

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FUNCTIONALITY OF ORGANIZATIONAL
CYNICAL BEHAVIOR: A MIXED-METHOD PERSON-CENTRIC APPROACH

by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my loving husband, Rick, without whose support and encouragement this research would not have been possible.

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I would like to thank the many friends, relatives, and supporters who have made this journey possible. A special thanks goes to Drs. Kaplan, Dalal, and Tetrick – my dissertation committee – who provided priceless guidance and valuable training, who took the time to share their experiences and expertise, and who took a personal interest in making this endeavor a reality.

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ABSTRACT

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FUNCTIONALITY OF ORGANIZATIONAL CYNICAL BEHAVIOR: A MIXED-METHOD PERSON-CENTRIC APPROACH

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To-date, meta-analytic evidence suggests organizational cynicism influences organizational outcomes such as reduced job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and job performance, and increased intention to quit (Chiaburu, Peng, Oh, Bank, & Lomeli, 2013). However, the focus on these particular outcomes indicates that the cynicism literature still emphasizes research practically relevant to organizations, rather than to the worker. Related to this shortcoming, the literature outlines a narrow conceptual view of what motivates workers to enact cynical behavior. To address these issues, I conducted a mixed methods project, using two studies to examine organizational cynicism from a person-centric perspective. In Study 1, semi-structured interviews ($n=26$) were conducted to elicit workers' accounts of cynical behaviors based on different motivations. Then, in Study 2, research hypotheses were tested using survey data from 346 workers, who varied in terms of organization type, career stage and organizational

role. Using latent profile analysis, I identified 4 cynical profiles—value-expressive (low social-expressive), value-expressive (high social-expressive), social-expressive, and defensive—and found that these cynical profiles differentially predicted employee wellbeing outcomes (negative and positive job affect, depression, burnout) and intent to quit. These results reveal new insights into the nature of cynicism, thereby contributing to the extension of organizational cynicism theory and potentially the improvement in the prediction of worker well-being outcomes.

Keywords: organizational cynicism, cynical behavior, mixed methods, psychological functions

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Workplace cynicism is prevalent. A recent U.S. national survey reported that approximately half of employees in the working millennial population have cynical attitudes toward their employing organizations (Deloitte, 2018). These findings represent the lowest reported levels in the last four years of workers' views of business' motivation and ethics. In addition, empirical evidence demonstrates workplace cynical beliefs and behaviors can result in emotional exhaustion for workers (Johnson & O'Leary, 2003) and are contagious to other workers (Wilkerson, Evans, & Davis, 2008). Given these findings, understanding the extant scholarly literature on this topic and investigating opportunities to better assess this burgeoning organizational phenomenon seems important.

Statement of the Problem

For the present research, organizational cynicism is defined as, a negative attitude toward one's employing organization¹ that incorporates (1) an evaluation that the organization

¹ Includes the organization overall (e.g., policies, leadership or organization personified as an entity), any organizational agent (e.g., supervisor or coworker), or any organizational unit (e.g., Wilkerson, 2002).

lacks integrity; and/or (2) is anticipatory about future unethical, inept, or selfish organizational actions and outwardly directed² (Wanous, Reichers, & Austin, 1994); Researchers typically study organizational cynicism³ as harmful from the perspective of the organization. This research has been fruitful in terms of yielding findings of organizational interest (see meta-analysis; Chiaburu et al., 2013). However, two problematic issues seem prominent in the current literature. I seek to address them here. These issues are the literature's narrow conceptual view of cynical behavior and motivation and an inattention to the worker's perspective.

With notable exceptions, (e.g., Archimi, Reynaud, Yasin & Bhatti, 2016; Jiang, Chen, Sun & Yang, 2017; Kim et al., 2009; Wilkerson et al., 2008), scholars have based their findings primarily on research into cynical attitudes more generally, typically measured as cynical *beliefs* – with very little research on cynical behavior (Brandes & Das, 2006). Cynical behavior has been defined as, “tendencies of disparaging and critical behaviors toward the organization that are consistent with these [cynical] beliefs and affect” (Dean, Brandes, & Dharwadkar, 1998, p. 345). There is evidence (albeit limited) that *behavior*, as a dimension of cynicism, can have different antecedents and outcomes than cynical beliefs (e.g., Kim, Bateman, Gilbreath, & Andersson 2009). As explored below, this evidence points to the need for an integrative framework to explore *how* and

² This definitional element is included in attempt to differentiate organizational cynicism from job dissatisfaction, which has been described or defined as a retrospective evaluation of one's job and is self-focused (Wanous et al., 1994).

³ Research supports that cynicism directed at the organization may be empirically and theoretically differentiated from a cynical disposition (personality), from other broader forms of cynicism, such as, societal or job (occupational) cynicisms, and from a more narrow form of cynicism, cynicism about organizational change (e.g., Abraham, 2000).

why cynical behavior, separate from other aspects of cynicism (i.e., beliefs and affect), impacts workers and organizations.

First, in terms of why workers enact cynical behavior, the extant organizational cynicism research reflects a narrow, empirically unexplored motivation for enacting cynical behavior. Namely, several scholars suggest that workers express cynical behavior as an involuntary, self-defense mechanism to protect themselves from experiencing excessive anxiety and to maintain or protect a positive self-identity (e.g., Bedeian, 2007; Naus, Van Iterson, & Roe, 2007; Meyerson, 1990). In other words, scholars suggest that workers who express cynical behavior defensively are not consciously aware of their psychological motivations. However, other motivations likely exist for cynical behavior, and evidence from research into some specific counterproductive work behaviors (CWB) (e.g., organizational retaliatory behavior; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997) suggest that some cynical behaviors are deliberate in that the motivation is known to the worker. To foreshadow the forthcoming arguments and to highlight the contribution of delineating different motivations, I offer the following scenario.

During an all-hands meeting, the CEO of an organization announces to employees that a new policy is going into effect immediately that will entail surveillance of company-owned video, telephone and computer usage. The CEO tries to assure everyone that the surveillance is for employee protection against wrongful accusations. Becky, an individual rights advocate, is appalled, and quickly turns to a colleague, “Yeah right, I don’t trust them to use the information to protect ME!” Robert, feeling cynical about the organization’s motives, but

more focused on wanting to garner a laugh with coworkers, cynically comments, “Sounds like Big Brother to me!”

Both workers in the scenario engaged in cynical behavior, and if assessed, might report the same score on a measure of organizational cynicism. However, I suggest below that different behaviors (such as these) reflect discrepant motivational functions (one value-expressive and one social-expressive); and as such, are not likely to affect the individual worker or the organization in the same manner. Specifically, as expanded upon below, a functional theoretical approach affords us the ability to understand *how* and *why* cynical attitudes and behaviors may be driven by the motivation to fulfill certain psychological needs (i.e., functions) and that cynical *behavior* is used to meet or express that purpose (Herek, 1986).⁴

A second problematic theme evident in the relevant organizational literature is that the prevailing paradigm in job attitude studies (including organizational cynicism) still emphasizes research practically relevant to organizations, rather than to the worker (Schleicher, Hansen, & Fox, 2011; Weiss & Rupp, 2011). In doing so, the organizational cynicism literature and existing measures may fail to recognize the possibility that 1) cynical behaviors considered counterproductive from a traditional organizational perspective may be adaptive from an individual worker’s perspective (Hulin, 1991); and 2) qualitatively different types of organizational cynicism exist even though the extant

⁴ The possibility exists that other human motivation taxonomies such as self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2008) could help to explain the motives that drive cynical behavior. However, using the functional theoretical framework as a starting point to examine these differential motivations provides the opportunity to falsify or expand a very narrow, empirically unexplored view in the extant organizational cynicism literature.

literature and measures treat the construct as homogeneous. As such, focusing on the worker's perspective should offer a new and perhaps more useful approach to understanding how cynicism affects the worker. In addition, person-centric research is valuable because it focuses on the subjective experience of the worker. Finally, this approach contrasts markedly with the conventional approach to cynicism where workers may report the same scores on a cynicism measure, but the manifestations and consequences related to that score could look quite different. As such, if the evidence supports profiles, this type of analysis provides a greater means to determine which of these profiles may be linked more strongly to adjustment variables and to inform when intervention programs are needed by identifying which profiles are the most maladaptive. In addition, the use of person-centric methods can tell us whether the observed covariances may result from a mixture of several covariances within different subpopulations or how the interrelatedness differs across subpopulations, which is not possible with variable-centric approach (Wang, Sinclair, Zhou, & Sears, 2013). In sum, expanding the known domain of cynical behavior and providing evidence whether qualitatively different subtypes of organizational cynicism exist based on the underlying motivations that drive such behavior is important.

Overview of Studies

The present study is grounded in a functional theoretical framework (FTF; see Figure 1) in which I developed and validated a typology⁵ of organizational cynicism

⁵ Namely, a typology is a person-centric approach to derive profiles (or classes) of people which can be accomplished using statistical methods such as LPA rather than a taxonomy

based on themes of cynical behaviors that I differentiated based primarily on psychological function(s) (i.e., different motivations). The typology was developed using a mixed methods approach across two research studies (see Figure 2). One of the reasons that a typology of *people*, rather than a taxonomy of *behaviors* is proposed is that research has shown that different people are predisposed to manifest one kind of function over another (Herek, 1986), and the expectation that the same cynical behaviors could correspond to more than one function. In Study 1, semi-structured interviews are conducted to elicit workers' accounts of cynical behaviors based on different motivations. Then, in Study 2, evidence is gathered to validate the framework using the statistical, person-centric approach of latent profile analysis (LPA) to explore different cynical profiles and investigate how these profiles are related to worker well-being.

of variables as is typical in variable-centric organizational research wherein exploratory or confirmatory factor analysis is commonly used (Aldridge & Roesch, 2008).

Functional Theoretical Framework for Organizational Cynicism

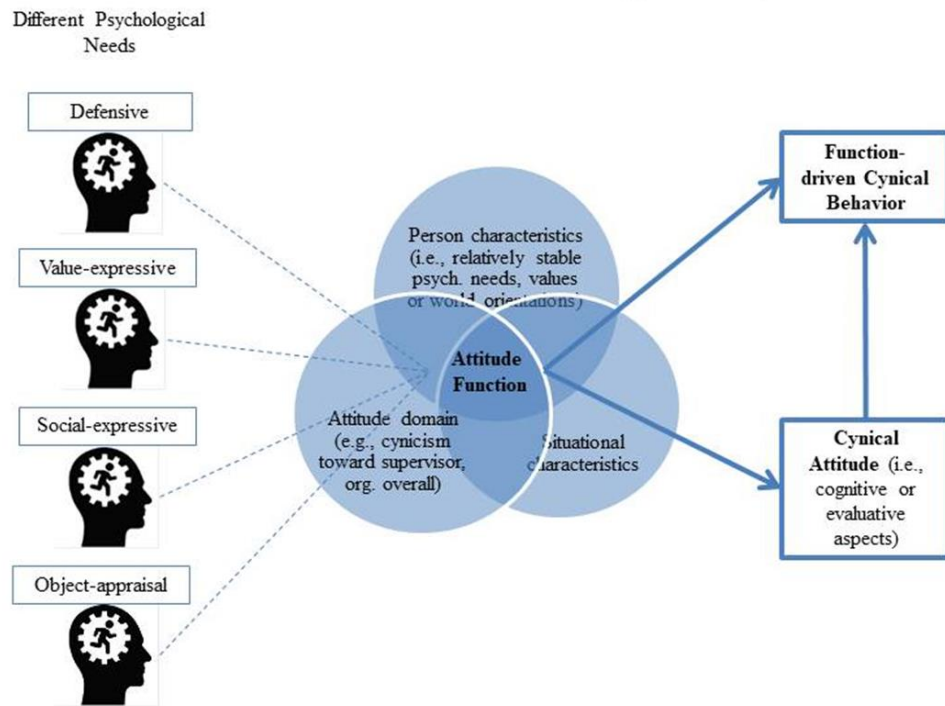


Figure 1. Attitude Function and Cynical Attitude-Behavior Relationships. Motivation to fulfill psychological needs or functions drive Cynical Attitude and Behavior. Cynical behavior is dependent on which function motivates the cynical worker and which of the three components of the attitude function is most salient to the individual worker when the attitude is expressed. Psych. = psychological; org. = organization.

Figure 1 Functional Theoretical Framework

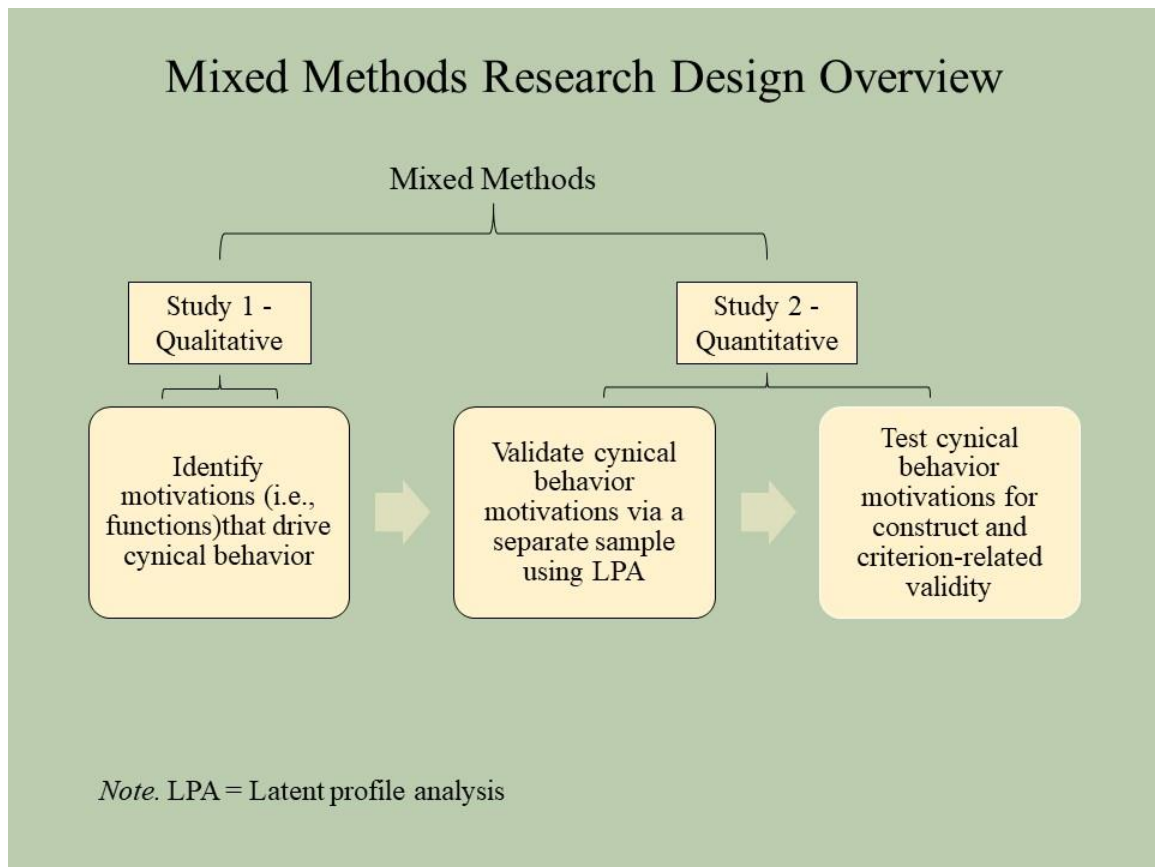


Figure 2 Research Flow Chart

The development of such a typology should lead to the extension of organizational cynicism theory and the improvement in the prediction of worker well-being outcomes by examining cynicism from the worker's perspective. To summarize, this research seeks to address three main questions important to the understanding of cynicism:

1) How do workers express cynicism in the workplace (e.g., failure to endorse new policies, withholding critical information, failure to offer new ideas)?

2) How is cynical behavior adaptive or functional from a worker's perspective (e.g., expressive of values, socially adaptive, serves as a defensive mechanism)?

3) When workers enact certain cynical behaviors (e.g., retaliation, cynical criticism, and cynical humor), do they consistently a) use certain functions; and b) does the use of such functions result in different subsequent well-being outcomes?

With these questions in mind, first, I review previous work that further supports the contention that research on cynical behavior is incomplete. Then, I discuss how a FTF can explicate these motivations. Finally, I discuss the two studies in detail that should allow for examination of the above questions.

Developing a Typology of Cynical Behavior Motivations

This research is intended to provide a more comprehensive typology of cynical behavior motives. As mentioned above, the literature has predominantly focused on cynical *beliefs*. In the rare instances in which behavior has been the focus of research – mostly only overt, observable cynical behaviors such as cynical criticism or cynical humor have been addressed (Brandes & Das, 2006). In reviewing organizational cynicism measurement instruments, only two published measures (i.e., Brandes & Das, 2006; Naus et al., 2007) were found that incorporated behavioral components. Another way in which previous work on cynical behavior is incomplete is that the content of cynical behaviors in the extant literature is likely underspecified. For example, *The Cynical Americans*, a highly cited book, based on a comprehensive, national survey of social and workplace cynicism, proposes that cynical behaviors likely manifest in more subtle ways like refusing to accept new ideas or policies or withholding critical

information (Kanter & Mirvis, 1989). Of these behavioral measures mentioned, neither accounts for the different behaviors or “types” suggested by Kanter and Mirvis. As qualitative research is particularly useful in cases where the extant research suggests new content or perspectives are needed (Eisenhardt, 1989), this finding also supports the contention suggested earlier that this body of work would benefit from a person-centric, qualitative analysis.

I suggest that the present research will support that cynicism not only reflects involuntary motives, but also intentional/voluntary ones such as those reflected by some CWB. As such, I posit cynical behavior should be considered in the nomological network of CWB. Some scholars have suggested that cynical behavior is motivated by self-defensive motives, and thus, involuntary. In contrast, most scholars agree that CWB is characterized as a broader construct, wherein research has focused on *intentional* behavior directed at an organizational target. As such, I am seeking to extend research on a narrower construct, but also not wholly within the domain of what is usually considered CWB, cynical behavior. The current CWB literature has tended to group different behaviors into overall composites, considering them mainly as responses to injustice and work stressors, and associating these behaviors with anger or instrumentality (e.g., theft; Spector et al., 2006). Spector and other colleagues who have conducted research on the dimensionality of CWB suggest more research needs to consider *other* motives for these behaviors that go beyond emotions. Thus, while a commonly used framework used in conjunction with CWB, the Stressor-Emotion model, may best depict certain forms or aspects of CWB, perhaps a distinct theoretical framework such as a FTF may be needed

to understand cynical behavior. Using this framework as a starting point, I am specifically looking to understand more about a specific type of behavior that may be considered "counterproductive" to organizations but may be adaptive to workers. In sum, integrating cynical behaviors and the FTF into the CWB literature could expand CWB research and provide theoretical insight to explicate how cynical behavior is enacted adaptively to meet various psychological needs. With the above research contributions in mind, I now describe the theoretical framework.

Functional Theoretical Framework⁶

The FTF suggests attitudes, such as cynicism, serve an instrumental purpose for individuals and that cynical *behavior* is used to meet or express that purpose (Herek, 1986). Moreover, the same behavior can be used to express different functions or meet various psychological needs for different people (Hulin, 1991). Scholars have used a functionalist approach to study the different motivations underlying attitudes and behaviors for different domains such as volunteer behavior (Clary et al., 1998); attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men, and toward those with stigmatizing illnesses (e.g., AIDS, mental illness, and cancer; Herek, 1987). A functional theoretical framework is considered a convergent approach that provides the opportunity for a researcher to integrate several theories to study a single phenomenon (Herek, 1986). Importantly, Katz

⁶ As with many inductive studies, this initial review will serve as a set of “orienting points” that inform the protocol for the interviews. In addition, transparency with the knowledge and perspective that are brought to the inductive research project that ultimately will influence the direction for the proposed analyses is important (e.g., Dutton, Worline, Frost, & Lilius, 2006; Harrison & Rouse, 2014; Nag, Corley, & Gioia, 2007).

(1960) argued that the functional approach allows for the integration of different models of human behavior by specifying *when* each theory is applicable (Herek, 1987). Across several research studies, results have demonstrated the content analysis procedures can effectively identify patterns of themes related to attitude functions (Herek, 1987). In addition, the neofunctional theory addresses the early criticism of functions as traits; by depicting functions represent an interaction of individual differences, attitude domain, and situation characteristics driven predominantly by the factor that is most salient to the individual at a given time. Finally, adopting this approach (inherently person-centric) is also in alignment with broader calls for management and organizational researchers to foster “new ways of seeing” (see Bansal, Smith, & Vaara, 2018).

First, as depicted in Figure 1, a FTF for cynicism is based on the notion that workers are motivated to fulfill different psychological needs (i.e., functions) that drive cynical attitude and behavior. Several psychological functions have been found consistently associated across many attitude objects and research studies (Herek, 1987). As seen in Figure 1, in the present study, I proposed that defensive, value-expressive, social-expressive, and object-appraisal functions would all be important in understanding the motivations that drive cynical attitudes and behaviors.

Defensive function. Some attitudes can serve as a defensive function, which helps individuals cope with anxiety related to conflict (Katz, 1960). The defensive function is typically associated with distancing or attack behaviors to protect the individual from experiencing excessive anxiety and to maintain or protect a positive self-identity (Cramer, 2006; Vaillant, 2000). This is the only function that is currently recognized in

the extant organizational cynicism literature as a direct motive for cynical behavior (e.g., Bedeian, 2007; Naus et al., 2007).

Value-expressive function. Attitudes also can serve a value-expressive function that allows people to express ethics, dispositions, and convictions important to their self-concept (Katz, 1960). This function could be served by cynical behaviors. For example, this function could become salient in a situation when a workplace policy or mission is announced, which prompts a worker to criticize the organization because the worker perceives the organization has motivations that are unethical or not altruistic.

Social-expressive function. Smith, Bruner, and White (1956) proposed a *social-adjustive (or social-expressive)* function to reflect how attitudes “help people fit in with important reference groups” (Clary et al., p. 1517). Adopting the cynical concerns of coworkers could help employees adapt to their work environment. For example, an employee voicing cynical concerns could be demonstrating allegiance to coworkers instead of being focused more on the specific tenets of an unpopular new work program.

Object-appraisal function. Katz’ (1960) utilitarian function referred to the idea that attitudes drive us toward rewarding events and away from punishing events. Some scholars have interpreted Smith et al.’s (1956) object appraisal function to be a combination of Katz’ knowledge and utilitarian functions by suggesting that we “organize for action the objects of the world” according to what is important to us (Herek, 1986, p. 102). Finally, the object-appraisal function also encompasses the notion that attitudes can provide a frame of reference or schema that gives individuals a way to explain their environment (Herek, 1986).

The functional approach to cynicism is based on the assumption that the motivations underlying cynical behavior can be identified and measured with some degree of precision. To develop such an inventory, as mentioned earlier, I conducted semi-structured interviews with workers to generate a set of themes to examine the functions of cynicism. Next, I turn to examine Figure 1 more closely.

The Figure is based on three premises. First, cynical behavior is dependent on which function motivates the worker and which of the three components of the attitude function is most salient to the worker when the attitude is expressed. In other words, the interaction of person characteristics (i.e., relatively stable psychological needs, values, and world orientations) with the domain of the cynical attitude (the organization personified as an entity, policies, leadership, or any organizational agent) and the social situation characteristics may elicit any of these functions in different individuals. As such, the function (and the behavior used to express that function) that is evoked is dependent on the relative importance of the person, domain and situational characteristics of the function to the individual worker. For example, for one worker, speaking up about one's disillusionment with a corporate policy primarily may be a means of seeking social support from coworkers (i.e., social-expressive function). For another coworker, a cynical criticism of the same policy can be a conscious decision to bring attention to a corporate policy that contradicts one's personal values (i.e., value-expressive function). As attitude characteristics (i.e., person, domain, and situation) might explain why workers perform differently and/or have different well-being outcomes under the same objective

circumstances, depending on which function is salient, I explored these characteristics in the Study 1 qualitative interviews and the follow-up validation in Study 2.

A second premise of using the functional approach to explore cynical behavior is the expectation that this research will demonstrate individual-level regularities in motivation-behavioral patterns (e.g., same individual may use cynical humor as a defensive mechanism regularly). This premise is based on the relative stability of attitudes and previous research on the functionality of attitudes in other domains (e.g., Herek, 1987). However, the expectation is for within-person variability such that, it is possible that the same worker could use different functions.

Finally, as discussed below, motivations for cynical behaviors may be either subconscious or intentional. As seen in Figure 1, I propose that the function may directly influence cynical behavior in the case of an involuntary or reactionary behavior (e.g. some defensive behaviors in which motivation is below the worker's conscious radar), and the cognitive, evaluative aspects of the cynical attitude may mediate the attitude function and the cynical behavioral relationship in the case of voluntary, deliberate behavior (e.g., organizational retaliatory behavior in which the motivation is known to the worker).

As this study set out to investigate a relatively new domain (a person-centric approach to modeling relationships between psychological functions and cynical behaviors) as reflected in Figure 1, this research was partially exploratory. Specifically, the main objective of Study 1 was to identify whether distinct profiles of cynical employees may be found based on the employees' use of the following four functions and

various cynical behaviors: a) *defensive function*; b) *value-expressive function*; c) *social-expressive function*, and d) *object-appraisal function*. Thus, Study 1 is guided by the following research question:

Research Question 1: Are there qualitatively distinct profiles of cynical behaviors — and, if so, can they be primarily distinguished based on functionality?

Next, I discuss the mixed-methods, person-centric approach to addressing this question.

CHAPTER TWO: MIXED METHODS RESEARCH DESIGN OVERVIEW

Given the interest in elaborating organizational cynicism theory from the person-centric perspective, this research involves using a mixed methods approach. The value of a mixed methods research study is the development of research that relies upon both quantitative and qualitative approaches, creating a “whole greater than the sum of its parts,” (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013). The initial goal of the qualitative phase was the development of a typology of cynical behaviors based on different motivations (i.e., functions) for the behaviors. This type of categorization may illuminate the need to view cynical behavior as a heterogeneous construct. The goal of the quantitative phase was hypothesis testing based upon that typology, and the overall goal of the mixed methods was to generate integrated support for organizational cynicism theory based upon quantitative and qualitative evidence. Reflecting the mixed method research design, the research paradigms for this study also are a combined approach, wherein an interpretivist paradigm is assumed for the qualitative portion (i.e., inductive) and positivist paradigm is assumed for the quantitative piece (i.e., deductive) approach. In terms of method level integration, I used an exploratory sequential design (Onwuegbuzie, Bustamante, and Nelson 2010).

Person-Centric Approach

As mentioned earlier, person-centric research may refer to either a statistical method (e.g., LPA) or methodology, such as qualitative research – an approach wherein data in the form of subjective descriptions of experiences are analyzed to identify patterns

(Levitt et al., 2018). Often the qualitative approach is characterized as an iterative process whereby findings are revised as different subjective descriptions continually inform patterns that create a holistic picture of a phenomenon (Corley, 2015). One type of qualitative method that seems particularly appropriate to explore the phenomenon of cynicism is the case study⁷. I suggest this alternate research method is important in understanding one's cynical behavior and the motivations to engage in that behavior because doing so requires a rich description that cannot be captured in quantitative methods. Moreover, this type of method gives us the ability to refine theory. Specifically, the case study design provides the ability to test theory, "through the falsification and rejection of other theories that are inferior in their ability to explain the natural case phenomena" (Bitektine 2008, p. 162). Here, I submit that a singular motivation (i.e., self-defense mechanism) offered in the organizational cynicism literature lacks the ability to explain the motivation behind all cynical behavior and suggests that the theory regarding cynical behavior needs to be refined. Thus, a person-centric methodology, such as, building theory from multiple case studies (discussed below), is well suited to meet this need.

⁷ "Case" refers to the theoretical unit of analysis (e.g., the individual, team, industry, country, or firm; Piekkari, Welch, & Paavilainen, 2009, p. 578).

CHAPTER THREE: STUDY 1: QUALITATIVE METHOD

Participants

I recruited thirty participants by using a purposive, theoretical sampling scheme (commonly used in conjunction with inductive methods) via a personal and professional snowball method (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenshein, 2016; Morgan, 2008). I specifically recruited participants to take part in semi-structured interviews regarding organization cynicism. A purposive, theoretical sample is typically designed to choose a small number of cases that will produce the most information about a particular phenomenon (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Suggestions for mixed method sampling for the social and behavioral sciences indicates that purposive, theoretical sampling is generally 30 cases or less (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Although, I initially recruited 30 participants, four participants did not meet the demographic prescreening requirements (described below). The final sample ($N = 26$) was 69% male, predominately white (88%), and ranged in age from 18 to 64. Participants had an average job tenure of 5.9 years ($SD = 3.8$ years). The majority of the sample was non-supervisory (58%) and direct (versus contract) hires (88%). All of the participants worked 40 or more hours a week. Most (73%) had a bachelor's or higher degree, and 27% had attended some college. In addition, the final sample self-reported a wide-range of career stages - early career (35%), mid-career (38%), and late career (27%). They primarily worked in private-sector organizations (73%).

Finally, all informants were asked if they had experienced a widespread organizational policy change or recent mergers or acquisitions. This question was asked because research on cynicism about organizational change has demonstrated that cynicism is very common under such circumstances (e.g., Wanous, Reichers, & Austin, 2000). Most participants had experienced a recent widespread organizational change (88.5%).

After interviewing 26 participants, I determined that the same themes were reoccurring, and no new insights were to be gleaned regarding the theoretical categories. As such, the interviews were closed at that time. It is important to clarify that the purpose of Study 1 was to develop or extend theory, so theoretical sampling is more appropriate than random sampling (Onwuegbuzie & Leach, 2007).

Procedure

I started recruitment for the Study by contacting business and personal contacts through Facebook and LinkedIn. The recruitment announcement asked if these contacts would be willing to share the recruitment message with friends or coworkers who met the prequalification criteria. Recruitment information indicated that participants would describe work experiences about organizational cynicism and respond to several questions related to that experience. They were also told that the experience that they were being asked to discuss could be a personal experience and/or include different aspects of cynicism at work that they had observed from a close peer or supervisor. There was not any indication that there were differences dependent on personal versus observed experiences. All participants signed an informed consent. Following the consent, each

participant completed a short, demographic form. The final sample met the demographic prescreening that required the participant to be at least 18 years of age, currently working a minimum of twenty hours per week, working primarily with coworkers and/or clients, and mostly at the organization's job site.⁸ Financial compensation was a random drawing for \$100 gift card.

The primary method of data collection consisted of semi-structured interviews. The interview protocol⁹ (see Appendix A) was used to structure the interviews and to provide consistency across interviews (e.g., Pratt, Rockmann, and Kaufmann, 2006). The method was structured enough to ensure that the a priori research questions/goals were covered but also flexible in that it allowed the participant to focus on and share their own experiences and perspectives of cynicism in the workplace. Most interviews were conducted via telephone ($n = 24$) and two interviews were conducted face-to-face, with each interview lasting approximately 30 minutes.¹⁰

Importantly, I used a triangulation method to validate the initial findings that resulted in the final framework to be proposed for quantitative research in Study 2. These included checking the research team's interpretation of overarching themes from the coding process by a concept mapping exercise from a group of scholarly subject matter

⁸ These specific prescreening requirements were chosen based on the idea that there would be a greater chance of the participants experiencing organizational cynicism when there was direct contact with others on a regular basis. However, future studies would benefit from understanding how teleworking might impact cynicism.

⁹ The a priori documenting of interview questions serves as a means of recognizing, with the intent of minimizing, the biases brought to the research from knowledge of the extant literature (Post & Andrews, 1982).

¹⁰ Detailed coding procedures are enumerated in Appendix B. Details of the data analysis is found in Appendix C.

experts (SME)¹¹, and theme checking from a sample of informants. After the triangulation was complete, the research team generated a thematic map (e.g., Braun & Clarke, 2006) for the proposed functional typology of cynical behavior motives. Figure 3 summarizes the process that was followed, which shows cynical behavioral themes, theoretical categories, and theoretical motivations. This type of thematic analysis requires a constant reference back and forth between the raw interview data, the coded extracts of data, and the analysis of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In order to emphasize the richness, rigor, and depth of the case evidence used to support the research presented, a document (Appendix D) was developed that affords a detailed accounting of all the relevant evidence collected from the cases that includes evidence for the themes and well-being outcomes of cynical behavior. Next, I review the findings from Study 1.

¹¹ All SMEs had obtained their PhD in Psychology with a concentration in Industrial/Organizational Psychology.

Thematic Map of Data Structure^a

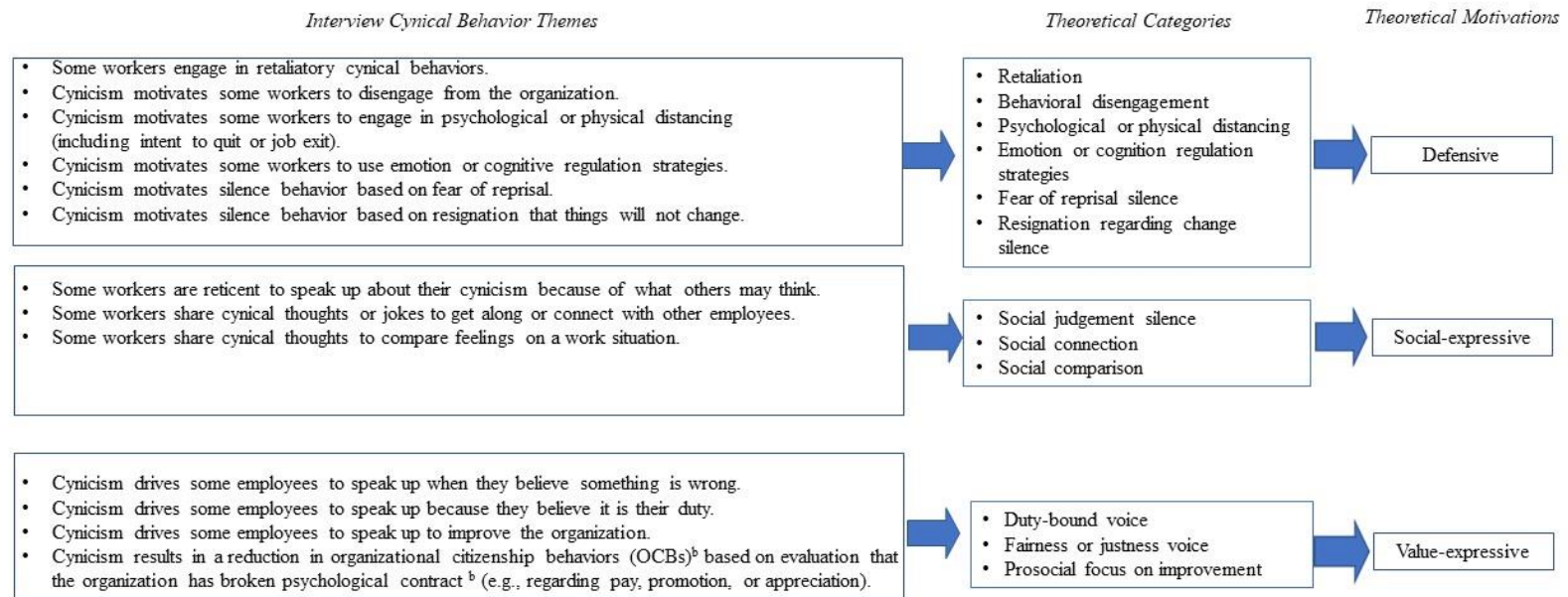


Figure 3. Thematic Map. Note: ^aAll data were derived from semi-structured interviews both from personal and observed experience. ^bOCBs = work behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the collective promotes the effective functioning of the organization (Organ, 1988). Psychological contract = perceived expectations in an employment relationship (Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003)

Figure 3 Thematic Map of Data Structure

Findings

During the initial steps of data-analysis, coding and raw data were analyzed to determine which of three alternative theoretical frameworks best fit the data. Specifically, in order to explore if and for whom (i.e., which profiles) a particular framework or theory is more salient, and to mitigate confirmation bias, the interviews were coded for the following reasonable theoretical alternatives. These alternatives include the presence or absence of functions, the dimensions of situations, and the dimensions of employee voice and silence. First, the data was analyzed to see if a functional framework represented the data. Theoretical categories derived from the behavioral themes such as retaliation, behavioral disengagement, psychological or physical distancing, and emotion or cognitive regulation strategies support a defensive motivation for some informants. A defensive motivation was coded in 20 of the 26 interviews (76.9%). In addition, description of behavior that was driven by social connection and comparison supported social-expressive motivation for various informants. Social-expressive motivation was coded in 17 of 26 interviews (65.4%). Also, value-expressive motivations were uncovered with such statements that included speaking up when something is wrong because of duty, or due to a prosocial focus on organization improvement. Value-expressive motivation was coded in 24 of the 26 interviews (92.3%). Finally, object-appraisal motivation was coded in 23 of the 26 interviews (88.5%). An object-appraisal motivation was initially believed to be supported. Namely, statements that indicated cynicism was based on an overall evaluation were coded as object-appraisal motivation.

For example, when interviewees described that they had reduced organizational citizenship behaviors based on the evaluation that the organization has broken psychological contracts (regarding pay, promotion, or appreciation) and by cynical behavior that is driven based on the evaluation that leadership or policies are ineffective were considered. However, through the evaluation of the SME concept mapping results (discussed below), there was not strong concurrence for object-appraisal themes. As such, the determination was made that the initial object-appraisal themes could not be identified and measured with any degree of precision.

Next, the theoretical alternative of dimensions of situations were analyzed. Very few of the dimensions of situations were coded on a consistent basis. All informants were asked to discuss two specific events that occurred in the last week when they felt like they had experienced or observed cynicism at work. However, sixty-two percent (16 of 26) of interviewees discussed that it was easier to speak in general terms (versus describing specific incidents) because they thought of cynicism in terms of reoccurring issues, overall experience or they were not able to describe such specificity for events for observed cynicism. Important to note, the raters only coded for dimensions of situations when the informants discussed a discrete event. Specifically, analysis of the coding of the 6 dimensions of situations revealed a reference to Threat in 1 of the 26 interviews (4%), references to Deception in 1 of the 26 interviews (4%), references to Duty, Positivity, and Sociality all occurring in 2 of 26 interviews (8%), and references to Negativity occurring in 3 of 26 interviews (12%). Specifically, raters coded 88.5% of the informant transcripts as having language that indicated presence of reoccurring issues.

Finally, different situations were associated with the same themes, so that would suggest that looking at variability among situations is not the best approach for categorizing the data. Thus, individual situations or situational cues did not seem the most salient in describing individuals' experience of organizational cynicism.

Finally, the coding and raw data were explored to determine if the multidimensional voice and silence framework fit the data. Compared to the functional framework, the multidimensional voice and silence framework had significantly fewer coding references. Namely, none of the extracts was coded for defensive voice or prosocial silence, only 1 participant was coded to have statements that represented acquiescent voice, and minimum support for acquiescent silence – 6 of 26 interviews (23%) and defensive silence – 3 of 26 interviews (11.5%) was found. However, a review of the coding indicated that the existence of prosocial voice was supported by the data. Seventy-three percent (19 of 26 interviews) were coded for prosocial voice. This analysis revealed voice and silence are integral parts in explaining cynical behavior. Upon further review of the multidimensional voice and silence framework, it was determined that defensive and acquiescent (disengaged behavior based on resignation) voice and silence should be considered as tenets of a defensive motivation. In addition, prosocial voice – unselfishly trying to improve things for others or the greater good - satisfied the definition and description of value-expressive behavior. Thus, the decision was made to recognize voice and silence as part of the functional framework.

SME Concept Mapping. Evaluation of the findings from the concept mapping exercise suggest that the defensive, social-expressive, and value-expressive themes could

be identified based on concurrence that ranged from 71.43% to 100%. However, there was not strong concurrence for object-appraisal themes, as results indicated that the themes could not be identified with any precision. As two of the three object-appraisal themes did not result in an overwhelming concurrence to either motivation, these themes were dropped from the thematic map (i.e., theoretical framework). Finally, concept mapping results indicated that one of the object-appraisal themes – cynicism results in a reduction in organizational citizenship behaviors based on evaluation that the organization has broken psychological contract (e.g., regarding pay, promotion, or appreciation) - should be recategorized as a value-expressive theme based on 71.43% concurrence.

Informant Checking. After the SME concept mapping results were analyzed, I attempted to validate the theoretical framework by asking 23% (6 of 26) of the informant sample to validate the theoretical framework that resulted from thematic data analysis. Specifically, I asked informants to “check” the themes derived from the interview and to provide feedback if the 16 themes derived from the interviews were consistent with their personal experience and/or what they had observed in the workplace. Feedback from 100% of the informants indicated that the themes as categorized in Figure 3 represent their personal or observed experience in the workplace.

In sum, findings and themes derived from the coding, plus additional validation from SME and informants provided initial support in the affirmative for Research Question 1 that qualitatively distinct dimensions of cynical behaviors could be

distinguished based on defensive, social-expressive, and value-expressive functionality.

Thus, I proceeded with Study 2.

CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY 2

Organizational cynicism research has yet to focus on whether there are different organizational cynicism profiles that vary by motivation, or an interaction of motivation, and other potential factors such as, tendency to self-monitor, impression management strategies, humor, and retaliation. The main objective of Study 2 was to validate the distinct profiles that emerged from Study 1. Research hypotheses were tested using survey data from different public and private-sector organizations from workers at different career stages and organizational roles. Profiles were verified by LPA. A second goal of study 2 was to evaluate if cynical profiles would differentially predict employee wellbeing outcomes (job-affective negative and positive affect, depression, burnout) and intent to quit when controlling for several antecedents (age, positive affectivity, negative affectivity, emotional (in)stability, and trait cynicism).

LPA was used to determine if a pattern of themes emerged from responses to the vignettes and other cynical behavior (i.e., impression management, self-monitoring, affiliative humor and retaliation) that effectively identifies patterns of themes related to attitude functions, and subsequently, if these functions predict differences in well-being outcomes. In conjunction with validating the profile structure, I examined the profiles for external and criterion-related validity with data from this sample. Based on the findings from Study 1, I offer the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: Psychological functions predict cynical behavior profile membership.

Next, I hypothesized that based on the themes derived from Study 1 that different cynical behaviors that include impression management strategies, organizational retaliatory behavior, and affiliative and aggressive humor may have the capacity to serve as additional indicators. Thus, evaluating the hypothesized relationships should allow for evidence of construct validity and broaden the domain of known cynical behaviors.

Cynical Behavior¹²

Cynical Impression Management.

Cynical behavior is often a reaction based on the need of people to be perceived as competent and trustworthy and not to be perceived as being taken advantage of by an organization (Naus et al., 2007). As impression management is one way that workers use certain behaviors at work to create or maintain perceptions of a desired image at work, this theory should be useful to understand how some workers enact cynical behaviors. Specifically, impression management may inform why some scholars have suggested that employees use cynical behavior as a defense mechanism (e.g., Naus et al., 2007). As employees are more likely to use impression management techniques when they perceive there is a discrepancy between how they want to be seen and how they believe they are currently seen (Leary & Kowalski, 1990), some individuals are likely motivated to engage in cynical behavior as a means of impression management. Moreover, some

¹² Review of the analysis of the coding for cynical behavior in Study 1 provided evidence that these behaviors can be enacted in conjunction with a cynical attitude. The following behaviors were each proposed as examples of behaviors that should be differentially related to functions.

scholars have pointed out that, impression management, similarly to cynical behavior, can be engaged in subconsciously or intentionally and may be driven by the desire to manage self-image goals, regardless of whether those goals are held internally or externally (Bolino, Long, Turnley, 2016). Thus, as discussed above, depending on the characteristics of the function that become salient, it is likely that impression management could be a behavior that some workers use to fulfill psychological needs that include defensiveness and value-expressive functions.

Impression management is a specific type of tactic (Cialdini, 1989) that appears closely aligned with the function of defensiveness. The research into impression management typically addresses actors versus targets, and authentic strategies as compared to deceptive tactics (Bolino et al., 2016). Specifically, actors are the workers who seek to manage or self-promote a desired image to a target such as a supervisor or other organizational stakeholder (Turnley, Klotz, Bolino, 2013). In essence, workers “bury”, “blur”, or distance themselves from “unfavorable” others trying to create an impression (in the case of a worker expressing cynicism) whether for themselves or others that they are ethical and competent and not aligned with those that are not (Andrews & Kacmar, 2001).

Another reason why some workers may enact cynical behavior for impression management motives could be explained as fulfilling a value-expressive function, as one of the reasons people are motivated to manage impressions involves image concerns (Bolino et al., 2016). For example, research demonstrates a direct relationship between a perception of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and a reduction in cynical behaviors

(Archimi et al., 2018; Evans, Goodman, & Davis, 2010). Thus, the need for expressing cynical behavior was reduced when the value of CSR was perceived to be in greater alignment with the worker's values. Also, other scholarly work into organizational disidentification has shown that some workers are motivated by a desire to distance themselves from negative stereotypes associated with their employing organization (e.g., The National Rifle Association) and such disidentification can prompt workers to voice their opinion against such stereotypes to maintain a positive self-image (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001). Such behavior would be consistent with impression management theory or the importance of achieving an appropriate positive, self-presentation goal.

According to my review of the literature, the specific idea of cynicism as a defense mechanism, although discussed frequently (e.g., Bedeian, 2007; Naus et al., 2007; Meyerson, 1990), remains empirically neglected. As the above discussion highlights, integrating impression management theory with the organizational cynicism literature provides the opportunity to expand the current conceptual foundations from which we understand and study cynicism. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2: Impression management behaviors is associated with cynical behavior profile membership.

Hypothesis 2a: Each value-expressive and defensive function group derived will have higher scores on a measure of impression management as compared to the social-expressive function group derived.

Cynical Self-monitoring.

Self-monitoring refers to individual differences in the monitoring and regulation of behaviors in public (Snyder, 1987). High self-monitors are described as constant monitors of their environment who quickly change their behavior to fit a given situation or role; whereas, low self-monitors are described as less concerned with the social environment; behaving in ways that are more consistent with their internal attitudes and dispositions (Day, Schleicher, Unckless, & Hiller, 2002). As impression management is one way that workers use certain behaviors at work to create or maintain perceptions of a desired image at work, it follows that one using impression management would also need to monitor their environment to understand how they may be perceived. Thus, I suggest that those profiles associated with high levels of impression management would also exhibit higher levels of self-monitoring. As both social-expressive and defensive functions are described in the literature as being evoked based on image concerns, either in relation to others, or the self, respectively, and as a value-expressive function is related more to being true to one's internal values (Herek, 1987), I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 3: Workers who have a higher use of a value-expressive function will have lower scores on a measure of self-monitoring as compared to

- a) each worker class who demonstrate higher use of social-expressive function, as this function is related to sensitivity to the rejection by reference groups; and
- b) each worker class who demonstrates higher use of a defensive function, as this function is more related to the ego and the need to maintain a positive self-image.

Next, I discuss different types of cynical humor and provide examples how this cynical behavior could be used to fulfill both defensive and social-expressive functions.

Multidimensional Cynical Humor.

Cynical humor is another commonly, recognized cynical behavior, but the current view of cynical humor within cynicism research has been primarily negative (c.f., Brandes & Das, 2006). Specifically, the literature often refers to sarcastic humor and classifies it as “disparaging behavior” (e.g., Dean et al., 1998, p. 346). However, other research from the stress and coping literature has demonstrated that there are different types of humor that includes affiliative, self-enhancing, aggressive, and self-defeating humor. These different types of humor have been shown to differentially predict outcomes that include measures of mood, self-esteem, optimism, well-being, and social support (Martin, Puhlik-Doris, Larsen, Gray, & Weir, 2003). As two of the four are inwardly focused, and cynicism is defined here as outwardly focused, aggressive and affiliative humor, appear to be most germane to cynical humor. Thus, integrating a multidimensional view of humor from the stress and coping literature into the organizational cynicism body of work seems important.

The aforementioned research found affiliative humor is used to enhance or maintain positive psychological well-being (Ford, Lippi, and Holden, 2016). Other humor regarded as negative or detrimental to others is termed aggressive humor (Ford et al., 2016). Specifically, affiliative humor is used to entertain others as a means to enhance social relationships (Ford et al., 2016). In contrast, on the negative side, aggressive humor is used “to criticize or manipulate others,” (Ford et al., 2016, p. 323). For example, two employees could make cynical jokes about a new well-being program, but one cynical employee might be more focused on garnering laughs to connect with fellow coworkers,

while the other cynical employee disparages the new well-being program with a cynical joke because she is feeling anxiety about all the changes in the organization. The motive to connect with fellow coworkers as a means to enhance social relationships seems to correspond well to the social-expressive function and affiliative humor; whereas, the latter motive could be more aligned with a defensive function. Thus, I offer the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: The use of affiliative and aggressive humor is associated with cynical behavior profile membership.

Hypothesis 5: Each worker class who has a higher use of a defensive function will also have higher scores on a measure of aggressive humor as compared to other worker classes.

Hypothesis 6: Each worker class who has a higher use of social-expressive function will also have higher scores on a measure of affiliative humor as compared to other worker profiles.

Next, I discuss organizational retaliatory behavior as a cynical behavior, and provide an example of how retaliation may meet a defensive function.

Organizational Retaliatory Behavior.

Retaliatory behavior defined here as behavior, “in response to some perceived harm or wrongdoing by another party that is intended to inflict damage” (Aquino, Tripp, & Bies, 2001, p. 53) derives from research on organizational justice. Organizational justice, or the lack thereof, has been associated with cynicism (Chiaburu et al., 2013; James, 2005; Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998) and cynicism about organization change

(Bernerth, Armenakis, Feild, & Walker, 2007). Moreover, with cynicism's association with psychological contract breach (e.g., Johnson & O'Leary, 2003) and by definition, the inherent belief of the worker that an organization lacks integrity, it is surprising that retaliatory behavior has not been studied as a cynical behavior to-date. Thus, taken together, with the notion of the belief in a just world (Lerner, 1980), feedback from informants in Study 1, and surveys that indicate retaliation is common, expecting that some workers engage in organizational retaliatory behaviors as a way to express cynicism is reasonable. Such reactionary engagement in hostility or aggression could represent a defensive function. For example, some scholars suggest that subordinates are less likely to see themselves as victims when they retaliate (Tepper, Mitchell, Haggard, Kwan, & Park, 2015) rather than passively accepting abuse. In addition, there are some who pursue impression management goals in certain situations where they do not want to be seen as weak to keep from being a target for future harassment (Tepper, Duffy, Henle, & Lambert, 2006). As such, pursuing organizational retaliatory behavior could be an example of the need to be accepted by important others on some level and thus represent a social-expressive function. Thus, it is understandable that some scholars have suggested that retaliation may be functional or adaptive for some workers (Liang, Brown, Lian, Hanig, Ferris, & Keeping, 2018). Nevertheless, empirical evidence demonstrating the adaptive or functional nature of retaliation for the revenge-seeker is rare, so the examination of this notion in the present study is important. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 7: Organizational retaliatory behaviors are associated with cynical behavior profile membership.

To provide evidence for construct validity, I also hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 8: Each worker class who has a higher use of a defensive function will also have higher scores on a measure of organizational retaliatory behavior as compared to other worker classes.

Criterion-related Validity

Meta-analytic evidence demonstrates that unfair treatment at work, work overload, lack of autonomy and lack of communication and support from management influences a cynical attitude (Chiaburu et al., 2013). These antecedents are also the top reasons for burnout (Wigert & Agrawal, 2018). Although not all cynicism results in burnout – it demonstrates how serious the implications for cynicism are for some employees – “for some employees” being an important point. The means to understanding these different outcomes and focus of the present study lies in examining the different motivations that may drive workers to enact cynical behaviors in the workplace. Support from the case evidence in Study 1 demonstrated that cynicism impacts psychological and physical health for some workers, but not all. As such, support for the criterion-related validity of the latent profiles will be examined by their relationship with worker well-being outcomes (job-affective well-being, burnout, and perceived depression) and with a worker’s intent to leave an employing organization voluntarily. Thus, I offer the final hypothesis.

Hypothesis 9: Workers who exhibit different cynical behavior class membership will have different levels of job-related well-being and the intent to quit.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUANTITATIVE METHOD

I used a vignette approach for this Study to capture how likely a worker would be to use behaviors that represent value-expressive, social-expressive, and defensive motivations. Vignettes are a data elicitation technique that encourage participants to communicate their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes as they respond to concrete scenarios that depict lived experiences of the phenomenon under study (Azman & Mahadhir, 2017). Specifically, vignettes are a useful tool to approach topics in a non-personal, less intrusive, and potentially less threatening manner as compared to direct personal inquiry (Wilks, 2004).

Two main sources informed the vignettes. The first are the themes that emerged from the Study 1 thematic analysis, and the second source are the descriptions of behaviors associated with psychological functions observed in past studies (e.g., Herek, 1987; Reidenbach & Robin, 1990). The vignettes were structured in such a manner to ensure a broad coverage of the areas in which workers encounter cynicism at work and to make possible an examination of the notion that persons will differ in the cynical behaviors they use according to underlying attitude function that is salient to the individual. The vignette response options were randomized and in forced choice format. The response options corresponded to behaviors identified from the Study 1 interviews and include cynical behavior captured in two existing organizational cynicism measures (Brandes & Das, 2006; Naus et al., 2007) that assess cynical criticism and other behavioral expressions of cynicism in the workplace. The vignette method provided the

means for the research team to control for the cynical attitude situation and domain characteristics, allowing the person characteristics to dominate which function would become salient. Designed as such, the vignette-based survey should allow the present research to answer if certain cynical behaviors are consistently linked with certain functions; if certain events types elicit certain types of behavior; and if most individuals typically enlist a singular cynical behavior across situations and domains. Specifically, the scenarios are constructed for the current study depicting different functions that represent recurring motives associated with cynical behavior. Finally, the development of the vignettes included piloting the vignettes with SMEs. One of the vignette items administered to the participants is as follows.¹³ Response options ranged on a 1 to 5 scale from extremely unlikely to extremely likely.

A supervisor is constantly demanding that you work overtime. You believe the supervisor is selfishly trying to exceed work goals so that she can get a bonus. It appears to you that she does not care if you are exhausted and that you have a social life or a life outside work. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.

- a. You talk either to your supervisor or your supervisor's boss about needing more balance with your work-home life because someone needs to speak up for the benefit of all employees. [value-expressive function]

¹³ Function labels (i.e., defensive, value-expressive, and social-expressive) were not provided in the participant survey.

- b. You vent how you feel about being overworked with other coworkers.
[social-expressive function]
- c. You are unlikely to speak up because you worry that your job might be in jeopardy. [defensive function]

Participants

For Study 2, I recruited 492 participants through Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk (MTurk)¹⁴. The final sample ($N = 346$) was approximately 53.6% female, mostly white (63.8%), predominately younger (73% reported age range 18 to 24), the sample ranged in age from 18 to 65. Participation was limited to those working adults at least 18 years of age, residing in the United States, currently working a minimum of 20 hours per week with coworkers and/or customers rather than alone, and working at a job onsite rather than teleworking. Recruitment information indicated that participants would answer questions about what they are most likely to do or feel like doing when they feel cynical at work. Mturk participants were paid a prorated hourly rate (30 minutes for \$3.63) based on survey length in alignment with other research projects on the platform. The employees mostly worked 40 hours or greater (63.9%) and had an average job tenure of 4.1 years ($SD = 4.2$ years). Most (64.4%) had a bachelor's or higher degree, 8.1% had an

¹⁴ MTurk is an online labor market in which recruiters (in this case researchers) solicit workers who are paid a wage in exchange for completion of various tasks (here, the task is completion of a survey). The use of MTurk data specifically for social science research is justified by studies demonstrating that MTurk data are as reliable as data collected using other methods (Walter, Seibert, Goering, & O'Boyle, 2019), such as, the demonstration that researchers have used MTurk data to replicate established, experimental findings (Horton, Rand, & Zeckhauser, 2010).

associate degree, 21.7% had attended some college, and the remaining participants (5.8%) had a lower educational qualification or responded that they preferred not to answer.

Procedure

Participants reviewed and signed an informed consent stressing the anonymous and voluntary nature of the study. After completing a demographic form, the participants were asked to complete the measures described in the section below. Three attention checks (i.e., items asking respondents to select a specific response) were randomly inserted in each survey. The importance of including attention checks in order to ensure data quality was reinforced as exclusions accounted for 29.6% of the original recruitment sample.

Decision on sample size was determined based on power for LPA. Very little research has been conducted to examine how to predict statistical power for the correct number of latent classes using LPA (c.f., Tein, Coxe, & Cham, 2013). However, recent simulation studies have demonstrated that with more (> 5) and high quality indicators and adding a strong covariate, a lower sample size (70-499) can be sufficient. (see Wurpts & Geiser, 2014). Thus, I posit that with the selection of the appropriate theoretically defensible indicators, a sample size of 346 was sufficient for Study 2.

Measures

Control Measures. Meta-analytic evidence suggests that cynicism is related to dispositional negative affectivity, trait cynicism and positive affectivity (Chiaburu et al., 2013). In addition, other evidence suggests when neuroticism (i.e., emotional

(in)stability personality trait) covaries with trait cynicism there can be a strong reduction in mean effect sizes in the relationship between trait cynicism and life stress (Hart & Hope, 2014). As such, data on these constructs were collected so that these variables could be used as controls in the data analysis.

PANAS (Watson et al., 1988). The 20-item PANAS (10 each for the Positive Affect and Negative scales) includes emotion terms (e.g., “anxious” and “interested”). Response instructions include, “The following section consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Please indicate the degree to which you generally feel this way – that is, how you feel on the average. A five-point response format was provided from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*.”

The Hostility Scale-Short Version (Krause & Hayward, 2014) was developed to measure resentment, suspiciousness, and cynical mistrust. This measure is cited often in the organizational cynicism literature as the measure used to assess personality or trait cynicism (e.g., Abraham 2000; James, 2005; Stanley, Meyer, & Topolnytsky, 2005). For this study, each item had a response format of: (1) definitely false for me; (2) tends to be false for me; (3) tends to be true for me; or (4) definitely true for me. The following were two example items. “I have often found people are jealous of my good ideas because they had not thought of them first,” and “Most people are honest chiefly because they are afraid of being caught.”

BFI-2- Short Form (Soto & John, 2017). Thirty statements were used that were designed to measure the Big Five personality dimensions. Participants are asked the degree to which they agree with each statement (1 =Disagree strongly; 5=Agree

strongly), such as: “Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things” (i.e., openness), “Is dependable, steady” (i.e., conscientiousness), “Has an assertive personality” (i.e., extraversion), “Is respectful, treats others with respect” (i.e., agreeableness), and “Is moody, has up and down mood swings” (i.e., neuroticism). Cronbach’s alphas are reported as ranging from 0.78 to 0.91 (e.g., Jonason & O’Connor, 2017).

The Impression Management by Association Scale¹⁵ (IMAS; Andrews & Kacmar, 2001). In this study, the items chosen to support construct validity represented three of the four indirect impression management tactics identified by Cialdini (1989) - blurring, blaring, and burying. Examples items included, “When a superior compliments me on good work for which someone else is responsible, I don’t bother to explain otherwise.” (i.e., “blur”), and “When my peer has a major problem with his or her work, I try to dissociate from him or her so that others won’t think I am involved (i.e., “bury”). In contrast, the other indirect tactic, boasting, did not have a theoretical or logical link to the presence or absence of cynical behavior, and as such was not included. The response scale is a 5-point Likert-type with the following anchors: (1) never do it, (2) rarely do it, (3) occasionally do it, (4) often do it, and (5) nearly always do it. The scale exhibited good internal consistency ($\alpha = .86$).

¹⁵ There are several different scales used to measure impression management (see Bolino et al., 2016 for a review). However, a review of the most well-known impression management scales revealed that most scales are inwardly focused toward improving one’s image, lacking the “distancing” element that is used in the IMAS. The IMAS items included an outward-focus toward another party from which one wishes to distance – similar to what is seen in some descriptions of cynical defensive behavior.

Self-Monitoring (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984) in this study was based on twelve items related to one's ability to modify self-presentation and sensitivity to others' expressive behaviors. Items included, for example, "I have found that I can adjust my behavior to meet the requirements of any situation I find myself in, and "In conversations I am sensitive to even the slightest change in the facial expression of the person I'm conversing with." Responses for this scale ranged from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Meta-analytic evidence concludes that the Lennox and Wolfe's (1984) scale shows higher reliability than either of the other well-known self-monitoring scales developed by Snyder (Day et al., 2002).

Humor Questionnaire (Martin et al., 2003). In this study, the items chosen to support construct validity represented two of four dimensions (affiliative and aggressive) of individual differences in the use of humor. Each dimension was assessed with eight items with example items, "I laugh and joke a lot with my closest friends", and "If someone makes a mistake, I will often tease them about it.". Four items for each dimension with the highest factor loadings from the measure's reference was included in the survey to reduce overall survey length. This measure uses a five-point response format from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Cronbach's alphas range from .77 to .81 for the four dimensions.

Organizational Retaliatory Behavior (ORB; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). The items chosen for this study comprise a behavioral observation scale developed in conjunction with another research project by two independent groups of SMEs using a critical incident technique (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Example items included, "On

purpose, damaged equipment or work process”, and “Called in sick when not ill”. The response scale is a 5-point Likert-type with the following anchors: (1) never do it, (2) rarely do it, (3) occasionally do it, (4) often do it, and (5) nearly always do it. ORB internal consistency reliability was reported to be .97.

Criterion-related Validity Measures

Job-related Affective Well-being Scale (JAWS; Van Katwyk, Fox, Spector, & Kelloway, 2000). In this study, the 20-item (short version) scale was used to assess people's emotional reactions to their job. Respondents were asked how often they have experienced each emotion at work over the prior 30 days. Responses were made with a five-point scale ranging from (1) *never* to (5) *extremely often*. The alpha coefficient of the JAWS is reported as .95 by the developers of the scale.

Perceived Depression (Fisher et al., 2016) was measured by a single item that assesses an individual's perception that they are suffering from psychological distress affecting their mood and physical and social interactions. The item is, “Depression is considered to exist when an individual feels sad, has trouble sleeping, lacks motivation, feels worthless, is withdrawn, and is generally fatigued. In the past month, how often have you felt depressed?” Items are rated on a 5-point scale from (1) *not at all* to (5) *to a great extent*. This single-item measure was included in the current research based on practical constraints of survey length and potential respondent face validity/privacy concerns.

The Burnout Measure - Short Version (BMS; Pines & Aronson, 1988) is a 10-item version of the original 21-item Burnout Measure developed to assess the level of an

individual's physical, emotional, and mental exhaustion. The BMS was developed in response to researchers' and practitioners' need for a measure requiring less survey space and less time required to complete and score. Data from two national samples (average $\alpha = .86$) and three occupational samples (average $\alpha = .88$) were used to support the validity and reliability of the BMS. Participants were asked to use a scale of 10 items to respond to the following question based on 5-point frequency scale (1) *never* to (5) *extremely often*. When you think about your organization overall, how often do you feel the following: Example scale item responses include physically weak, worthless/like a failure, and "I've had it". The question was adapted from the word "work" to "organization," for the present study to distinguish between job and organizational burnout.

Intent to Leave Scale (Martin & Hafer, 1995). This measure assessed a worker's intention to leave an employing organization voluntarily. This measure consisted of three items: "If you were completely free to choose, would you prefer to continue working for this company," "If you were temporarily disabled for a while would you return to working for this company," and "I'm planning on working here a year from now unless something happens beyond my control." Responses range from (1) strongly disagrees to (5) strongly agree. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was reported as .74.

Results

Data Analysis

Based on the structure of our measures and research questions, I conducted LPA in *Mplus 7.4* using the analysis command, type = mixture and MLR estimator (L. K.

Muthen & Muthen, 1998-2009) to test our hypotheses. I sought first to find which profile-solution fit the data best using criteria outlined by Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthen (2007). Next, I examined whether and how impression management strategies, organizational retaliatory behavior, and affiliative humor and retaliation distinguished between profiles. Finally, I examined whether the profiles may be differentiated in terms of the subsequent outcomes (i.e., job-affective well-being, burnout, perceived depression), and intent to leave that each profile may prompt.

Specifically, I began by specifying two latent profiles and increased the number of latent profiles to five at which time the model fit and interpretability no longer merited examining additional latent classes.¹⁶ I reviewed eight fit statistics or criteria to evaluate the models. The best fitting model (i.e., optimal number of profiles) should show the lowest log likelihood (LL), Akaike information criterion (AIC), Bayesian information criterion (BIC), sample-size-adjusted BIC (SSA-BIC), Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test (LMR) and bootstrap likelihood ratio test (BLRT) values closest to zero, a significant BLRT *p* value, and profiles with high posterior probabilities, which indicate clearly defined profiles (Stanley, Kellermanns, & Zellweger, 2016). Finally, entropy, another criterion used to demonstrate distinction among the latent classes, should have values approaching 1 (Celeux & Soromenho, 1996).

¹⁶ First, we compared models with and without controls. After we found that the same profile solution (i.e., number of classes) trends were still evident with and without controlling for the effects of controls, we proceeded to evaluate only models with profiles and controls modeled together.

Table 1 provides the fit statistics for possible latent profile structures. All profile solutions exhibited an entropy of greater than .8, meaning they all appeared to distinguish well among the latent classes. The three-profile solution was a better fit over the two-profile solution because the three-profile solution exhibited lower LL, AIC, BIC, and SSA-BIC values than the two-profile solution, as well as a significant BLRT value. In comparing, the three- and four- profile solutions, I found that the four-profile solutions exhibited lower LL, AIC, BIC, and SSA-BIC values and a significant, lower BLRT value than the three-profile solution. In comparing the four- and five-profile solutions, I found that regardless of running a large starting value set (i.e., 1000),¹⁷ the model estimation resulted in a local likelihood maximum.¹⁸ The local likelihood maximum is associated with inaccurate parameter estimates and suggests that the model is not a good fit for the data (Geiser, 2013). As such, I chose the four-profile solution.

¹⁷ Mplus default setting is 10 sets of random starting values (Geiser, 2013).

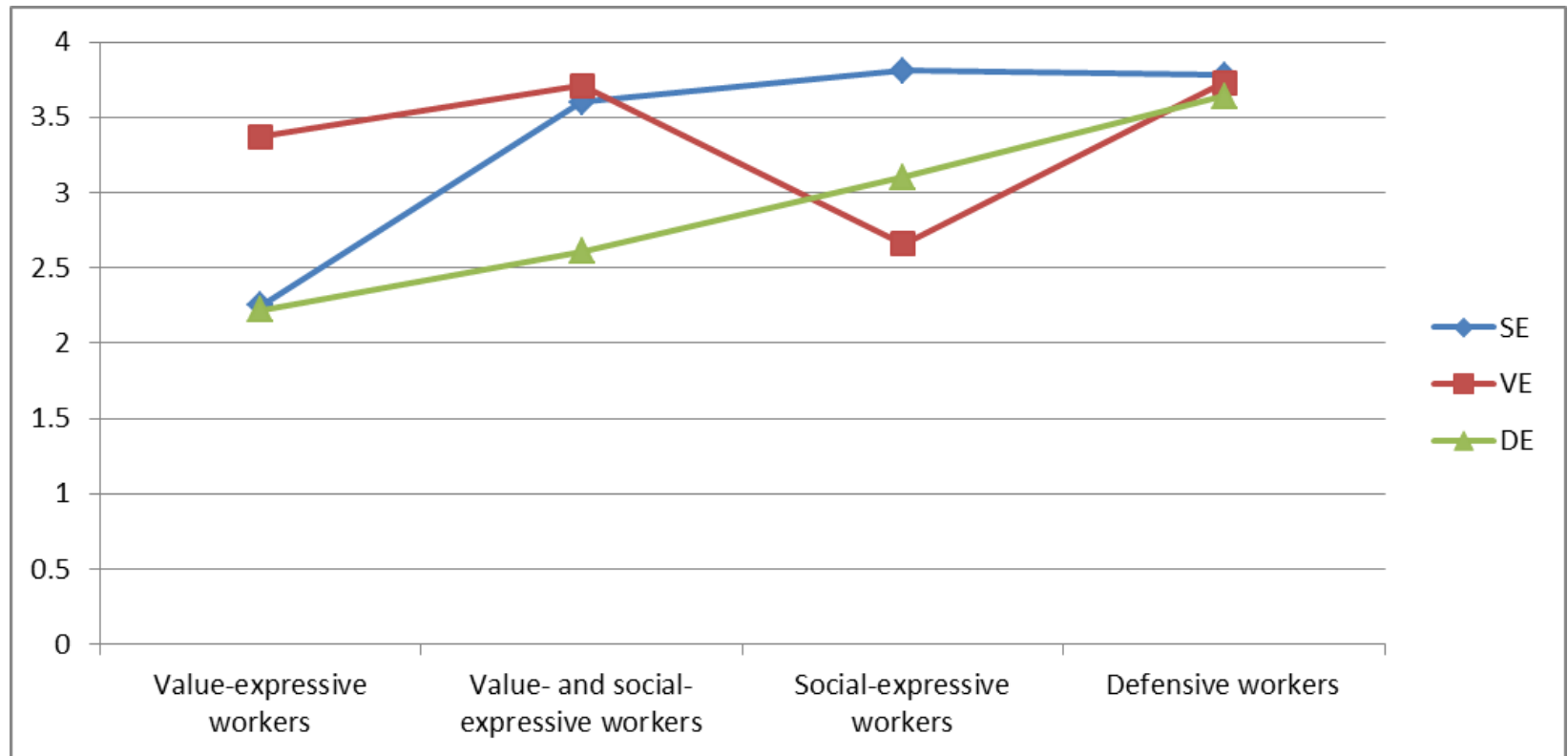
¹⁸ Local likelihood maximum is common with four or more classes (Geiser, 2013).

Table 1 Fit Statistics for Profile Structures

Profile Number	LL	FP	AIC	BIC	SSA-BIC	LMR ADJ	BLRT	Entropy	Class Size
2	-16723.174	90	33626.349	33972.528	33687.022	1212.002*	1218.099*	.877	40%; 60%
3	-16451.436	126	33154.872	33639.523	33239.815	540.726	543.369*	.906	16%; 36% 48%
4	-16225.100	161	32772.200	33391.476	32880.738	450.471	452.672*	.913	19%; 21% 21% 38%

Note. $n = 346$ participants. Fit statistics are derived from models controlling for age, gender, positive and negative affect, trait cynicism, and an emotional (in)stability personality factor. * $p < .05$

Specifically, as depicted in Figure 4, the four-profile solution revealed one class had higher value-expressive mean values, another class had higher social-expressive values, and the third class proved to be a combination of high mean values for social-expressive and value-expressive, which contrasted clearly with the other class with high value-expressive means and low social-expressive means. Lastly, the fourth class that exhibited the highest defensive mean values across classes also revealed high values of value-expressive and social expressive means, as well. In sum, the four-profile solution fit our theoretical expectations, including the discovery of a class that combined high value-expressive and high social-expressive means. Thus, Hypothesis 1 was supported in that the psychological functions – social expressive, value-expressive, and defensive - predicted cynical behavior profile membership.



Note. SE = social-expressive; VE = value-expressive; and DE = defensive.

Figure 4 Worker Cynical Behavior Profiles

Next, I examined whether and how impression management strategies, organizational retaliatory behavior, and affiliative humor and retaliation distinguished between profiles to address Hypotheses 2-8. As shown in Table 2, that data revealed that impression management clearly differentiated between Class 1 (i.e., value-expressive workers) and Class 4 (i.e., defensive workers). Such that, those workers who are more likely to use defensive behaviors also are more likely to use impression management behaviors ($b = 55.98$). In contrast, those workers who are more likely to use value-expressive behaviors and who are not likely to use social-expressive behaviors (i.e., Class 1) are not as likely to use impression management behaviors ($b = 46.85$). As such, impression management behavior provided a means to distinguish between profiles, supporting Hypothesis 2. However, Hypothesis 2a was only partially supported in that although defensive behaviors were associated with higher scores on impression management, the profiles that were characterized by *social*-expressive workers and value and *social*-expressive workers ($b = 48.70$ and $b = 49.55$, respectively), were associated with higher scores on a measure of impression management as compared to a profile associated with a value-expressive function. Next, results revealed that only one of two profiles associated with a value-expressive function (i.e., Classes 1 and 2) were associated with significantly lower scores on a measure of self-monitoring ($b = 35.30$ and $b = 32.18$, respectively), as compared to profiles associated with social-expressive function ($b = 36.57$) – only partially supporting Hypothesis 3a. In addition, although, the difference in self-monitoring between value-expressive workers and a profile associated with a defensive workers ($b = 32.11$) approached significance ($p < .06$), the score were in

the opposite direction as hypothesized. Thus, Hypothesis 3b was not supported. Then, I turned to examine whether the use of affiliative and aggressive humor was associated with cynical behavior profile membership. The aggressive humor measure only proved to have an alpha of .55 and thus proved unreliable. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was only partially supported, and Hypothesis 5 was not supported because I could not evaluate aggressive humor. Next, I examined if affiliative humor proved to distinguish well between social-expressive workers and other types of cynical workers. I found that social expressive workers ($b = 16.67$) engaged in affiliate humor significantly more often than value-expressive workers ($b = 14.94$), value- and social-expressive workers ($b = 14.19$), and defensive workers ($b = 12.67$). Thus, Hypothesis 6 was supported. Finally, in evaluating organizational retaliatory behaviors, I found evidence to support that this behavior predicts cynical behavior profile membership, specifically findings revealed a profile associated with a defensive function ($b = 24.74$) is associated with significantly higher scores on a measure of organizational retaliatory behavior as compared value-expressive workers ($b = 13.94$), value- and social-expressive workers ($b = 18.91$), and social-expressive workers ($b = 16.33$). Thus, Hypothesis 7 and 8 were supported.

Next, support for the criterion-related validity of the latent profiles was examined by their relationship with worker well-being outcomes (job-affective well-being, burnout, and perceived depression) and with a worker's intent to leave an employing organization voluntarily. As shown in Table 2, Hypothesis 9 was supported as cynical behavioral profiles exhibited different levels of job-related well-being and the intent to quit.

Important to note, the predictor variables were not included directly in the mixture model

because doing so may cause shifts in the original latent class indicator variables (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2014). “The shift can be so substantial that the analysis can yield meaningless results because it is no longer based on the original latent class variable” (p. 2). Different approaches have been proposed to solve this problem such as the 3-step approach (Vermunt, 2010), and the Lanza approach (Lanza, Tan, & Bray, 2013). However, these approaches can fail when the distal outcomes have unequal variance across classes (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2014). As such, these authors suggest that the BCH method is preferable for continuous distal outcomes. The BCH method is an equality test of means that uses weights which considers the measurement error of the latent class variable (see Bakker & Vermunt, 2015).

Using this method, I found specifically, that the defensive profile was most strongly associated negative and *positive* job emotions, perceived depression, and burnout. In order of magnitude, the social-expressive profiles (Class 2 and 3) exhibited a similar, but weaker relationship with these same well-being outcomes with the exception that the value- and social-expressive profile has the highest means in relation to intent to quit. Lastly, the value-expressive workers exhibited the lowest significant means with regard to all negative well-being outcomes.

Table 2 Equality Tests of Means Using BCH Procedure

Variable	Class 1		Class 2		Class 3		Class 4		BCH Equality Tests
	(Value- expressive workers)		(Value- and social- expressive workers)		(Social- expressive workers)		(Defensive workers)		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	
Impression management	46.85	.818	49.55	.663	48.70	.541	55.98	.986	Class 1 vs. 2*; Class 1 vs. 3; Class 1 vs. 4*; Class 2 vs. 3; Class 2 vs. 4*; Class 3 vs. 4*
Self- monitoring	35.30	1.29	32.18	1.21	36.57	.920	32.11	1.12	Class 1 vs. 2; Class 1 vs. 3; Class 1 vs. 4; Class 2 vs. 3*; Class 2 vs. 4; Class 3 vs. 4*
Affiliative humor	14.94	.640	14.19	.597	16.67	.397	12.67	.709	Class 1 vs. 2; Class 1 vs. 3*; Class 1 vs. 4*; Class 2 vs. 3*; Class 2 vs. 4; Class 3 vs. 4*

Variable	Class 1		Class 2		Class 3		Class 4		BCH Equality Tests
	(Value- expressive workers)		(Value- and social- expressive workers)		(Social- expressive workers)		(Defensive workers)		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	
Retaliation	13.94	.563	18.91	.619	16.33	.500	24.74	1.14	Class 1 vs. 2*; Class 1 vs. 3*; Class 1 vs. 4*; Class 2 vs. 3*; Class 2 vs. 4*; Class 3 vs. 4*
Negative job affect	21.76	.91	27.29	.74	23.61	.76	28.92	1.19	Class 1 vs. 2*; Class 1 vs. 3; Class 1 vs. 4*; Class 2 vs. 3*; Class 2 vs. 4; Class 3 vs. 4*
Positive job affect	32.21	1.11	26.24	.81	31.64	.79	32.17	1.22	Class 1 vs. 2*; Class 1 vs. 3; Class 1 vs. 4; Class 2 vs. 3*; Class 2 vs. 4*; Class 3 vs. 4

Variable	Class 1		Class 2		Class 3		Class 4		BCH Equality Tests
	(Value- expressive workers)		(Value- and social- expressive workers)		(Social- expressive workers)		(Defensive workers)		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	
Depression	2.36	.15	2.97	.12	2.39	.15	2.88	.13	Class 1 vs. 2*; Class 1 vs. 3; Class 1 vs. 4*; Class 2 vs. 3*; Class 2 vs. 4; Class 3 vs. 4*
Burnout	21.43	1.11	27.31	.89	22.00	.85	28.78	1.58	Class 1 vs. 2*; Class 1 vs. 3; Class 1 vs. 4*; Class 2 vs. 3*; Class 2 vs. 4; Class 3 vs. 4*
Intent to leave	5.24	.45	6.57	.39	6.08	.36	5.61	.43	Class 1 vs. 2*; Class 1 vs. 3; Class 1 vs. 4; Class 2 vs. 3; Class 2 vs. 4; Class 3 vs. 4*

Note. *M* = mean; *SE* = standard error. * $p < .05$.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

This is the first study to our knowledge that examines whether organizational cynicism is a heterogeneous construct. In other words, do different types of cynical workers exist, and by extension do they experience different wellbeing outcomes? By using a person-centric approach (Wang & Hanges, 2011) to investigate cynical behavior motivations and psychological needs through the functional lens, I identified the existence of distinct organizational cynical workers, or subpopulations. Overall, my results across two studies revealed four profiles that varied in the level (quantitative differences—value-expressive, social-expressive, and defensive) of the profile indicators. In turn, these profiles were differentially associated with the likelihood of enacting other cynical behaviors – namely, impression management, self-monitoring, affiliative humor, and retaliation, and different levels of five wellbeing indicators – job-affective negative and positive emotion, depression, burnout – and intent to quit. In sum, this research sought to address three main questions important to the understanding of cynicism revisited below.

How do workers express cynicism in the workplace?

First with respect to Question 1, as discussed in the Introduction, the majority of the organizational cynicism literature has focused on cynical *beliefs*. In the rare instances in which behavior has been the focus of research – mostly only overt, observable cynical

behaviors such as cynical criticism or negative (i.e., aggressive) cynical humor have been addressed (Brandes & Das, 2006). Here, I found evidence from Study 1 that additional behaviors exist. These include impression management, self-monitoring, affiliative humor (versus aggressive humor), and retaliation. In study 2, these behaviors were found to be discriminating variables by which different profile classes could be delineated.

How is cynical behavior adaptive or functional from a worker's perspective?

Second, I found from case evidence in Study 1 and Study 2 analyses that three functions (four profiles) can be identified and measured which is the assumption underlying the functional approach to cynicism. Thus, I found that cynical behavior can be adaptive for workers by allowing them to express value, social, and defensive psychological needs. As such, cynical behaviors that are considered counterproductive from a traditional organizational perspective may be adaptive from an individual worker's perspective. Finally, the results from Study 1 indicated that cynical workers are predisposed to manifest one kind of function over another. However, a quantitative approach was used to validate these findings. Thus, I address question 3 by discussing the results from the LPA in Study 2.

When workers enact certain cynical behaviors do they consistently a) use certain functions; and b) does the use of such functions result in different subsequent well-being outcomes?

First, regarding the profile structure of the model, I obtained a 4-class profile solution that was in line with the proposed theoretical framework that value-expressive, social-expressive, and defensive motivations would be consistently used across workers.

Moreover, this model could be reliably replicated across several starting values providing the first piece of validating evidence that workers experiencing cynicism consistently use certain functions. In addition, this model was obtained while controlling for some specific factors that have been empirically shown to influence cynicism. These controls included age, gender, trait positive and negative affect, trait cynicism, and an emotional (in)stability personality factor. Specifically, these results support that psychological functions – social expressive, value-expressive, and defensive - predict cynical behavior profile membership. Next, I examined whether and how impression management strategies, self-monitoring, affiliative humor, and organizational retaliatory behavior distinguished between profiles.

In analyzing impression management, I found that impression management behavior provided a means to distinguish between the four profiles. Specifically, a profile associated with a defensive function was associated with the highest scores on impression management, followed by value- and social-expressive workers, social-expressive workers, and finally value-expressive workers. Then, to provide evidence for construct validity, I examined if self-monitoring could inform the difference in functional profiles related to impression management. I hypothesized that the value-expressive profile would be associated with the lowest scores of self-monitoring, but I found that defensive workers and value- and social-expressive workers had significantly lower scores of self-monitoring. After reviewing these findings, I believe it reasonable that low self-monitoring is an indicator of a defensive profile, as a defensive motivation has been described by many scholars as involuntary or reactionary behavior (Bedeian, 2007; Naus,

et al., 2007). As such, one would not expect that an individual is involuntarily reacting while at the same time constantly monitoring their environment as a high monitor would. In addition, the lower scores of the value- and social-expressive workers may indicate that self-monitoring is less important to those value-expressive workers that also express their cynicism socially.

In analyzing affiliative humor, I found that social-expressive workers were significantly more likely to use affiliative humor than other cynical workers, and the defensive profile workers were significantly less likely to use affiliative humor. These results were consistent with my expectations. The finding that affiliative humor was used significantly more by value-expressive profiles than the defensive profiles may perhaps be explained by what appears to be the more positive nature of the value-expressive profile. This positive nature is explicated not only by the fact that a value-expressive function is related more to being true to one's internal values (Herek, 1987), but also that value-expressive profiles were positively associated with trait positive affect, while the other two profiles were negatively associated with the same.

In analyzing organizational retaliatory behavior, I found evidence to support that this behavior covaries with cynical behavior profile membership, specifically findings revealed a profile associated with a defensive function is associated with higher scores on a measure of organizational retaliatory behavior, followed by value-, and social-expressive and social-expressive, with the lowest scores of retaliatory behavior being associated with value-expressive profile workers. As such, these findings suggest that relying on patterns of cynical motivations (i.e., functions) – particularly patterns that

incorporate cynical behavior – may prove important in understanding why workers may experience disparate wellbeing outcomes, as discussed next.

Our results also highlight how some underexplored cynical behavior and outcomes differ as a function of profile membership. In terms of the outcomes, I found that the defensive profile exhibited the highest level on several negative wellbeing outcomes (i.e., job-related negative affect, depression, burnout), paralleled by the social-expressive profile, but at lower levels. In contrast, value-expressive exhibited the lowest on all these same deleterious outcomes. Two findings were particularly unexpected. These included, first, the finding that job-related positive affect more strongly indicated a defensive profile in contrast to the social-expressive profiles (Class 2 and 3). Although there was evidence in Study 1 that caring was found to be correlated to cynicism, future research should look more closely at these relationships. Second, results revealed that intent to leave or quit was more strongly indicated by profiles associated with the use of high social-expressive behavior in contrast to the other two profiles. Finally, previous research does support that cynicism is contagious (Wilkerson, et al., 2008). Thus, organizations should be aware that this initial finding suggests that those workers who are more motivated to share their cynicism with coworkers are more likely to consider leaving their organization voluntarily.

Theoretical Implications

One major theoretical contribution of the current article is that the results of this study support the notion that more than one motivation underlies the latent variable of organizational cynicism. While one of the cynical profiles that emerged, defensive, is

mentioned in the literature, the motivation had not been empirically explored to our knowledge. The other three profiles with high and low levels of social-expressive and value-expressive have yet to be examined in the organizational cynicism literature.

The second contribution relates to extending research on a narrower construct, but also not wholly within the domain of what is usually considered CWB, cynical behavior. As mentioned earlier, the current CWB literature has tended to group different behaviors into overall composites, considering them mainly as responses to injustice and work stressors, and associating these behaviors with anger or instrumentality (e.g., theft; Spector et al., 2006). This research suggests additional research needs to consider other motives for these behaviors that go beyond emotions. In sum, integrating cynical behaviors and the FTF into the CWB literature expands CWB research and provide theoretical insight to explicate how cynical behavior is enacted adaptively to meet various psychological needs.

Finally, the findings across two studies that workers are driven by different functional motivations supports that workers use cynical behavior adaptively to deal with various stressors in the workplace that have previously been associated with cynical attitudes. Specifically, I extend organizational cynicism scholarship by providing evidence that workers not only express cynical behavior defensively (not consciously aware of their psychological motivations), but some workers enact cynical behaviors deliberately - the motivation is known to the worker.

Practical Implications

Some practical recommendations emerge from the current research. One of the values of the person-centric approach is that it is heuristic and aligns well with how individuals naturally categorize (Fouguereau, Morin, Lapoint, Mokoukolo, & Gillet, 2019). Thus, practical applications emerging from this perspective are more likely to influence organizational practices. As the evidence from these two related studies supports profiles, this type of analysis provides a greater means to determine which of these profiles may be linked more strongly to adjustment variables and to inform when intervention programs are needed by identifying which profiles are the most maladaptive. Specifically, this research provides evidence that workers who are motivated highly by defensiveness fair the worse in terms of well-being, followed by workers who exhibit high social-expressive motivation. I also discovered that those workers who consistently express their cynicism socially, are more likely to have the intent to leave their organizations. Finally, those workers who express cynicism for the greater good –value-expressive workers demonstrated the best wellbeing outcomes. Thus, I posit that organizations have a lot to gain by the knowledge and workforce measures that approach cynicism as a heterogenous, rather than a homogeneous construct.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

As with any research, my studies have limitations. One such limitation is my use of a single-item measures for depression. However, meta-analytic results indicate that single items can demonstrate satisfactory properties (Wanous, Reichers, & Hudy, 1997), and scholars have advocated the use of single items when psychological constructs are

narrow or unambiguous (Sackett & Larson, 1990). Second, although my theoretical model suggests that profiles lead to wellbeing outcomes, our data are cross-sectional and therefore preclude firm causal conclusions. For example, it is possible that wellbeing outcomes such as those examined here (job-affective positive and negative affect, depression, burnout) and intent to leave cause cynical behavior, creating the illusion of a causal association. In this regard, experience-sampling methods could be used to examine the link between profiles at one point in time and wellbeing outcomes for an individual at a subsequent time. Lastly, one could argue that a 5-class solution better could represent the data better if a larger sample had been used to avoid local likelihood maximum. However, I found in examining the five-profile solution, the additional class represented moderate scores of the functions, and as such, did not provide significant theoretical or practical implications. Thus, I posit the 4-class solution represented the data better both statistically and interpretively. Finally, although the exploratory nature of this research was in alignment with our use of a cross-sectional sample, future research should examine within-person variability in a longitudinal study such that it is possible that the same worker could use different functions across time.

Conclusion

The organizational literature has been limited in its conceptualization and understanding of cynical behavior motivations. In the current study, I used a mixed-methods, person-centric approach to better understand how different types of cynical workers experience their jobs. I was able to demonstrate that (a) different types of cynical workers exist, (b) latent profile membership can be predicted by vignette responses to

common organizations situations, and certain underexplored cynical behaviors are indicative of these profiles, and (c) latent profile membership differentiates employee well-being outcomes. Our results reveal new insights into the nature of cynicism contributing to the extension of organizational cynicism theory and the improvement in the prediction of worker well-being outcomes.

APPENDIX A

Script for Semi-structured Interviews

Introduction Script

Hello, I'm Amber Hargrove from the Department of Psychology at George Mason University. Thank you for agreeing to be a part of this project. I'm really interested in learning about your experience with cynicism in the workplace. There are no right or wrong answers to any of my questions, and I don't have any set answers in mind. Anything you can share with me is helpful. *We can stop at any time, and you do not have to answer anything you do not feel comfortable with.* This interview should take about 45 minutes to one hour, and I'll take notes as a supplement to the recording. First, I would like to go over the consent form, if that's ok?

Consent Script for Interview via Phone or Webcam

You already received a copy of the consent form via email and took time to read it. Do you have any questions about anything? Based on the information in the consent form, do you agree to be a part of this interview? Do you agree to being audiotaped?

Consent Script for Face-to-Face Interview

You already received a copy of the consent form. Here is a copy of the consent form. If you have not already, please take a moment to read it, and let me know if you have any questions or do not understand something. Do you have any questions about

anything? At the end you will mark if you agree to being a part of this interview, and if you agree to our interview being audiotaped. Then, if you have not already, you will sign the document.

The Conversational Interview Guide

So, I mentioned we are going to talk about workplace cynicism today, but I wanted to discuss with you that in academic research researchers distinguish between cynicism directed at the organization or organizational leaders and cynicism directed at someone's job. For example, I could be cynical about being a nurse and that would be job cynicism, but if I am cynical about the hospital where I work, or the hospital administrators, that would be organizational cynicism. It is organizational cynicism that I would like to talk to you about today. Actually, research has found that cynicism in workplace is quite common. Also, for the purposes of this research I define organizational cynicism as:

a negative attitude toward where one works or the managers of an organization where a worker believes the organization for which they work are selfish, lack integrity, and are incompetent. I have printed out [or emailed you for phone or Skype interviews] this definition, but we can always return to the definition and clarify if we need to, ok? Now, let's dive right into the first question.

Warm up question: How long have you been with your current organization? Have you held the same position since you been with this organization? I am going to ask you about a couple of specific incidents that occurred in the last week, so it may be

helpful to look at your work calendar to jog your memory of what you were doing at various times during the past week.

Can you think about a specific incident that occurred in the last week when you felt like you experienced cynicism at work directed at the organization as a whole or a manager or a supervisor, or observed someone else who expressed cynicism at work who is a close peer or supervisor to you?

What else can you remember about the incident? Was there anyone else around to observe the incident?

Can you tell me a little bit more about what you (they) did or what you felt like doing when that happened? Why do you think you did that or felt like doing that?

Did you continue to think about the situation after it was over? Did you talk about the situation with anyone? With whom? What kind of feedback did you receive?

Had something like this happened before? Is this typical for you (for them)? Has this type of thing happened at other organizations?

Do you typically speak up to improve work or the organization, do you feel like it is a lost cause or do you feel like you are unable to raise concerns about issues related to incompetence, ethical concerns, or selfish organizational actions? If so, why?

Is there anything you do to try to make these situations that result in cynicism better for yourself or to prevent yourself from feeling cynical in the first place?

Are you able to think about another specific incident that occurred in the last week when you felt like you experienced cynicism at work directed at the organization as

a whole or a manager or a leader, or observed someone else who expressed cynicism at work who is a close peer or supervisor to you?

What else can you remember about the incident? Was there anyone else around to observe the incident?

Can you tell me a little bit more about what you did or what you felt like doing? Why do you think you did that or felt like doing that?

Did you continue to think about the situation after it was over? Did you talk about the situation with anyone? With whom? What kind of feedback did you receive?

Had something like this happened before? Is this typical for you (for them)? Has this type of thing happened at other organizations?

Do you think dealing with cynicism toward your organization or others in your organization is affecting you in any other aspects of your life? At home? Your health?

Has cynicism toward your organization influenced how you think or feel about your job or would you still feel the same about your job if you could be engaged in the same job in another organization?

Can you tell me if others at work seem to be experiencing similar levels of cynicism to you? How can you tell? What do you think is the difference between those who experience more cynicism versus those who experience less?

Why do you work -- what significance does working hold for you...what larger meaning, other than financial reward, if any, does it serve in your life?

Based on the cynicism you see in your organization, 1) how much hope do you have that things will get better; and 2) how much do you care that things will get better?

What do you like the most about your organization? What do you like the least?

Script for Conclusion

Before we wrap up and discuss next steps, is there anything more that you feel is important?

Within the next couple of weeks, I will email you a word-for-word, typed copy of your interview. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you think of any other areas that you would like to add, clarify, or if you have any questions.

Follow-up Activities

Email transcripts and send a thank-you note.

Send email follow-up to a sample of participants to evaluate a proposed theoretical framework(s), which results from data analysis/interpretation.

APPENDIX B

Detailed Coding Procedure

The coding the interviews involved five steps.

Step 1: The primary researcher conducted and recorded the interviews. Then the recordings were automatically transcribed using Nvivo software. In addition, the primary researcher conducted a final cleaning on the transcripts by individually checking the auto-transcription against the interview audiotapes. Finally, the primary researcher divided the interview transcripts into 422 codeable units wherein each unit represented a complete thought regarding an aspect of cynicism.

Step 2: The raters - a pair of research assistants who are currently enrolled in a university psychology program (one undergraduate and one masters) - were initially provided with an in depth training session wherein they received a codebook with all categories to be coded and definitions and examples of each category.

Step 3: Next, the raters started coding extracts (i.e., codeable unit) in small batches using a 0 or 1 coding scheme for the presence or absence of the 16 behavioral motivations described above and for the presence or absence of cynical behavior. Small coding batches provided a means for the raters to ask clarifying questions and reach higher consensus with each consecutive larger batch of coding.

Step 4: After the first round of coding, the research team tested the coding system to allow for calibration and validation. At that time, although not representative of behavior or motivation, codes for autonomy, uncertainty, cynicism mitigation, hope, care, work meaningful, and reoccurring problems were added to the coding system to represent reoccurring topics derived from the initial round of coding. These topics were captured to help understand the phenomenon of cynicism. However, as the typology to be derived was intended to capture only cynical behavior and motivation, these topics were not integrated into the thematic map. These topics were each coded 0 or 1 based on the absence or presence, respectively, of the categories in each extract.

Step 5: The coders used consensus coding (see Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997, for detailed procedures). Each rater independently coded descriptions, and then the two coders held meetings to discuss disagreement and reach final consensus. Intercoder agreement was assessed. Before consensus, agreement ranged from 78.3% to 89.2%. Research assistants were blind to hypotheses/propositions.

APPENDIX C

Data Analysis

The primary researcher conducted and recorded the interviews. Then the recordings were automatically transcribed using Nvivo software. Finally, the primary researcher divided the interview transcripts into 422 codeable units wherein each unit represented a complete thought regarding an aspect of cynicism. The raters - a pair of research assistants - are currently enrolled in a university psychology program (one undergraduate and one masters). The coders used consensus coding (see Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997, for detailed procedures). Each rater independently coded descriptions, and then the two coders held meetings to discuss disagreement and reach final consensus. Intercoder agreement was assessed. Before consensus, agreement ranged from 78.3% to 89.2%. Research assistants were blind to hypotheses/propositions. Detailed coding procedures are enumerated in Appendix B. Once coding was complete, in an iterative fashion, I analyzed the qualitative data by going back and forth between the data and the emerging structure of cynical behavioral themes categorized by motivation. Examples of themes related to an informant's cynical behaviors include expression of particular values; voice related to evaluation of ineffective leadership/policies; fear of reprisal, resignation, and social judgment silence; descriptions of social experiences such as social

connection/comparison; and statements of psychological or physical distancing that included work disengagement and intent to quit.

Figure 3 depicts the thematic map that was derived from the interviews, which shows cynical behavioral themes, theoretical categories, and theoretical motivations. These were determined based on the total coding counts of 16 behavioral motivations that are categorized according the presence or absence of 4 functions (defensive, value-expressive, social-expressive, and object-appraisal), 6 dimensions of voice and silence (Dyne et al., 2003), and 6 dimensions of situations. This type of thematic analysis requires a constant reference back and forth between the raw interview data, the coded extracts of data, and the analysis of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This step (i.e., creating a visual of the data) allows the researcher to provide a transparent process of how the analysis progressed, insuring qualitative rigor (Gioia et al., 2013). In addition, in order to emphasize the richness, rigor, and depth of the case evidence used to support the research presented, a table (Appendix C) was developed that affords a detailed accounting of all the relevant evidence collected from the cases that includes evidence for the themes and antecedents of cynical behavior.

APPENDIX D

Evidence for Themes

Defensive Function (DF)

DF1: Some workers engage in retaliatory cynical behaviors.

I think there are definitely people who were frustrated and just doing the bare minimum (P29, p.2, line 1-2).

One time... one week I didn't charge 10 hours. I just booked 30 when I'm supposed to have at least 40 a week. I think it's policy to have 40 a week, but I was just fed up with my job and I just didn't even care (P9, p.4, line 14-16).

Yes, there is a lot of people who will take longer lunch breaks or well I admit to spending my time at my desk not working. You don't like to say it, but you can find work just on your desk - you can find work at our company, but if your motivation is low because of the distaste with certain people (i.e., supervisor) or procedures you just stop working. I personally have done that (P15, p.3, line 19-23).

I find myself at times going in later, at times making my own decision to work from home, to go on travel when maybe I don't necessarily need to... I really see it as a as a middle finger to them. It's a small little thing...(P14, p.3, line 9-10; 17).

I think I got the emotional satisfaction out of it...when I pulled back on doing my work. It just put more onto the plate of my coworker or at least left it out in the open that someone needed to take it and more awareness that she wasn't pulling her own weight even though she was getting the special treatment. It may be cynical of me, but I had been doing a lot.

I've been working a lot and I have nothing to really show for it and other benefits and treatment and things like that...So someone appreciate me (P15, p.4, line 3-11).

He definitely didn't appreciate the specifics, the policies, that the client had instituted on the contract, so he was showing up for work late, and not doing a very good job and not being very responsive on his work tasks... it was a retaliation style cynicism on his part (P30, p.5, line 2-5; 8).

DF2: Cynicism motivates some workers to disengage from the organization.

I care about it but I don't think it can be changed (P13, p.5, line 13).

Lack of hope things will get better (P1, p.9, line 17; P4, p.8, line 16-17).

I'm sick of it all because I feel like no matter how hard I work, they don't care (P13, p.4, line 14).

I do not care because I do not expect it to get better (P29, p.5, line 16).

I have no hope and I don't really care too much (P30, p.5, line 28).

So I'm just a little bit more selfish. I don't necessarily mind we are being treated unfairly, but I just wanted similar treatment. I think I took that approach [speaking up] because I did not want to feel like I was attacking my boss in his decisions considering he was the one that was doing and letting her do all these things, and then that still backfired -now it became a sensitive case. I just will not speak up. I was told by other people I would go to the H.R. department, but our H.R. department has a notoriously bad history. They don't really resolve issues like this. I just felt very locked in where I am - not really much to do. So it really is a bitterness that's kind of stewing (P15, p.2, line 22-30).

Interviewer: *Right, and it's fair to say based on what you're describing to me it's caused a loss of engagement would you say that's fair?* Interviewee: *Yeah. Yeah it has. And sometimes I'll recognize it and I'll you know I'll try to reenergize myself* (P5, p.1-2; line 32-24).

It is not my job to do that now (P1, p.1, line 34).

I think stepping back like the duties that we used to do that we felt no longer were our duties anymore because we couldn't get the work done. That would be me protecting myself is what I think (P1, p.6, 4-6).

If one area of my life is not working the way I want, I tend to maybe ignore it or neglect it for a while...there's been times where I'll come home and you know the heck with this and I'm not going to follow up on that report. I'm not going to read those assignments. I'll just go out in the shed and work on a woodworking project, and I'll do that in a week or two weeks or whatever (P5, p.5, line 8-19).

I make my work less of a priority – I'm not coming in on the weekends (P11, p.3., line 27).

When something puts a roadblock in progress after it happens you know more than once or twice, it starts to become a hindrance and I tend to not want to focus on putting as much effort in because ultimately I believe it's not going to lead to any kind of progress (P23, p.2, line 4-7).

DF3: Cynicism motivates some workers to engage in psychological or physical distancing.

I'm just going to live the kind of life I want, and not worry about that (P4, p2, line 4-5).

[Feeling cynical] makes me want to be more reclusive (P8, p.3, line 15-16).

And when it's typically the top down thing, and it just sucks and there's nothing anybody can do or say at certain levels that are going to do anything good. So, you basically just keep moving...tuck your head and keep moving P21, p.6, line 4-6).

Schedule meetings to avoid individual that is trying to stall and/or derail (P8, p.2, line 1-16).

Avoiding others that they see as problems.... And so typically they either start ghosting or... start cutting their hours or trying to telework more.... trying to stay away from the person and not be in their proximity (P8, p.6, line 1-11).

There are some days where I'm like "I just need to call it quits"...there are other days when it's like, alright, I need to get out the office (P10, p.4, line 10-16).

While others kind of shut down, just get upset, and let that other negative processes take place (P6, p.2, line 27-28).

DF3A: Intent to quit or job exit outcomes.

I don't think I care much anymore , especially because I've moved on , and if I was to come into another situation like that , it's probably what I would do again , just try to get away from it and just move on to a different role (P18, p.5, line 2-4).

Switched jobs because they have had enough (P3, p.3, line 18-21).

I think cynicism would be a coping mechanism and then once they reach their breaking point that's just too much (P3, p.3, line 26-27).

So, I can think of four specific cases where co-workers have left and (un)fairness was part of it (P12, p.2, line 26-27).

I want to get out of there because I realized that they don't give a <expletive> (P13, p.2, line 1-3).

You will see a lateral movement as the main thing of people jumping ship as opposed to people leaving the organization entirely (P8, p.6, line 10-11).

When morale is really low and you're feeling probably extra cynical...you just want to get out (P9, p.3. line 31-34).

So the main thing that you're trying to do to make the situation better is you are trying to look outside of your current organization and just change the situation? Interviewee: Yes, change the situation. That's the only way out (P13, p.3, line 19-22).

In this situation what I did was I tried not to take on projects that were provided by this manager, and eventually I ended up moving away from the team just because I did not want to continue having to deal with this manager (P18, p.2, line 24-26).

There was nothing I could really do to improve that. It was pretty much either just get with the program or leave, so I left (P10, p.5, line 24-25).

I was frustrated with a lot of people [e.g., line manager] at work. I sought out other employment...(P17, p.5, line 19).

I think because I have gotten to the point where it was so frustrating. That I was seeking new employment (P17, p.5, line 1-2).

So we're working with the manager of that branch who is resistant to any kind of changes and has I would say stalled and derailed any kind of positive movements in the right direction because he viewed it as a personal insult that he had not done a good enough job. And that's frustrating because you're seeing it in real time (P8, p.2, line 4-7).

The next day if you have if I'm dealing with a lot of political issues and I mean like office politics. It definitely makes me more frustrated with my kids - it makes me want to be more reclusive. It makes me question why I am working for this place (P8, p.3, line 15-16).

DF4: Cynicism motivates some workers to use emotion or cognitive regulation strategies.

If I feel it is affecting my health or my motivation or , you know , it just kind of ...it can make you feel a bit down . That is when I try to focus on what I have the power to change - and not let it affect me (P29, p.3, line 30-33).

I stopped getting distracted by the big picture as far as what I think leadership is doing or not doing and focused just on what I can do myself. I mean let me work on that and I will worry about the big stuff later (P5, p.2, line 30-33).

Sometimes I'm really feeling down about just feeling cynical and I think, "OK, I'm just going to focus on my job alone and not worry about anything that's around me. I can't control that, but I can control my job function." (P10, p.10, line 12-18).

But I tend ...around today's unstable environment... just not take it too serious, so it doesn't affect me as much I think (P23, p.3, line 15-17).

I don't know if it's going to be leadership change or what it is...It's an institutional way of thinking or what it is exactly. Again realizing what you can and cannot change...trying to do what you can with what you got (P19, p.3, line 15-18).

Interviewer: So particularly when you might have been frustrated with that policy change, is there anything that you did to make yourself feel better or to prevent yourself

from feeling cynical in the first place? Interviewee: I just kept telling myself that my CPA bonus would be instead of that because I passed my CPA following that... before that first-year guys got a bonus for that. I told myself I may not haven't gotten that, but I got this. Interviewer: So you tried to just redirect to the positive. Interviewee: Yep...yep (P7, p.3, line 14-18).

Again realizing what you can and cannot change...trying to do what you can with what you got. You know making the best of the tools available to you (P19, p.3, line 16-18). I have no faith. I think to me it's a matter of learning and growing to let it roll off your back. As it happens, seeing it, acknowledging what you know about the source of the cynicism. Seeing it and acknowledging it for what it is, and you know growing to accept that sometimes...you take the good with the bad (P3, p.4, line 17-20).

DF5: Cynicism motivates silence behavior based on self-protective behavior such as fear of reprisal.

I at one point tried to talk to my boss but he happens to be part of the executive management team, and he got rather defensive and just very unhelpful which I think almost made it worse. Interviewer: So did that dissuade you from speaking up in the future? Interviewee: Yes absolutely. It seems like a pointless point to make. Aside from the fact that he's my manager, he can't even remove himself from being executive manager like part of executive management to actually see that there are problems in the policies... like what we're doing and how we're treating certain employees (P15, p.1, line 21-28).

I know some people who haven't spoke up who have the same issues and they just sit there and continue to let them fester and get angrier and angrier...(P4, p.4, line 12-14).

I once voiced that I wanted to share more of my frustrations in those anonymous forums...but everybody warned me that they're not as anonymous as you think and other employees have warned me of retaliation. I don't know if that's true or false, but I don't actually want to find out (P15, p.5, line 32-36).

If it was like an ethical issue that I'm having directly with management, I don't think I would bring it up with them. I'd have to be more strategic with it. Make sure I don't get any backlash in the long run. Because it's easier to say I had a problem...with people below me, but if it's a supervisor then it's a little touchier (P9, p.3, line 14-15; 22-24).

I have [spoken up] and nothing happens or changes, and so I don't really trust the people I've talked to anymore. So there's nobody I really trust to talk about it with (P13, p.2, line 5-7).

[Regarding speaking up]... Because I'm afraid of not outright reprisal, but I'm just afraid of backlash (P13, p.3, line 10).

But really, the last five or six years of my career they beat me down, and I became a company man (P14, p.5, line 29-30).

It would affect my Let's say , office relationship with the upper level management.

Interviewer: So you're actually concerned about retaliation or some kind of reprisal?

Interviewee: Oh , yeah (P21, p.2-3, line 28-1).

Yeah . I mean , let's face it , if I were to tell the big boss to go <expletive>, I probably wouldn't be working there very long (P21, p. 5, line 18-19).

There was one day where he [supervisor] pretty much...I don't want to say got in my face, but he was very rude with the way he was talking to me, and he tried to walk away from me and I went up to him and I was like <employee name>, let's discuss this. He got very ugly with me, so since then I haven't really spoken to him, and I'm just waiting for that day he does it again (P17, p.3, line 11-15).

DF6: Cynicism motivates silence behavior based on resignation that things will not change.

[Not speaking up]...they wouldn't necessarily care what I have to say (P30, p.2, line 19) . Even if I raised concerns it might not be addressed- given its due concern – might be brushed off (p3, p.2-3, line 30-2).

I felt like it was a lost cause to speak up (P1, p.5, line 23-32).

[Response to less likely to speak up]... because you go in very high hopes....but now I'm very cynical. As you get into the nitty gritty actual details and understand how things go, you're like <expletive> this (P9, p.7, line 1-3).

Even though I expressed my concerns at the team level initially... leadership said that we're moving to this new system, and that's what we have to do. So, I'm trying to be positive for the team and encourage them about the system change, but behind the scenes I don't feel this way (P10, p.3, line 5-23).

[Regarding not speaking up]...I think just not feeling confident that any action will... any change will happen from me bringing it up or the concern being dismissed (P12, p.3, line 9-10).

I do not have much hope that things will get better and really, I don't care (P14, p.7, line 8).

I have no interest in growing the position and seeing where I can go at this company because I no longer like this company (P15, p.5, line 1-3).

Well in this situation of this manager where I thought he was just going after his own goals of self-interest, I think there could be some sort of retaliation...or he would just disregard the feedback that I would be providing. He would just be dismissive (P18, p.2, line 18-20).

I don't have much hope things for change because executive leaders look at this unit manager as a superstar. I do not think they are aware of what is going on and I do not think that will change that (P18, p.4, line 33-35).

What I liked the least about it is dealing with administrators that think they are holier than thou, and you kind of have to play that game . You know, if it were real world , I'd tell them "what fir." I would be more inclined to speak my mind about things as opposed to not saying something... sometimes it's better not to make waves...it's just easier to get along (P21, p.4-5, line 29-2).

You tend not to talk about it as much anymore because it's like the same thing over and over again. Me personally I don't like to ... on the same thing over and over again. And also, I don't believe that there's going to be an effect of change (P23, p.2, line 13-16).

[Speaking up] I've come to believe that change will probably not happen. Even if there is a little progress, it won't come in a timely manner (P23, p.2, line 31-32).

No, I would not speak up because they're leadership. Interviewer: Because you think there might be some kind of reprisal? Interviewee: Yes (P29, p.2, line 30-32).

[Speaking up]..No... I'm one part of usually like 18,000 [employees].

Social-expressive (SE)

SE1: Some workers are reticent to speak up about their cynicism because of what others may think.

[Reticent to speak up]... it would be perceptions of myself of how much I'm pushing...I think I'm a little bit more assertive individual who does that. So it would be my putting my voice out too much to certain individuals. Do they think I'm going to be too much at times? Interviewer: So is it fair to say a little impression management is going on there? Interviewee: 100%...that's the best way to put it (P16, p.3, line 22-29).

SE2: Some workers share cynical thoughts or jokes to get along or connect with other employees.

[Sharing a cynical joke]... I would say it's more of the same boat... some of it's obviously venting... if it ever reaches that extreme. But I would say I mean I guess most of it is just a social getting along with other people that I guess you can kind of know that they have the same feeling (P23, p. 3, line 22-25).

[Sharing cynical thoughts is a social connection]... Absolutely yes, plus, there's an opportunity to sometimes realize that people have realized that their position isn't quite as bad as they thought it was comparatively or even compared to you know other situations. With a lot of people who this is you know their first job or an early job and so you know it's been an opportunity for some of them to realize that they're doing better off

than they thought they were. Sometimes it helps and sometimes it makes things worse because you end up dwelling on things (P26, p.3, line 17-18; 22-26).

So I think the social interaction is one of the big pieces . And then , I mean , just one of the ways that personally I've dealt with cynicism overall is I funnel it through jokes . So it it's a way for me to almost accept the situation and pretty much move on with stuff that you can change (P30, p.2-3, line 33-2).

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I think it was helpful to know other people were feeling the same thing (P7, p.1-2, line 35-9).

You know watercooler talk about leadership needs to get their head out of their butt or they're not recognizing the What the What this or what stuff is or that they're taking the wrong strategic direction...something of that nature. Interviewer: Ok, what kind of feedback did you receive or was it just kind of reciprocal...everyone seemed like they were on the same page?

Interviewee: Usually, reciprocal. Yeah. Interviewer: Did you get any kind of sense of togetherness or feeling like you weren't alone feeling this way by having those conversations? Do you think it ramped up your cynicism? I guess it could go one way or the other. Interviewee: No, I don't think it ramped it up, but I definitely had conversations where it was acknowledged and others feel the same way. In fairness, I'd say there perhaps are occasionally, and I'm not sure I can recall specific instances right now but there are occasional instances where someone would tell me, "Well you know so-and-so was distracted by this or you didn't realize it but this was going on at the same time." And that helps a little bit as well. I do have those conversations too, occasionally (P5, p.2-3, line 35-16).

Interviewer: And then that's kind of the feedback that you've received from others? Did it kind of give you more of a sense of camaraderie or sense of togetherness by having those conversations? I think hearing from someone who is above you and may even be at different times maybe the source of the problem - they may be the ones who I feel are here overworking me and I'm not getting rewarded. I think talking to them and hearing maybe hearing their thoughts on just sort of how it goes and the fact that they've been there before too and knowing that hey whether it's things will get better or Here's why stick with years kind of the perks down the road (P4, p.3, line 9-32).

Interviewer: Do you typically talk about the situation with anyone? And, if so with whom? Interviewee: I do. I will generally talk with my girl... my fiancée or with other colleagues. Interviewer: What kind of feedback do you typically receive? Interviewee: A lot of times they are very experienced in similar type stuff in their workplaces.

Interviewer: So they at least validate your feelings when you talk to them. Interviewee: Yeah. Interviewer: Do you feel like it helps you when you share that? Does it feel like it reduces your cynicism or does it in fact increase especially when you're talking with coworkers that may be going through the same thing? Interviewee: I do not think it reduces it. I think that more validates it. Interviewer: Okay so you do feel a social connection when you can share or vent together? Interviewee: Oh yeah definitely (P19, p.2, line 17-28).

SE3: Some workers share cynical thoughts to compare feelings on a work situation.

[Sharing cynical thoughts is a social connection]... Absolutely yes, plus, there's an opportunity to sometimes realize that people have realized that their position isn't quite as bad as they thought it was comparatively or even compared to you know other situations. With a lot of people who this is you know their first job or an early job and so you know it's been an opportunity for some of them to realize that they're doing better off than they thought they were. Sometimes it helps and sometimes it makes things worse because you end up dwelling on things (P26, p.3, line 17-18; 22-26).

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Talking to co-workers that I'm friends to kind of vent the frustration but then I'm trying to remember the things. I do like about my job and my workplace (P12, p.3, line 14-16).

I can raise [concerns], but a lot of times I feel they are falling on deaf ears (P19, p.1, line 29).

I believe I could [raise concerns], but I haven't taken the effort because nothing has really personally affected me to that extreme (P23, p.3, line 8-10).

[Response to why speak up] ...I want to do things right. I want to work smart as well as work hard. I want to be efficient, and if there is a way to get the job done that can minimize cost then I see that has as a huge win for everyone (P25, p.4, line 8-11).

[Response to why speak up] ... it's to advocate for myself for the promotion or advancement (P26, p.5, line 33).

Value Expressive (VE)

VE1: Cynicism drives some employees to speak up when they believe something is wrong.

I feel a personal compulsion to stand up against people who are abusing their authority just so happens that tends to benefit the organization as well (P8, p.8-9, line 32-2).

I believe that I can definitely speak up and have the resources to and I definitely do it....regarding processes or persons that I believe are wrong or just other things (P4, p. 3, line 1-8).

[Motivation for speaking up] ...yes, I do think it was wrong. If I have to work eight hours to be able to put eight hours on my timesheet, then everybody else should be held at the same accountability (P17, p.2, line 11-13).

VE2: Cynicism drives some employees to speak up because they believe it is their duty.

I speak up when I think it can be effective (P3, p.2, line 22-24).

The reasons I would speak up... I think it's my duty as a manager of the organization to do so... in a sense that is bestowed on me as a trusted employee to do so (P31, p.4, line 6-7; 14-15).

[Regarding speaking up]... Yes, whether anything would happen or not, I really don't know who can say. But I've always, whether a contractor or a Fed, I've always had avenues - proper channels available to me if I felt that there was something going on that should not be happening , whether it's a fraud , waste and abuse or a legal issue , yeah , anything like that (P25, p.5, line 3-7).

It is your duty or one's duty as an employee to speak up. If you see something that they can be corrected you're obligated to speak up (P5, p.4, line 4-5).

The reason that I speak up is because it's not my problem to solve. I don't like being between the two owners. They should solve their problems. I mean I just do it because there's a problem there and we got to fix it (P14, p.5, line 6-8; 16-17).

I want the organization to be effective for the country and for the greater good (P5, p.6, line 18-20).

I think I'm hopeful and care that things will get better. I'm willing to stick around to try to do what I can read the issues and brainstorm ideas- talk to people to try to improve things though (P12, p.5, line 18-20).

[Response related to raising concerns about issues related to incompetence, ethical concerns or selfish organizational actions] ... Yes, ...I do it daily. So I'm very good at self-deprecating humor or situational humor that allows me to bring up the knobbier issues but that is more because of my own interpersonal Spidey senses than an organizational allowance (P8, p.3, line 27-34).

VE3: Cynicism drives some employees to speak up to improve the organization.

[Speak up because] ...I care and I want improvement and I want to see things getting better. I want to make things easier. I don't want to have to continue to fight different tools, different systems (P10, p.8, line 26-28). I just want to make our jobs easier so we can just focus on our mission and not crazy system failures (P10, p.8, line 32-33).

I would speak up and ask questions because I think ultimately it'll help me better to perform my job and the mission of my life (P31, p.4, line 11-12).

Personally, I've gone out of my way to do deeper analysis and to use data to understand and paint a picture to bring to leadership – I haven't been asked to go into this or do that data analysis or do that. I was just really trying to go further to really show the perspective of the damage that they were causing within the diversity dimension (P16, p.4, line 25-29).

[Speak up through anonymous surveys} ... Well , first and foremost , they encourage people to answer according to the way they feel because they're looking at least organizationally, broad organizationally, they're looking at effective changes to try to make the environment better, which I feel is a good thing (P21, p.5, line 10-15).

VE4: Cynicism results in a reduction in organizational citizenship behaviors based on evaluation that the organization has broken psychological contract (e.g., regarding pay, promotion, or appreciation).

I would not say it reduces my productivity it just reduces the fact that it is more of the give a <expletive> factor. I am willing to give up my hours to do this and go out of my way to do things that nobody else is doing. At some point, it is like if you don't feel appreciated or you cannot do anything about it...then all right fine I will go back to being like everybody else and just put in my 40 hours. Sometimes I feel that that needs to happen in order for some people to realize what you are actually contributing (P19, p.3, line 29-34).

I personally tried the alternative (from reducing work) where I just work extra hard to then try to earn equal treatment. Neither have worked (P15, p.3, line 23-24).

I haven't necessarily gone the extra mile every time knowing that there's not going to be a reward at the end (P4, p. 1, line 35-36).

At first before understanding how it actually works...you do think all those rewards will come. I mean I did used to work through lunches and things like that. Now that I've gotten a little more seniority, I realize that that's not the case (P4, p.1, line 31-34).

But at the end of the day...we don't end up getting that extra compensation or partial reward per se. Maybe putting in extra time even though it's part of your job and you're expected to do this and then you know if you go above and beyond you'll be rewarded and that's not necessarily the case (P4, p.1, line 23-26).

It was more almost doing math calculations and saying , OK , so this is how much I'm worth, and then this is how much I'm being paid, so let me go ahead and try even the gap a little bit by either not working my full 40 hours or leaving directly on the minute (P30, p.3, line 25-27).

Evidence for Cynical Antecedents

Uncertainty drives cynical behavior.

I feel like management sometimes do not tell their employees everything that's going (P17, p.6, line 21).

[Poorly managed reorganization]...[uncertainty about organization structure] - when an outsider requested information about the organization and I could not tell them...made me feel like I was really incompetent (P10, p.2, line 31-7).

So, we recently just went through a pretty big reorganization where we moved pretty much like everyone kind of around. We split up our team. So, we moved from one group, then they dissolved that group and kind of like fit pieces in different spots where they thought like it might work, but then they didn't do...I still have no organization chart (P10, p.1, line 7-11).

Interviewer: So, because of perhaps oh a little bit not quite understanding the expectations. That's why you'd suggest that maybe it's been a little mixed review for the new policy. Interviewee: Yeah, I think going into anything like that especially when you're talking about something as personal as time off from work. It's just hard to tell how things are actually going to work out (P11, p.1, line 20-24).

Then to see a lack of clarity within the organizational structure, it's much closer to us in terms of our chain of command...just seems to amplify that cynicism that people are feeling towards the organization (P25, p.1, line 34-36).

Reoccurring problems drives cynical behavior.

I think one factor could be tenure or how long someone has been at this company. What I mean by that is just how long I guess to what extent they're used to how things have been here and many people who have been here longer will be more resistant to the changes and so these people of course tend to be older, too since tenure is correlated with age (P12, p.4, line 15-19).

I try to stay focused on what I need to do, and take the rest with a grain of salt . You know, based on what I got it. I just try to keep it in perspective (P21, p.3, line 20-21). Well... I don't necessarily see any major changes in the near future, even extended future, based on experience and expectations. Based on history with the organization, I don't think that I have a vested feeling that things are going to change . So I wouldn't consider myself hopeful that it's going to change, but you got bigger fish to fry. I'm staring down retirement in a couple years , so, "hey"...(P21, p.4, line 19-23).

I would say people that have been there longer. Definitely, you would see more cynicism in them because they've dealt with issues probably a lot longer or have a better feel of how the organization should work (P23, p. 5, line 3-5).

One leader comes in and then another and they do the exact same thing at the level that I am talking about, which is who I report to. So pretty much, I do not have any hope it is going to get better (P29, p.5, line 11-13).

They've been there longer and they've seen the repetitive behavior with no change so they're less inclined to think that there will be any improvement (P5, p.4, line 9-11).

More vocal about cynicism because longer tenure and heard the same thing numerous times (P3, p. 2, line 16-21).

But if it's an ongoing recurring thing that's an issue for me then I will bring it up... I want to keep bringing these things up so they realize it's a bigger issue. And for them to know like how the people below me are doing or just to keep them informed of what is going on in my mind (P9, p.2, line 9-10; 17-20).

Disrespect drives cynical behavior.

I think that there is some condescension and snobbery involved again and frankly I resent that...I am cynical about it (P14, p.2-3, line 32-2).

It just comes down to respect. You might be a snob and you might not like me, but I mean treat me with a little respect. If you're a leader or an owner ...if it's your business...just treat people with respect. I mean it's not rocket science (P14, p.7, line 27-30).

Nobody has the right to disrespect anybody like that... whether it's me whether it's senior developers. You don't speak to people like that (P17, p.3, line 20-22).

And I think a kind of disrespect for the way the decision was made (P29, p.2, line 16).

That resulted in me leaving the organization at that time, because I felt like I was not valued or respected in any way (P25, p.3, line 9-11).

Selfish leadership drives cynical behavior.

This manager that I thought was only after something that could serve him and not the greater... the whole department (P18, p.1, line 15-16).

There was multiple things that I can notice that kind of led me to continue believing that he was only looking after himself and not any of his direct reports or the department itself (P18, p.1, line 28-30).

I view them as doing whatever it takes to evoke self-preservation. Kind of like a politician's main job or goal is to stay elected. That seems to be what they're doing. So a lot of the tactics a lot of the decisions they're not necessarily rational. They're not in the best interests of the organization. So that that leads me to cynicism because that happens a lot and it's allowed (P8, p.1, line 10-25).

I view [organizational leader] as doing whatever it takes to evoke self-preservation (P8, p.1, line 18-19).

That's what bothers me...that leadership allows it because we're so bifurcated in so many different directions that oftentimes those leaders as long as they can preserve the façade of good work and propriety, they can get away with it (P8, p.1, line 23-25).

I don't think that they're bad people. I just think that they're ill equipped, and so they get caught up in "I'll do whatever it takes to maintain my status and to keep my kingdom intact." (P8, p.1, line 27-29).

It's all about them...all about them...especially the boss before the one I have now (P13, p.2, line 28).

[New sexual harassment policy]... just feels contrived and it feels designed only to protect the interests of the owners (P14, p.1, line 26-27).

[Response to why cynical]...Because I believe, they [leaders] are really out to advance themselves, and not necessarily always working toward the good of others in the company (P29, p.1, line 25-26).

No they're [leadership] out for themselves. It's a lot of power grabbing (P29, p.5, line 26).

Lack of trust drives cynical behavior.

They said that nothing... they were having meetings...well basically they were cooking the books. They were having meetings and they were trying to tell everybody, "Do not worry we are not going anywhere. You know these rumors do not listen to them. " So, that pretty much made everybody not trust them. Because once the rumor became true. That was it. We were bought (P1, p.2, line 13-17).

I don't trust them to care about me. I don't think that they'll be on the lookout for any jobs or positions. I just don't think they care (P13, p.2, line 25-26).

I saw them laying people off for no reason. Things like that... because they were trying to downsize so they could be purchased. And the other part of that was once we were purchased they were laying people off and that is when we found out for the owners to get more money, we did not have a severance P1, p.2, line 30-33).

Interviewer: But you didn't trust them based on...Interviewee: Oh God, no. I know how they handled themselves. I would have a conversation which is supposed to be a conversation with our president of H.R. which is supposed to be closed door... very confidential. Next thing you know. That happened to me....when I fell in the boat and I bent my bottom. I came back in to work one day and, <employee name> is the head of H.R. and her friend was a program manager I guess, and she was sitting in HR talking to

the girls. She looks over at me and she's like so let me see that bent <expletive> you got. I'm like well how in the hell did she know about that? It's because <HR employee name> talked to her about it (P1, p.7-8, line 29-2).

Unmet fairness expectations drives cynical behavior.

Difference in expectations fuels cynicism (P4, p.6, line 17; P7, p7, line 18).

Some of the younger employees also have certain expectations for these benefits or policies and maybe they're not willing to stick around to see if these policies will change for the better (P12, p.4, line 19-22).

It's some change that they perceive as unfair (P6, p.4, line 35-36; P7, p.1, line 34).

The overall thing is whether everyone gets treated fairly or someone is treated fairly (P4, p. 1, line 17-19).

I am cynical about how [my applying for another position] felt like an unfair process (P13, p.1, line 16-31).

It's a sense of unfairness... a sense that business development is treated differently than the lobbyists (P14, p.2, line 28-30).

In the army I have seen men and women who I didn't think were very good get promoted because they politiced better than I did. I think you should be promoted on your accomplishments and your potential (P14, p.3, line 30-33).

Well, I think in my office I feel like there's unfair treatment so that the ones who are being treated better are not cynical, and the ones who aren't being treated right are cynical. I feel like this one person who works in one of our groups...he's just the sweetheart and he doesn't do diddly, and that's just fine. He's loved no matter what. In

fact, my boss is out of town right now, and she put him as acting, and I'm doing all the work (P13, p.4, line 22-27).

Lack of appreciation drives cynical behaviors.

We are just a number (P1, p.1, line 16-17).

Well there were certain things that...For instance, <coworker name> who worked for me trying to get her salary to where it needed to be was a struggle for the entire time that I worked at that company. Then when we became even a bigger company it made it even worse because now we're just a tiny little ant in this big ant farm (P1, p.5, line 23-26).

Other changes like the recent hiring surge and people having to move to less desirable offices is demoralizing and does make me feel kind of expendable (P12, p.5, line 4-6).

You know they didn't appreciate what we did. And I was like. What we do is important.

How can you not see that? Why don't you want to see that? (P10, p.10, line 2-3).

You know we've had a lot of experience in the government and how it works and how things are, but there's no appreciation for that (P14, p.2, line 9-10).

They don't really care about the employee morale is why I think they're really just focused on quick fixes and getting more revenue and not really worried about the retention of the employees that have put in many years at the company (P15, p.2, line 12-15).

I hope that things get better a lot more than I might care because I think that the organization has a lot of potential. I do like certain people and certain ideals that they hold and I just hope for the best for the company...But at the same time I don't care

because I don't see myself here or even necessarily holding a role because I feel I'm not appreciated (P15, p.5, line 15-20).

Lack of autonomy drives cynical behavior.

I quit that job because my job duties were changed dramatically, and there was no discussion with me about it. There was no consultation. Interviewer: Is it fair to say that that kind of change in your job duties without consulting you...was that where you lost some autonomy in terms of your choice? Interviewee: Yes, absolutely (P25, p.3, line 1-2; 12-15).

I would say I think a lot of times it was because when they made the change, they really didn't kind of consult the people (P29, p.2, line 8-9).

Honestly, the sense that I get is that I feel that there's not much that I can do. I spent a lot of time talking to my boss about it, but he doesn't have control over the promotions and raises either so...(P26, p.5, line 6-8).

[Response to why not speak up]... I do not think I have any control over it whatsoever (P29, P.3, line 2-3).

Inauthentic communication paired with lack of action drives cynical behavior.

I think that there is a lot of lip service that gets paid to recognition and advancement, but it's not an actual action (P26, p.1, line20-21).

We have a parent company and they manage our HR, and we had a very brief encounter with them and a short effort to kind of improve some values and culture. The only thing that really came out of that were some cute posters and desk knickknacks that said these are our core values, but nothing was ever done to follow up on it (P26, p.2, line 10-14).

Everything's been lots of verbal pats on the back, but there hasn't really been any movement towards [promotion or advancement] in about 18 months. We've had a few advancements, but they've been perceived as being more political in nature than earned in nature (P26, p.2, line 22-25).

I guess I'm more cynical if I think I'm being manipulated (P9, p.7, line 23-24).

It just seems like there's a lot of insecurity at the top and that trickles down through the ranks when it doesn't look like anything's happening at a senior level (P25, p.2, line 12-14).

We have all of those...[reference to competence issues, ethical concerns, and selfishly motivated organizational actions] in just a small firm. I raise concerns, but nothing gets done about it (P14, p.4, line 19-23).

Work overload drives cynical behavior.

I know a few analysts that he [manager] basically ran out of the department because he was overworking them to the point where they ended up looking for a different job - even outside of the organization just to get away from his direct command (P18, p.2-3, line 32-2).

So I felt like I was being overworked and underpaid and they weren't being very kind to me at work . So I was leaving directly on my eight hours every day , and sometimes that included a lunch break (P30, p.3, line 20-22).

Actually yeah my Performance counselor, the person I report to directly - He's recently kind of been overworked and cynical about the firm's intentions on his career trajectory and things haven't gotten to him about the types of jobs he should be working on that are

kind of not really what he was he was thinking of working on- kind of not happy – that's for sure (P11, p.4-5, line 33-30).

Yeah, I think stress plays a role. I think one - when assignments and projects build up. and stress starts to build. You're less likely to feel like you don't take the other side. I think it feeds more cynicism. It's stressful...(P7, p.4, line 6-12).

Specifically he would take analysts who were very strong and push most of the work on these two or three individuals to get us to the finish line, and not taking into consideration that these individuals also have a social life or a life outside of work (P18, p.1-2, line 32-2).

Unhealthy competitive working environment drives cynical behavior.

I left my previous organization because of the unhealthy competition that was driven by a toxic work environment (P10, p.5, line 1-15).

I think that dealing with that sort of environment breeds a little bit of hostile air. I think that with deadlines and sort of the way that public accounting is set up it can get a little...the environment can get a little hostile, and I don't like that.

Interviewer: Interesting - is the atmosphere a competitive atmosphere? Interviewee: It's definitely a competitive atmosphere. I think that's important. I do think it brings a certain kind of person to enjoy that and thrive in that environment. So, having a bunch of competitive people in a deadline-based organization they're not competing against each other. But at the same time they kind of are. I could see that definitely creating a little bit of that environment (P7, p. 6-7, line 18-11).

The leadership was kind of difficult. Like the way that the organization was set up, they like kind of pinned you against... so you're on a certain level and then for promotion they would pin you up against people of your same rank. And then also from your same team. So, you're like competing against people that you have to see every day. I was like I don't like this like that's not... The environment, the culture just really did not fit me (P10, p. 4-5, line 32-8).

Caring is correlated with some people's cynicism.

The ones who experience cynicism more strongly are the people who really care (P1, p.9, line 5-7).

Well, I care greatly... they have to get better. We can't continue with this indecisiveness at the top (P25, p.7, line 23-24).

I care quite a bit that they get better. But, in terms of how much hope I have I'm kind of holding out until after the first of the year, and that's all I can say I'm kind of holding out till the first of the year (P26, p.7, line 12-14).

I care enough that if it doesn't get better I will quit, and that's a personal value. If it doesn't get better, then I'm not willing to stick it out just to collect a paycheck (P8, p.9, line 26-28).

I really care that it will get better...sometimes a little too much. I like what I do, and I feel like I'm making a difference (P10, p.7, line 8-16).

Cynical behavior is driven by inefficient or ineffective leadership/policies.

This goes back to one of the main tenets of my cynicism is that I don't think leadership... know[s] how to fix it (P5, p.7, line 18-19).

There's a lack of organizational support for enabling you to do your job (P3, p.5, line 4-5).

I question our leadership's ability to use their resources effectively and to actually effect any realistic or meaningful change or provide any real value (P5, p.1, line 19-21).

I expect that the management try to do things that will make it better, but I don't think those are always executed as hoped (P9, p.6, line 21-22).

Evidence for cynical behavior outcomes

Cynicism impacts psychological and physical health.

Interviewer: Did you experience any sleep issues or anything that is commonly seen with that kind of stress level? Interviewee: Definitely an uptick in a glass or two of wine at night (P18, p.3, line 23-25).

The stress from work and then the cynicism of being undervalued , it definitely impacted me ... I was drinking a lot more and I wasn't very happy at all (P30, p.4, line 13-16).

Interviewer: All right. Do you think dealing with cynicism towards your organization or others in your organization impacts you in other aspects of your life? Say at home or your health? Interviewee: It definitely does. I mean you bring your worklife home. You try not to, but there is always that part of it that comes home with you. And, I am more of a team-focused kind of thing....so if one of my teammates is having a hard time or suffering or their job isn't getting done right because they need something, I am there to help. If they are feeling it, I am feeling it (P19, p.4, line 7-17).

[Rumination] Interviewer: Are these the kind of things when it particularly you know the cynicism is really forefront for you? Is it something like when you leave work you continue to think about it? Interviewee: Oh yeah (P19, p.2., line 13-16).

Maybe you stay up late, maybe sleep in a little bit. Maybe you're just generally dreading the work, which definitely will take a toll on personal lives. I mean I know there's days where I think - I could speak for myself - there's some days I just don't want to go to the office (P7, P. 3-4, line 29-5).

Interviewer: So, you. Do you experience feeling cynical as a stressor? Interviewee: Yeah. Yeah, I would think so because the more cynical I am the more I'm thinking about work the more I take that stuff home with me. I Should be able to go home and disconnect from work but I don't feel that when I'm more stressed and anxious. Interviewer: Have you noticed losing any sleep or anything like that? Interviewee: I've dreamt about it....like nightmares (P9, p.4-5, line 34-14).

Interviewee: Yeah. In my sleep. There's always been a problem like whenever anything's upsetting me. I just can't sleep. Interviewer: So, it has impacted you. In terms of you're health really. Interviewee: Yes (P10, p.4, line 25-31).

Interviewee: Probably like eating more than you should and not exercising enough. If you have too much stress in your life, you're not going to make that extra effort for health (P11, p.4, line 10-20).

I think maybe cynicism is a little bit confounded with feeling stressed at work , and so that can take a toll of psychological and even physical health. Another consequence is just me bringing this up to my husband at home. So, it will dominate or just pick up more

of our conversations at home and so that can put a strain on our relationship or personal relationship - That that's coming up in conversations a lot (P12, 4, line 24-34).

Interviewee: Oh sure definitely. It's hard not to carry that stress home with you. I think that's absolutely it can affect my blood pressure just stress or getting a good night's sleep.

Interviewer: Got you. But at the time, the cynicism related to larger issues. You did feel like did affect your health through a stress mechanism? (P3, p.3, 28-35).

Interviewee: I mean my blood pressure go up... made me angry (P14, p. 5-6, line 31-8).

APPENDIX E

Vignette Survey¹⁹

2. *During an all-hands meeting, your human resources director announces that a new organizational policy is going into effect immediately that will entail surveillance of all company-owned video, telephone and computer usage. Your human resources director tries to assure everyone that the surveillance is for employee protection against wrongful accusations. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.*
- a. Share with a colleague that you know will agree with you, “Sounds like big brother to me!” [social-expressive function]
- 1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely
- b. Respond, “If this company can’t trust me, then I am going to go work for a company that can!” [defensive function]
- 1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely
- c. Respond, “I think this is a breach of trust and an assault on our individual privacy rights.” [value-expressive function]

¹⁹ Function labels (i.e., defensive, value-expressive, and social-expressive) were not provided in the participant survey.

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

3. *Your supervisor, with whom you rarely interact, comes to you in private and says he or she has been overwhelmed by competing priorities, but would like to be more involved in your work efforts than in the past. In addition, he/she lets you know that going forward all final decisions on your project need his/her approval. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.*

- a. Tell or feel like telling your supervisor you are conscientious with your work, and you think this type of oversight is wrong and will make your job harder. [value-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- b. Tell another coworker about the conversation, with the intention of finding out if they have had a similar conversation and/or to see what the coworker thinks the conversation might mean. [social-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- c. Avoid your supervisor until you can figure out how to handle this change. [defensive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

4. *Another worker in your division has moved into a new position even though you believe you are more qualified for the position. This decision along with past experience with your division leaders makes you question if promotions are merit-based. If you found*

yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.

- a. You make the decision to not think about the new position because you have given up expecting leadership will promote based on merit [defensive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- b. Share with another coworker that you think that promotion decisions are based more on who knows who rather than who is most qualified. [social-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- c. As you question the fairness of the promotion process, you talk to someone in leadership about the importance of fairness perceptions related to promotions because someone needs to speak up. [value-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

5. *A supervisor is constantly demanding that you work overtime. You believe the supervisor is selfishly trying to exceed work goals so that she can get a bonus. It appears to you that she does not care if you are exhausted and that you have a social life or a life outside work. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.*

- a. You talk either to your supervisor or your supervisor's boss about needing more balance with your work-home life because someone needs to speak up for the benefit of all employees. [value-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- b. You vent how you feel about being overworked with other coworkers. [social-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- c. You are unlikely to speak up because you worry that your job might be in jeopardy. [defensive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

6. *You are aware that your management constantly makes last minute work changes that waste company time and materials. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.*

- a. You raise your concerns with leadership because you want to see your organization's processes improved for the good of everyone. [value-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- b. You withhold suggestions for improvements, because you think nothing is going to change anyway. [defensive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- c. You talk to your colleagues about your management's incompetence. [social-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

7. *Your company constantly has meetings to discuss improving company values and culture.*

The only thing that really has come of that has been some cute posters and desk knickknacks that state core values, but nothing is ever done to affect real change. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.

a. You focus on the positive aspects of the company and try to ignore the negative aspects. [defensive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

b. You talk to your colleagues about your management's lack of integrity. [social-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

c. You raise your concerns with leadership because you want to see true change related to company values and culture. [value-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

8. *Your supervisor always assigns task without giving clear direction beforehand. However,*

then she/he is not satisfied with the product that you come up with and lists more demands which ultimately makes you have to start the task from beginning again. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.

a. You talk to your colleagues about your supervisor's lack of direction. [social-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- b. You would not put in full effort in making the optimal product the first time, because you know that you will need to some significant changes later anyway. [defensive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- c. You talk to your supervisor about you concerns and tell him/her that giving clear direction beforehand can make work more efficient, because you believe there should be someone who speaks up for the good of everyone who is frustrated with this supervisor. [value-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

9. *Your supervisor constantly takes all the credits for the work that you and he/she work on together. In some cases, you even contribute more than he/she. If you found yourself in this work situation, please select how likely you would respond in the following ways or a similar way.*

- a. You would stop trying your best in completing each project because you know that you will not get the appreciation that you deserve. [defensive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- b. You talk to your supervisor or upper managers that it is not fair for the supervisor to take all the credits for the work you accomplished together. [value-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

- c. You talk to your colleagues about your supervisor's action of taking all the credit. [social-expressive function]

1 –Extremely unlikely 2 –unlikely 3 –Neutral 4 –likely 5 –Extremely likely

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