

THE IMPACT OF STIGMA: NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES OF SALESPeOPLE

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This study investigates the managerial implications of customers' negative stereotyping (stigmatization) of the sales position. The importance of this research develops out of findings that an individual's awareness (stigma-consciousness) of the negative views of salient reference groups can have deleterious consequences. Evidence from this field study of 190 automobile salespeople indicates they are aware of being stigmatized and that this awareness decreases their effort and performance. Managerially, the study finds that individualized managerial support can mitigate the negative impact of stigmatization of the sales role.

Recent polls suggest that the public continues to hold a dim view of the sales profession and to rate commissioned salespeople as dishonest and unethical (Gallup 2006). The public views these commissioned salespeople as fast-talking, pushy, and insincere (Butler 1996). The occupation of automobile sales, in particular, has the dubious distinction of being rated as the least honest, ethical, or trustworthy (Jones et al. 1996). It is likely that the negative societal view of the sales role has reached levels at which one could construe a stigma being attached to it.

A stigma is "an association with a particular attribute that identifies it as different and deviant, flawed or undesirable" (Kasperson et al. 2001). For salespeople, it is not the product or service being sold but the sales role that is stigmatized. In addition, evidence indicates that automobile salespeople are aware of their profession being the target of stigmatization, i.e., labeling and stereotyping, along with the associated loss of status (Link and Phelan 2001). This low evaluation of the sales role presents an interesting dilemma for salespeople according to differential association theory (Leonard et al. 1999) and classic sales motivation theory (Walker et al.

1977). This dilemma occurs because in commission-based sales positions extrinsic motivation through compensation is inextricably linked to interaction with the customer holding the negative view about the sales role.

Using data from commission-compensated salespeople from the highly stigmatized automobile sales profession, this study empirically examines the impact of salespersons' awareness of the stigma associated with their work roles on effort and performance. We propose that this impact is particularly evident in jobs where the firm's compensation plan for salespeople is based solely on commissions. While a company's compensation plan is a key determinant of a salesperson's effort (Brown et al. 2005), a commission-based plan exacerbates an already low opinion that customers have of salespeople. Sales managers, who choose not to change the compensation plan, need guidance on whether good management can mitigate this negative influence. Accordingly, this study concludes by examining the mediating effects of individualized management support on the effects of stigma awareness upon sales effort.

BACKGROUND

Based upon expectancy theory which underlies the Churchill/Ford/Walker framework (Johnston and Marshall 2003), a firm's compensation structure, regardless of type, influences, through instrumentality (a probability estimate made by the salesperson that performance leads to reward) of the salesperson, the motivation to expend effort. These estimates will have higher probabilities when "salespeople are compensated solely or partly by commissions" (Walker et al. 1977 p. 165). Beyond an unspecific group of personal or organizational variables, the other direct antecedent of instrumentality is a salesperson's role perception. More specifically, these role perceptions are seen as the accuracy with which the salesperson understands the linkages between performance and rewards, such as, understanding that compensation is directly tied to transactions. Role accuracy also influences expectancies (probability estimates about effort leading to performance) such as, courteous behavior increases the chances of a successful sale.

Many perceptions of salespeople about their sales role come from 'role partners' (Johnston and Marshall 2003). These partners communicate their expectations about the sales role. Evidence indicates one such role partner is the sales manager who can have a positive mediating influence between a salesperson's effort and performance (Boles et al. 1997; Brashear et al. 2003) through managing role expectations. However, these findings about managerial support are limited by a paucity of investigations into the

influence of sales management on effort and performance in commission-based compensation systems.

This limitation is likely a development of the stream of research based upon the Anderson and Oliver (1987) framework. The AO framework provides several alternative theories to explain salary or behavior-based compensation systems as more motivating of salespeople. Some support has been found to indicate that salary-based compensation coupled with behavior-based control leads to increases in sales effort and ultimately the performance of salespeople (Cravens et al. 1993; Oliver and Anderson 1994). Subsequently, most recent sales research focuses on behavior-based control systems (Baldauf et al. 2005). Little additional research seemed necessary as salespeople fully compensated by commission are conceptually, agents, and under agency theory, are extrinsically motivated by monetary reward (Ghosh and John 2000).

We suggest, as do Cravens et al. (1993), that the outcomes of the choice of compensation structure are more complex, especially when considered along with role perceptions of salespeople. This being said, after choosing commission-based compensation along with its specific structure, sales management's options to motivate are seemingly limited. This is because, even though Oliver and Anderson (1994) explicitly viewed compensation directly tied to sales or profits as only a part of an outcome-based control system, they note the importance of commissions in practice: "under such a system, the invisible hand of the marketplace

pressures salespeople to perform and guides their actions” (Anderson and Oliver 1987 p. 76). Thus in the AO framework, salespeople primarily compensated by commissions are, at a conceptual level, controlled by the marketplace and not by their managers.

However, we suggest, even though the choice of commission-based compensation guides salespersons to exert effort at tasks they view as necessary to achieve the sale, the role of management is not eliminated. Under the Churchill/Ford/Walker framework, management can indirectly influence motivation by influencing role accuracy perceptions. Managers, as role partners, can and do influence instrumentality and expectancy estimates that lead to effort to achieve the monetary reward. However, before establishing the influence of managers, it is important to first establish that salespeople do perceive that their efforts will directly lead to increased performance. We test this in the first hypothesis.

H₁: A salesperson’s perceived effort is positively related to the salesperson’s self-reported performance.

Stigma and Effort

One management challenge that develops under outcome-based compensation systems is to maintain sale’s focus on completing the transaction while keeping a customer orientation. The literature has seen extensive examination of the effect of salesperson orientation on completing the sales task (Periatt et al. 2004). In the expectancy framework, salespersons will expend effort on

those tasks that they believe increase the probability of a successful sales transaction. Customer-oriented salespeople see that their efforts in taking care of the customer will lead to completion of the transaction (Saxe and Weitz 1982). Other salespeople may favor expending effort on other actions, such as deception, that they believe will enhance the probability of a successful transaction and thus earn their commission. These latter salespeople engage in behaviors that accomplish the goal regardless of customer interests.

It is likely that part of the stigma associated with commission-based salespeople stems from the actions of a group that unscrupulously engages in any behavior that completes the transaction. However, under certain conditions, even salespersons with an initial customer focus may find that the commission-based compensation system negatively influences their effort and performance. This can occur because, as noted in differential association theory, the customer becomes a member of a critical reference group or a role partner (Leonard et al. 1999). The customer’s opinions and words will influence the salesperson’s social identity, role perceptions, and motivation. Evidence suggests that when a salient reference group, such as the customer to the salesperson, holds significant negative views of the salesperson, this condition will negatively influence the salesperson’s work motivation and effort (Leonard et al. 1999). This occurs when salespeople perceive their interactions with customers to be affected by the stereotyping (Pinel 2004).

Many commission-compensated salespeople may feel they are left with only two choices. They may perceive that they are stigmatized and discount the likelihood of a successful sale outcome as a consequence of the stigma associated with their sales position. This choice leads to lower effort. The second choice is to discount or ignore the opinions of the customer and focus on completing the transaction. This strategy may lead to increases in negative opinions as customers perceive the salesperson is unconcerned with their needs. As we suggest next, eventually this leads to negative stereotyping of this category of salespeople or the stigmatization of commission-based sales.

Our understanding of stigmas, as a condition that influences interpersonal interactions, comes from the social sciences in general and marketing in particular (Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Link and Phelan 2001). While a consensus definition of stigmatization is elusive, we propose that stigmatization is the categorization of the sales role into a stereotyped group and refers to patterns of social rejection. Most stigma frameworks (Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Link and Phelan 2001) embrace a social explanation for rejection. Signs of stigmatization include existence of an outward indicator of class, negative connotations attached to the stereotyped category, and wide dissemination of the stigma through popular media.

An additional component of stigmatization is that the target of this stereotyping must be aware of the negative categorization for it to have an impact on self-image (Oyserman and Swim 2001). It is likely that automobile

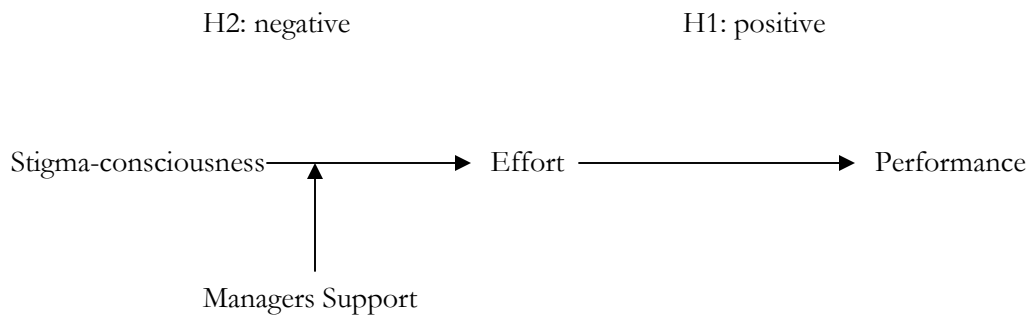
salespeople are aware of the negative societal connotations associated with their profession. Some evidence of this awareness is provided by salespeople's widespread use of euphemisms for their profession such as 'account manager' or 'problem solver' in order to cast the profession in a more positive light (Blitzer 1994).

A salesperson may or may not react to the stigma depending upon their choices outlined above. They may ignore customers and their opinions, in which case the stigmatization does not matter. Alternatively, the salesperson may maintain a customer orientation. Then, the salesperson's perception of stigmatization is likely to be a significant influence on the effort expended since the negative categorization comes from the role referent customer. Stigma consciousness theories suggest that awareness of stigmatization prevents the target of the stigma from "push(ing) themselves to excel in that domain" (Pinel et al. 2005 p. 486). In a similar vein, Bussey and Bandura (1999) maintain that targets of the stigma may lower their effort. This effect leads to our second hypothesis:

H₂: A salesperson's stigma-consciousness is inversely related to the salesperson's self-reported effort.

Manager Support

As boundary spanners, salespeople must try to satisfy both, customers and the company, which can cause role conflict for the salesperson (Bagozzi 1980; Johlke and Duhan 2001; Singh 1993). In addition, having to face constant rejection in selling, salespeople have

Figure 1: Mediating Role of Effort and Manager Support

to be self-motivated in order to be successful (Rich 1999). Self-guidance is particularly important for commission-compensated salespeople. Under outcome-based compensation control and according to the agency theory perspective, this internal assurance is not likely to be bolstered by the sales manager.

However, the sales manager plays a critical role in the salesperson's performance in building skills through coaching and training. In this role the sales manager is another critical referent source that influences the salesperson's perceptions about work (Leonard et al. 1999). Managers can also exert influence by providing individualized support by way of personalized attention and by being empathetic to the feelings of the salesperson. Personal support by managers, according to Dubinsky (1999), refers to personal attention given to salespersons in individual interactions and showing concern for their well-being as well as their professional development. This support provided by the sales manager can contribute

to the salesperson's successful performance of the expected work roles (Johlke and Duhan 2001).

In this model, because of the inclusion of stigma, we suggest that managerial support indirectly influences the salesperson's perceptions of performance and more directly influences the perceived effort exerted by the salesperson. As our discussion in the previous two hypotheses indicates, research shows that the relationship between managerial support and effort is reciprocal, i.e., managerial support can increase effort and vice versa (c.f. Luk and Shaffer 2005; Johlke and Duhan 2001). Thus, we expect managerial support to mediate the internal assessment processes of the salesperson. Managerial support, even in an outcome-based control system, can mediate and decrease the influence of stigmatization on effort. Accordingly, we hypothesize:

H₃: Sales manager support will mediate the negative influence of stigma-consciousness on self-reported effort.

METHODOLOGY

Sample and Survey Procedures

We began the data collection by identifying an industry with a highly stigmatized sales role. Evidence suggests that commission-compensated sales people, such as automobile salespeople, are stigmatized as having low integrity or morals and being untrustworthy (Bernstein 2003). Other researchers note that automobile salespeople are generally held in contempt (Felcher 1995). A Gallup poll even reported that car sales were perceived as the least ethical profession (Butler 1996) to the extent that “they only fare better than murderers” (Joetan and Kleiner 2004 p. 49). The automotive sales industry provides a good context in which to test our hypotheses.

The sample was drawn from twenty-seven different dealerships located in the southern United States. As part of the research project, students of a marketing research class at a regional university handed out questionnaires to salespersons in different automobile dealerships in four cities/towns within 100 miles of each other. Prior permission and support came from general managers of the dealerships. The questionnaires were dropped off and then picked up over a period of 10 working days. Of the three hundred questionnaires handed out, 193 were returned of which 190 were completed, yielding a response rate of 63%. Instructors followed up with sales managers to verify student data collection methods.

Ninety-one percent of the sample was comprised by males and 9% by females. This distribution is not surprising as the incidence of women in automobile sales is very low

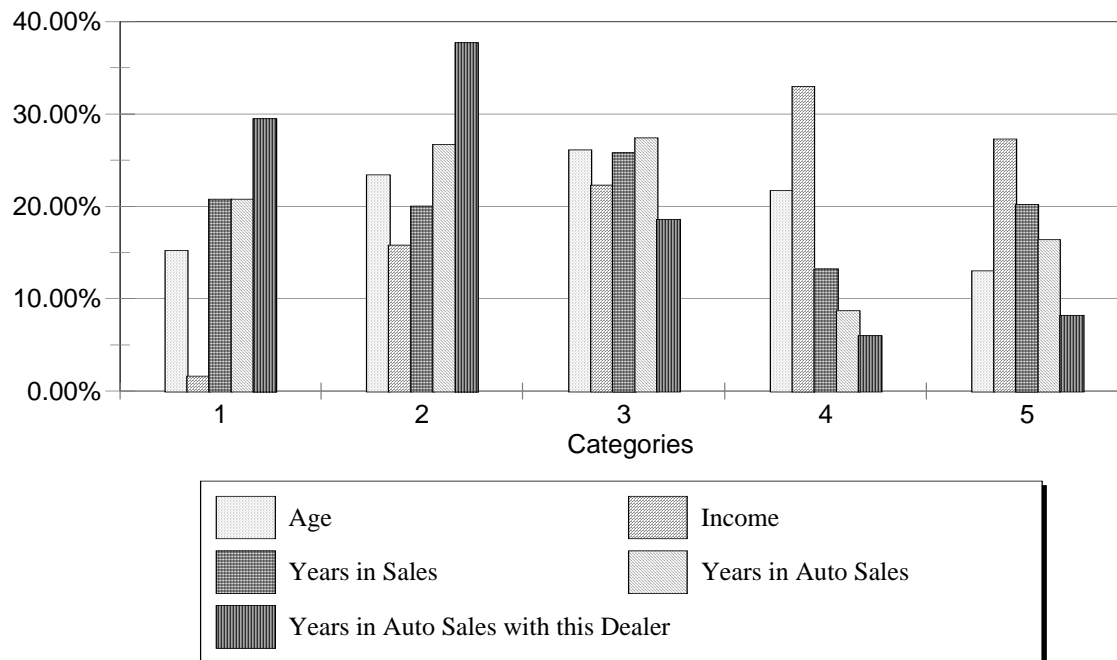
nationwide. The male respondents had been automobile salespeople for an average of 8.1 years while the females’ tenure averaged 8.5 years with an overall median of six years. The salespeople had been with their current dealership an average of 5.25 years with a median of three years and overall sales experience of 11.5 years with a median of eight years. Other demographic distributions of the sample are in table 1.

Measurement

The measurement instrument used scales that have been validated in the marketing literature. The exception is the stigma scale, which, to the best of our knowledge, is new to the sales literature (Pinel et al. 2005). Consequently, we drew on the social psychology literature for this scale (Pinel 2005). All final scales had multiple items and summated scores were created for the final analysis. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) indicated the scales had acceptable psychometric properties. The final measures are listed in appendix 1, and the operational definitions used to measure the constructs are detailed in the following with reliabilities reflected by Cronbach alpha in parentheses.

Stigma (0.75): This construct is measured by Pinel’s (1999) consciousness scale as modified by Wildermuth (2004). This scale measures awareness of a stigma. In this study’s context, the extent to which respondents perceive themselves as stereotyped as typical automobile salespeople by customers as well as the extent to which they perceive that the stereotyping affected their interactions with others in their nonprofessional life. According to Pinel et al. (2005), high stigma

Table 1
Distribution of Sample Demographics



Category Range

Age	25 years and under	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 - 55	56 years and greater
Income	\$20,000 and under	\$20,001- \$40,000	\$40,001- \$60,000	\$60,000- \$80,000	\$80,001 and greater
Years in Sales	1 year and under	Greater than 1 to 5 years	Greater than 5 to 10 years	Greater than 10 to 15 yrs.	Greater than 15 years
Years in Auto Sales	1 year and under	Greater than 1 to 5 years	Greater than 5 to 10 years	Greater than 10 to 15 yrs.	Greater than 15 years
Years in Auto Sales with this Dealer	1 year and under	Greater than 1 to 5 years	Greater than 5 to 10 years	Greater than 10 to 15 yrs.	Greater than 15 years

consciousness affects interactions of target group members, in this case automobile salespersons, with those not belonging to the target group. The five items in Appendix 1 were used for the analysis.

Manager Support (0.92): Individualized manager support reflected the sales manager's respect and "concern about their (the

salespersons') personal feelings and needs," (Rich 1999 p.55). This direct support for the individual is measured by five items.

Effort (0.87): Measures of the salesperson's effort can incorporate self-evaluation or external supervisory indicators. As stigma is likely to affect self-reported effort or performance, those types of indicators are used. The five items used by Dixon et al.

(2001) to measure salespeople's effort attribution measured the effort of salespeople in this study.

Performance (0.93): Sujan et al's (1994) seven item performance scale reflects salespeople's evaluation of their attainment of company objectives. It captures subjective comparisons of their performance with that of colleagues'. Adaptations were made to capture the automobile sales context with the final scale having the eight items listed in appendix 1.

RESULTS

As anticipated, salespersons' perceptions of their effort are positively related to their self-reported performance. Regressing performance on effort indicates support for hypothesis one as the beta coefficient of .178 is statistically significant at $p < .05$ (see Table 2). So these salespeople do seem to understand the positive linkage

between their effort and their performance. Also as anticipated, salespeople's perceptions of a stigma do significantly and negatively influence perceptions of effort. As indicated in Table 2, there is support for hypothesis two as the beta coefficient is -.26. The t-value of the test of statistical significance is 3.696 with $p < .05$.

Given the support for the first two hypotheses, this analysis next examines hypothesis three, which proposes that perceptions of managerial support mediate the effect of stigmatization on effort. Following the heuristic of Baron and Kenny (1986), evidence that managerial support mediates the effect of stigma-consciousness on effort is provided by including both stigma-consciousness and managerial support as antecedents in a model that predicts effort. If the strength of the relationship of stigma-consciousness

Table 2: Outcomes of the Series of Linear Regressions

Hypothesis	Relationship	Stand . Beta	t-value*	F-statistic for the model	Adjusted R Square
H1	Effort → Performance	.178	2.485	6.173	.027
H2	Stigma → Effort	-.260	3.696	13.659	.063
H3	Preconditions for test of mediation				
	Manager Support → Effort	.183	2.552	6.513	.028
	Stigma → Manager Support	-.255	3.610	13.026	.060
H3	Stigma → Manager Support → Effort				
	Stigma → Effort	-.178	-8.435	7.171	.072
	Manager Support → Effort	.094	4.455		
	* t greater than or equal to 2 is significant at the		.05 level		

on effort is less in this new model than in the model with only stigma-consciousness as a predictor of effort, mediation is indicated. This heuristic assumes three preconditions (as described next) are met.

Testing for the mediating effect of management support, begins by establishing that manager support is a significant predictor of effort with a positive relationship. Support is found for this as the beta coefficient of .138 for the regression of effort on manager support is significantly different from zero with a t-value of 2.552 and $p < .05$. It was also found that stigma-consciousness negatively influences perceptions of managerial support with the beta significant at -.265. The third regression for the test of mediation, effort regressed on stigma, is covered in hypothesis two ($b = -.260$; $t = 3.7$). All assumptions of the tests of mediation are met.

Next, the examination of the mediating effect of managerial support on stigma's influence on effort begins with a model including both antecedent variables. The stigma – effort relationship remains statistically significant in this model with the beta decreasing to -.178 (using Sobel's formula; $t = -8.44$, $p < .05$). The manager support – effort relationship also remains statistically significant with a beta of .094. The t-value for this test of the departure from zero is significant at 4.46 and $p < .05$. These results provide support for hypothesis three that managerial support mediates and decreases the negative effect of perceptions of stigma on salesperson's self-reported effort.

DISCUSSION AND MANAGERIAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Stigmatization or perceived stereotyping of groups has been extensively studied in the social sciences literature. That a stigma exists about the sales profession is supported by the popular press articles and polls previously cited, which indicate that the sales profession and automobile sales in particular, are held in low regard. Our empirical results indicate salespeople are aware of the societal stigmatization of the automobile sales profession. Managers need to be aware of this stigmatization and its implications that the awareness of this stigma negatively influences a salesperson's self-reported effort and performance.

As found in previous research (Pinel et al. 2005), it is likely the societal view of salespeople is skewed and more negative than is warranted. As is the case with many stereotyping classification systems, the caricature of Willy Loman as a typical salesperson (Butler 1996) may be inaccurate and unfair, but is also prevalent. The contribution of this paper is neither to justify nor to debunk the stigmatization of salespeople. Rather, consistent with other social science research, this study provides evidence of a strong correlation between elevated levels of stigma consciousness and inferior levels of performance (Pinel et al. 2005).

While it is possible that society's negative view of salespeople is exaggerated, it is also possible that some 'sales oriented' salespeople are responsible for these views. It is likely that unethical salespeople are present in any

compensation system. However, given the outcome-based versus process-based control system, it is likely that unscrupulous individuals looking for low control may self select the commission-based compensation system. This self selection leads to a higher proportion of 'sales oriented' and/or opportunistic individuals in outcome-based compensation systems.

Management is faced with the dilemma of avoiding outcome-based compensation or accepting the possibility that customers will have some negative views about the sales role. This study suggests other options to management for avoiding unethical behaviors and resultant stigmatization beyond using outcome-based compensation. As we outline next, an integrated series of sales management practices could alleviate some of the more deleterious consequences of stigmatization of the sales profession.

Our first recommendation is that managers should not ignore or discount the possibility that a stigma is associated with their firm's sales positions. When using commission-based sales compensation, it is important to determine if your sales people feel customers hold negative views about the sales position. Care should be taken to ensure that the salespeople are expressing their opinion about the position and not customer opinions about them as individuals. It is quite possible that the salesperson could reason that the customer doesn't hold a positive opinion of the sales role but thinks quite highly of them. The questions included in the stigma scale, in the appendix to this paper, are a good guide to the questions a manager should ask of sales people.

Sales managers can confirm the influence of stigma consciousness by querying their salespeople about the sales process. Managers should seek to identify any role inaccuracies that may be the result of stigmatization. Managers should look for inaccurate estimates of the amount and types of effort necessary to achieve a successful transaction. Managers should also look for inaccuracies in estimates of the reward achieved for a successful sale. A salesperson that overestimates the effort required to complete a sale or incorrectly estimated the reward earned by a sale that has also expressed stigma-consciousness indicates a problem.

The second step for the manager is to determine if, in the aggregate, there are enough salespeople aware of customer stigmatization. Managers are cautioned to remember that not all salespeople will express awareness of the stigma even if it exists. Salespeople have coping mechanisms to deal with the stigma and thus may not exhibit a consciousness of the stigma. A cautionary note about one coping mechanism is in order. A focused qualitative study found that some automobile salespeople cope by reversing the roles and stigmatizing the customers as the inferior group with negative characteristics (Felcher 1995). This particular coping mechanism may require extensive retraining to avoid it devolving into deceitful and opportunistic behaviors.

For the sales manager, the most important group is the salespeople that express an awareness of the stigma. The results of this study indicate that managers can mediate the effects of stigmatization on effort. The key is

in recognizing that stigma applies to the sales role and not the individual. Again looking at the appendix at the end of the paper (see the items measuring manager support), one sees the emphasis is upon supporting the individual and not the sales task. Managers need to acknowledge the stigma but point out that it is not personally directed. Management does not need to expend efforts on building up the sales role. Rather, managers should focus on the individual. Management effort to spend time with each salesperson individually (the management literature often cites three times a week) as opposed to time spent in group meetings will have benefits. Coupling this management time with individualized training in coping techniques will lead to extensive improvements in effort.

Measuring the success of management support is also relatively simple. The effect of management intervention should become evident through more accurate role perceptions. Salespeople's estimates of the probability of success based on effort should become more closely aligned with the firm's experience. Similarly, accuracy in role perceptions will be indicated by how close the salesperson's estimate of the specific reward from a successful sale is to the company's actual calculation of compensation. Thus, managers can query the salespeople both before about their role accuracy as a diagnostic of potential problems and after some management intervention for indications of successful mediation.

Another possible implication of stigmatization is its consequence on effort. Low motivation to exert sales effort will have a negative impact

on performance. Pinel et al (2005) suggest that the decrease in effort by highly stigma-conscious people might occur due to "psychological disengagement," a process of distancing the self from the domain in which the stigmatization is experienced. This disengagement may be a partial explanation for the high voluntary turnover of automobile salespeople. A cycle of low estimates about obtaining the commission followed by low success rates creates the self-fulfilling expectancy leading ultimately to low income. Management engagement might break this cycle and decrease turnover.

As a final recommendation, management can help salespeople disconfirm the customer's expected stereotype. First impressions can confirm or disconfirm expectations and these begin with the introduction of the customer and salesperson (Wood 2006). Educating salespeople on the appropriate display of initial nonverbal signals can have a huge impact on the balance of the customer/salesperson interaction. Handshakes, eye contact, and genuine smiles begin the relationship on a positive note and are more than a formality. Managers should be aware of the impact of these displays and role play with their salespeople to practice non-verbals. This training is an example of the individualized attention mentioned above.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This research just scratches the surface of a neglected area in the sales literature, namely the effect of society's negative stereotyping of the sales profession. Because this research uses automobile salespeople in a deliberate

attempt to maximize stigmatization and to maintain a commission-based compensation context, caution should prevail when drawing any broad conclusions. However, this research is an extension of an established framework of motivated salespeople expending more effort which leads to increases in performance. The paper contributes to our understanding of motivation by finding stigmatization impedes this effort. Of course, other factors such as salespeople's personal characteristics, experience with selling, and/or the type of selling situation also influence the motivation-effort-performance model and the deliberate exclusion of positive influences is a limitation of this study. This limitation could be alleviated by additional research. In addition, while it appears likely that regardless of compensation structure the presence of stigma may negatively influence sales effort and performance, investigation of this conclusion needs to continue. Extensions of this line of research are imperative, as it is not likely that the negative opinions of salespeople will disappear any time soon.

Another fruitful line of investigation would be to see if salespeople were conscious of the stigma prior to starting the job. Future longitudinal studies would investigate if the levels of stigma consciousness had changed since starting employment. Research might reveal additional factors that mediate the influence of the stigmatization. However, since the salespeople in our sample had been at their current dealership for an average of over five years, their tenure would likely have

biased their previous recollections of stigma; consequently, we did not measure their stigma consciousness prior to entering the profession.

Despite these various shortcomings it is clear that managers can mediate the effect of stigma. This managerial influence upon fully commissioned salespeople is another under explored area in the literature. The implication that sales positions that primarily rely upon monetary rewards for motivation can also motivate sales effort by 'soft' factors suggest a hybrid system of control where the influences of monetary rewards are monitored by managers. Research into such hybrid systems is likely to be fruitful. Finally, this research needs to extend into different contexts, such as, services or business to business sales.

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APPENDIX 1

Measures

Performance (Sujan, Weitz and Kumar 1994):

1. At contributing to my dealerships acquisition of market share
2. At selling high profit margin products
3. At generating a high volume of sales dollars
4. At quickly generating sales of new additions to my dealerships inventory
5. At correctly identifying prospects
6. At converting prospects to customers
7. At exceeding sales targets
8. At assisting the sales manager at achieving his or her goals

Manager Support (Rich 1999):

1. Demonstrates he/she genuinely cares about me
2. Shows respect for my individual needs
3. Shows respect for my individual feelings
4. Usually trusts me to do the right thing
5. Treats me like a real person, not a subordinate

Stigma Pinel (1999), Wildermuth (2004), Pinel (2004), and Pinel et al. (2005):

1. Stereotypes about automobile salespersons have not affected me personally
2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically that of an automobile salesperson
3. Most of my friends do not judge me on the basis of being an automobile salesperson
4. It never crossed my mind that my profession is any less than other professions
5. When others speak disapprovingly of automobile salespersons, I criticize myself about being one.

Effort (Dixon, Spiro, Jamil 2001):

1. I worked hard and it paid off
2. I tried very hard to make this sale
3. I put in a lot of effort in this sale
4. I put in the time needed to make the sale
5. I gave the effort needed to make the sale