethical behavior, generally within particular domains such as business management or a particular profession. The Center for the Study of Ethics in the Professions has a collection of more than 2,500 codes from approximately 1,500 organizations! There are, however, frequently problems with ethical codes—such as fuzzy boundaries between what is considered professional behavior (covered by

1 However, one wonders whether the inclusion of *legal* concerns as part of the domain may have contributed to a positive rating bias.

BOX 1.1 CORE ISSUES IN NORMATIVE ETHICS—TWO QUESTIONS

Throughout human history—probably starting even earlier among proto-human populations—there has been a core moral domain that can be expressed by just two (non-independent) all-encompassing questions or challenges that have been considered in many moral philosophies.²

- I. Start with the premise that we each have the right to maintain and enhance our dignity and well-being, self-esteem, and chances to succeed. But there are often good justifications for maintaining and enhancing the well-being of others in our communities (whether for moral reasons or for reasons that have adaptive advantages for everyone). So we are challenged, whether we like it or not, to consider,

QUESTION I: *What is the appropriate dividing line (or balance) between individual rights and the common good?*³

- II. Let us recognize that there are always people who, for a multitude of reasons (including circumstances not of their making), are hard-pressed to provide for themselves the adequate means to survive, much less thrive. So we are challenged, whether we like it or not, to consider,

QUESTION II: *What is one's responsibility with regard to the less fortunate?*

Individuals, families, groups, organizations, societies, nations and international associations have adopted a variety of responses to that question, including simply ignoring it.

Our answers to these questions reflect our individual and collective beliefs about human nature and worth, as well as our valued norms of social organization—expressed in our systems of economics, governance, education and law—including professional ethics.

Many, perhaps every professional ethical dilemma one faces, no matter how enmeshed it may be in technical matters, complex social relations, and idiosyncratic circumstances, contains a kernel of one or both of those issues.

- 2 This is written from an avowedly Western cultural perspective without explicitly considering, e.g., Buddhist, Confucian, Hindu or Taoist insights.
- 3 With an appreciative nod to the sociologist Amitai Etzioni's (2015) book title, *The new normal: finding a balance between individual rights and the common good*.

4 Introduction

the code) and personal behavior (not covered) (Pipes et al., 2005). It has also been pointed out that a singular reliance solely on a professional code “may lead practitioners to focus on rules so much that they risk harming the quality of their professional relationships” (Knapp et al., 2013).⁴ The ethical psychologist will need to think beyond merely being familiar with the 5 aspirational principles and 89 enforceable standards of the American Psychological Association’s *Ethical Principles and Code of Conduct* (hereafter, APA Code).

In contrast, the second category of publications consists of highly theoretical and philosophical treatises. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this book present a distillation of moral philosophies in which it is my intention to allow the reader to become familiar with some varieties of ethical reasoning. They offer alternative conceptual approaches that may be useful in anticipating, evaluating and resolving ethical dilemmas—even when you cannot find your specific problem described in an ethics code. Different ethical problems, even within a single domain such as business practices, may induce different types of ethical reasoning corresponding to different moral theories (Fritzsche & Becker, 1984).

A third category of publications consists of illustrative casebooks that contribute to our understanding by providing applications of ethical principles and guidelines that may otherwise be ambiguous. But they tend to be limited by the same factors that limit the codes themselves, and no one person or even a small number of persons is likely to have direct experience with enough real cases to represent anywhere near an entire code. Good casebooks, therefore, almost always need to be collaborative enterprises—perhaps developed by members of a professional ethics committee with considerable experience evaluating complaints. New to this 3rd edition are a total of 23 verbatim narrative descriptions of actual ethical situations experienced and reported by members of the Society for Industrial-Organizational Psychology (SIOP) (cf. Tables 6.5 and 15.1).

The last major category of ethics publications consists of books that aim to impact people’s lives and, by extension, society by showing how ethical considerations are relevant to everyday affairs, contributing to general well-being and to having a fulfilling life. These books deal with applied ethics, practical ethics or social criticism (from an ethical or moral perspective). Perhaps the two best-known contemporary examples of this genre are both by Peter Singer (2011; 2015): the wide-ranging *Practical Ethics*, which tackles issues like euthanasia, animal killing, environmental degradation, climate change, the distribution of wealth and much more, from a consistent theoretical position (that of *consequentialism*, see Chap. 4), and *The Most Good You*

4 The authors are writing about training in clinical psychology, but I believe the point is apt for us as well.

Can Do, explaining the philosophy and social movement of “effective altruism.” Other examples are targeted at a specific audience, such as books on business ethics (Schminke, 2014).

With perhaps more than a little hubris, but within the limited domain of professional ethics for I-O psychologists, this book touches at least lightly all four of those bases and emphasizes primarily the ubiquitous, but often unacknowledged, role played by personal and institutional values in shaping moral action.

This is not primarily a book *about* organizational ethics as studied by I-O psychologists and other organizational scholars (e.g., ethical leadership, ethical organizational climate, managerial corruption) although some of that scholarship is presented in chapters 6 and 7 as illustrative of “contemporaneous contextual influences” on ethical behavior. Nor have ethical aspects of recent technological developments been covered, such as research using “big data” (Favaretto et al., 2020); use of Amazon’s “Mechanical Turk” as a source of participant data (Buhrmester et al., 2018; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014); or the use of social media as a research tool (Kosinski et al., 2015; Sugiura et al., 2017; Taylor & Pagliari, 2018). Each of those could warrant a separate text.

This book develops a “framework for ethical decision-making,” culminating in a model of ethical reasoning for taking moral action. The important role played by the values that underlie our reasoning is emphasized throughout, and there are three broad objectives: to enhance the reader’s ability to: (1) recognize and understand the origins and nature of ethical problems and their contemporary determinants; (2) appreciate the role of personal and societal values in shaping ethical dilemmas and our reactions to them; and (3) improve the quality of those reactions—i.e., make better moral choices. Deliberately fostering a broad, open-ended perspective also serves the function of preparing one to engage in ethical issues that may never have been encountered previously.

An explosion of interest in ethics and morality appears to have taken place in many spheres of life. Social scientists (Etzioni, 1996, 2015) and revered religious leaders (e.g., Dalai Lama, 1999, 2011) have felt the need to offer prescriptions for improving the moral dimension of society; psychologists have shown increased interest in morality as a unifying cognitive construct (Brandt & Reyna, 2015); the number of books published on business ethics has soared and professional journals, such as *Ethics & Behavior*, *The Journal of Business Ethics*, *Business Ethics Quarterly*, *The Journal of Religion and Business Ethics*, *Journal of Business, Peace and Sustainable Development*, *Business and Society*, and others have flourished; the surefire indicator that a scholarly field has achieved a critical mass of attention—an edited handbook—has existed for a while as well (Cooper, 2001); consultants teaching business ethics or “values clarification” in corporations and “character training” in the schools constitute a growth industry; within our

6 Introduction

profession the APA (1992) revised its ethical code not all that long ago yet recently revised it again (APA, 2002), and again, even more recently (APA, 2010a, 2017), and as of this writing is in the process of another major revision; in conjunction with the APA, SIOP revised and expanded its casebook on ethics (Lowman et al., 2006); morality and character issues have become preeminent screening criteria for those who wish to serve in public office⁵; and if further mundane demonstration were needed to make the point, the Sunday magazine section of my hometown paper, *The New York Times*, has been publishing an advice column titled “The Ethicist” for more than 15 years for those who find themselves ethically challenged.

But that does not address why attention to ethics and morality has recently increased. I do not know that anyone has provided a fully satisfactory non-metaphysical explanation, but there has been a litany of anxiety-producing, fear-inducing events that may have contributed to people searching for something “better.” Briefly, they are:

1. The world has been stunned by biomedical advances such as mapping of the entire human genome (Zimmer, 2021); genetic engineering of food crops and livestock; the cloning to-date of approximately two dozen species of animals since Dolly the sheep in 1996—albeit not yet including humans; the creation of human embryos in order to extract undifferentiated stem cells that can be “directed” into becoming a variety of specialized tissues; a very efficient method of “gene editing” (i.e., altering an organism’s heritable DNA); plans to collect genetic data on one million Americans while it remains unclear as to who will “own” that data (Davis, 2016); and most recently, the successful transplantation of the heart of a genetically altered pig into a human (Rabin, 2022). It is not surprising that many have become more than a little concerned by the ethical implications of those achievements (National Human Genome Research Institute, 2015; Pollack, 2015; Wade, 2015; Zimmer, 2015)—and for some, it even recalls the horrific eugenics movement in the U.S. from the 1920s into the 1950s, in which tens of thousands of men and women underwent forced sterilization because of their alleged inferiority (Cohen, 2016; Leonard, 2016). A consortium of four international medical and scientific academies has recently called for a moratorium on gene alteration because of doubts about its moral and medical appropriateness (Wade, 2015b).
2. The globalization of American corporations has led to a growing awareness of differences in what are considered ethically acceptable business practices in other cultures and to the passage and amendment of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (U.S. Congress, 1977/1998), as well as to a concern for the

5 With some astounding recent exceptions.

extent to which U.S. corporations maintain working conditions and terms of employment in developing-world production facilities that they could not do in the United States. There have been 127 FCPA enforcement actions brought by the Securities and Exchange Commission against American corporations over the past 10 years, 2011–2020, most resulting in fines of many millions of dollars (SEC, 2021).

3. The proliferation of the Internet, access to the World Wide Web and social media have led to grave concerns regarding privacy and confidentiality in business transactions, extortionate hacking of websites, abusive social behavior toward others, as well as paradoxically to a growing sense of anonymity. It is paradoxical because there is growing evidence that many people actually strive to be anonymous, or use a pseudonymous identity on the web; yet even though the incidence of *cyberbullying* and *trolling* on social media is extensive it may not be associated disproportionately with anonymity (Herrman, 2021). There is also evidence that smartphone access and degree of internet usage are associated with loneliness and lower life satisfaction among teenagers worldwide (Twenge et al., in press).
4. There has been a growing fearfulness associated with apparently random street crime since the 1980s; tragic numbers of drug overdoses and deaths; a seemingly ceaseless incidence of highly publicized mass shootings—all of which are viewed by many Americans as evidence of moral failing rather than emotional disturbance or a reflection of socioeconomic and socio-political forces.
5. There has been an extraordinary increase in the power exercised by business corporations over people's lives—virtually tearing up the old implied social contract—as well as the shift from a manufacturing to a service economy with the attendant job losses from the 1980s–2000s, loss of a sense of economic security, and destruction of the sense of commitment and loyalty to a long-term employer. These have all been exacerbated by the financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent worldwide recession. Interestingly however, although it is too early to draw firm conclusions, the enormous economic dislocations wrought by the Covid-19 pandemic seem to be having a paradoxical effect in empowering workers in the U.S. and elsewhere—labor movements somewhat ironically labeled “the mass resignation.”
6. There have been so many high-profile instances of unethical or corrupt behavior on the part of corporate leaders that it has been characterized in the press as a “scourge” (Zipkin, 2000). And it seems to have continued virtually unabated since that discouraging comment was made: unscrupulous mortgage lending practices and corruption in the financial services sector in 2008 and beyond (Sorkin, 2015) in which, e.g., Goldman Sachs (and other banks) “falsely assur[ed] investors that securities it sold were backed by sound mortgages, when it knew that they were full of mortgages that were likely to fail” (Delery, 2016, p. B3); corporate personnel concealing ignition switch

8 Introduction

malfunctions responsible for at least 124 deaths in General Motors cars (Ivory et al., 2015; Meier, 2016); corporate sabotaging of emissions control computer software in Volkswagen cars (Hakim et al., 2015); intentionally selling salmonella-tainted peanut butter, resulting in at least 9 deaths and hundreds of cases of food poisoning (Lewis, 2015); disregard of safety regulations at the Upper Big Branch mine in West Virginia, resulting in an explosion killing 29 miners and jail time for the company's CEO (Blinder, 2015, 2016; Stolberg, 2015); and on it goes

All of this is taking place amidst a zeitgeist of fearful forces that we seem unable and/or unwilling to deal with effectively: near-cataclysmic events associated with climate change and global warming; a seemingly ever-mutating global pandemic; multiple wars on terrorism; the flourishing of authoritarian governments and decline of democratic pluralism; expanding social and economic inequalities (in wealth, income, education, healthcare, morbidity, etc.); extreme social and political polarization, enhanced by vitriolic social media; and rapidly shifting technology causing traumatic dislocations for workers. No wonder many people have begun to wonder—what is going on? What is the right thing? How can I lead a better life?

Philosophy and Psychology

The relationship between psychology and philosophy is a long and close one. As pointed out by the philosopher K.A. Appiah (2014),

the canonical philosophers belong as much to the history of what we now call psychology as to the genealogy of philosophy And though we typically suppose that psychology calved off from philosophy, you can make a case that it was the other way round. (p. 11)

He goes on to point out that it wasn't until the late 19th century that philosophy "swerved away from psychologism" and became "what the best philosophy has always been: conceptual analysis" (p. 12). So it is not surprising to learn that much of the content of ethical philosophical thought deals with familiar psychological issues. Assumptions about human nature and motivation abound in ethical treatises.

Even to the classical philosophers the plausibility of an ethical theory was a psychological criterion that is implicitly empirical (even if that sounds like an oxymoron). That is, philosophers generally recognize that it makes little sense to advocate a normative ethical model of morality that is based on unrealistic assumptions and expectations about human behavior. In recent years there has been a resurgence of an explicitly empirical approach to the study of philosophy—ethics in

particular—with the growth of the interdisciplinary field of *experimental philosophy* (Luetge et al., 2014).

Moreover, Steininger et al. (1984) argued that the several differences that were traditionally advanced as distinguishing between ethics and psychology failed to establish a clear demarcation. For example, one of the primary distinctions has to do with the presumed differences between description and explanation—which is what psychologists do—versus the ethical justification of behavior. But on analysis the differentiation between the [scientific] “causes” of behavior and the [phenomenological] “reasons” for engaging in it turns out to be not so clear-cut. For example, *why* some accountants at Arthur Anderson shredded documents from Enron or *why* some engineers at G.M. did not correct the faulty ignition switches would seem to be different questions from whether they *ought (not) have* done so. But scientific explanations of behavior often involve the actor’s own agentic reasons or justifications; and moral justifications generally depend on assumptions about the causes of behavior. “In the domain of human action, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to explain without assuming or implying values, and the ‘why?’ often refers to both” (Steininger et al., 1984, p. 262). When someone asks why those accountants shredded the documents, they are probably seeking both the explanation and the justification for the actions.

Both the psychologist who tries to explain behavior in morally [i.e., values-] neutral terms and the ethicist who tries to justify judgments about the moral rightness or wrongness of an action independent of any psychological considerations are denying the inevitable overlap of their two disciplines.

(p. 266, emphasis added)

I-O Psychology, Social Science and Professional Ethics

As I-O psychologists the great bulk of our theoretical and practice concerns focus on individual workers and work groups—especially lower-level employees and managers (Bergman & Jean, 2016). But as scientists we have long known that we cannot fruitfully avoid the economic and sociopolitical antecedents of organizational behavior any more than we could hope to understand the functioning of a company as if it were a closed system, ignoring its cultural history and the social, political and economic environments that influence and set constraints on its policies (Katz & Kahn, 1978). In an analogous fashion, when we consider professional ethics it is even more imperative that we expand our horizons to consider the insights of social historians interested in economic and business institutions, as well as insights from political philosophy, political economy, sociology and, of course, moral philosophy. That is because those realms contribute to the establishment of the values and normative standards of what we consider acceptable/unacceptable,

right/wrong, appropriate/inappropriate, just/unjust, etc. An implication of this is that the ethics of what we do are not reasonably separable from the moral standing of the institutions and organizations in which we do it.⁶ Consequently, portions of this book are concerned with matters that probably go beyond what some of my colleagues view as the appropriate domain of professional ethics. And that is why the book title has been changed to “Values and ethics of Industrial-Organizational Psychology”—emphasizing the primacy of values, and because “of” incorporates “in” but connotes a more inclusive perspective. For example, with respect to employee selection in particular:

... doing selection well (i.e., technical competence) is inextricably bound up with doing it right. This approach also opens to reflection the implicit values and moral justification underlying the practice itself, in addition to considering the manner in which its constituent activities are implemented. In other words, the ethics of employee selection are as relevant as the ethics in employee selection.

(Lefkowitz & Lowman, 2017, p. 575, emphases in the original)

One of those “more inclusive” issues pertains to the consequences of organizational actions. For example, I-O psychology studies as legitimate and important facets of individual employees’ job performance their organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) because such prosocial behaviors contribute to organizational effectiveness, even though they may not be part of the prescribed work role (Podsakoff et al., 2009).⁷ By extension, we should not ignore the moral qualities and actions of the organizations to which we devote our efforts—in effect, an *organization’s citizenship behavior*—with respect to the society that legitimizes and supports it and in which it functions. Similarly, just as we study employee perceptions of organizational justice vis-a-vis an organization’s *internal* human resources activities (Gilliland et al., 2001; Greenberg, 2009), we should also be concerned with the social justice implications of the organization’s *external* actions, which characterize the probity of its role in society. This perspective is in keeping with that of other psychologists who have begun to express concern for the way in which professionals carry out *good* work—“work that is both excellent in quality and socially responsible” (Gardner et al., 2001).

6 To offer an absurdist example, can a certified public accountant following generally accepted accounting principles, or an I-O psychologist using best practices to develop an employee selection system be considered ethical if their work is in service to a criminal enterprise?

7 Although in recent years a view has begun to take hold that OCB may also have some detrimental effects on individuals (Bolino et al., 2013, 2015; Koopman et al., 2016).

Ethics Education in I-O Psychology

There has been in recent years considerable turmoil about how ethics should be taught—in philosophy departments, in professional and pre-professional programs, and in the sciences, including I-O psychology. Hartner (2015) contrasts

Two approaches to ethics education. Traditional, or theoretical, ethics might best be understood as the approach to teaching ethics that emphasizes the philosophical roots of ethics A more practical approach to teaching ethics, by contrast, generally means drawing heavily from real-world scenarios and cases, putting a focus on relevant empirical and technical details related to the student’s future profession. (p. 350)

He observes a movement in academia to largely replace the former with the latter (and argues against it). For example, Bhuyan and Chakroborty (2020) cite the advantage of case studies as requiring students to deal with “irreconcilable dichotomies” (p. 113); Choe-Smith (2020) emphasizes “teaching ethics, not teaching about ethics” (p. 97) and argues for the effectiveness of *service learning*, as opposed to “philosophical reflection,” which involves structured *experiential learning* in an applied setting. And systematic investigations of the effectiveness of business school ethics courses (Waples et al., 2009) have yielded conclusions characterized as “a mixed bag” (Naidoo, 2020). I agree with all of them! Realistic experiential learning, even just case discussion, is essential. But discussing ethical problems detached from their moral roots risks devolving into a nearly useless attempt to memorize lists of disembodied “dos and don’ts.” Uglietta (2018) has advocated a resolution to the issue by articulating the “middle level of theory” that comprises the “wide gap between abstract moral theories and concrete professional cases.” He advocates becoming intimately familiar with and “incorporating the goals, circumstances, customs and other established social practices and compromises of particular professions” (p. 161)—i.e., it would have to include *every* profession to be considered.

My own independent perception of that gap led to virtually the opposite approach. I have suggested that the gap can be bridged usefully by inserting an additional conceptual level, consisting of the *form* or *structure* of ethical dilemmas.

This relatively ‘content-free’ structural aspect of ethical dilemmas enables comparisons across different domains (of professions, organizations, demographic groups, age cohorts, etc.) in which the overt idiosyncratic ethical problems experienced are not commensurable. Similarly, it can yield interpretable longitudinal comparisons despite changes in the manifestations of ethical problems encountered over time.

(Lefkowitz, 2021, p. 297) (cf. Table 6.4)

BOX 1.2 ETHICAL ISSUES THAT DIDN'T EXIST A FEW YEARS AGO⁸

Most people are aware that Facebook has been dogged with trying to eliminate or control the enormous amount of violent and hateful material that regularly is posted on the social media site. Their first lines of defense are screening algorithms developed by means of artificial intelligence, which catch over 90% of the objectionable posts. Very few people are aware, however, that the remaining highly noxious material—still an enormous amount—is outsourced to other companies and inspected by many thousands of their employees.

Foremost among those companies is the consulting firm Accenture (formerly Anderson Consulting) with almost 6,000 full-time employees doing this “content moderation” in eight cities around the world, including Mountain View, CA. and Austin, TX. The annual fee for this (and other consulting work, as well) is reported to be more than \$500 million.

The outsourced employees are tasked with deciding whether to keep a posting or remove it. (For example, testifying at a legal hearing a former moderator in Austin indicated he was required to decide “whether to delete a video of a dog being skinned alive or simply mark it as disturbing.”) This work is performed under a strict performance management system in which moderators can be fired for excessive mistakes in implementing Facebook’s policies—which are regularly in a state of flux.

The adverse emotional, psychological and physical effects of performing this work are apparently substantial, and at least one class-action lawsuit has been filed against Accenture to protest these conditions. Workers have also pressed for better pay and benefits. There is no indication of any systematic employee selection screening for the job, although the company did prepare a brief realistic job preview that indicates the job has “the potential to negatively impact your emotional or mental health.” None of this has directly impacted Facebook because the workers are employees of Accenture.

Here are some questions that come to mind:

- Is Accenture responsible for the nature of the job, and its effects on employees?
- Should the company refuse the consulting contract?

8 This narrative is based on the extensive reporting of Adam Satariano and Mike Isaac (2021).

- Isn't the work being performed a societal good?
- Is it Facebook's primary responsibility to not accept the noxious posts to begin with?
- What about the adverse effect of the employees' condition on the company's reputation?
- Is it appropriate to have tight performance management standards with severe consequences for this type of job?
- Could the company benefit from a systematic employee selection system?
- The senior management team at Accenture recently held a meeting to discuss the situation with its lucrative client. As head of H.R. at the company, what is your opinion?

For example, Box 1.2 describes a situation with ethical aspects that came into existence only recently.

Another dimension to the debate is emphasized by Rehwaldt (2019), especially with respect to teaching introductory ethics courses. He believes that such instructors emphasize the exploration of moral theories and “fail to recognize humans as biologically driven, psychologically shaped, and sociologically constrained beings” (p. 35). He argues for greater attention to the role of emotion, unconscious bias, and the influence of social structures on ethical decision-making. This book, since the 1st edition, has attempted to reflect that perspective.

But for our purposes, even more important may be that in the sciences ethics is often taught as “something we unfortunately must require you to do, so let's get it over with as quickly as we can, and then we can move on to the important things” (Zigmond & Fischer, 2014, p. xviii). One could be excused for inferring that something of that sort is also common in I-O psychology graduate/doctoral training in so far as 65% of I-O doctoral programs do not offer a required or even elective course in ethics (Brossoit et al., 2021)—despite the fact that it is an officially recommended area of competence (SIOP, 2016) and that ethics training seems to be effective (Watts et al., 2017). The most common reason given by program directors (70% of them) is that ethics is included in a unit in other courses. But it may be that considering a few particular problems that arise in the research lab, segmented from those that arise while doing employee selection, separate from those encountered on an organizational consultation, distinct from those faced while teaching or supervising students, etc., etc., misses critical meta-issues and other important considerations—such as much of the content of this book, including ethical reasoning.

However, aiding ethical decision-making is just one of the main purposes served by moral theory for professionals such as applied psychologists (Knapp, 1999). The other purposes are to help explain the fundamental moral

underpinnings of society and its institutions, to identify and justify the general principles on which our ethical standards and codes are based, to encourage moral behavior, and to assist in the education and self-regulation of the profession by providing a basis for compliance with those standards.

There are other pedagogical, social and moral issues that ought to be considered, as well. Much appropriate professional and ethical behavior is probably taught implicitly by example, role-modeling and other socialization processes on the part of graduate faculty, internship supervisors and early mentors at work—and there are some data indicating that that is also the case in I-O psychology (Brossoit et al., 2021). Hafferty (1998), in writing about curriculum reform in medicine, emphasized the importance of the *informal curriculum* and the *hidden curriculum*, as distinct from a program's formal curriculum. The former is “an unscripted, predominantly ad hoc, and highly interpersonal form of teaching and learning that takes place among and between faculty and students,” and the latter refers to “a set of influences that function at the level of organizational structure and culture” (p. 404). In a similar vein, Handelsman et al. (2005) emphasize the acquisition of ethical knowledge and skill as an acculturation process.

It's interesting to note that in I-O psychology informal curricula seem focused primarily on research ethics, whereas hidden curricula have, until very recently, served to socialize or acculturate beginning I-O psychology students into I-O psychology's predominant corporatist value system (Lefkowitz, 2019). But there are also newer, more humanistic and prosocial perspectives emerging in the field to be acknowledged (cf. Carr et al., 2013; Carr et al., 2012; McWha-Herman et al., 2016; Olson-Buchanan et al., 2013; Reichman, 2014). In recognition of that flux one of the objectives of this book is to encourage students to reflect on their core professional identity—by which I mean one's *beliefs, goals, and meta-objectives concerning what it is you intend to accomplish in the organizations with which you work and how you prefer to go about accomplishing them* (Lefkowitz, 2010, p. 294, emphasis in the original). How one answers that question has profound implications for how one views professional ethics and behaves accordingly.

The reader may find one of the moral theories discussed in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 more useful or otherwise more compatible than others so that it might be adopted as a consistent perspective within which to approach ethical deliberations. Alternatively, I have found different models with their associated ethical principles to be more or less helpful and appropriate with respect to different types of problems. This accords with the opinion of Bennis et al. (2010a) who, in discussing moral decision-making based on rules versus cost/benefit analyses, assert that “different modes of decision making can be seen as adaptations to particular environments” (p. 187). Either perspective necessitates becoming familiar with the general issues and alternative approaches offered by the various moral philosophies. In fact, I will note the opinions of several scholars who advocate considering simultaneously all three major normative perspectives

presented in these pages (deontology, consequentialism and virtue ethics). Consequently, my primary aim in this regard has been to produce a usable synthesis that would be helpful in decision-making, not just for the rare ethical crisis one might face but for the “quiet, steady, day-to-day choices that add up to a career characterized by integrity or moral malaise and/or conflict. It is for the quotidian choices that moral guideposts are most needed and most wanting” (Lowman, 1991, p. 196).

Personal Biases

This book is premised on a number of personal beliefs and concerns about ethics, the profession of psychology, I-O psychology in particular, the contemporary world of business, and the sociopolitical nature of society. Most will become apparent in later chapters, but it is fair to the reader and perhaps constructive to make some of them explicit at this point.

First off, concern about a high level of unethical behavior by I-O psychologists, or even a high incidence of ethical dilemmas in the field, was not among the motives for writing (or revising) this book. In fact, when I was asked some years ago to prepare a talk admonishing I-O psychologists to improve their ethics, I demurred because I felt it was unnecessary and instead focused on criticizing the underlying values of the field (Lefkowitz, 2008). Based on very limited empirical data, self-reported ethical problems in I-O psychology have never seemed to be a prevalent problem (Pope & Vetter, 1992). More recent surveys targeted to I-O psychologists have revealed the wide range of ethical issues we face, but response rates were not adequate to estimate their incidence in the population (Lefkowitz, 2021; Lefkowitz & Watts, 2022).

Despite the critical determinative role played by values in one’s experience of and reactions to ethical dilemmas, discussions concerning the foundational values of the field are not well represented in the professional literature of I-O psychology. And so this book is as much or more about values as it is about ethics per se.

Young I-O psychologists and business managers have come of age professionally at a time when the U.S. business world has been marked by momentous displays of greed, self-aggrandizement, and disregard on the part of many leaders for the well-being of customers or clients, workers, the public-at-large and sometimes even shareholders. One of the issues to be considered later is whether this merely represents the actions of a relatively few “bad apples” or whether there may also be systemic influences involved (Kish-Gephart et al., 2010). If the latter, it would be the sort of cultural influence that could contribute to generational differences in the workplace (Constanza & Finkelstein, 2015).

Especially germane to the aims of this book, I have observed a variety of unfortunate adaptations to the prevailing zeitgeist exhibited by many students. Some seem resigned to accepting greed and corruption as natural reflections of

the essentially egocentric nature of human beings in a competitive environment. Similarly, some seem to view it as representing merely unfortunate excesses of the free-enterprise system—minor costs to pay as the price for harnessing the enormous productive potential of individual ambition and incentive. Some I-O psychologists appear to be exercising a form of “technocratic denial”—retreating behind the presumably objective-scientific implementation of assessment and selection devices, training modules, quasi-experimental interventions, competency models, performance management systems, etc.—as if the perhaps questionable practices of the enterprises in which these are implemented were none of our concern.

But others hold an alternative view of the possibilities and justification for moral and ethical corporate behavior and the salience of more altruistic concerns. In fact, there is a substantial, albeit loosely organized coalition of business scholars, social critics and progressive business leaders who have been pressing the moral dimension of capitalism and promoting *corporate social responsibility* as well as models of *corporate social performance*. Up until relatively recently I-O psychologists had been conspicuously absent in this alliance. However, as alluded to above, since the first edition of this book appeared in 2003 a number of dramatic and uplifting changes have taken place, marked by the creation of a Global Organization for Humanitarian Work Psychology (GOHWP) as well as the more prosocial perspectives on the field mentioned earlier (Carr et al., 2012; McWha et al., 2015; Olson-Buchanan et al., 2013; Reichman, 2014).⁹

An adequate consideration of professional ethics entails incorporating the border domain it shares at one level with models of personal ethical decision-making—what the father of *utilitarianism* Jeremy Bentham referred to as “private ethics”—and at the macro-level with the moral aspects of institutional decision-making, social policy and political economy. All these levels of activities reflect underlying values concerning interpersonal and group relations and pertain to deliberations about what is appropriate in that regard. And it seems to me that it would be intolerably inconsistent—requiring substantial amounts of rationalization—to accept the primacy of moral standards and the importance of human dignity in one’s personal life, but not with respect to one’s professional behavior; or to accept those norms personally and professionally, but not to expect and demand such from the organizations in/with which we work; or to accept them at the personal, professional and organizational levels but to not be concerned for the manifestations of economic [in]justice in our society. As Cohen (2002) noted, ethical virtues are expressed not only in the individual’s behavior toward others but in the quality of the societies we create; they should be identified with civic virtue. And as mentioned earlier, “ultimately a responsible psychologist is a responsible citizen” (Kelman, 2021, p. 3).

9 Information can be obtained from <http://gohwp.org/>

The existence of cross-domain professional journals like *Business and Society*; *Journal of Humanistic Management*; *Philosophy and Public Affairs*; and *Psychology, Public Policy and Law* suggest that a book on values and ethics of I-O psychology should range beyond the specific ethical issues we face in our research and practice. It should include discussions of such topics as business ethics and the morality of corporations and the capitalist system—focusing on the domains in which we conduct our research and practice and the organizations we support.

As I-O psychologists we share with our colleagues in the other sub-specializations of psychology a common heritage regarding what it means to be a psychologist. We have acknowledged and prided ourselves on adhering to some aspects of those traditions (e.g., the epistemic values of empirical science) but have given short shrift to other aspects, such as its humanistic ideals. Chapter 12 explores some of the consequences of having largely abandoned those ideals and offers some suggestions for their redevelopment.

In our role as applied psychologists working in complex social settings we encounter some potential ethical dilemmas that for the most part, do not confront our academic colleagues engaged exclusively in laboratory or basic research. Some of those dilemmas are the result of conflicts between the humanistic value system of psychology noted previously, and the value system of the organizations within which we work—the values of a competitive free-enterprise, profit-driven economic system.

Complicating the situation, but also rendering it more interesting, is the fact that a dominant ideology in I-O psychology is the belief in value-free science and research (e.g., the distinction between the putatively neutral and scientific issue of *test bias* and the value-laden social issue of *test fairness*). This view is advanced by those who believe improbably that the field is entirely objective and scientific despite our service to the highly competitive world of business in which our professional practice and much of even our research agendas are shaped by the values and goals of the corporation and the ideology of the economic system. For some time now I have disagreed with and critiqued aspects of that belief (Lefkowitz, 1990, 2005, 2008, 2009a, 2010a, 2011b, 2012a, 2013a, 2014a, 2016, 2017, 2019). When one's personal value system (such as that of a management-oriented I-O psychologist) is consonant with that of the social systems within which one functions (such as a profit-oriented corporation in a free-market economic system), the absence of conflict or "moral friction" between those values sets can make it seem as if the systems are value-free.

In any event, as noted sagely in the *Canadian Code of Ethics for Psychologists* (Canadian Psychological Association, 2017), "Although it can be argued that science is value-free and impartial, scientists are not" (p. 1). One of the advantages of a single-author book is the opportunity to express a particular point of view—especially so in the realm of applied ethics because real-world moral decisions are value driven. I cannot (and would not wish to) claim that my own values and views regarding a variety of issues have not influenced the content of

this book—in choice of topics, opinions expressed, what I have criticized, what I have lauded, and how they impact my ethical analyses. But I have tried to make those values explicit, both here and in the essays cited above, and thereby subject to scrutiny. My hope has always been that this prompts readers to consider the ways in which their own values disagree or are in accord with mine, and—more importantly—how they affect their ethical deliberations. In that way we may together raise the level of discourse, if not necessarily agreement, in moral reasoning and ethical problem-solving among I-O psychologists.

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