HOW DO FIELDWORKERS IN POVERTY CRAFT MEANINGFUL ROLES TO ACHIEVE IMPACT? THE CASE OF FEMALE TEACHERS IN SLUMS IN INDIA

Harry Barkema, Jackie Coyle-Shapiro & Eva Le Grand[1]

ABSTRACT

Prior research has adopted a job-crafting perspective to explain why employees attempt to craft their roles meaningfully (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). We explore this theoretical lens in a new context that is particularly challenging for workers and where it would seem unlikely to apply: poverty. More specifically, we study female teachers in slums in India. We use a mixed-methods approach—first qualitative research, then quantitative research—to contextualize job-crafting theorizing by identifying, conceptualizing, and testing situational challenges and enablers in regard to meaningful work in this context. More specifically, we develop and corroborate new theory suggesting that poverty- and gender-related stressors deplete teachers' energy and resources, limiting relational job crafting, but that teachers' identification with the community helps to counteract this challenge, ultimately increasing their social impact. More fundamentally, we show how job-crafting theorizing, contextualized in a poverty setting, helps us to understand how social organizations, through their fieldworkers (e.g., female teachers), create more social impact and better address grand challenges in society.

[1] London School of Economics.

Management scholars are increasingly interested in understanding how social organizations can achieve social impact by addressing grand challenges in society and attaining sustainable development goals (SDGs; George, Howard-Grenville, Joshi, & Tihanyi, 2016), with recent calls to action (Howard-Grenville, Davis, Dyllick, Miller, Thau, & Tsui, 2019). Fieldworkers, such as community health workers, teachers, and microfinance agents, who understand and act upon local circumstances (Leana, Appelbaum, & Shevchuk, 2009), connect these organizations to target groups in local communities, and are crucial for attaining social impact (Stephan, Patterson, Kelly, & Mair, 2016). Yet, at present, we know very little about the role these workers play in attaining social impact (Stephan et al., 2016).

In this paper, we apply a fresh theoretical lens to understand fieldworkers' role in addressing SDGs, namely, a job-crafting perspective. This perspective implies that individuals proactively change their roles, including the boundaries of their work, in ways that are meaningful to them (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001; Bruning & Campion, 2018; De Bloom, Vaziri, Tay, & Kujanpaa, 2020). Initial theorists (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001) argue that workers such as nurses and teachers serve beneficiaries in additional ways as part of shaping their roles meaningfully. Later evidence for lower-ranked employees (Leana et al., 2009; Berg, Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2010) demonstrates that these employees do indeed proactively shape what they do in ways that are meaningful for them.

We explored fieldworkers in an extreme setting that is both theoretically interesting and practically important (Hideg, De Celles, & Tihanyi, 2020): female fieldworkers living in poverty. Many organizations addressing SDGs operate in contexts of inequality and poverty (George et al., 2016; Mair et al., 2012). The poverty extends to fieldworkers themselves, who are often paid low wages in emerging economies (Mair et al., 2012), with more than 70% of employees in key

sectors such as health and education being female (World Bank, 2022). Specifically, research has found that low-paid workers are subject to social, emotional, and economic challenges, potentially reducing their capacity for meaningful work (Leana et al., 2012; Meuris & Leana, 2018). These challenges are compounded for female workers, who face family-work tensions due to obligations such as unpaid caring work (Ahl & Nelson, 2015), which are more salient in poverty contexts in emerging economies (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019; Venkatesh, Shaw, Sykes, Wamba, & Macharia, 2017). Hence, female fieldworkers living in poverty constitute an interesting, extreme context through which to explore whether job-crafting theorizing applies, as a context where it is particularly implausible that workers have resources (time, energy, and attention) left to engage in meaningful work. To the extent that our research indicates how female fieldworkers in this context shape their work meaningfully and what the key challenges to and enablers of meaningful work are, our findings may also potentially inform what enables job crafting for (female) workers living and working in poverty more generally.

We explored these issues in the setting of a large NGO, Gyan Shala ("Knowledge House" in Hindi), providing education for 45,000 kids in slums in India. Gyan Shala employs around 2,500 para-skilled female teachers who teach children in rented, standalone classrooms in slums and earn $50 to $100 per month.[2] Most of Gyan Shala's teachers hail from and live in slums, embedding the organization in local communities (Williams & Shepherd, 2021). Indeed, para-teachers in India are often seen as a low-cost replacement for formal teachers in poverty contexts (Higham & Shah, 2013). Education is a key SDG (SDG4) in itself and is central to reaching others, such as eliminating poverty (SDG1), reducing inequality (SDG10), and achieving gender

[2] These salaries are at the low end but are not unusual for outreach workers in social organizations in India; for instance, the more than one million accredited social health activist (ASHA) workers, typically married women in their 30s to 50s who serve as first-line community health workers in rural India and played a key role during the COVID-19 pandemic, earn the equivalent of $46 to $66 per month (World Bank, 2022).

equality (SDG5). India had 4.9 million female teachers in 2020, mostly in primary education (Times of India, 2021). India is also home to over 30% of the world's 385 million children living in extreme poverty, the largest number of any country in the world (World Bank, 2022).

We conducted mixed-methods research—first inductive, qualitative research, then quantitative research—to combine understanding situational conditions in context with finding generic phenomena (Johns, 2006; Whetten, 2009). Surprisingly, qualitative Study 1 (four waves of data collection from 2010 to 2017) revealed that teachers engaged in considerable job crafting activities in the form of *relational job crafting* (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001), defined as discretionary behavior in terms of the frequency, quality, and intensity of social interaction at work (Bindl, Unsworth, Gibson, & Stride, 2019; Rofcanin, Bakker, Berber, Gölgeci, & Las Heras, 2019; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). In our context, many of these interactions occurred outside the formal work setting (where job crafting has traditionally been studied), in the local community with students and parents. Teachers actively shaped the depth and breadth of their interactions to support children in ways that were meaningful to them, such as staying late after class to help children or picking them up at home if they were absent. In addition, Study 1 identified poverty- and gender-related background stressors (Gump & Matthews, 1999) that depleted teachers' energy and resources (Hobfoll, 2001), reducing their capacity to enhance meaning in their work. However, we also found that teachers' identification with their community acted as an enabler in the pursuit of crafting meaningful work. These inductive insights informed the development of new theory and hypotheses in Study 2, which we tested using two waves of data collection for measurement development and three for model testing.

We believe our mixed-methods research offers important theoretical contributions. First, we establish the relevance of job crafting theory, in the form of relational job crafting, for a new,

extreme setting: female fieldworkers in poverty. We found that much of this relational job crafting happened in the local community, outside the formal work setting traditionally studied. Moreover, in addition to specific poverty- and gender-related background stressors (Gump & Matthews, 1999), we also identify, conceptualize, and corroborate an important enabler, namely teachers' identification with the local community, which acts as a buffer against the depleting effects of stressors on relational job crafting. Hence, our findings on fieldworkers suggest broadening the research conversation beyond the traditional, formal work setting, by bringing the community in, both as a setting—and source of energy for—meaningful work.

Second, we develop and test new theory on how fieldworkers' job crafting enhances social impact. Prior research has explored the outcomes of job crafting from an employee- or organization-centric perspective, such as workers' engagement, strain, fatigue, job satisfaction (Bruning & Campion, 2018; DeBloom et al, 2020); what is meaningful for employees themselves (Grant, 2007); innovative work performance (Bindl et al., 2020); and the quality of care in day care centers (Leana et al., 2009). We extend this research by developing new theory on how fieldworkers' relational job crafting increases their social impact, defined as what *users* have reason to value to be and to do in life (Sen, 1992; Nussbaum, 2000). We test this theory using a new methodology capturing social impact in a context-specific way. Our contribution to the literature offers an expanded view that goes beyond what is relevant from an employee- or organization-centric perspective to assess the impact for users (Stephan et al., 2016) in terms of what they have reason to value (Sen, 1992). Our new methodology is relevant, more broadly, for social organizations, such as NGOs and foundations, and for hybrid organizations (Battilana & Lee, 2014), such as social enterprises, other businesses with social goals, and impact investors

interested in measuring social outcomes from what users have reason to value (Rawhouser, Cummings, & Newbert, 2019; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2014; Hertel, Bacq, & Lumpkin, 2022).

Finally, we establish job-crafting theory as a new theoretical lens for addressing SDGs (in our context, SDG4, quality of education). Earlier research on social organizations has identified workers from local communities as resources for local knowledge and skills, legitimacy, and access (Hertel et al., 2019; Mair et al., 2012; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006) and has explored, for instance, the stages through which interventions in communities are implemented (Mair et al., 2012). Others understand para-teachers in India, specifically, as low-cost implementers of organizational strategies or as part of affirmative action for disadvantaged groups (Higham & Shah, 2013). We offer an alternative view from a job-crafting perspective. Female fieldworkers (para-teachers) operating and often living in local communities are energized by it, overcoming poverty- and gender-related challenges to craft their roles meaningfully, ultimately increasing social impact. Clearly, such new insights have practical implications for social organizations addressing SDGs, in terms of reducing the barriers to and bolstering the enablers of meaningful work by fieldworkers, ultimately, increasing social impact as well.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Job Crafting

Job crafting represents a significant departure from work redesign, which allocates the responsibility of changing employees' jobs firmly to the domain of management (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). It refers to the informal and proactive changes employees make to better align their jobs with their own preferences, motives, and passions (Tims, Bakker, & Derks, 2012; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001: 179) originally defined job crafting as "the physical and cognitive changes individuals make in the task and relational boundaries of their work." Employees may enhance the meaning of their work through task

crafting (adjusting tasks at work), relational crafting (changing the frequency, quality, or intensity of social interactions with others at work), or cognitive crafting (altering how they see their jobs) in line with their preferences and identity.

In pursuit of aligning their needs, aspirations, and circumstances to their jobs, employees may alter their tasks, interact more with others or build new relationships, and reframe how they view their jobs (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001) to increase the meaning of their work. There is now an expanding stream of research exploring how employees shape or craft meaningful work (e.g., Bindl et al., 2018; Bruning & Campion, 2018) and the interdependent nature of crafting across life domains, such that activities at home may reduce an individual's resources to job craft at work (De Bloom et al., 2020).

Researchers focusing on lower-ranked workers argue that even the most routine and lowest-level jobs present some latitude to employees to craft their jobs (Berg et al., 2010), consistent with the idea that all employees are capable of engaging in job crafting (Tims et al., 2012). In support of this argument, Leana et al. (2009) found teachers at childcare centers have some autonomy in going beyond prescribed job requirements to take initiative. These workers shape their own identities and work roles through the personal construction of their work, as evidenced by the influence of collaborative job crafting (i.e., jointly, together with colleagues, creating physical or cognitive changes in the task or the relational boundaries of their work). However, Leana et al. (2009) did not find empirical support for the hypothesis that *individual* job crafting increased performance, as measured by the quality of care in the classroom.

If employees craft their jobs, why do they do so? Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) consider job crafting as a way to improve meaning and identity at work. The authors theorize, for instance, about the interpersonal aspect of job crafting, such that changing the number or extent

of interactions with others at work (i.e., engaging in relational job crafting) may increase the meaning they attach to work. They illustrate this with examples of nurses (interacting with staff and beneficiaries, such as patients' families) and hairdressers (initiating personal conversations with clients), who, they argue, imbue their work with meaning. Various studies have found that employees engage in relational job crafting with colleagues at work (Rofcanin et al., 2019; Bindl et al., 2019; Bruning & Campion, 2018).

Relational job crafting would seem to be particularly germane in our context of fieldworkers, such as community health workers, teachers in local communities, and microfinance agents, operating in local communities. In contrast to cleaners, nurses, or janitors working in an office or a hospital with limited formal power and autonomy and often under direct daily supervision at the workplace (Berg et al., 2010; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001), these fieldworkers typically work relatively autonomously with beneficiaries in local communities (Mair, Wolf, & Seelos, 2016). Autonomy has been associated with scope for and higher levels of meaningful work (Deci & Ryan, 2001; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Given this, do fieldworkers in social organizations operating in poverty settings, such as in the Global South (Mair et al., 2012), engage in job crafting, and if so, what constrains or enables them to do so?

Poverty Settings: Implications for Workers' Behavior

Fieldworkers are a primary point of contact with beneficiaries or clients and are therefore key for organizational impact, but they often face low pay, a lack of dignity, and difficult working conditions (Figueroa & Woods, 2007). Compounding the situation, employees may engage in emotional labor (England & Folbre, 1999) by absorbing additional stress from patients or children (Leana et al., 2009), which is psychologically taxing (Durden, Hill, & Angel, 2007). Employees living or growing up in poverty have been theorized to (a) experience more difficulty demonstrating proficiency (i.e., meeting the requirements of the job) because they lack resources

outside work (Berg & Frost, 2005) and adaptability (e.g., changing roles and circumstances) due to a narrower skill set (Leana et al., 2012) and (b) find it difficult to be proactive (i.e., initiating change through self-directed action) because the level of risk-taking required (Grant and Parker, 2009) is discouraged. As Meuris and Leana (2018: 147) argue, financial scarcity is not left outside as employees walk through the front door of their organizations but rather is carried with them as a competing cognitive demand as they carry out their work.

Leana et al. (2012) argue that constraints on agency and behavior may be reinforced for workers coming from or living in poor neighborhoods. Unlike the middle class typically studied, who are argued to value independence and uniqueness in the choices they make, low-paid workers are theorized to be less proactive and agentic (Leana et al., 2012) and to deemphasize the latent value of work in favor of monetary rewards (Rosso et al, 2010). Additionally, Leana et al. (2012) argue that people with a lower socioeconomic status tend to have strong local, family, and kinship ties in their neighborhoods and are as a result "encapsulated" in poor social capital, limiting their resources. In sum, this theory suggests that poverty contexts constrain meaningful work. More broadly, researchers have argued that poverty is a "strong situation" in which traditional theories of work, motivation, and behavior do not apply (Stephens et al., 2007). However, despite this initial theorizing, research is lagging behind; as Leana et al (2012) lament, "organizational research has been so silent about the working poor" (2012: 901).

The constraints on meaningful work are, theoretically, more intense for female workers with household responsibilities that, in emerging economies such as India, often include taking care of an extended family (Venkatesh et al., 2017). Female workers typically operate in a family–work context with obligations such as unpaid caring work (Ahl & Nelson, 2015), and experience time poverty (Us-Saqib & Arif, 2012). Evidence from Pakistan shows that women are

more “time poor” than men and working women are more “time poor” than nonworking women (Us-Saqib & Arif, 2012) due to the gendered division of labor. The additional demands on their time and effort faced by working women in poverty may severely reduce their capacity to engage in formal paid work (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019; Sturges, 2012) and perhaps, as a result, their capacity to engage in meaningful work, as we explore in this research.

Contextualization

In this paper, we explore job-crafting theory in a new context: female para-teachers in poverty in India. Management researchers (Johns, 2006; Whetten, 2009) have emphasized that management theory is under-contextualized, particularly for contexts that are relatively distant from traditional management research settings, such as poverty contexts (Leana et al., 2012) and contexts in Asia (Barkema, Chen, George, Luo, & Tsui, 2015; Whetten, 2009), South America (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), and Sub-Saharan Africa (Abdelnour et al., 2017; Hamann et al., 2020). Context is a critical driver of cognitions, attitudes, and behavior and implies situational constraints or opportunities (Johns, 2006); incorporating situational conditions into the theory will make it more accurate and the interpretation of results more robust (Rousseau & Fried, 2001). Therefore, it is critical to undertake qualitative research first, before quantitative research, to build situational conditions—challenges or enablers—into the theory (Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenshein, 2016). We thus started with qualitative research regarding female para-teachers working in slums for an NGO in India. Did these teachers engage in job crafting and, if so, how? What were key challenges and enablers for them? Our qualitative, inductive insights “in context” (Whetten, 2009), in turn, informed our theory development and testing in Study 2.

STUDY 1 METHOD

Setting

We collected our data at Gyan Shala, an NGO founded in 2001 by Pankaj Jain in Ahmedabad (~6 million people), India. Gyan Shala offers high-quality, low-cost education to around 45,000 children living in slums across cities in Rajastan, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar and offers elementary, middle, and high school programs. Its unique model aims to reduce economic and social constraints regarding education for students. Classrooms are in the slums where students live to facilitate accessibility for students, especially girls, who are often not allowed to go to school outside their own neighborhood or drop out of school early, especially if schools are further away. Access to schooling is further increased because a class consists of only three hours of intensive teaching per day, without homework, causing minimal interference with the activities of children and parents at home. Gyan Shala provides flexibility for teachers (all female) to work morning and/or afternoon sessions, thus reducing interference with household responsibilities. Constraints to employment are further reduced as teachers are only required to have completed high school education (grade 10 or higher). Gendered division of labor and cultural norms dissuade many women from working outside the home (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019) and tend to limit work opportunities to those that can take place at home (e.g., tailoring, beauty) or the homes of others (cleaning). If a family (e.g., in-laws) allows, teaching is considered by many in poor neighborhoods as one of the few "noble professions" for women, enhancing their respect in the local community.[3]

[3] Unlike in primary education in most countries, in India, male teachers have traditionally been in the majority. However, the percentage of female teachers has steadily increased over the past 20 years, and they have recently become the majority (UNICEF, 2021).

Gyan Shala developed an innovative pedagogy using choreographed class experiences for children via workbooks,[4] enabling girls or women with a high school education but without formal teacher training to deliver low-cost, high-quality education. A team of in-house designers created and continuously improves workbooks for reading, writing, and mathematics, providing a structure and detailed outline for each class session. In contrast to the four years of college education required to become a teacher in government schools, Gyan Shala's teachers receive a two-month induction to learn how to teach with workbooks and two weeks of follow-up training each year. Nevertheless, Gyan Shala's pedagogy enables its teachers to outperform government teachers, as randomized control trials have shown (Bangay & Latham, 2013). An initial reason for hiring local women and training them in-house was to overcome the scarcity of formally trained teachers (with college degrees) available to work in slums and the costs (salaries). Having teachers from local communities also helps in terms of local knowledge, coordination, and access to local communities (Hertel, Bacq, & Belz, 2019; Williams & Shepherd, 2021).[5] [6]

Sample

The first author conducted four rounds of data collection between 2010 and 2017: 131 semi-structured interviews with teachers, former students, students' siblings, supervisors, curriculum-design team members, and the CEO, including 33 interviews with teachers in the final round

[4] This contrasts with the traditional pedagogy in primary schools in India, which is rote learning, where students copy, memorize, and reproduce knowledge from teachers (Nambissan, 2013).

[5] Para-teachers in India are often recruited among young villagers; their salaries are much lower than those of regular teachers, yet they do the work of teachers (Kingdon et al., 2013). They often receive minimal training and routinely experience stress, disengagement, and apathy, which reduces their well-being and the quality of their work (Clarence, Devassy, Jena, & George, 2021). Work-related stress can be reduced by informal training (Goyal & Pandey, 2013). Indeed, Gyan Shala teachers get substantial training before and during their tenure, are supported in class by a choreographed pedagogy (the workbooks), and receive supervisory support and on-the-job training half a day per week on average.

[6] Education may reproduce inequalities if upper or middle class/caste teachers' subtly expressed or enacted prejudices about lower class/caste students act as self-fulfilling prophesies (Bourdieu, 2018; Rao, 2013). In contrast, most Gyan Shala teachers hail from the slums and, as we observed, may act as role models for girls. Asked on a field visit to a classroom what they wanted to become later in life, the boys shouted 'doctor!', 'business man!', or 'thief!', while the girls' first response was 'teacher!, teacher!'.

(together with the third author). We interviewed teachers who differed in terms of background (i.e., growing up or living in slums versus middle-class areas), family income, marital status, age, and education. The teachers ranged from women married to bankers living outside the slums to unmarried women or widows, some with relatively little education (i.e., grade 10), living in slums with few job alternatives, sometimes as the sole breadwinner. The teachers in our sample taught at primary and middle school levels.[7] All of them lived and worked in Ahmedabad. Just over half of them lived in slums; the others lived in middle-class areas.

To better understand teachers' behavior and (long-term) social outcomes, the first author also interviewed 33 former students who had joined Gyan Shala from 2001 to 2003 and were 16 to 20 years old when interviewed. The former students ranged from those who had dropped out after grade 3 to those who were completing high school or even attending college. Additionally, we interviewed brothers and sisters of Gyan Shala students who had attended other schools to compare their experiences in terms of teacher support and impact. Over multiple rounds, the first author, together with the third author in the last round, conducted another 34 interviews with supervisors, curriculum-design staff, the CEO, and the deputy CEO. These interviews enabled us to tap into different perspectives and richer insights regarding the key research questions and the research context. Interviewing participants within one organization and in one city (Ahmedabad) enabled us to limit differences in economic and cultural conditions (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992). Conducting interviews over multiple years and visits, while "hanging out" at the head office (where all non-field staff, around 60 people, work in an open-plan office), built familiarity and trust and enabled observation of operations in real time, deepening our contextual insights.

[7] We excluded high school teachers because the interaction pattern between teachers and students was substantially different from that in primary and middle school.

Data Collection

Most of the interviews with teachers and staff were conducted at Gyan Shala's head office (in a separate room one floor up for confidentiality). The teachers knew the head office well and felt comfortable because they regularly visited it and received their training there. For the same reason, former students were interviewed in Gyan Shala classrooms outside of class hours, often in the slums where they still lived. Interviews typically lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and were conducted in the local language (Gujarati) and tape-recorded. A local female research assistant who spoke English, Hindi, and Gujarati and knew Gyan Shala's operations well (although she was not affiliated with the organization) translated the interview guide from English to Gujarati. She also facilitated translations during interviews and transcribed them. All data were saved and analyzed in NVivo 11.

Data Analysis

We used an inductive approach to understand teachers' lived work experience and key challenges and enablers. In line with a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), we did not presume prior concepts, theories, or hypotheses. Initially, the first author was broadly interested in understanding how the teachers made an impact on children's lives, through retrospective and real-time accounts of their experiences. Interview questions were aimed at understanding the teachers' behavior, the key contextual issues in their lives affecting their work, their main concerns, and what social impact meant to them. Additionally, children, supervisors, and other staff members were interviewed to give voice to a rich variety of informants and perspectives. Field visits to observe the teachers and children in class complemented the data collection. Over time, the initial research questions and interview protocol were revised (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to better understand the key challenges and enablers the teachers faced in terms of their behavior in regard to supporting children. Initial

sampling focused on teacher diversity in terms of age, family income, and time spent at Gyan Shala. Later theoretical sampling aimed to gather richer data on (differences in) teachers' supporting behavior in the classroom and beyond and the key challenges (e.g., differences in family–work contexts) and enablers (e.g., teachers growing up and living in a slum versus not).

In terms of analysis, we used the constant-comparison method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), going back and forth between emerging insights and, later, the pertinent literature. First, the first and third authors read all the transcripts and field notes, followed by in-vivo or open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Asking ourselves, at later stages, "What is this a study of?" and "What is going on here?" enabled us to focus more on the second-order theoretical level of themes and the larger narrative (Gioia et al., 2013). Several insights caught our attention, such as how many teachers actively shaped their roles in ways that were meaningful for them. Thus, job crafting—in particular, relational job crafting (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001)—jumped out as an existing relevant concept. Hence, job crafting was not an initial theoretical lens but rather arose inductively out of our analysis as we noticed that many of the teachers crafted their jobs to enhance the purpose and scope of their responsibilities. They expanded the meaning of their role from simply teaching the curriculum to helping students get ahead in life, even after teaching hours and outside the classroom. Yet, concurrently, challenges such as economic dependence on Gyan Shala and an absence of support at home consistently came out of the data. What also caught our attention were enabling factors, such as teachers' identification with their community. If differences in coding emerged, we revisited the data and engaged in discussion to arrive at a consensus (Gioia et al., 2013). Sometimes, new insights also arose as part of the process of going back and forth between first- and second-order codes and existing concepts in the literature.

With these themes in mind, we recoded the data. Coding alerted us to the importance of feeling financially dependent on the organization and on support from the family (e.g., in-laws), which became second-order codes. It also revealed the strong relationship that many of the teachers had with beneficiaries—mostly students, but also parents and others in the community. The analysis revealed many references to exhaustion after a day of teaching and the difference made by whether a teacher could rest before dinner or had to immediately do household work. These findings inspired us to read about background stressors (Gump & Matthews, 1999) and conservation-of-resources theory (Hobfoll, 2001) to better understand how existing concepts and theories were relevant in our context. Finally, we went through additional rounds of coding to identify evidence that supported or challenged emerging findings until theoretical saturation was reached and relationships between emerging codes were fully investigated and translated to aggregate themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Gioia et al., 2013). Figure 1 presents the data structure and shows how we moved from first-order codes strongly rooted in the data to second-order codes more closely associated with the literature and to aggregate themes.

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STUDY 1 FINDINGS

Our inductive study provided rich insights into how female fieldworkers engage in job crafting in this context, the challenges they face, and facilitating enablers.

Relational Job Crafting

The tasks of the teachers were clearly implied by the workbooks, leading to a closely "choreographed" teaching process in class. Nevertheless, the setting of rented "one-classroom schools"—enabling proximity to students—gave them freedom to go beyond what the workbooks prescribed. The teachers imbued their work with meaning by changing the scope of their activities to engage with members of the community, especially students and parents. Many

of the teachers went to students' homes to pick them up or to convince them (and often their parents) of the importance of education if students were absent for more than a few days:

> If a child is absent from class, we will catch hold of the parents and ask them the reason for the absence. First, we listen to the reason. If they are able to satisfy me, then it is okay, but if I do not get a satisfactory answer, then I try to explain the importance of education to them. [Teacher 5]

Over time, visiting students at home not only had positive effects on students but also made teachers more confident about leaving their home alone and talking to strangers:

> Earlier, I could not go anywhere alone. I had to take my mother with me. Now, I can go to any place alone and confidently. [Teacher 7]
> I am more comfortable talking to strangers. I feel more confident, and my English has improved. [Teacher 9]

Some teachers invited students to their own homes to continue working on a project or for a social visit, sometimes even at weekends. Building and strengthening relationships with students and parents outside the classroom also improved the quality of these relationships as the teachers, parents, and children got to know each other better:

> I would sometimes take a couple of [students] to my home after getting permission from their parents. We would finish their newspaper-making [project] and at around three or four o'clock, I would drop them back at their homes. [Teacher 10]
> The kids of the slums know me very well as I spend a lot of time with them. My home becomes my school as well. They visit as if my house were their own home. They basically pay a social visit, but if they want to learn something, I help them. [Teacher 13]

Many teachers also increased their number of interactions with students to help and mentor them beyond official working hours:

> We do more than we are told, but never less. If they tell us to go home at 1:00 pm. we go at 1:10 because I feel we should stay for those five or 10 minutes extra. [Teacher 16]
> Children don't go even after school. I have to spend almost five to 10 minutes daily with them. I try to teach them English as much as I know in that time. [Teacher 21]

This was echoed by former students:

> My foundation was laid in Gyan Shala. I went to other schools, but it was a more superficial experience. They were more concerned about the time, were eager to finish the curriculum, and never paid a lot of attention. At Gyan Shala, when I didn't understand something, my teacher would sit with me after class and clear my doubts. Also, the classroom was very much like one of the rooms of my home, which gave it a homely and informal sort of feeling. [Former Student 3]

Overall, these findings captured the crafting efforts of teachers and closely resembled the concept of *relational job crafting*, defined as changing the frequency, quality, or intensity of interactions with others at work (Bindl et al., 2019; Rofcanin et al., 2019; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). For teachers in standalone classrooms, "others" typically refers to children, or parents when visiting their homes. Many teachers went beyond their highly scripted tasks[8] to craft their roles, increasing the meaning of their work, to support children in the local community by picking them up from home, inviting them to their homes during weekends, and interacting with parents to make sure children attended school. Some teachers, however, simply followed the curriculum and limited their work to the classroom setting during official teaching hours:

> I don't do something extra. I just follow the content and the methodology as taught to us. [Teacher 11]
> We just teach these kids. What else can we do? [Teacher 8]

Teachers also reported being highly aware of the significance of their work (Grant, 2007, Grant et al., 2008) for the children and the community. As one teacher born in the slum said, she tried to give them the opportunities in life she herself had never had.

Challenges to Work

The data also revealed context-specific challenges to the teachers' work. Specifically, we found that some teachers felt dependent on the organization and on support from their family.

Organizational Dependence. The teachers in our sample varied in terms of background (i.e., some were living in a slum, whereas others were living in middle-class areas), and in terms of family income, some felt (heavily) dependent on Gyan Shala for an income. In line with

[8] Teachers face a lack of discretion due to the highly choreographed teaching approach through workbooks, thus diminishing their autonomy to shape their roles on the surface (Berg et al., 2010). Despite their relatively low levels of education and short training periods, our inductive study nevertheless showed that teachers exercise considerable agency beyond the classroom and outside normal teaching hours, where they have considerable autonomy and power to shape their roles, directing their actions where they feel they have efficacy and control over their success, and where actions are meaningful (Bandura, 1982).

earlier studies on women living in poverty and a sociocultural milieu rooted in patriarchal traditions in India, we found that only a few jobs were available to women outside the home, especially in and around slums (Venkatesh et al., 2017). Hence, teachers often saw teaching at Gyan Shala as the only option to support their families financially:

> The job has been of great help to me, especially financially. My husband does not have sufficient income from his job. In fact, he did not have a job before this one. [Teacher 13]

Some women felt dependent on Gyan Shala because they feared they would not be able to find a job elsewhere. With only a high school education, their ability to find different suitable jobs beyond their current, relatively low-paid work was limited:

> I am helpless. I like working here. I can't do any other job. And in my family, my father died sometime back, and my mother is ill. My children also tell me to stay in this job because I am now comfortable in it despite the low salary. So, I am still holding on to this job. [Teacher 16]

> I have thought of leaving this job quite often as the salary is very low and it is difficult to run the family as the cost of living is high. I applied at a couple of places. I have had interviews and done the tests, but these days, people expect you to study beyond the 12^{th} grade. That is why I continue working here. [Teacher 18]

Yet, for others, their relatively old age (seen as from their 40s onward) made them feel dependent on Gyan Shala. They did not think another organization would hire them at their age:

> If I wanted a job at this age, no government organization will give me one. This organization does not think of age. It takes people without an upper age limit. It does not have any retirement age. It only looks at one's work. If a person's work is satisfactory, she will stay in the organization. [Teacher 26]

Additionally, many teachers shared that Gyan Shala was the only organization that allowed them to combine having a job with doing household duties or studies. Teaching at Gyan Shala allowed many to live close to the classroom and save time that would otherwise be spent commuting, and the freedom to work morning and/or afternoon shifts:

> I am not very educated myself and working at Gyan Shala gives me time to do housework too. It allows me to manage time properly. I live right in front of my class. [Teacher 14]

Finally, for some women, working at Gyan Shala was one of the few respected and culturally accepted jobs due to, for example, the absence of men in the classroom and the proximity of the classrooms to their homes:

> Even the aged people in the community respect me. It gives me a sense of pride. [Teacher 21]
> My parents are only comfortable with me working close to home. [Teacher 20]

Lack of Family Support. Most of the women were responsible for household chores, such as cooking, cleaning, and taking care of in-laws and children, in addition to their jobs at Gyan Shala. This finding is in line with other studies that show that Indian women living in poverty are only able to take on paid employment if other household members help with domestic responsibilities, effectively redistributing resources (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019). Therefore, the teachers who did not get significant help from their families (in-laws) had little or no time to relax after work before starting their household chores, making them feel exhausted:

> Mornings are occupied by household activities. My job starts at 1.30 and goes on till 5.30. Evenings are filled up with activities surrounding my family. My kids are busy with their studies and so I have to do the household stuff. At night when I fall on my bed, I feel relieved: "Thank God! I feel tired." [Teacher 21]

Other teachers did get help from their families (for instance, their husbands) and felt dependent on their support. One teacher said she was only able to work at Gyan Shala because her husband was willing to take their son to school every day. These teachers often felt "lucky" to receive support that enabled them to work:

> If you are lucky to have a husband who understands you and is ready to help you, you don't feel very tired. I am lucky to have one. He is supportive and helps me so I can manage. [Teacher 26]

A few teachers even shared stories about their husbands engaging with Gyan Shala students when they invited them over to their homes:

> I like doing all this. Even my husband likes it when I take kids home. He gets biscuits for them and asks me to prepare tea for them, and we give them tea and some biscuits. My husband supports me in all this. [Teacher 10]

Several women reported that when in-laws were opposed to the work (e.g., middle-class in-laws seeing teaching in slums as low-status work), the support of their husbands enabled them to work; however, not all of the women felt supported by their husbands.

In summary, an absence of family support for domestic responsibilities limited the time and energy the women had to undertake paid work (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019).[9] To survive financially, many of the women felt dependent on the organization and its relatively low salary for work. These background stressors (Gump & Matthews, 1999) manifested in reports of how exhausting it was to come home from work and immediately have to take care of their families. Some teachers were able to cope with their husbands' support, which eased their burden at home and facilitated job crafting when students visited their homes during weekends. As the sole or main earner with a relatively low salary and few alternatives, many of the teachers worried about their financial dependency on the organization.

Enablers of Work

Surprisingly, the data revealed that the teachers also experienced enablers for relational job crafting: identifying with the community where they worked and a sense of moral duty.

Community Identification. Many teachers felt attached to their students and the broader community in which they lived:

> I am from this locality; hence, I feel connected to the children. [Teacher 23]
>
> It took me a little time to get to know the students' guardians and for them to get to know me. But there was no major challenge because we all live in the same locality. Now I know them all and they know me. The good thing is that everybody in the locality knows me now and that supports me a lot. They know that I'm teaching the children in the locality. Sometimes they come to school to see how I'm teaching the children. And then they talk about this with other guardians, and then they start sending their children to school too. [Teacher 1]

[9] Goodman and Kaplan (2019) studied families in rural India. Many families in the slums in which Gyan Shala operates are second- or third-generation migrants from rural areas. Many go back to these areas for weddings, funerals, or other family events, sometimes for months. Sometimes, after their return, their children fail to go back to school. An important way for teachers to make a difference is to check on these families and get children into the habit of going to school again rather than dropping out permanently.

Others related to what students were going through based on experiences in their own lives:

> After my father's death, we went through a really rough patch. We saw many hardships. So today when my students share their struggles with me, I can relate to them and empathize. [Teacher 7]

These teachers felt the community was like "family"; a student succeeding in life felt like a family member succeeding. They felt a sense of belonging. They perceived their students as "my kids" and would help them "move ahead in life" if the students' parents did not have the time, skills, or sense of urgency to do so. These were kids "who would otherwise not have had the opportunity to study or do well in life" [Teacher 11].

> I take care of [my students] as if they were my own kids. How much care do you take of your own children? You give them warmth, you take care of their poopoo and pipi, and so I go to that extent. [Teacher 33]
>
> I can relate to the background my kids come from. Many children stay alone and away from their parents [who are away all day for work] for the whole day. Their parents go in the morning and come back at night. So I understand they are alone. I explain to them what is right and what is wrong and what to do and what not to do. [Teacher 18]

Some teachers shared their strong emotional reactions when former students recognized them in the streets and called out "Teacher, teacher!", coming over and touching their feet as a sign of gratitude and respect. These reactions are consistent with the idea of teacher's social worth; they described experiencing the "self as valued in interpersonal relationships" (Grant, 2007: 405) and "a sense of being valued by others" (Grant & Gino, 2010: 947). The teachers also proudly reported being treated respectfully and being valued by parents and elders in the community for their actions—respect that girls from families in slums do not typically command. This bond between teacher and student was reflected in various student interviews:

> My relationship with my teacher was like that of mother and daughter. [Former Student 19]

We labelled this sense of oneness and belonging that teachers felt in relation to their students and the community as "community identification" (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Identifying with the

community helped the teachers to deal with the negativity associated with working for Gyan Shala, such as low pay or balancing work with household chores:

> People try to dissuade me from working here because of the low pay. I tell them that I will continue to work for Gyan Shala forever. I feel very attached to the children and their parents and thoroughly enjoy teaching. Also, my house is very close to school. I come from the same slum and hence know the parents and the kids. [Teacher 15]
>
> I live in the slums and work in the same locality, so I feel close to the students. I like this a lot. I'm having a lot of fun with the students. Working for Gyan Shala does not stress me at all. In fact, I feel rejuvenated. But at home, it's the other way around. I'm totally stressed out because I have to do all the household chores. [Teacher 24]

However, other teachers from outside the slums perceived a personal and social distance between themselves and their students, explicitly stating that they did not have much in common:

> Poor kids, what difference will they be able to make in my life? [Teacher 8]
>
> The students and I don't have anything in common. [Teacher 11]

Moral Duty. Aside from the financial need to work for Gyan Shala and the desire to help "my kids" succeed in life, our data revealed that some teachers also felt they ought to contribute to society; they saw teaching as their moral duty (Bunderson & Thompson, 2009):

> I think of this job as my duty towards these children. [Teacher 18]
>
> I should help students have a better life. It is more of a service, a tinge of humanity. [Teacher 7]

One teacher reported she felt a moral obligation to "help the children of India."

Some teachers felt encouraged and enabled by Gyan Shala as a platform through which they could enact their moral duty and do something for society:

> As a teacher, I should give good education. Gyan Shala has given me the opportunity to do something for our nation by contributing to the future of these kids. [Teacher 3]
>
> Working for needy children who come from deprived background satisfies me. Their parents are not able to guide them by making them understand the importance of education. Gyan Shala gives me a platform to make them understand this. [Teacher 9]

This aligns with evidence that employees are interested in making a positive impact on others and society through their work (Colby et al., 2001; Rupp & Mallory, 2015). More specifically, it hints at the idea of ideologically infused contracts (Bingham, 2005), suggesting that employees

are willing to provide more effort in exchange for the organization providing them with a platform to contribute to a valued cause.

STUDY 1 DISCUSSION

We found that teachers enhanced the meaning of their work by engaging in relational job crafting. This is consistent with Wrzesniewski and Dutton's (2001) initial theory on relational job crafting directed toward beneficiaries or clients (for instance, nurses showing a higher frequency and scope of interactions with patients and their families at hospitals). However, unlike prior work, our findings suggest that such crafting is not confined to the place of work/classroom (Leana et al., 2009) or normal working hours. Picking children up from home to go to school or inviting them to teachers' homes during the weekends are examples of relational job crafting that occurs outside the classroom and during nonwork time in our study context.

Although many of the female teachers faced powerful challenges in the form of background stressors, these challenges were not overpowering. They were able to make work meaningful by shaping their roles to help "their kids" in the community or "improve India's future by educating a new generation," reinforcing a positive self-image and identity at work (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Many teachers reported experiencing a sense of oneness and belonging in the community, such that a student succeeding in life felt like a family member succeeding. The language used to describe how they felt about helping children in the community reflected a strong energizing bond. Other teachers were compelled by a moral duty to help future generations in India have better lives. Recognizing that their organization provides a platform to allow teachers to educate kids from the slums appeared to facilitate the teachers' "legitimate claim to participation in [a specific] cause" (Thompson & Bunderson, 2003: 574).

HYPOTHESES DEVELOPMENT

As Study 1 shows, many teachers engage in relational job crafting and this should translate into positive outcomes for beneficiaries—social impact, defined as what beneficiaries "have reason to value to be and do" in life (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 1992, 1999)—for the following reasons. First, increasing the frequency of interactions with students (e.g., teachers picking children up from home if they're absent and inviting them to their homes) or parents (e.g., visiting them at home to ensure their children attend class) and increasing the intensity and quality of interactions (e.g., investing more time in and paying more attention to individual students) enhance teachers' knowledge. Knowledge of what students have reason to value to be and to do (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 1992) directs teachers' attention to what could be done. As Grant (2007) argues, knowledge of the importance of an individual's actions at work has a positive effect on their performance as it connects people's jobs to others. Therefore, this knowledge from the relational investment gives teachers a reason to behave in a way that benefits students.

Second, increasing the frequency, intensity, and quality of social interactions with students will enhance teachers' understanding of their lived experiences. Parker, Atkins, and Axtell (2008) define perspective taking as genuinely trying to understand another person and their viewpoints and argue that perspective taking may explain why contact with beneficiaries yields positive consequences. It enhances quality of communication and greater disclosure of information (Parker et al., 2008), facilitating teachers' understanding of a student's background and situation, for instance, when visiting the student at home and asking for the reasons for absence, or inviting them to their home over the weekend to help with projects or for social visits. This can extend teachers' understanding of the constraints and difficult problems that students face. Putting oneself in another person's shoes and being able to see things from their perspective increases liking (Davis et al., 1996), helping (Batson, 1991) and prosocial

behavior—behaviors that promote the welfare of individuals (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986). It enhances teachers' understanding of students' needs. As perspective taking allows an individual to understand the meaning that a situation holds for another (Mead, 1934), this will motivate teachers to help students. Overall, relational job crafting enhances both teachers' knowledge and understanding of their students, providing the motivational basis for them to make a positive difference in domains valued by students.

Hypothesis 1. Relational job crafting is positively related to social impact.

Teachers' Challenges

Study 1 showed that the teachers engaged in relational job crafting despite the potential resource-depleting effects of background stressors at home and at work. Stressors result in the taxing of resources and their depletion (Christie & Barling, 2009; Le Pine, 2022). As teachers reported in Study 1, in the absence of support from family members in undertaking domestic responsibilities, combining work with the burden of household responsibilities drained their physical and psychological resources. Resources such as time and energy are finite and resources expended at work are not available for other domains, such as home (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Germane to our context is the gendered division of labor, which represents a background stressor for women seeking to ensure their household duties are fulfilled in order to enable them to engage in paid work outside the home (Singh & Hoge, 2010). In turn, this implies a "worry tax" on women's cognitive capacity. The redistribution of household responsibilities is crucial for women undertaking paid work (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019). Overall, a lack of family support in regard to undertaking household duties will take up psychological and physical resources that teachers would otherwise use for relational job crafting directed toward students. Teachers may not have the opportunity to stay late or think about ways to help students if they are responsible for cooking for their family; the potential incompatibility of role demands between work and

nonwork may reduce resources for crafting in either domain (De Bloom et al., 2020; Sturges, 2012).

Another stressor reported in Study 1 is feeling financially tied to Gyan Shala at a relatively low salary. Worry about supporting one's family on a very low salary to make ends meet illustrates the impact of having a job that pays poorly. This feeling of dependency on the organization for income is a tax on an individual's cognitive capacity due to rumination about financial worries (Mani, Mullainathan, Shafir, & Zhao, 2013). It also depletes cognitive resources for other things because of the limited capacity of working memory—known as the tunnelling effect (Shah, Shafir, & Mullainathan, 2015). Financial concerns require resources to regulate negative emotions, which drains attention and information-processing capacity (Meuris & Leana, 2018), reducing individuals' available capacity to engage in effortful crafting. Because expanding and deepening relationships constitute helping, viewed as an expressive emotional behavior, positive affect is needed to facilitate employees' expression of such behavior (Lee & Allen, 2002). This is unlikely given the induced worry from these background stressors.

When an individual's resources are depleted, they will scale back on resource investment as a protective mechanism (Halbesleben, Neveu, Paustian-Underdahl, & Westman, 2014), activating energy saving in other areas (Ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). As job crafting requires effort if experienced as an additional job demand, it is energy depleting (Bakker & Oerlemans, 2019). Just as resilience may protect individuals from the impact of stressors (Crane & Searle, 2016; Davydov, Stewart, Richie, & Chaudieu, 2010), teachers' feelings of kinship and belonginess with the community, evident in Study 1, appear to act as a buffer, neutralizing the depleting effects of stressors. Hall and Lamont (2013) argue that resilient systems (e.g., community, society) influence how individuals experience and respond to adversity. When

teachers are connected to their local community, strengthening their sense of contributing to the community may provide an added layer of protection from resource depletion, facilitating crafting (Lichtenthaler & Fischbach, 2019; Tims et al., 2012). One teacher living in a slum described teaching as fun and rejuvenating, with household chores perceived as the stressor.

Community Identification as a Boundary Condition

Growing empirical attention is being given to understanding community–organization relationships and their reciprocal dynamics (Hertel et al., 2019; Williams & Shepherd, 2021) particularly in the context of social impact (Bacq, Hertel, & Lumpkin, 2022). Such research highlights how the community shapes work–family interfaces (Voydanoff, 2004), how locals' identification with their village enhances their willingness to invest individual resources in the pursuit of a common cause (Hertel et al., 2019), and the importance of community members' identification with new ventures as a resource to be harnessed (Hertel, Binder, & Fauchart, 2021). Many teachers reported a connection with the community and its students. Teachers who grew up and live in the local community feel a sense of belongingness—of interpersonal closeness to and togetherness with the community—which is experienced as meaningful because these connections feel comforting and mutually supportive (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Membership in and feeling connected to the local community implies a positive sense of shared identity, fate, or humanity with others (Rosso et al., 2010), as illustrated by the expression "my kids"; this strengthens teachers' experience of meaningfulness at work (Pratt & Ashforth, 2003). A sense of community encompasses social and psychological assets (Voydanoff, 2004) that teachers can draw upon to help in the face of difficulties (akin to the role of resilience in the stressor–strain relationship).

An individual's identification with their community may buffer their evaluation of and reaction to stressors for the following reasons. First, identification with the community can

provide a positive buffering filter for how teachers respond to being situationally dependent on their organization and having a lack of family support. Employees who feel one with and strongly identify with their community will find these difficulties less psychologically challenging, resulting in less resource depletion. This sense of oneness will enable employees to more easily distance themselves from the stressor of being dependent and devalue its significance (Hobfoll, 2001), while highlighting the meaningfulness of their work for their community. Because community identification acts as a buffer, teachers are mentally able to distance themselves from the worry induced by these difficulties. Second, the strength of the feeling of connectedness and kinship with the local community and the resultant emotional attachment will buffer energy depletion, enabling teachers to do what is best for the community (Van Vugt, 2001). Empirical evidence supports the buffering effect of stressors on altruism when levels of attachment are high (Jex, Adams, Bachrach, & Sorenson, 2003) because withholding altruism would damage the focus of that attachment. A stronger sense of identification and contributing to the lives of "their kids'" in significant ways may enhance the perceived meaningfulness of work (Rosso et al., 2010) and buffer teachers from withdrawing their crafting efforts in the face of difficulties.

> *Hypothesis 2a, b. Employees' identification with the community where they work moderates the negative relationship between perceived employee dependence on the organization (1a)/lack of family support (1b) and relational job crafting, such that the relationship is weaker when community identification is high (rather than low).*

Moral Duty

As the teachers noted, the platform and opportunities provided by Gyan Shala allowed them to translate their sense of duty into doing good. In line with cue consistency (Maheswaran & Chaiken, 1991; Slovic, 1966), when teachers perceive that the organization is delivering on its ideological obligations (Kim, Bingham, Vandenberge, & McKinley, 2022) to educate children,

this reinforces their duty-based actions as it signals the organization's efforts to enact its core values. The signals and cues of the organization's values may amplify the translation of teachers' moral duty into their own actions.

Some of the teachers felt compelled to help children, as reflected in language such as "I should help students have a better life" and "my duty toward these kids." This compulsion to do the right thing is consistent with Heider's (1958: 234) "ought force" and Schwartz's (1983: 205) "psychology of obligation." As such, when individuals act in accordance with their value system and do what they think is right, this increases the congruence between their work activities and their self-concept and strengthens their sense of authenticity and meaningfulness at work (Besharov, 2008; Rosso et al., 2010).

However, moral duty comes with costs and burdens (Bunderson & Thompson, 2009) as sacrifices are needed to accomplish the mission of the group (Hannah et al., 2014). Individuals with high levels of moral duty are likely to engage in behaviors that maintain self-consistency (Blasi, 1984). They are also likely to experience a sense of responsibility to behave in a way that is consistent with their moral self (Jennings, Mitchell, & Hannah, 2015), promoting authenticity (Rosso et al., 2010) and self-verification (Swann, 1983) of one's visible image with one's private self-concept as a dutiful individual (Burke, 1991).

An organization's mission serves as a source of meaning insofar as employees perceive a congruence between their core values and ideologies and those of their organization (Besharov, 2008; Bunderson & Thompson, 2009; Rosso et al., 2010). Organizations that provide clear missions or ideologies help imbue employees' work with additional purpose (Besharov, 2008). As employees seek to be part of "something bigger to do good," they expect organizations to demonstrate a credible commitment to causes that transcend instrumental interests and seek to

benefit the community or society (Bingham et al., 2013). Congruency between employee values and those of the organization can create positive meaning (Besharov, 2008; Brickson, 2005), which shapes employee behavior. Employees' interpretation of the organization's implicit and explicit cues about the value of their jobs may translate into experienced meaningful work (Wrzesniewski, 2003). Consequently, organizations that provide a platform and resources to fulfil their obligations to the valued social cause are facilitating employees' experience of work in a way that is meaningful. Employees who place greater emphasis on their moral duty will respond more strongly to the organization when their personal duty is aligned with the organization's actions. This is exemplified by the teachers' comments on the opportunities provided by Gyan Shala to do something for the nation by contributing to the future of children. Therefore, we expect positive perceptions of what the organization is doing to amplify the relationship between moral duty and relational job crafting.

Hypothesis 3. An organization's perceived contribution to the cause moderates the relationship between teachers' moral duty and relational job crafting, such that the relationship is stronger when perceived organizational contribution to the cause is high (rather than low).

STUDY 2 METHOD

Main Study: Sample and Procedure

We collected data at Gyan Shala's Ahmedabad location, where most (primary and middle school) of the teachers worked. We invited teachers and their supervisors to complete a three-wave time-lagged survey. Teachers were surveyed at Time 1 and Time 2, and supervisors at Time 2 and Time 3. The Time 1 survey for teachers included measures of moral duty, community identification, perceptions of the organization's obligations to the cause, organizational tenure, type of school (primary or middle school), and type of contract (permanent or hourly). The Time 2 survey included measures of organizational dependence, family support, perceived organizational contribution to the cause, family approval, and perceived organizational

support. To reduce common-method bias, we asked supervisors instead of teachers to evaluate teachers' relational job crafting (Time 2) and social impact (Time 3) on students (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Supervisors closely observed and worked with the teachers through coaching and on-the-job training and supported them for, on average, three hours per week at their locality, and so they had a deep understanding of the teachers' behavior in and outside the classroom. In fact, many of the supervisors had previously been teachers. We created a three-month separation between Time 1 and Time 2 and between Time 2 and Time 3. Such temporal separation is regarded as one of the most effective ways to minimize common-method bias (Doty & Glick, 1998; Podsakoff et al., 2003).

The survey procedure was the same for all waves and participants. Surveys were administered during training sessions for teachers and supervisors at Gyan Shala's head office. The presence of one group could not affect the responses of the other group because the teacher and supervisor training sessions were scheduled on different days. We assigned each participant a unique code that allowed us to match data from the three waves of data collection. In each wave, surveys were handed out to participants in an envelope, followed by an oral explanation to ensure they understood what was requested of them and to emphasize that it was not a performance review. If participants had questions while filling out the survey, our local research assistant was present to resolve issues. We hired an assistant working independently from Gyan Shala to perform data entry. Teachers and supervisors not present at the training session completed the survey at the next available opportunity, often the week after. After deletion of missing rounds and missing values across both sources and waves of data collection, complete data were available for 175 teachers.[10] The average age of the teachers was 36.65 years (SD =

[10] Overall, 433 teachers completed at least one survey. Incomplete data resulted, for instance, from teachers ending their contract, often starting other (informal) jobs or their own business, or stop working altogether. To reduce

11.06), and the average organizational tenure was 5.62 years (SD = 4.05). The final sample included 33 supervisors who each rated between one and 14 teachers. A total of 21 of the supervisors rated between three and seven teachers.

Main Model: Measures

For all substantive variables, the scales ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). We used translation and back-translation to translate items from English to Gujarati (Brislin, 1986). Our local research assistant translated the items. Next, three members of Gyan Shala's curriculum-design team evaluated the items, leading to more fine-tuning. An independent research assistant with a good command of English and Gujarati and a knowledge of organizational behavior back-translated the items into English. Given that most of the teachers had an education level of high school or below, we unreversed items that were reversed in the original scale to reduce complexity.

Organizational Dependence. In line with Wahn (1993), we measured organizational dependence with four items adapted from Meyer and Allen's (1984) continuance-commitment scale. During our fieldwork, we noticed that the teachers struggled with abstractly formulated interview questions. We therefore used simpler, more concrete language, while keeping the meaning intact. For instance, we adapted the item "I feel tied to Gyan Shala financially" from Meyer and Allen's (1984) item "Right now, staying with my organization is a matter of necessity as much as desire." As another example, we adapted "I am dependent on Gyan Shala for my future" from the original item "I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving this organization." The alpha was 0.71. Because items were developed on the basis of interviews

potential response bias, all variables were positively worded and none of the scales captured themes standing out as more versus less socially desirable. Also, we took care—based on our qualitative interviews and several rounds of checks with local staff of the organization—that items were intuitive and easily understandable for teachers. Removing 9 participants from Study 1's sample who also took part in Study 2 did not change the results.

from Study 1, we performed confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on an independent sample of Gyan Shala teachers in Uttar Pradesh (n = 176). The CFA showed a good model fit (WLSMV-χ = 2.80; df = 2; CFI = .99, TLI = .98, RMSEA = .048, 90% = .000 to .167); all standardized factor loadings were significant ($p < .01$), ranging from .46 to .83. The alpha for the independent sample was .70.

Lack of Family Support. We measured family support with a one-item measure developed by Fisher et al. (2016), "I can count upon my family in times of need," which we reverse scored to reflect the challenge posed to teachers, namely, lack of family support. We used a single-item measure to address the practical constraints of survey fatigue (Bruning & Campion, 2018), especially relevant for longitudinal research in emerging economies.[11]

Moral Duty. For the four-item measure of moral duty, we contextualized items from Bunderson and Thompson's (2009) measure of moral duty to better fit an educational context, replacing, for instance, "animals" with "students." The teachers were asked to respond to items such as "I have a moral duty to give my students the best possible education" ($\alpha = .67$).

Community Identification. We measured community identification by adapting Mael and Ashforth's (1992) six-item scale of organizational identification, replacing "organization" with "community where I work." A sample item is "When someone criticizes the community where I work, it feels like a personal insult." We added three items from Sunshine and Tyler's (2003) measure of identification with the community to capture the value-sharing aspect of community identification, which our qualitative analysis showed was key. Items included "The values of most people in the community where I work are very similar to my own" ($\alpha = .72$).

[11] The teachers were not used to filling out long surveys; shortening the survey increased the odds of them completing it. Single-item measures are increasingly being used in situations with practical constraints, such as survey strength and respondent burden, and are perceived as acceptable because reliability, convergent validity, content validity, research utility ratings, and test-retest results are consistently favorable (Fisher et al., 2016).

Perceived Organizational Contribution to the Cause. For perceived organizational contribution (i.e., what the organization "actually" delivers), we adapted Bingham's (2005) five-item measure of the ideological aspect of psychological contract fulfillment. We simplified the language while keeping the meaning intact to improve the fit with the teachers' preference for concrete rather than abstract language. An example item was phrased as "Gyan Shala actually contributes to educating poor children." The alpha was .82.

Relational Job Crafting. We adapted seven items to measure relational job crafting (the frequency, quality, and intensity of social interactions at work) from Slemp and Vella-Brodrick (2013), Bindl et al. (2019), and Bruning and Campion (2018). We contextualized these items on the basis of the interviews and analysis in Study 1 to increase their validity for our context. For instance, we captured changes in the number of social interactions with students by adapting the item "Stays in school longer after her working hours to help her students" from Slemp and Vella-Brodrick's (2013) relational job crafting item "Chooses to mentor new employees (officially or unofficially)."[12] Supervisors with intimate knowledge of the relational job-crafting behavior of the teachers they supervised, trained, and coached on the job rated these items, with each item starting with the name of the teacher. The alpha was .72. Because some supervisors rated multiple teachers, we computed the intraclass correlation coefficient. Based on an ICC(1) value of .22, we decided to consider the supervisors' rating effect in our subsequent model estimations.

[12] We adapted the rest of the items as follows. We adapted the item "Spends recess time helping her students" from Bindl et al.'s (2019) relational job crafting item "I made efforts to get to know other people at work better." We adapted the item "Goes to students' homes when they are absent to find out why" from Bindl et al.'s (2019) relational job crafting item "I have actively sought to meet new people at work." The item "Goes beyond the required curriculum in her teaching of students" was adapted from Bruning and Campion's (2018) item "I actively work to improve my communication quality with others at work." We adapted the item "Stays late with the students that need extra help" from Slemp and Vella-Brodrick's (2013) item "I choose to mentor new employees (officially or unofficially)." We adapted the item "Often takes students from their home to school" from Bindl et al.'s (2019) relational job crafting item "I have actively sought to meet new people at work." We adapted the item "Often brings extra materials to school so that her students do not go without" from Bruning and Campion's (2018) item for social expansion ("I actively work to improve my communication quality with others at work.").

Previous measures of relational job crafting (capturing interactions with others at work) typically concern colleagues and others in the workplace, translating in our context to social interactions with children and parents (e.g., when visiting children's homes). We therefore used the independent sample in Uttar Pradesh to develop and validate this measure using CFA (n = 176). The CFA showed an acceptable model fit (WLSMV-χ = 74.28; dfs = 14; CFI = .94, TLI = .90, RMSEA = .169, 90% = .123 to .193[13]). All standardized factor loadings were significant ($p < .01$), ranging between .61 and .81. The alpha was .84.

Social Impact. To measure social impact, we developed 12 items inspired by Sen's (1992, 1999) seminal work (Appendix A) and grounded in analyses of interviews with beneficiaries (i.e., students) and local experts. Sensitized by Nussbaum's (2000) dimensions of freedoms in relation to value in life, we first generated 29 items along four dimensions: independent decision-making, ambition, confidence, and social relationships. To gauge the face validity of these items (are they representative of what social impact means for beneficiaries?), we asked 97 (former) students from Gyan Shala to rate the importance of each item in terms of creating opportunities to accomplish what they value. We used a five-point scale ranging from "not at all important" to "very important." Moreover, we asked four subject-matter experts (i.e., design staff) to assess the importance of the items. We removed three items due to joint low-importance ratings by former students and the expert panel. Additionally, to assess content validity, we asked (former) students to assess the correspondence of items to our construct definitions based on a five-point Likert scale. We removed items scoring below average for the

[13] Informed by Study 1, we took great care in translating existing relational job crafting items to the new setting of fieldworkers in poverty operating in local communities (see also footnote 11). Nevertheless, future studies may improve on our measure for this new setting, further improving RMSEAs.

relevant dimension (five items). On the basis of concerns about content validity and the repetitiveness of items (Boyle, 1991), we removed 11 items. Eighteen items were retained.

We performed an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) of these 18 items using a sample of 259 female teachers from Gyan Shala in Bihar. This sample was independent of both the CFA sample and the main sample and included teachers from a different but comparable setting. We performed the EFA with principal axis factoring (to allow for measurement errors) for estimation and promax rotation (to acknowledge associations between extracted factors). We used the eigenvalues rule (retaining factors that have eigenvalues above 1) to determine the number of factors in this exploratory analysis (Brown, 2006). We obtained four factors among the remaining 18 social impact items, explaining 44.6% of the variance. On the basis of theoretical considerations and the four-factor solution, we subsequently removed six items with low factor loadings (below .30) or cross loadings (above .05). We estimated the four-factor model with the remaining 12 items. The four factors explained 58.1% of the variance. We then did a CFA using a second independent sample of 176 female Gyan Shala teachers from Uttar Pradesh (Lucknow and Farrukhabad). To investigate the factor structure of the social impact scale, we estimated a hierarchical factor model in which the 12 items were influenced by four first-order factors, which then were influenced by a general second-order factor. The hierarchical factor model fitted the data well (WLSMV-χ = 58.25; df = 50; CFI = .99, TLI = .98, RMSEA = .043, 90% = .000 to .085). The standardized factor loadings of items ranged from .55 to .82, and the standardized factor loadings of the first-order factors ranged from .65 to 1.00; all were significant ($p < .01$).

In line with Sen's (1992) focus on freedoms as opportunities to achieve what individuals have reason to value, each survey started with the name of the teacher: "[Name of the teacher]'s students have the opportunity to…". The final items included "students continue their education

after Gyan Shala," "students have ambitious career goals," "students have inspiration to become something big," "students are confident going out alone," "students develop meaningful relationships with other students," and "students work together with students from a different caste." The alpha was .77. An ICC(1) value of .40 suggested that we needed to take into account the supervisors' rating effect in our following analysis.[14] For additional information regarding the scale development process for social impact, please see Appendix B.

Control Variables. Testing contextualized theory (Whetten, 2009) for a new, distant context—poverty—also implies using control variables that are theoretically justified for this context in order to remove predictor-criterion contamination and avoid measuring spurious relationships (Bernerth & Aquinis, 2016). We included the following controls, *informed by insights from our qualitative data analysis in Study 1:*[15] *organizational tenure*; *type of contract* (permanent = 1, hourly = 0); teachers' *living situation* (slum = 1, non-slum = 0); *family approval* (asking teachers to rate the extent to which their family (in-laws) approved of their job); whether teachers *taught in primary schoo*l (= 1) *or middle school* (= 0). We also controlled for perceived organizational obligations to the cause at Time 1 using a five-item measure adapted from Bingham (2005). An example item is "Gyan Shala should contribute to educating poor children"

[14] The supervisors were typically highly experienced former teachers who trained, guided, and supported para-teachers at their locality for 3 hours per week, and jointly visited children and parents at home. Using supervisors' evaluations of social impact reduced potential common method variance problems (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

[15] For instance, for *Organizational tenure*, the teachers often felt they had grown dependent on the organization over time, with few outside job options left to them (so, theoretically, more organizational dependence). They had also often developed stronger relations within the community (so more relational job crafting) and developed better teaching skills due to more training and experience over time (so more social impact). *An hourly contract* (as opposed to a permanent contract), we observed, increased anxiety and stress due to an uncertain, low income (Shah et al., 2015) and so, theoretically, organizational dependence. It may also be associated with lower levels of commitment, time, and energy devoted to the job (less relational job crafting). *Living in a slum* (rather than in a middle-class area away from the school) made it easier to pick up kids from home or invite them to the teacher's own home (so more relational job crafting). It will likely also be related to a teacher's identification with the community. Not including these controls may lead to omitted variable problems.

(α = .64); interaction effects between moral duty and expected organizational contribution to the cause; perceived organizational support at Time 2, because research shows it is positively related to helping behaviors. We adapted Rhoades and Eisenberger's (2002) six-item short scale; a sample item is "Gyan Shala takes pride in my accomplishments at work" (α = .88). Controls were regressed on all other model variables.

STUDY 2 RESULTS

Main Model: CFAs with Different Numbers of Factors

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations. For the main model estimation, we compared models with different numbers of factors, starting with the six-factor model, which included factors for organizational dependence (four items), moral duty (four items), community identification (nine items), perceived organizational contribution (five items), relational job crafting (seven items), and social impact (composite scores for each subscale). We excluded the one-item factor of family support. All remaining factors were allowed to correlate. The model fitted the data well (WLSMV-χ = 734.97; df = 480; CFI = .90, TLI = .89, RMSEA = .054, 90% = .046 to .061). All factor loadings were significant. This model had a better fit than alternative models, including a one-factor model and a two-factor model with one factor for teacher-rated items and one factor for supervisor-rated items, which both exceeded the number of iterations for convergence. The six-factor model also had a better fit than a three-factor model in which items of Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3 loaded onto three different factors (WLSMV-χ = 1189.16; df = 492; CFI = .69, TLI = .676, RMSEA = .088, 90% = .081 to .094). These findings supported the discriminant validity of the factors.

------ INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE ------

Hypothesis Testing

The research model can be found in Figure 2. We used a nested-equation path-analytic approach to test our hypotheses (Edwards & Schurer Lambert, 2007; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007) in Mplus 7.0 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). The nested structure of the relational job crafting and social impact ratings (i.e., 33 supervisors rated 175 teachers) resulted in nonindependent data. Therefore, we employed a design-based modeling approach that "takes the multilevel data or dependency into account by adjusting for parameter estimate standard errors based on the sampling design" (Wu & Kwok, 2012: 17) (TYPE = COMPLEX, ESTIMATOR = MLR in Mplus). This approach allows for nonindependent data structures when investigating processes at a single level (i.e., the teacher level; Wu & Kwok, 2012).

------ INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE ------

The research model presented in Figure 2 fitted the data well (MLR-χ = 10.90; df = 10; CFI = .97; TLI = .90; RMSEA = .035, 90% = .000 to .096; SRMR = .014) and was better than a model without interaction effects (MLR-χ = 31.71; df = 13; CFI = .67; TLI = .15; RMSEA = .091, 90% = .051 to .131; SRMR = .027). For unstandardized model estimates, see Table 2.

------ INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE ------

Table 2 shows that relational job crafting was positively associated with social impact (β = .10, p < .05), corroborating Hypothesis 1. The effect of the interaction between organizational dependence and community identification on relational job crafting was significant (β = .16, p < .01), supporting Hypothesis 2a. Figure 3 presents the interaction plot, showing the association between organizational dependence and relational job crafting at higher (M + 1SD) and lower (M - 1SD) levels of community identification. Organizational dependence and relational job crafting had a significant negative association when community identification was low (simple slope = -

.25, *SE* = .08, $p < .01$) and a nonsignificant association when community identification was high (simple slope = -.05, *SE* = .08, $p = .52$).

The effect of the interaction between lack of family support and community identification on relational job crafting was significant only at a $p < .10$ level ($\beta = .22$, $p = .08$), suggesting weak support for Hypothesis 2b. Figure 4 shows the interaction plot, with the relationship between lack of family support and relational job crafting at higher (M + 1SD) and lower (M - 1SD) levels of community identification. The relationship between lack of family support and relational job crafting was significant and negative when community identification was low (simple slope = -.26, *SE* = .11, $p < .05$) but nonsignificant when community identification was high (simple slope = .01, *SE* = .07, $p = .84$).

We also found a significant interaction between moral duty and perceived organizational contribution in predicting relational job crafting ($\beta = .37$, $p < .01$). Figure 5 presents the interaction plot with the association between moral duty and relational job crafting at higher (M + 1SD) and lower (M - 1SD) levels of perceived organizational contribution. When perceived contribution to the cause was high, moral duty was positively and significantly related to relational job crafting (simple slope = .38, *SE* = .13, $p < .01$), and when it was low, the relationship between moral duty and relational job crafting was nonsignificant (simple slope = -.03, *SE* = .10, $p = .76$). The results support Hypothesis 3.

Finally, we examined the conditional mediation effects of organizational dependence, lack of family support, and moral duty via relational job crafting in Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). We found that the indirect effect of organizational dependence on social impact via relational job crafting (using a bootstrapping approach; MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004) was negative and significant when community identification was low (conditional indirect

effect = -.02, 95% CI = -.03 to -.01). The indirect effect of organizational dependence on social impact via relational job crafting was not significant when community identification was high (conditional indirect effect = -.14, 95% CI = -.02 to .00). Additionally, the results show that the negative indirect effect of lack of family support on social impact via relational job crafting was not significant when community identification was low (conditional indirect effect = -.01, 95% CI = -.03 to .00) or when community identification was high (conditional indirect effect = -.01, 95% CI = -.02 to .00). Finally, we found that the indirect effect of moral duty on social impact via relational job crafting was positive and significant when perceived organizational contribution was high (conditional indirect effect = .02, 95% CI = .01 to .04). The indirect effect of moral duty on social impact via relational job crafting was not significant when perceived organizational contribution was low (conditional indirect effect = .01, 95% CI = -.01 to .03).

------ INSERT FIGURES 3, 4, AND 5 ABOUT HERE ------

DISCUSSION

Confronted with significant poverty- and gender-related challenges, the female teachers in this study overcame them to engage in relational job crafting. This occurred outside the formal workplace and outside formal working hours in the local community. Teachers' identification with the community helped to overcome the depleting effects of poverty- and gender-related challenges on crafting their roles meaningfully. In turn, the relational job crafting led to teachers having a social impact in terms of what users (school children in our research) have reason to value to be and to do in life (Sen, 1992, 1999).

Bringing the community in

Prior research suggests that female workers in poverty face severe poverty- and gender-related challenges to crafting meaningful work (Leana et al., 2012; Goodman & Kaplan, 2019).

Consistent with—and extending—this literature, we found that teachers in our context did indeed experience significant challenges in both domains. We found that for women in slums with low levels of education and few alternatives in terms of paid work, unsurprisingly, the induced financial worry is resource depleting (Meuris & Leana, 2018). More specifically, we found that teachers' perceived dependence on the organization in terms of their income decreased their propensity to engage in relational job crafting. Likewise, gender-related challenges represented by responsibility for household work (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019) and, for some teachers, the added stress of lack of family approval of their work drained their energy and resources and reduced their capacity for job crafting, ultimately reducing their social impact.

Surprisingly, however, we found that female teachers working and often growing up in the local community showed considerable amounts of relational job crafting in terms of the frequency, quality, and intensity of their social interactions (Bindl et al., 2019; Bruning & Campion, 2018). Unlike prior job crafting research examining workers' behavior at work during work time (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001; Berg et al., 2006; Leana et al., 2009), we found that female para-teachers engaged in relational job crafting in the community. They provided educational and emotional support to children after class, visited parents and children at home, and invited children to their homes during weekends. When teachers identified with their local community, this acted as a counterbalancing resource helping them to overcome the depleting effects of poverty- and gender-related challenges. In sum, 'bringing the community' into job crafting theorizing on fieldworkers living in poverty—both as *a setting* and as *a source of energy* for meaningful work—helps to explain how and why teachers engage in crafting behavior, beyond what could be explained by traditional job crafting theory.

Our research also adds to research on workers living in poverty and the "dark" portrayal presented in much of the research. Growing up in poverty is theorized to constrain workers' social capital and their ability to act agentically (Leana et al., 2012) and to be proactive (i.e., initiate change through self-directed action) because risk-taking is discouraged (Grant & Parker, 2009). Workers in poverty are also theorized to deemphasize the latent value of work in favor of monetary rewards (Rosso et al., 2010). Prior theory suggests that poverty decreases the time, energy, and attention left for work (Meuris & Leana, 2018), particularly for women doing unpaid caring work at home, such as in India (Goodman & Kaplan, 2019; Shah et al., 2015).

Yet, we find that "living in poor neighborhoods" provides a unique source of resources and energy if teachers identify with that community, enabling higher levels of relational job crafting and social impact. Fieldworkers who grew up and live in local communities may benefit from job-specific knowledge through their social capital, such as local kinship networks (Higham & Shah, 2013). Moreover, unlike teachers with formal education and college degrees, often with higher caste backgrounds and sometimes prejudiced against children in poor neighborhoods (Nambissan, 2013; Rao, 2013), they will likely have a deep understanding of slum children and what they have reason to value. Prior research laments that management researchers know little about the "working poor" (Leana et al., 2012). We encourage future researchers to provide a richer, more balanced view of the limitations and strengths of employees living and working in poverty or other contexts traditionally seen as challenging, enabling more nuanced research and policy conversations about the pros and cons of employing workers in and from local communities and how this may influence an organization's social impact.

Moral Duty

Our research also adds to work exploring the positive influence of moral self-constructs on prosocial intentions and behaviors (Jennings et al., 2015; Turillo, Folger, Lavelle, Umphress, &

Gee, 2002). Our findings extend Bunderson and Thompson's (2009) work in two ways. First, we find that the effects of moral duty go beyond a willingness to sacrifice and positively affect teachers' behavior through relational job crafting. In doing so, we identify a novel driver of relational crafting in the form of moral duty which suggests that some individuals may feel compelled to expand the relational boundaries of their job. This expands the basis of job crafting beyond an individual's desire to do so. Second, we redirect attention to the signaling of organizational actions. A recent surge in interest in socially responsible causes (Bingham, Mitchell, Bishop, & Allen, 2013; Grant, Dutton, & Rosso, 2008; Kim, Shin, Vough, Hewlin, & Vandenberghe, 2018) puts the spotlight on an organization's actions toward its chosen cause as this elicits positive consequences for the attraction, retention, and commitment of employees (Bhattacharya, Sen, & Korschun, 2008; Grant, 2008a). Consistent with and extending this work, we find that perceptions of organizational actions encourage fieldworkers to proactively modify their work in meaningful ways. Synergy between employees' moral duty and their perception of organizational action is key to achieving relational job crafting and, ultimately, social impact. This finding is also important from a policy point of view; NGOs relying on employee goodwill without demonstrating a parallel commitment to a social cause will fall short in their impact.

Relational Job Crafting and Social Impact

Job crafting researchers traditionally emphasize that employees craft their work meaningfully, remaining neutral on its effects on organizational performance (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Our findings extend this by demonstrating that relational job crafting can have a positive impact on children directly. Through increasing the frequency, intensity, and quality of interactions with children, teachers gain a greater understanding and knowledge of what children have reason to value, increasing their cognitive awareness of the significance of their jobs (Grant, 2007). Also,

gaining greater knowledge about the experiences of children is likely to enhance perspective taking that in turn will motivate teachers to do their best for the children.

We also develop a new approach to measuring social impact. Prior definitions of social impact capture social value (Moss, Short, Payne, & Lumpkin, 2011), social performance (Mair & Marti, 2006), CSR, and social returns (Emerson, 2003). Stephan et al. (2016) define social impact as beneficial outcomes resulting from prosocial behaviors that are enjoyed by the intended targets of that behavior and/or the broader community of individuals, society, and/or environments. Indeed, much of this literature has focused on intended positive effects for a target audience (Hertel et al., 2022), but others have argued that for a correct evaluation and measurement of social impact, unintended and negative effects should be captured as well (Ebrahim & Rangan, 2014; Ebrahim, 2019). However, despite social impact arguably being the most relevant performance-based dependent variable for organizations with social goals, such as NGOs, social enterprises and other businesses with social goals, there is a lack of agreement on definitions and measurement approaches (Hertel et al., 2022) and both the theory and measurement are underdeveloped (Rawhouser et al., 2019).

More specifically, Rawhouser et al. (2019) emphasize that most approaches to social impact measurement have focused on activities (e.g., organizational principles, processes, or outcomes) or outputs rather than on *social outcomes* for beneficiaries, and use multi- rather than single-industry measures (capturing richness of social impact for users in context). These authors also emphasize the importance of using multidimensional measures of social impact to comprehensively capture the complexity of the construct, as well as positive and negative, and intended and unintended, implications for impact. More fundamentally, they criticize the lack of validity of social impact measures (e.g., using data from private providers such as the KLD data

on employee relationships, diversity, executive compensation, and military contracting of large publicly listed US firms to enable investors to identify companies pursuing socially responsible initiatives). Relatedly, most impact measures appear to be investor- or organization-centric (e.g., capture organizational activities or aspects salient from the perspective of organizations or investors) rather than focused on users' or beneficiaries' well-being (Kroeger & Weber, 2014).

We add to the social impact measurement literature by adopting a definition that places social outcomes for users, in terms of what they have reason to value and to do, at the center (Sen, 1992; Nussbaum, 2003). Relatedly, we offer a new methodology to measure social impact in context, capturing the richness and complexity of what users have reason to value using a multidimensional measure. We believe our new methodology is relevant for social organizations such as NGOs, public organizations, foundations (Ebrahim, 2019; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2014), and hybrid organizations (Battilana & Lee, 2014) for whom social performance is important (beyond economic performance), including social enterprises, companies with social goals, and impact investors. We hope our new mixed-methods approach to measuring social impact in a context-dependent way will facilitate and encourage future research in this domain. Such research also has important practical implications: according to the old adage, "what gets measured gets done."

Job crafting theory as a new lens for addressing grand challenges in society

We also add to earlier research on social organizations addressing SDGs which identifies workers from local communities as resources for local knowledge and skills, legitimacy, and access (Mair et al., 2012; Williams & Shepherd, 2021). Such research also uncovered the powerful role of identification with the local community in the success of community-based organizations and their social impact (Hertel et al., 2019; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Williams &

Shepherd, 2021). Our research extends this work to the domain of job crafting by developing and testing new theory on how fieldworkers, operating and often living in local communities and energized by it, overcome poverty- and gender-related challenges, boosting their relational job crafting and, ultimately, social impact in local communities.[16]

Finally, we add to earlier work understanding para-teachers in emerging economies as low-cost implementers of organizational strategies or as part of affirmative action for disadvantaged groups 'at minimal expense' (Higham & Shah, 2013) to overcome historical inequalities through job creation (Dreze & Sen, 2002). We offer an alternative view: (female) fieldworkers working in—and energized by—the local communities in which they live, away from direct daily supervision, show considerable agency and proactively overcome poverty- and gender related constraints, shaping their work meaningfully and in turn enhancing social impact. Clearly, adopting such a different perspective may also influence organizations' policies and practices, putting the spotlight on what helps (female) fieldworkers to overcome challenges at work and at home and how to bolster enablers to shape their work meaningfully to increase social impact and more effectively address SDGs.

Boundary Conditions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research

Our findings on female teachers in poverty have clear boundary conditions and limitations, suggesting a need for further research. They might also apply to other fieldworkers operating in local communities, such as health workers. Potentially, our findings on poverty-related stressors (e.g., being dependent on the organization for a low income) may also apply to male

[16] Teachers will derive psychological resources (e.g., energy) and meaning from their work, particularly if communities have closely knit, family-like dynamics (Pratt & Ashforth, 2003). "Family"—beyond being a potential drain on a teacher's resources (as found in this paper)—may also confirm the role of the job in their life by expressing admiration, respect, and love for the person and by affirming their social worth (Gino & Grant, 2010) and what they said and did as being right (Rosso et al., 2010). Although not dominant, we saw some examples of this in the context of Study 1 in the form of support from husbands.

fieldworkers (comparable to the stress male farmers experience from their low income being dependent on the harvest; Shah et al., 2015). Poverty- and gender-related challenges have also been observed in the Global North (Leana et al., 2012). It would be interesting to explore whether and how such challenges and enablers (e.g., identification with the community) apply to teachers, health workers, or youth workers in other emerging economies or indeed in other poor communities, such as in Chicago, Los Angeles, or London. Future research could provide important new insights here.

Boundary conditions will likely also apply to our findings about relational job crafting and its impact. Our focus on relational job crafting arose inductively out of Study 1; however, research in other settings may identify other forms, such as cognitive crafting (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001), as more relevant to different contexts. Our findings on moral duty regarding teachers living in both Hindu and Muslim communities are consistent with those found by Bunderson and Thompson (2009) regarding US zookeepers, which the authors associate with a Protestant mindset. Moral duty is also a factor across South and East Asia (Barkema et al., 2015); leading a virtuous, good, and meaningful life (i.e., pursuing eudemonic well-being; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryff, 1989) transcends religious contexts. Additional work could explore underlying mechanisms linking relational crafting to social impact and examine the roles of knowledge, understanding, and perspective taking. Over time, the knowledge that one is making a positive difference to the lives of others and the gratitude displayed by beneficiaries may further reinforce the meaning of work and cement job crafting efforts. Finally, we researched one organization, in one sector (education), in one country (India). This implies a strength in terms of our qualitative and quantitative studies, providing complementary and consistent evidence on the

validity of our theory, using data on the same organization, in this context, but a limitation in terms of the external validity of our findings. Future research may provide more insights here.

OSF LINK

Appendix A, B: https://osf.io/8uzrg/?view_only=391046d812b54268870318fef1a9f27a

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FIGURE 1 Data Structure for Study 1

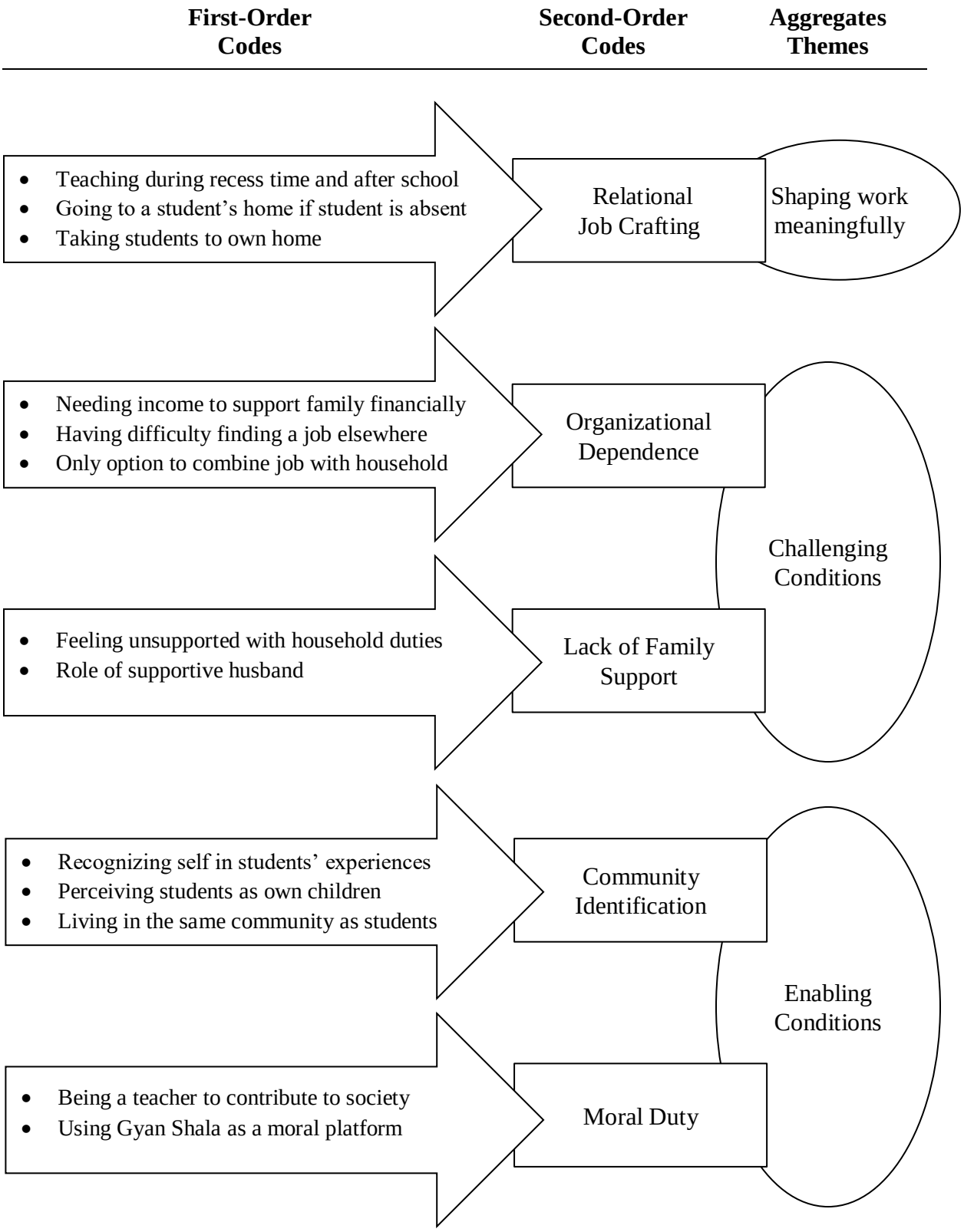
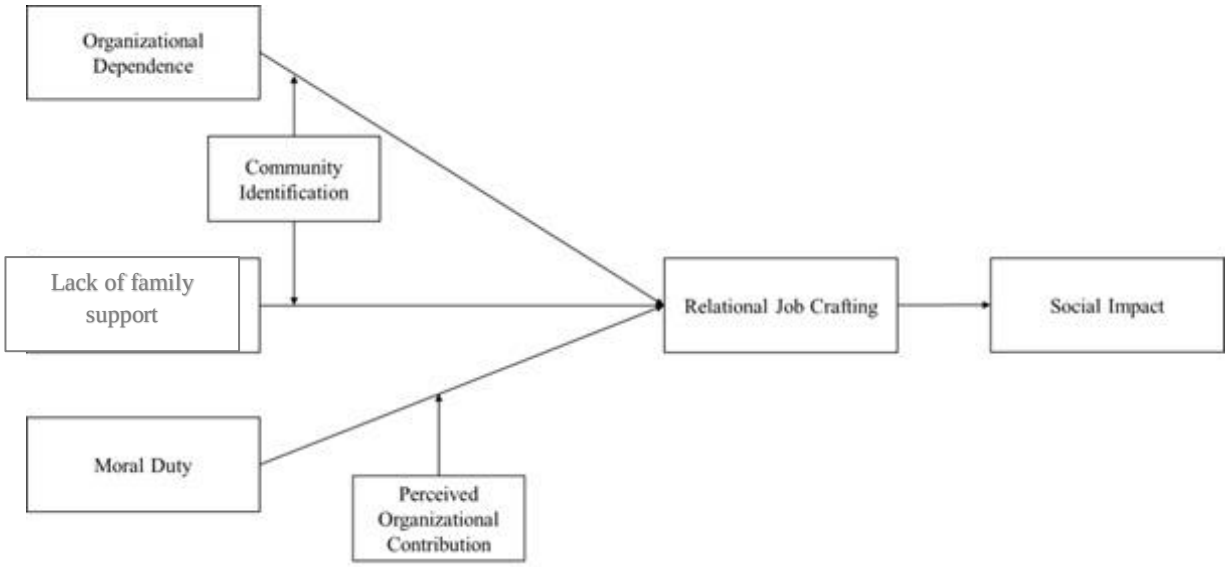


FIGURE 2 Research Model in Study 2



Notes: Control variables are included in the model but are not displayed for clarity.

FIGURE 3 Interaction Plot of Organizational Dependence and Community Identification in Predicting Relational Job Crafting

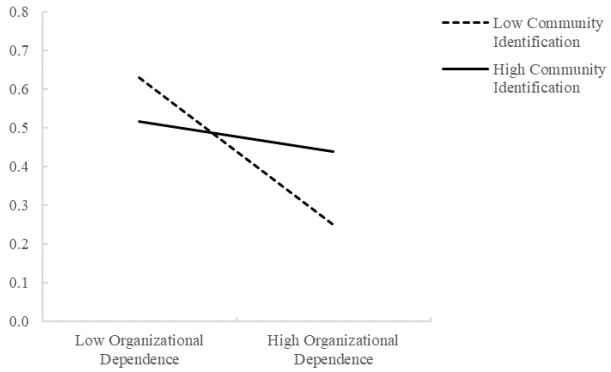


FIGURE 4 Interaction Plot of Lack of Family Support and Community Identification in Predicting Relational Job Crafting

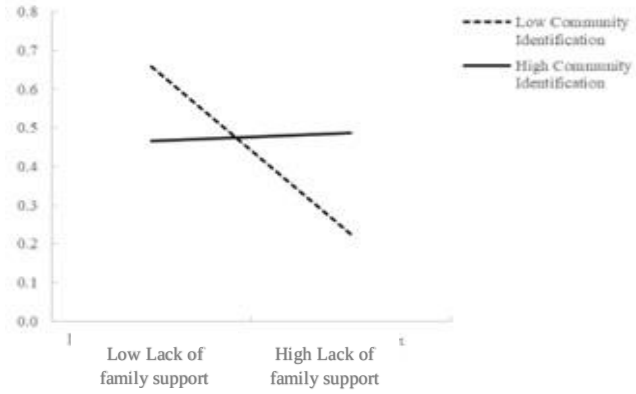


FIGURE 5 Interaction Plot of Moral Duty and Perceived Organizational Contribution in Predicting Relational Job Crafting

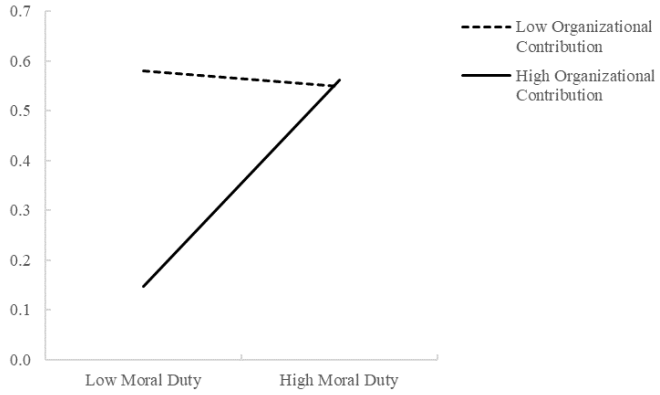


TABLE 1: CORRELATION MATRIX

Variables	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1. Social Impact	3.828	0.474	1.000													
2. Relational Job crafting	3.124	0.727	0.126	1.000												
3. Community Identification	3.248	0.604	0.099	0.096	1.000											
4. Moral Duty	3.513	0.540	0.174	0.009	0.270	1.000										
5. Organizational Dependence	3.245	0.770	0.013	0.161	-0.071	0.093	1.000									
6. Lack family support	3.052	0.838	0.045	0.069	-0.004	0.026	-0.117	1.000								
7. Perceived Org Contribution	3.034	0.546	-0.038	-0.150	0.019	0.192	0.295	-0.215	1.000							
8. Expected Organizational Contribution	3.145	0.458	-0.023	-0.028	0.107	0.192	0.056	-0.116	0.171	1.000						
9. Tenure	5.619	4.055	0.167	0.105	0.111	0.072	-0.024	0.069	-0.095	0.042	1.000					
10. School	0.537	0.499	-0.301	0.133	0.018	-0.078	-0.012	0.097	-0.139	-0.012	0.254	1.000				
11. Contract	0.931	0.253	0.149	0.092	-0.023	0.047	-0.150	-0.002	-0.087	-0.108	0.088	0.066	1.000			
12. Living Situation	0.594	0.491	0.003	0.082	0.017	0.005	0.029	-0.086	0.015	-0.022	-0.067	0.027	0.098	1.000		
13. Family approval	2.632	0.966	0.009	0.055	0.025	0.010	0.282	-0.446	0.146	0.072	0.088	-0.152	0.035	-0.025	1.000	
14. Perceived Organizational Support	2.884	0.789	-0.098	-0.057	0.005	0.013	0.503	-0.196	0.360	0.022	-0.122	-0.157	0.147	0.072	0.204	1.000

TABLE 2 Unstandardized Estimates (Standard Error) of the Moderated Mediation Path Model

	Relational Job Crafting	Social Impact
Control Variables		
Organizational Tenure	.01 (.02)	.03 (.01) **
School [a]	.20 (.20)	-.37 (.11) **
Contract [b]	.29 (.21)	.29 (.12) *
Living Situation [c]	.13 (.10)	.00 (.07)
Family Approval	-.06 (.07)	
Perceived Organizational Support	.09 (.05)	
Expected Organization Contribution	.01 (.13)	
Moral Duty * Expected Organizational Contribution	.16 (.13)	
Independent Variables		
Organizational Dependence	-.15 (.07) *	.04 (.03)
Lack of Family Support	-.12 (.05) **	.05 (.04)
Moral Duty	.18 (.08) *	.11 (.07)
Moderator		
Community Identification	.03 (.09)	
Perceived Organizational Contribution	-.20 (.11)	
Interaction Effects		
Organiz. Dependence * Community Identification	.16 (.05) **	
Lack of Family Support * Community Identification	.22 (.13)	
Moral Duty * Perceived Organizational Contribution	.37 (.14) **	
Mediator		
Relational Job Crafting		.10 (.04) *
R^2	.43	.18

Notes: $n = 175$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; [a] School: 1 = elementary school, 0 = middle school; [b] Contract: 1 = permanent, 0 = hourly; [c] Living situation: 1 = slum, 0 = non-slum.