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The value of human resource management for organizational performance

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Abstract

All executives would like to see their organizations perform better, and most search for tools that can help make this happen. For decades, human resource managers have believed that their function enhances performance. This contention has been met with skepticism on the part of executives, who wonder whether funds allocated to the human resource function are good investments. Dozens of studies have examined this issue, but their inconsistent results have provided no conclusions. To resolve a long-standing and controversial question – does human resource management matter for organizational performance? – we take stock of the available evidence. Based on data from over 19,000 organizations, we conclude that human resource management adds significant value for organizations. In addition, the value added is strongest when human resource systems are emphasized rather than individual practices, when human resource management decisions are tied to strategy, and among manufacturing firms.

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"Personnel? That's for [idiots]."—'Dirty Harry' Callahan, upon being assigned to the Personnel Department, The Enforcer (1976)

1. From "personnel" to "human resources"

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, a movement occurred whereby corporations' personnel departments were renamed "human resources" departments. This shift acknowledged that employees are important assets, rather than just parts plugged into positions. It also signaled an emerging recognition that organizations should discontinue the historical practice of considering employees as costs, rather than as vital sources of revenues and profits. In

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many firms, however, the shift was more symbolic than substantive. Like Dirty Harry, many executives remain skeptical about the value added by the human resource function. For example, in his book *The Human Equation*, Jeffrey Pfeffer (1998) reports that only about half of executives believe that human resources really matter, and a scant half of that half act upon those beliefs. At least part of the problem can be attributed to the fact that investments in human resources (such as training sessions and incentive programs) can be highly visible, while the return on those investments is difficult to measure.

Researchers interested in human resource management (HRM) have spent considerable time and energy attempting to understand exactly how much, and under what conditions, different investments in HRM enhance a firm's performance. Although progress is being made, scholars' efforts to study the effects of HRM practices have led to conflicting results. The lack of uniformity is not too surprising in that, in general, science tends to move forward in fits and starts. Scientific results can only be important to managers, however, when managers can be confident that acting in the ways suggested offers a high probability of yielding positive outcomes. One way for managers to gain confidence in scientific results entails looking at an entire body of research, rather than any single study. Confidence that HRM investments pay off makes it easier for HRM practitioners to convince other executives about their merits.

As described in Table 1, we discuss the findings from a study that statistically aggregated the results of 92 prior scientific investigations of the effects on performance of 13 HRM practices. These studies collectively include data from over 19,000 organizations. We begin by explaining the process through

Table 1 Method and data source

The findings we report were previously conveyed to an academic audience in Combs, Liu, Hall, and Ketchen (2006). Our purpose here is to discuss the value of HRM practices and systems in the context of managerial practice. The initial study used a technique called meta-analysis, which is an important tool that researchers use to take stock of a body of research containing seemingly disparate findings (Dalton & Dalton, 2005). Meta-analysis statistically aggregates findings from multiple studies in order to provide solid conclusions that are widely generalizable. In short, meta-analysis allows researchers to draw conclusions in which there is much greater confidence than what can be drawn from any single study. In this article, we discuss the results of a meta-analysis of 92 studies that investigate HRM's performance implications.

which HRM practices are expected to affect firm performance. We review 10 popular HRM practices that our evidence shows to be performance enhancing, and describe three important factors that affect the effectiveness of HRM implementation. Because these findings are based on dozens of studies, we can have a great deal of confidence in them. After briefly describing how future research might help us better understand three HRM practices whose performance effects remain unclear, we summarize what our findings mean for practicing HRM professionals and the executives with whom they work.

2. Does human resource management matter?

In theory, HRM practices shape firm performance through three key channels. As related by Huselid (1995), HRM practices:

- increase employees' knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs);
- (2) motivate employees to leverage their KSAs for the firm's benefit; and
- (3) empower employees to do so.

A high level of KSAs among employees is essential for employees to perform work tasks effectively. When employees only know the routine functions of their jobs, they cannot make significant contributions to the organization beyond their assigned tasks. However, even when employees possess KSAs that allow them to step beyond the routine, they are not likely to do so unless properly motivated. Thus, much of the history of HRM practice and research has focused on motivating employees to exert discretionary effort. Finally, even knowledgeable, skilled, and motivated employees will not deploy their discretionary time and talent if organizational structures and job design block their efforts. HRM practices need to help remove roadblocks and facilitate employee productivity.

We identified 13 HRM practices that researchers have studied as possible antecedents to firm performance. Based on the available evidence, our conclusion is that a modest but meaningful relationship exists between firms' use of these practices and a variety of performance measures. The obvious question is: How meaningful is the relationship? This is truly an important question for managers when deciding how to allocate organizational resources. Part of the answer is that HRM practices have a larger influence on firm performance than other well-researched factors, such as the independence

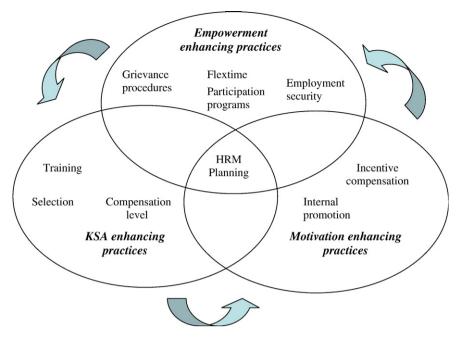


Figure 1 HRM practices and the processes they impact most.

of a firm's board of directors (Dalton, Daily, Ellstrand, & Johnson, 1998) and CEO incentive compensation (Tosi, Werner, Katz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2000). As an example, if we apply the effect we found to Huselid's (1995) sample of 816 firms, an approximately 30% increase in a beneficial HRM practice translates, on average, to an increase in return on assets from 5.1% to 8.3% and a decrease in employee turnover from 18.4% to 15.3%. These effects are large enough that executives need to recognize how HRM can contribute to their firms' well being. Indeed, in many industries (such as those with low margins), the decisions and actions of skilled HR managers can represent the difference between making a profit and losing money.

3. Key human resource management practices

Of the 13 practices studied, we found that existing evidence provides confidence that 10 affect firm performance. Although many of the practices we identified affect more than one of the three underlying processes (i.e., increasing KSAs, motivation, or empowerment), most influence one process more than the others. For the purpose of organizing our discussion, we grouped 9 of the 10 performance enhancing practices according to which of the three processes the practice affects most. We save consideration of the tenth practice, HRM planning, for a later section of the article because HRM planning helps bind the other practices together. The findings for three other practices – teams, performance appraisal, and information sharing – were not strong enough to recommend them as performance enhancers at this point in time.

We use Fig. 1 to illustrate our groupings of HRM practices by underlying process. The ovals overlap to reflect that the processes interact, as do the practices that support each process. We discuss selectivity, compensation level, and training as KSA-enhancing practices. Although being selective, for example, can also help firms find people who are self-motivated and thus improve the overall level of employee motivation, the primary purpose of being selective is to screen out potential employees who lack necessary KSAs. Incentive compensation and internal promotion are labeled motivation-enhancing practices because of their central role in inspiring extra effort. Likewise, participation programs, flextime, grievance procedures, and employment security are empowerment-enhancing practices because they facilitate work processes, remove roadblocks, and thereby help employees act on their skills.

3.1. KSA-enhancing practices

Selection of employees is the critical first step toward building a productive workforce. Systematically designed selection processes help identify people with the right set of knowledge, skills, and abilities for individual jobs. Selection is a tricky process because the fit between a person and a job, as well as between a person and a company's culture and values, is important. Without a good personorganization and -job fit, employees may not be committed to the organization and turnover may result (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). The comprehensiveness of selection practices greatly affects employees' level of perceived fit, which enhances job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and reduces intentions to quit (Saks & Ashforth, 1997).

Many selection practices can be used to increase fit. Terpstra and Rozell (1993) identified several essential staffing practices, including structured interviews, cognitive aptitude and ability tests, and follow-up studies of recruiting sources. Their study is just one of 15 that examined the effect on performance of using state-of-the-art selection processes. Based on these 15 studies, we estimate that being selective has a performance effect equivalent to the average effect of all other practices we analyzed (i.e., modest but significant). The effect probably occurs because selection helps employers identify high-KSA employees who best fit organizational values and individual job demands.

Although it is not the only factor affecting a prospective employee's decision to accept or reject a job offer, *compensation level* is among the most important dynamics affecting job choice. Attractive compensation helps build firms' reputations as good employers, which further attracts and retains high-quality employees. High compensation reduces the incentive for high-KSA employees to seek employment elsewhere. Because high compensation helps retain talent, over time, it ensures a higher overall level of KSAs among employees.

Based on our investigation of the 18 studies that examined compensation, the overall effect of compensation level on performance was a bit higher than the typical HRM practice. However, the story is not that simple. Among the studies that analyzed compensation, seven reported small negative relationships with performance. Thus, there appear to be situations in which the cost of paying higher compensation is not offset by greater productivity. In highly routinized work, for example, high-KSA workers have less opportunity to make improvements. This also highlights potential interactions among HRM practices. Paying extra to have knowledgeable and skilled employees will be of little value if employees lack motivation or confront bureaucratic roadblocks in applying their skills. Perhaps the studies reporting negative relationships contained a disproportionate number of firms with this "deadly combination" of practices (Becker, Huselid, Pickus, & Spratt, 1997). The bottom line is that while investments in higher compensation pay off overall, managers need to

make sure they are able to take advantage of the higher KSAs such compensation will generate.

Training refers to the amount of formal instruction given to employees. Training, which has a special appeal to those interested in gaining access to skills that will help them advance their careers, can focus on company-specific policies and procedures, job-related skills, or leadership and social skills. In addition to initial training, many companies offer ongoing training to employees. Properly designed and implemented, training should help increase employee KSAs. Training is among the most frequently studied HR practices; in fact, 29 studies examined the training-performance relationship. These studies covered both service and manufacturing organizations in the United States and abroad, and most reported a positive and significant link.

One potential pitfall of emphasizing training is the risk of "training the industry"; that is, spending money increasing employees' skills and then losing these employees to competitors. To avoid this, managers should make an effort to retain welltrained employees, which could be accomplished through other HRM practices such as tying incentive compensation to training and encouraging internal promotion. It is also helpful to match training outcomes to the firm's specific needs so that the KSAs gained via training are not as easily applicable elsewhere.

3.2. Motivation-enhancing practices

Many companies offer some form of *incentive compensation*, such as stock options, individual or group performance bonuses, and profit sharing. Incentive compensation boosts motivation because it strengthens the link between employee effort and the rewards employees receive. Incentive compensation has been the most frequently studied HR practice, with 31 relevant studies found in the literature, most of which reported a positive link between incentive compensation and performance.

Researchers have argued that compensation systems need to fit with the overall HRM system, as well as with business strategy (Baird & Meshoulam, 1988). Thus, in choosing among the variety of incentive compensation options, managers need to carefully examine their strategic goals and the type of work involved. For example, rewarding individual performance with large bonuses might undermine work that requires extensive cooperation.

Policies encouraging *internal promotion* are popular today, in part because of their motivating effects. Internal promotion policies aid employees in establishing clear expectations regarding their future, which motivates them to not only perform well in the positions they hold, but also develop skills and abilities that might benefit subsequent positions. Particularly when employees' KSAs can become specific to the organization, and thereby not readily transferable, internal mobility significantly reduces employees' intentions to leave (Pfeffer, 1998). We identified 12 studies that examined the performance implications of internal promotion policies. These studies sampled a diverse array of entities, including banks, law firms, and software companies. As an example, in a study of 373 for—profit and nonprofit organizations, Delaney and Huselid (1996) found a link between the availability of internal promotion and perceived performance. Thus, it appears that internal promotion is beneficial for organizations operating in a wide variety of settings.

3.3. Empowerment-enhancing practices

Participation refers to the degree to which employees can influence decisions. In firms that encourage participation, employees are given opportunities to take initiative, join in decision-making, and share their opinions about their jobs and job-related issues. Participation puts employees in a position to proactively influence the way their work is done, and to form a sense of ownership over their work. It allows employees, who are typically more knowledgeable about their job tasks than are managers, to identify and correct problems. Across the 18 studies we examined, the relationship between participation and performance was significant, but slightly smaller than for most HRM practices. The effect is likely to be larger, however, when participation is bundled with other HR practices that invest in employees' skills and motivation. This is because the full benefits of participation can only be realized when employees have the skills and ability to make good decisions and are motivated to do so (Wright, McCormick, Sherman, & McMahan, 1999). Participation also supports efforts to continuously innovate. This is important in that innovation is an increasingly vital source of advantage for firms in a wide array of industries.

Responding to a more competitive labor market, many organizations are offering *flextime* as a way to attract workers. Part-time work, job sharing, compressed work weeks, telecommuting, and other flexible arrangements allow employees greater control over their schedules. Such practices help employees better fulfill responsibilities at home and maintain a healthy work–family balance. As such, employees are more focused while working, which enables them to work more effectively. Thus, flextime can both increase morale and improve the bottom line. We found eight investigations of the relationship between flextime and performance. Whereas the link to performance was significant, it was less than for other HRM practices we examined. One reason might be that the costs of implementing such practices can be high. Coordinating flextime arrangements takes significant administrative effort.

Grievance procedures provide a formal avenue for employee voice, and thus help employees in efforts they may undertake with the purpose of changing dissatisfying work situations and to resolve workplace conflict when it arises. Based on data from eight studies, we found that grievance procedures have an overall effect on performance that is significant, but slightly less than the average HRM practice we examined. Grievance procedures empower employees by offering an avenue for resolving disagreements with managers and other employees. Their effect on performance occurs largely by increasing employee retention (Spencer, 1986). When employees perceive grievance procedures to be fair and effective, they are more likely to be satisfied with solutions and less likely to leave the firm (Peterson & Lewin, 2000).

Despite pressures to abandon *employment security* in favor of flexibility, many managers still work hard to avoid layoffs during difficult times. One reason is that this enhanced level of commitment to employees results in a workforce with greater devotion to the organization. Employment security policies align the interests of employees with the firm's long-term interests. Committed employees are more likely to embrace the firm's vision and goals. A stable employment relationship helps employees develop a long-term perspective and a broad view of their jobs, which empowers them to seek solutions to problems that are beyond the limited scope of specified job tasks (Pfeffer, 1998).

Only six studies examined the relationship between employment security and performance, all of which reported a positive link. These studies were based in a broad array of settings. For example, in a study of 192 banks, Delery and Doty (1996) found that employment security was significantly related to return on assets. Ahmad and Schroeder (2003) found similar results in a sample of 107 manufacturing plants spread across Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Overall, the available evidence shows that striving to provide employment security pays dividends. The evidence seems to support the view that employees possess tacit knowledge that is a vital contributor to firm success. This tacit knowledge is at least partly lost through downsizing and restructuring, and when using contingent work forces.

3.4. Three additional practices

For three practices – teams, performance appraisal, and information sharing - we did not find a significant performance effect. This does not mean that these practices do not shape performance, only that the research evidence to date cannot support touting them as performance enhancers. With respect to the use of teams, there were only eight studies. Two of the studies used large databases that were designed for other purposes. If we ignore these two studies, the other six suggest that using teams enhances performance as much as any other practice we studied. Thus, we are cautiously optimistic about the value of teams, and believe that teams can be safely recommended as part of an overall HRM strategy (Wimbush, 2006). We are similarly optimistic about information sharing. The six existing studies of information sharing were supportive, but we simply do not yet have enough evidence to nail down the effect with confidence. For managers, the preliminary evidence looks good and is suggestive that sharing job-relevant information with employees enhances performance.

With respect to the final HRM practice studied, performance appraisal, we believe that answers will stem from research into how appraisals are implemented. Appraisals can be based on results or behaviors. Behavior-based appraisals focus on the behaviors individuals need to perform the job effectively; results-based appraisals focus on the consequences of those behaviors, typically quantifiable output (Delery & Doty, 1996). It is likely that behavior-based appraisal is more effective for highly routine tasks, but results-based appraisals are needed for relatively independent or creative work. Failure to match the performance appraisal with the job might be reducing their effectiveness overall. Another problem is that performance appraisals too often are viewed as political (Wayne & Liden, 1995), which can frustrate employees and reduce productivity. Given these potential problems, both researchers and HRM practitioners can benefit from focusing on the type of performance appraisal used and how it is implemented.

4. Three factors that impact the effectiveness of HRM practices

Overall, our results show that HRM matters a great deal. For 10 of the 13 practices we investigated, there is compelling evidence that each significantly affects performance. Consistent with much of the HRM literature, further analysis shows that maximizing the value of HRM is much more complex than merely implementing a few of these practices. We found three specific factors that impact the effectiveness of the practices discussed in the previous section:

- vertical alignment between HRM and firm strategy;
- (2) horizontal alignment among the HRM practices; and
- (3) the work context.

Fig. 2 shows how paying attention to these factors strengthens the effects of HRM investments on firm performance.

4.1. Vertical alignment

Herein, we have discussed nine statistically significant practices that focus on enhancing employee KSAs, motivation, and empowerment. Each is important, but HRM planning is the practice that ties them together. HRM planning refers to the process wherein managers design the HR function so that it supports strategic business objectives. When HRM practices are implemented so that they support strategy, they are vertically aligned (Baird & Meshoulam, 1988). This non-trivial task requires careful thought and analysis; significantly, the ability to orchestrate successful HRM planning practices

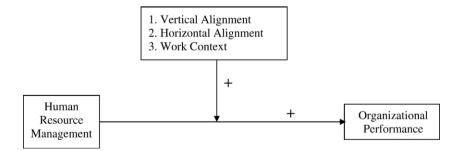


Figure 2 Three factors that impact the effectiveness of human resource management.

differentiates effective from ineffective human resource managers. Moreover, the effective manager understands that a properly designed and executed HRM planning system is the foundation for the alignment of individual employees' actions with the firm's strategy (Boswell, Bingham, & Colvin, 2006).

Many HRM practices can be implemented with different orientations. For example, incentive pay can foster individual achievement when tied to individual outcomes, and cooperation when tied to group outcomes. Researchers have described several ways in which HRM systems can be oriented to align with a firm's strategy. For example, Youndt, Snell, Dean, and Lepak (1996) contrasted a set of practices oriented toward enhancing human capital (e.g., behavior-based performance appraisal, group incentives) with a set of practices oriented toward administrative efficiency (e.g., results-based performance appraisal, individual incentives) and found that human capital enhancing practices worked best among high quality manufacturers, whereas low cost manufacturers performed better by focusing their practices toward administrative efficiency.

Despite the impression by some that HR planning limits flexibility, effective HR planning actually empowers an organization to reach its objectives by enabling a dynamic fit between where the firm is striving to go and what the workforce is equipped to do (Lam & Schaubroeck, 1998). Without HR planning, the firm may find it hard to reach the ends it seeks to achieve in each of its functional areas, such as marketing, finance, and supply chain management.

We identified 10 studies that report data on the HR planning-performance relationship. The overall size of the relationship was the largest of any practice we examined. This is not surprising, given the strategic importance of HR planning. In order for HRM to have its full impact, HR professionals must be involved in the strategy formation process. It is also incumbent on HR managers to maintain close relations with line managers, so that they keep up to date with their organizations' most pressing personnel needs.

4.2. Horizontal alignment

An HRM system is horizontally aligned when the practices that make up a system reinforce one another. One of the key findings in our analysis was that the effect of a coherent HRM system is very strong. Specifically, we found that the effect of using an entire system of HRM practices is quite substantial: twice as large as that of using a single practice. As an illustration, we consider again the 816 organizations sampled by Huselid (1995). Within his study, an approximately 30% increased investment in the HRM system translates, on average, to

an increase in return on assets from 5.1% to 10.3% and a decrease in employee turnover from 18.4% to 12.3%. These effects are fairly dramatic, and they should make it clear that systematic investments in HRM typically yield handsome payoffs.

The primary explanation for the large effect that horizontally aligned HRM systems have is that synergies occur when practices reinforce each other. For example, selection and participation should each have performance effects, but their joint effect is greater than the sum of their individual effects. This is because selection helps furnish the necessary knowledge and skills for effective decision-making that is essential in any participation program. A study of US petro-chemical refineries found that the impact of selection, compensation, and performance appraisal on performance was strong when participation was high, but the same practices had a negative effect on performance when participation was low (Wright et al., 1999). This suggests that empowermentenhancing practices have to be in place before KSAenhancing practices and motivation-enhancing practices can realize their full potential.

At the same time, a poorly designed system of practices can reduce performance. Sometimes practices are duplicative. For example, when a selection practice ensures that employees possess certain skills, the cost of implementing training on these skills is redundant (Delery, 1998). Two practices might also produce a "deadly combination" wherein they work against each other (Becker et al., 1997). This happens, for example, when managers implement a team-based approach to work while compensating employees solely based on individual performance. As such, it is critical for HRM professionals to understand how each practice might influence the effectiveness of the others within their organizations.

The goal should be to work toward what Becker et al. (1997) refer to as "powerful connections" among practices. For example, employee participation should be coupled with some type of incentive so that the participation is not viewed as simply the addition of new work tasks. Training should be bundled with flexible job descriptions and greater autonomy that leverage new skills and capabilities. Such design ensures that HRM practices support each other, which leads to a collective benefit for performance that is far greater than any individual practice could provide.

4.3. Work context

At first glance, it might appear that service contexts would benefit most from HRM activities because

service excellence comes from employee discretionary effort in the service encounter, and it is exactly this discretionary effort that HRM practices ultimately promote. In service jobs, employees have a great deal of discretion in deciding how to act when working with customers (Bowen & Ford, 2002). Service employees are also closer to customers, so the effects of HRM practices on employee behavior should seemingly more directly affect quality (Batt, 2002). Surprisingly however, we found that HRM's effect is, in fact, higher in manufacturing contexts.

We believe that there are several reasons for this finding. First, manufacturers might benefit more from the flexibility provided by progressive HRM practices. Work in manufacturing often involves complex and potentially dangerous machinery. When changes are made to products, machinery, or processes, many of the established rules and safety systems must change with them, and HRM practices can be instrumental in helping the workforce adapt. Second, services benefit from the social pressure employees confront in dealing with customers, which provides a source of motivation unavailable to manufacturers. A long wait, for example, motivates service workers to adjust to work more efficiently (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). Because workers in manufacturing never see the face of an angry or hapless customer, HRM alone must furnish the motivation for employees to put forth their best effort. Finally, many of the HRM practices advocated by researchers and practitioners were devised and refined in manufacturing settings. Thus, it is possible they fit better with manufacturing work. Perhaps a different set of practices is needed to help service workers deliver the best performance. For example, best practices for service workers might involve finding ways to offer emotional support to reduce anxiety when slow service is not under their control.

The broader message is that practices must be tuned toward the specific issues confronted by workers in each unique context. The goal should be to focus on what is needed to make sure workers have the KSAs they need to perform their jobs productively, that they have the motivation to apply their KSAs, and that supervisors empower them to do so. Effective HR managers recognize the contingent relationship between HR practices and unique work contexts.

5. Implications for managers

Based on the results of our examination of 92 studies encompassing over 19,000 organizations, we confidently conclude that human resource management has significant value for organizational performance. This overall conclusion is supplemented by specific recommendations for managers seeking to enhance their firms' level of success. Our first recommendation is that skilled investments in: (1) HR planning, (2) compensation level, (3) incentive compensation, (4) training, (5) internal promotion, (6) employment security, (7) participation, (8) selectivity, (9) grievance procedures, or (10) flextime (in that order) will yield benefits in terms of increased productivity, decreased employee turnover, and greater financial returns. Although the statistical evidence is not yet strong enough for us to recommend three other practices with confidence, we believe that evidence regarding two of them teams and information sharing – is sufficient to make them low-risk gambles.

Second, these returns can be significantly magnified by effective coordination by HRM professionals. Specifically, when multiple practices are implemented systematically and reinforce each other, the effect of HRM on organizational performance literally doubles. The reason is that it takes a system of practices to gain all of the benefits of HRM (i.e., skilled and motivated employees with the power to act). Falling short in any one of these areas weakens the impact of investments in other areas. Thus, adopting a holistic perspective is a necessity.

Our third recommendation also requires coordination by a skilled HRM professional. The impact of HRM on performance is greater when HRM practices and systems support a firm's business strategy. Many of the practices investigated here, such as incentive compensation, can be used to encourage different behaviors (e.g., individual efforts vs. team efforts). This makes it important that HRM professionals target each practice so that it supports the business strategy.

Finally, in considering these choices, managers must be mindful of their fit with the firm's features beyond strategy. In particular, we found that while HRM is valuable to service firms, it offers greatest benefit to manufacturing firms. Perhaps an increased use of HRM systems and practices could enhance the productivity of some manufacturers enough to erode the cost disadvantages driving their off-shoring decisions.

6. Final thoughts

Skepticism has long surrounded the possible role of human resource management in shaping organizational performance. Our research shows that this skepticism is misplaced. Data from over 19,000 organizations make it clear that HRM adds value. In

particular, we believe that managers will see the most gains from HRM by developing a comprehensive and internally cohesive HRM system that is embedded in the organization's history, culture, and structure. Doing so not only enhances performance, but also leads the firm's system to be more difficult for competitors to imitate. Research grounded in the resource-based view of the firm (e.g., Barney, 1991) suggests that such inimitability is essential to the creation of enduring performance advantages. A synergistic HRM system is a pathway through which the firm's employees have the potential to become a key source of competitive advantage and to enhance organizational performance through their work (Cravens & Oliver, 2006). Personnel is most definitely not for idiots.

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