# SOMEBODY'S WATCHING YOU: AN INVESTIGATION OF OBSERVER REACTIONS TO DEVIANT WORK BEHAVIORS

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By

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study was to expand understanding of how deviant behaviors impact organizations by examining the observer. Based on two deontological response models and social learning theory, I expected the target (an individual or the organization) of DWB, severity of DWB, and the observer's identification with the victim to predict observers' behavioral responses. A policy capturing study of 196 working adults yielded largely supportive data. Participants were more likely to report, confront, and aid the target when the target was a person, the behavior was severe, or the observer identified with the target. Participants were more likely to ignore or imitate when the target was an organization, the behavior was of low severity, or the observer did not identify with the target. Implications and limitations are also discussed.

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### Chapter I

There is a large body of research on the costs and effects of deviance in the workplace. Researchers have investigated the factors that lead workers to engage in these types of behaviors (Dalal, 2005; Spector & Fox, 2005; 2010; Marcus & Wagner, 2007; Yang & Diefendorff, 2009). They have also revealed the effects of these behaviors on the individuals or organizations who are the targets (Aubé et al., 2009; Glomb & Liao, 2003; Jensen, Opland, & Ryan, 2010; O'Boyle, Forsyth & O'Boyle, 2011; Yang & Diefendorff, 2009). However, one important aspect of this area of research has been somewhat overlooked: those who observe these behaviors. It is important to take the experiences of these observers into account because studies examining the observer experience in other areas (sexual harassment, violence, etc.) have demonstrated negative well-being and behavioral outcomes for the observers (Colbert and Krause, 2009; Glomb, Richman, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1997; Hourani, Yuan, & Bray, 2003; Porath & Pearson, 2009). Organizations should be aware of these observer effects so they can better design interventions to stop or prevent deviant work behaviors (DWBs).

Robinson and Bennett (1995) describe DWB as a type of action specific to work contexts that is considered harmful or wrong by most people. Deviance can be directed towards a specific individual or towards an organization. Robinson and Bennett (1995) classified DWBs into four categories based on severity (minor to serious) and target (organizational or interpersonal). These categories are production deviance, property deviance, political deviance and personal aggression. Production deviance is a mild behavior that is directed towards the organization. Examples include taking longer breaks than allowed, coming in to work late or leaving early, and wasting time by surfing the internet

during work hours. Property deviance is a more severe organizationally directed behavior. It includes the sabotage of company property, stealing office equipment, and bribery. Political deviance is composed of behaviors that are mild in severity and directed toward individuals in the workplace. These behaviors include showing favoritism, gossiping, unproductive competition with co-workers and blaming a co-worker for something. Personal aggression is also directed toward individuals but is far more severe. These behaviors include sexual harassment, verbal abuse, theft from individuals, and direct endangerment of co-workers.

Bennett and Robinson (2000) cited several studies from the 1990's that quantified the cost of DWBs and found it to be in the billions of dollars. Shepard and Dunston (1987) found that employee theft costs organizations in the United States between \$15 and 25 billion a year. More recently, a report by the Center for Retail Research (CRR) estimated the cost of employee theft for retail organizations in 2011 to be \$41.6 billion dollars. As this report only includes retail organizations, we can only imagine the employee theft costs across all industries. Clearly, the total cost of all DWBs across all organizations would be staggering.

Many researchers have attempted to find what causes or influences a person to engage in deviant behaviors. Results from these studies have identified a wide range of antecedents to these actions, such as organizational constraints (Bayram, Gursakal, & Bilgel, 2009), low perceptions of justice (Berry, Ones, & Sackett, 2007; Cohen-Charash, & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, et al., 2001; Folger & Skarlicki, 2005), high job demands (de Jonge & Peeters, 2009), and negative affect in combination with high work stress (Bowling & Eschleman, 2010). Researchers have also examined individual differences to see how they affect an individual's likelihood to engage in deviant behavior. Studies have found that individuals high in negative affectivity (Bowling & Escleman, 2010), high in behavioral

approach system sensitivity (Diefendorff & Mehta, 2007), low emotional resources (de Jonge & Peeters, 2009), high avoidance motivation (Diefendorff & Mehta, 2007), low in conscientiousness (Salgado, 2002), or high in trait anger (Hershcovis et al., 2007) are more likely to engage in deviant behavior overall. There are also numerous studies examining the negative outcomes of deviant behaviors to both the individual and the organization. Examples of these costs for the individual include emotional exhaustion and decreased overall psychological well-being (Aube et al., 2009). Aside from direct costs related to deviance (discussed previously), organizations also face outcomes such as decreased team performance (Aube & Rousseau, 2011) and an increased likelihood of these kinds of behaviors being imitated by other employees (Glomb & Liao, 2003). In short, these studies have provided a greater understanding of why individuals engage in these types of behaviors and what the costs are to the targets (both individuals and organizations).

Despite the breadth of knowledge that has been gained to date regarding both actors and targets of deviant behavior, little is known about how observers of deviance might be affected (e.g. how it affects observers' behavior, attitudes, psychological well-being, etc). However, research on more severe forms of deviant behaviors such as workplace violence, bullying and sexual harassment suggests that acts of deviance also affect those who observe them. Indeed, several researchers have found that in the case of severe deviant behaviors (e.g., violence, bullying, sexual harassment), observers actually experience similar harmful outcomes as the victims (Lind, Kray & Thompson, 1998; Sheppard, Lewicki, & Minton, 1992; Tyler & Smith, 1998). For example, Schat and Kelloway (2000) found that, similar to actual victims, observers of workplace violence experience increased fear of additional violence, decreased emotional well-being, negative health effects and increased withdrawal.

Similarly, observers of bullying report increased stress levels (Rousseau, 2005; Trach, Hymel, Waterhouse & Neal, 2010), decreased justice beliefs (Tepper, 2000), and increased emotional exhaustion (Rousseau, 2005). Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2007) and Glomb et al. (1997) found evidence of decreased well-being and increased withdrawal in observers of sexual harassment.

Together, these studies suggest that observers of severe deviant behaviors experience detrimental effects that are similar to those experienced by the targets. However, most of this research has focused specifically on health and stress outcomes; there is little mention of the behavioral outcomes for observers. Moreover, these studies focused on observers of interpersonally-directed deviant behavior as opposed to organizationally-directed deviance. Thus, little is known about how an observer reacts to lower severity deviant behaviors and deviance directed toward organizations. It is important that these reactions are thoroughly examined to help organizations not only understand the true cost of DWBs, but also so that interventions and preventative practices can be better developed using this knowledge. The purpose of this study is to examine the situational factors that determine an individual's behavioral reactions to witnessing DWB. To address this issue, I draw upon several models that deal directly with observer reactions and observer learning, including Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) theoretical model of third party perceptions of mistreatment, O'Reilly and Aguino's (2011) model of observer reactions to employee mistreatment and Bandura's (2004) theory of social learning.

I begin by discussing observer reactions currently researched in psychology literature under such topics as violence in the workplace, sexual harassment, bullying, and workplace incivility. Next, I discuss models that lend support to a new model of observer reactions to

DWBs. Then, I introduce a new model to test observer behavioral reactions and their influences. Finally, I introduce my hypotheses and the theoretical justification for each.

#### **Observer Reactions**

The following sections discuss the current literature on observer reactions to violence in the workplace, sexual harassment, bullying, and workplace incivility. As these areas of research have made significant headway into observer reactions, the findings discussed here will provide a basis for my arguments on observer reactions to DWBs.

Violence. Violence is "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, that either results in or has the high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation" (Krug et al., 2002, p 5). While witnessing DWBs may seem a great deal less traumatic than witnessing an act of violence (an attack behavior which is intended to cause harm to another) researchers in this area have delved deeply into observer effects and outcomes, and their studies have yielded some valuable insights that are relevant for research on observers of deviance more broadly. Violence and DWBs share similarities (especially at higher severity levels). Violence is specific to instances in which the target has been physically harmed, whereas high severity DWBs stop just short of physical damage (e.g. sexual harassment, sabotage, verbal abuse, etc.) The following studies discuss both violence in the world at large and violence specific to the workplace.

Colbert and Krause (2009) surveyed individuals about the effects of witnessing violence throughout one life and found that simply witnessing a single act of violence led to a greater number of depression symptoms in women and increased alcohol use in men. No

effects were found for the amount of time since the violent act which suggests that these effects are long lasting.

Hourani et al. (2003) examined the effects of traumatic events on U.S. military personnel. Whereas the overall purpose of their study was to examine the effects of any traumatic experience on military personnel, the researchers divided their sample into witnesses, victims, relief workers and the unexposed in order to shed more light on the observer experience. In their sample, witnesses were the least likely of the exposed groups to have the worst outcomes, but they still showed more negative outcomes than the unexposed group. Some of these outcomes include increased job stress perceptions, increased alcohol consumption, and increased cigarette consumption (Hourani et al., 2003).

Fullilove et al. (1998) took a broad public health approach in their qualitative examination of the effects of violence on an inner-city community. Their interviews with residents yielded a great many discussions of fractured social relationships and a lack of community cohesion (Fullilove et al., 1998). The implications of this study are that repeated exposure to violence can create a climate of violence shared by all which in turn could negatively impact relationships and behavior. Kessler, Spector, Chang and Parr (2008) also found evidence of violence climate existing in organizations. Scarpa (2001) examined the effects of exposure to violence climate and found that high exposure to violence (living in a climate of violence) is associated with increased aggression and depression among young adults.

Schat and Kelloway (2000) examined vicarious violence (i.e., witnessing violence) as a part of their study on the effects of perceived control on workplace violence outcomes.

They found that those who experienced vicarious violence were also likely to experience

most of the same negative outcomes as those who experienced direct violence (Schat & Kelloway, 2000). These outcomes include fear of another attack, decreased emotional well-being and an increased neglect of work which has clear implications for organizations (e.g. reduced productivity and increased health-related issues for employees). These findings built upon and confirmed similar conclusions in their past work (Rogers & Kelloway, 1997).

**Sexual harassment.** The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) defines sexual harassment on their website as "unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature" which includes mild but pervasive comments or actions as well as the more obvious threats of a sexual nature. Sexual harassment, like violence, shares definitional similarities to DWBs of high severity. In fact, sexual harassment behaviors can actually be subsumed under interpersonal deviance (a high severity, individually directed DWB category).

Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2007) examined the effects of observing sexual harassment, specifically a hostile work environment. They found that both male and female observers experienced decreased psychological and physical well-being and job satisfaction, and increased burnout and thoughts of quitting (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Further, when the observers of sexual harassment perceived the organization to be unresponsive, observers reported more withdrawal behaviors (e.g. coming in late to work, leaving work early, taking longer breaks than allowed, intentionally working slower etc.) and lower organization commitment than those who felt the organization *was* responsive (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). These authors demonstrated that not only are there adverse stress and health outcomes from witnessing sexual harassment, but there can also be behavioral outcomes as well: withdrawal behaviors.

Kulik, Perry and Schmidtke (1997) reviewed previous literature on various observer responses to sexual harassment (particularly behavioral actions). Based on their review, observers can act as a support mechanism for the victim which pushes them to file a formal EEOC complaint. Also, the degree to which observers support this kind of action seemed to be largely dependent on the observer's perceptions of the severity of the action. However, compliance with the harasser's demands was related to a decrease in the support of observers (Kulik et al., 1997).

The same negative outcomes that affect women who are victims of sexual harassment also seem to be present in the women who work around these victims (Glomb, et al., 1997). Glomb et al. (1997) call this experience of witnessing sexual harassment in one's work group but not experiencing it directly, "ambient sexual harassment". The authors found that, controlling for observers' experience with sexual harassment and general levels of job stress, ambient sexual harassment was related to increased absenteeism, increased intentions to quit, and increased withdrawal behaviors such as missing meetings, leaving work early and taking longer breaks (Glomb et al., 1997).

Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2004) investigated the effects of gender-based incivility (most commonly referred to in legal terms as a hostile work environment) on the well-being of all employees (instead of only female workers). Not only did the authors find that both male and female employees experienced harmful well-being outcomes from witnessing misogynistic behaviors, but they also found interesting results when they examined the effects of workgroup demographics on these outcomes. Among employees (male and female) who witnessed misogynistic behaviors, those who worked in groups in which males were over-represented tended to report higher levels of withdrawal behaviors than employees who

worked in demographically balanced workgroups. Males in "male-heavy" workgroups also tended to feel that gender equality was not valued by their organization when they witnessed these behaviors (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004).

**Bullying.** Bullying, both in schools and the workplace, has been the subject of a number studies. Again, this behavior can be described as a type of deviant behavior which makes research in this area valuable to the current study. According to Vartia (2001), bullying is a repeated, ongoing form of interpersonal deviance. In a questionnaire delivered to Scandinavian workers, Vartia (2001) gathered information on employee experience (past and present) with bullying, general physical and psychological health and work-stress indicators. Results indicated that observers of bullying experience decreased physical and psychological health even after controlling for other work-related stressors (e.g., work overload, excessive meetings, lack of clear project goals, and time pressures; Vartia, 2001). These results are similar to those reported in the violence and sexual harassment literature.

Rivers, Poteat, Noret and Ashurst (2009) examined the long term effects of witnessing bullying in a survey of students enrolled in U.K. schools. They found that observing bullying predicted risks to mental health even when controlling for the students' own experience with bullying. Once again, witnessing a negative event appears to have serious, adverse effects on observers.

Parzefall and Salin (2010) built upon the research in workplace bullying by suggesting a model that explains the negative outcomes experienced by observers of bullying. Their model uses psychological contract breach to explain an observer's perceptions of injustice when witnessing an act of bullying. They suggest that an observer likely holds certain beliefs about the expectation of fair treatment by their employer. When

these expectations are not met (as is the case when employees are bullied), observers feel a sense of injustice. If the organization does nothing to correct this sense of injustice, observers then experience the negative outcomes discussed previously (Parzefall & Salin, 2010). The importance of this feeling of injustice and unfairness will be discussed in more detail later, but it is interesting to note that observers can also have strong feelings about bullying even when they are not directly involved.

Incivility. Pearson, Andersson and Porath (2005) defined incivility as a "low-intensity deviant (rude, discourteous) behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect" (p.179). While some forms of incivility may be categorized as a type of low severity DWB, incivility by definition differs from deviant because the actor may not actually intend to offend the target. However, because the target still experiences a negative interaction with the actor, he/she may still experience negative outcomes

Andersson and Pearson (1999) introduced incivility to the literature and theorized about the mechanisms underlying the escalation of those behaviors. Their model not only describes how incivility may escalate among the primary parties, but also how these behaviors can spill over into a what they call a secondary spiral (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). Essentially, they argue that although an initial uncivil exchange may occur between only two parties, because this exchange was witnessed by others, it can fuel additional instances of incivility by creating patterns of behavior which over time are modeled by observers. Many of these arguments have been given some support in Pearson, Andersson and Porath's (2000) initial broad survey of organizations. The concept of a "secondary

spiral" is somewhat similar to what had been previously discussed in terms of negative behavior creating a kind of climate.

Porath and Pearson (2009) summarized several of their studies of incivility in their paper on the costs of incivility. While the majority of their paper focused on the direct costs of the target's loss of productivity, they also discussed some interesting findings related to observers. In particular, they found that, similar to targets, observers of incivility reported increased feelings of anger, decreased learning ability, decreased productivity and decreased creativity (Porath & Pearson, 2009). The interesting contribution of this study is that incivility is a low severity behavior yet it still creates adverse outcomes for witnesses.

Observer research conclusions. There are several themes that one can take away from the literature on observers of various forms of deviance. First, simply viewing another's negative behavior can lead to adverse consequences for the observer such as an increased likelihood to engage in self-destructive behaviors, increased burnout (Schat & Kelloway, 2000), and decreased emotional, mental and physical health (Hourani et al., 2003; Schat & Kelloway, 2000). Second, the consequences of observing deviance do not simply affect employees, but can also impact organizations. For example, observers of violence tend to exhibit decreased productivity (Pearson et al., 2005; Schat & Kelloway, 2000) and increased withdrawal behaviors (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), which in turn affects productivity. Thus, researchers have found that observers are affected by witnessing severe interpersonal deviance.

However, researchers have not yet extended these findings to less severe and organizationally-directed DWBs. While it is easy to understand why traumatic events such as workplace violence, bullying or sexual harassment would affect observers, little is known

about the effects of observing deviant behaviors more broadly, particularly those which are lower in severity or directed towards organizations. Because the most common forms of deviance tend to be less severe and target organizations (Baron & Neuman, 1988), the paucity of research on how observers react to witnessing those kinds behaviors represents a significant gap in the literature. This study will attempt to fill this gap and extend research on observer reactions into DWBs. Specifically, I will examine how both the target and severity of deviant behavior affects observer behavioral reactions.

#### **Theoretical Models of Observer Reactions**

In this section, I discuss two models that examine observer reactions outside of the previously mentioned contexts. These models will be the foundation upon which I develop a model of observer reactions to DWBs. First, I will introduce Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) model of third party perceptions of employee mistreatment (unethical or harmful actions directed towards employees), and then I will discuss O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) model of third party responses to employee mistreatment. A third party is anyone not directly involved in a particular instance of mistreatment, such as an observer or someone who simply hears about the incident. For example, they could be a worker within an organization or an outsider who hears about the incident through someone else. Both of these models are derived from justice theory and focus specifically on a deontological response. When a person sees what they feel is an injustice, they then feel compelled to respond in some way to the defense of a fellow human being because they have a duty or an obligation to ensure justice for all human beings; this action is called a deontological response (Rawls, 1971). Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) model attempts to explain the effects of both the environment and the observer on the processes involved between noticing a negative impact on a victim/target and an observer's

decision to act, while O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) model focuses on the motivations for action and the behavioral actions that may be taken by observers.

A model of third party perceptions of employee mistreatment. Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) model of third party perceptions of employee mistreatment is a useful framework for investigating observer reactions to DWBs (see Figure 1). Skarlicki and Kulik's model (2005) begins with the observation of an action that has negative impact on another person. Before an observer takes action, he/she must first attribute responsibility of the negative action to an actor and perceive that the action was unfair. The perception of unfairness, with the associated moral anger, is the key meditational mechanism that triggers a deontological response.

This model suggests a number of variables influence actual decisions to act. First, attributions of responsibility are expected to affect a third party's decision to act. A behavior may cause a negative impact, but sometimes those behaviors are unavoidable. For instance, a manager may fire an employee, but if the reason behind the termination was unethical behavior on the part of that employee, fault is not attributed to the manager and the third party will be unlikely to decide to act. Both actor and third party (e.g., observer) characteristics affect how the third party attributes responsibility for the negative impact of the observed behavior. Actor characteristics influence third parties by giving cues (such as facial expressions, attitudes, and behaviors) to observers which allow them to interpret behavior. If an actor is habitually rude and angry, an observer will see his behavior in a negative light and will be more likely to attribute responsibility for the negative impact to the actor. However, if the actor is genuinely remorseful observers may be less likely to attribute responsibility to the actor.

Third party characteristics include personality, identification with the victim/target, actor or organization, role/training and moral identity (how important morality is to one's decisions and actions; Skarlicki & Rupp, 2010). For example, Skarlicki and Kulik (2005) suggest that an observer's level of belief in a just world (BJW; Lerner, 1980) will make them more/less likely to take action. How much a third party identifies with the target, actor and/or organization is also expected to alter how that third party would respond. That is, observers who strongly identify with the target should be more likely to make a decision to act than observers who do not strongly identify with the target. In the case of third party roles and training, the role the third party plays relative to the actor and target (subordinate, supervisor, customer, etc.) and any training they have received regarding how to act in these situations are also likely to influence their attribution of responsibility for the negative impact.

According to Skarlicki and Kulik (2005), perceptions of unfairness or moral anger are the emotional response through which attributions of responsibility become decisions to act. In other words, moral anger serves as the catalyst for an observer's response. However, an observed deviant behavior may have a negative impact, and the negative impact may be the actors fault, but there are circumstances under which this may not be seen as unfair (e.g. mandatory lay-offs) and thus will not lead to any decision to act by the third party. For example, they suggest that a third party's cost-benefit analyses (i.e., evaluations of their resources and abilities to act) moderate the relationship between perceptions of unfairness and the decision to act. If an observer perceives no organizational protection and has little political power, he/she may be less likely to decide to act than one who has protection or power.

With regard to empirical support for this model, Skarlicki and Rupp (2010) examined third party roles (e.g. supervisor or coworker), training (conflict resolution training for managers) and moral identity (the extent to which a person's conscience dictates their actions; Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005) and found that when managers were primed to frame the injustice experientially (i.e., putting themselves in the target's shoes or responding emotionally) rather than rationally (i.e., examining the facts of the matter only), they were more likely to react in a deontic manner. However, when managers were high in moral identity, the type of framing used mattered little; these managers still reacted with deontic responses.

While these results are interesting and useful to researchers and practitioners, other third party characteristics and moderators in this model have not been largely researched yet, particularly identification with the target and the severity of the behavior. Moreover, this model does not attempt to explain what actions third parties are likely to take when they do decide to act. The types of actions observers take are likely to be diverse and influenced by a number of variables in this model. Also, third parties are a very broad categorization of individuals. This model attempts to predict the decision to act in a deontological manner of anyone who has heard of the mistreatment event. However, an actual observer will probably come to different decisions than someone who simply hears about the incident. The model also focuses on human mistreatment and makes no predictions for observers of organization-directed mistreatment.

A model of third party responses to mistreatment. In contrast to Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) model, O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) model (Figure 2) focuses on what third parties do when they see mistreatment and why. Specifically, this model predicts four third

party actions: do nothing, punish the perpetrator directly (any immediate action which leads to appropriate consequences for the actor) punish the perpetrator indirectly (covert attempts to achieve consequences for the actor), and aid the victim (giving support, either emotional or physical, to the target). These actions are influenced by a number of factors including the observer's motivation (avoid or approach), power (both the observer and the victim), and the observer's belief in the disciplinary system. Like Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) model, the theoretical basis for O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) model comes mainly from Folger's work on the deontic response (Folger, 2001; Folger & Cropanzano, 2001; Folger & Skarlicki, 2005). In essence, they both use a justice theory framework to examine what factors produce deontic response when third parties witness employee mistreatment (Folger, 2001; Rawls, 1971).

There are a number of similarities between O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) and Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) models (e.g. the awareness of a negative impact; the key role of perceptions of injustice; moral attributions based on characteristics of the third party, actor, and target; a cost-benefit analysis) but the main contribution of O'Reilly and Aquino's model beyond Skarlicki and Kulik's model is its prediction of specific behavioral actions by the third-party. The responses predicted include three deontic responses and taking no action. Punishing the perpetrator directly involves immediate and public actions against the actor in response to the mistreatment. Indirect punishment is a more discreet response which includes reporting the mistreatment to someone with more power in order to gain justice. Aiding the victim is an attempt to alleviate the negative impact of the mistreatment on the target by offering some kind of support. These behaviors are expected to occur based on how likely a third party is to recognize a behavior as morally wrong (a third party's intuition of moral

violation and centrality of moral identity), how morally angry the behavior makes the third party, how they typically approach problems (approach versus avoidance motivation), and a cost-benefit analysis of the third party's ability to give aid of any kind (third party power, disciplinary system assessment, and the victim's power). While this model has yet to be tested empirically, it provides a sound theoretical framework from which to draw a model of observer behavioral responses to DWB.

Whereas O'Reilly and Aguino do address some of the limitations of Skarlicki and Kulik's model in a DWB context, their model still focuses on the broader third party category rather than focusing on observers specifically. O'Reilly and Aquino's model also focuses exclusively on human targets which also limits it's applicability to DWB more broadly. Further, neither model allows for non-deontologically motivated actions. As discussed in the review of observer research, people sometimes imitate the negative behaviors they witness. For example, Glomb and Liao (2003) found that when employees observe a great deal of interpersonal aggression at work, they were more likely to also engage in interpersonal aggression in the workplace. Andersson and Pearson (1999) introduced a model of incivility which also predicted that observed incivility in the workplace could lead to "secondary spirals" of incivility. Support for this was found in Andersson and Porath's (2000) survey of organizations. However, neither model explains why individuals may imitate the behavior they witness. If viewing incivility (a minor form of interpersonal deviance) can lead to observers imitating that same behavior, then it is plausible that imitation can also occur with other types of deviant behaviors, including behaviors that target organizations. To address this, I turn to social learning theory for a guiding framework.

Social learning theory. Social learning theory describes the cognitive processes through which individuals learn to reproduce behaviors through observation (Bandura, 1977). This process of modeling behavior has been shown to not only teach positive, desired behaviors, but it can also teach aggressive ones. For example, in Bandura and Huston's (1961) famed "Bobo Doll Experiment," the researchers found that children who witnessed an aggressive act were more likely to imitate it even though they were given no encouragement to do so.

According to social learning theory, if individuals are able to see a behavior (the attentional process), remember the behavior (retentional process), are physically capable of reproducing the behavior (production process), and want to reproduce the behavior (motivational process), then the behavior will be successfully modeled (Bandura, 1977). In the attentional process, individuals must be physically able to see the behavior. If they are distracted, or the behavior is covert, there is not opportunity to see the behavior long enough to learn to model it. The retentional process requires the mental ability to remember the behavior. That is, one must have adequate cognitive resources available to remember the behavior. If a person is busy or trying to remember something else, then he/she is unlikely to remember the behavior in enough detail to reproduce it. Next, the person must be physically and mentally capable of reproducing the behavior. That is, without the proper capabilities available to the witness, the behavior will not be produced (e.g. a short person is unlikely to be able to dunk a basketball). Lastly, proper motivation to reproduce the behavior must be present. This motivation can come from the expectation of: a) a reward for performing a behavior, b) a lack of punishment for performing a behavior, or c) punishment for failing to perform the behavior correctly. Such expectations may be formed by observing the

consequences experienced by others who engage in the behavior. This means that if an individual observes a coworker stealing a ream of copy paper for personal use and that coworker experiences no punishment as a result, then the observer is likely to reproduce the behavior

For decades, researchers have been testing the limits of social learning theory in an attempt to determine the extent to which humans model the behaviors they view. Numerous researchers have shown links between child aggression and viewing violence such as violent video games (Anderson et al., 2010) or violent adult behavior (Bandura & Huston, 1961), and that witnessing violence in the home as a child increases the chances that those children will engage in intimate partner violence as adults (IPV; Black, Sussman, & Unger, 2010; Cochran, Sellers, Wiesbrock, & Palacios, 2011; Fritz, Slep, & O'Leary, 2012). These studies provide evidence that aggressive and even violent behaviors can be learned and modeled even through adulthood. Some might wonder if it is only the impressionability of children or the severity of the viewed behavior which fosters modeling behaviors, but researchers have shown that adults will model the antisocial behaviors of their work group as well (Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly, 1998).

For example, Robinson and O'Leary-Kelly (1998) applied social learning theory in a study that found that the level of antisocial behavior performed in a work group predicts the level of antisocial behavior performed by each individual group member. However, their measure of antisocial behavior included items that represent deviant behavior targeting both the organization (e.g., "did work badly, incorrectly, or slowly on purpose") and individuals (e.g., "said or did something to purposely hurt someone at work"). Thus, no empirical

studies, to my knowledge, examine whether or not the likelihood of imitating observed deviance varies as a function of the target of the observed deviance.

### **The Current Study**

The purpose of the current study is to examine the factors that determine an individual's behavioral reactions to witnessing DWB. Specifically, I will integrate Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) theoretical model of third party perceptions of mistreatment with O'Reilly, Aquino's (2011) model of observer reactions to employee mistreatment, and Bandura's social learning theory (2004) to examine how the target of deviance, severity of the deviance, and the observer's identification with the target predict different observer behavioral actions

My study builds on the previous models in several ways. First, I will examine the reactions of direct observers of deviance rather than all third parties. Third parties are too broad of a category to be of immediate use to the organization. Because this category can include anyone who has ever heard of the deviant behavior regardless of whether or not they witnessed the behavior firsthand, a third party's immediate reaction may not affect the organization in any way. It is more important to focus on those who are most likely to have a direct impact on the organization: direct observers who work at that organization. Their reactions are important to organizations because these individuals will remain in the environment to rectify, exacerbate or ignore the deviant behavior.

Second, I will address observer reactions to a wide range of DWBs as opposed to acts of interpersonal mistreatment. Thus, the current study fills an important gap in the literature by including observations of deviant behavior involving a non-human target: the organization. As stated previously, theory and research on observers to date have focused

largely on observations of behavior involving human targets and have therefore neglected organizationally directed deviance. Individuals damage company property or waste resources at alarmingly high rates (recall the employee theft report discussed earlier), and these actions are very costly to organizations. Thus, it is important to include these behaviors in an investigation of DWBs.

Another contribution of this study is that I will examine specific behavioral actions by observers. In doing so, I extend Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) model which does not predict actions, only the decision to act or not in general. While O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) model does predict third-party actions, because their model is based on observed mistreatment of individuals, it does not represent the broader range of actions one might expect in response to all forms of DWBs. For example, a deontic response is described as the driving force behind observer reactions to individually-directed deviance (e.g., verbal abuse) due to the nature of the human target. However, organization-directed deviance (e.g., employee theft) may not produce a deontic response (i.e., a response driven by a sense of obligation to defend another human being against injustice).

We know that individuals sometimes model negative behaviors from research based on social learning theory (Anderson et al., 2010; Bandura & Huston, 1961; Black et al., 2010; Cochranet al., 2011; Fritz et al., 2012; Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly, 1998), but little is known about which types of deviance are likely to be modeled and under what circumstances. Thus, the current study extends O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) model by including imitation as an additional observer reaction to deviance along with reporting, confronting, aiding the target, and ignoring the behavior.

For the purposes of this study, I will focus on observer reactions to the four categories of DWBs discussed in Robinson and Bennett (1995). They separated DWB into four categories based on the severity of the act and the intended victim (the organization versus the individual). These categories are production deviance, property deviance, personal aggression and political deviance. Production deviance is low severity deviance typically related to a reduction in work output; it includes actions such as leaving early, taking excessive breaks, working slower and wasting company resources. Property deviance is also directed at the organization, but involves more severe actions such as deliberate sabotage of company equipment, accepting bribes or kickbacks, lying about production and stealing company resources. Personal aggression is high severity behavior directed towards individuals such as verbally abusing a coworker, sabotaging someone's work or stealing from a coworker. Lastly, political deviance is low severity, individually directed behavior. These include gossiping about a coworker, competing with a coworker non-beneficially, and blaming a coworker for one's mistake.

#### **Observer Reactions to DWBs**

Figures 3, 4, and 5 depict the relationships of observer reactions to DWBs that I will test in the proposed study. Consistent with Skarlicki and Kulik's (2005) and O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) models of third party reactions to mistreatment, as well as Rawls' (1971) description of deontological response, the relationship between the observation of DWB and the actions taken by the observer are expected to be mediated by the observer's perceptions of unfairness. The observer's perceptions of unfairness however, are expected to depend upon the severity of the behavior and the observer's identification with the target. The

following sections will discuss in more depth not only how this model contributes beyond the previous two models but will also explain the relationships predicted by the model.

Behavioral action. This study predicts several behavioral actions by observers: reporting, confronting, aiding the target, imitation, and ignoring the behavior. All of these deontological response behaviors are taken directly from O'Reilly and Aquino's (2011) model. Reporting the actor and confronting the actor are direct deontological responses which reflect an immediate and public attempt to "right the wrong." They both involve immediate actions to correct the deviant behavior and punish the actor. Aiding the target does not immediately "right the wrong," but includes providing aid such as emotional and social support, as well as more tangible form of support like replacing stolen property or helping the target with their work. O'Reilly and Aquino (2011) included this behavior in their model because it is a type of indirect deontological response which reduces the negative impact on the target even if it does not actually achieve justice.

O'Reilly and Aquino (2011) argue that observers may sometimes choose to do nothing about a witnessed injustice. The reasons behind this are likely many, but most likely, there is some threshold of deontic anger that must be met before an observer is motivated to act. As deontic anger is usually defined as a response to an immoral attack on a fellow human being (Folger, 2001; Rawls, 1971), it is unlikely that non-human targets or behaviors of low severity will evoke such a strong response. It is important to include this lack of response in the model so that these boundaries are made clearer.

Research in social learning theory suggests that sometimes individuals will model behavior even when we know that behavior to be wrong (Black et al., 2010; Cochran et al., 2011; Fritz et al., 2012). This phenomenon has also been discussed in organizational research

(Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly, 1998), but not thoroughly researched in the context of DWB. As moral anger is likely to lead to a deontological response, imitation is more likely to occur in conditions that are less likely to increase moral anger: organizationally directed behaviors, low severity behaviors, and when the observer does not identify with the target.

Target. Rawl's (1971) book on justice theory details the reasons why a person may or may not engage in certain actions when witnessing an injustice. Key to how an observer reacts is the deontological response. A deontological response is a reaction elicited when a person sees what they feel is an injustice and feels compelled to respond in defense of a fellow human being. Because we are all members of the human race, individuals feel connected on some level to all humans and will come to their defense (Rawls, 1971). According to this theory, when an observer determines an action they have viewed to be an injustice, they will act to correct the injustice.

Direct deontological actions are expected to be more likely when observers witness interpersonal deviance than organizationally deviance because individually-directed deviance are more likely to violate an observer's views of justice. Again, deontological responses are based on the idea that humans experience moral outrage when witnessing the victimization of another person (Folger, 2001; Rawls, 1971). Therefore, human targets are more likely to give rise to these types of responses compared to organizational targets. However, when the target is an organization, observers are more likely to ignore the behavior because the threshold of moral outrage needed for action is unlikely to be reached. Along the same lines, organizationally directed behaviors are also more likely to lead to imitation because these kinds of behaviors do not ignite the same level of moral outrage felt when individuals are

targets. Social learning theory states that in the motivational process (the last stage of the modeling process) a reward (or punishment) is necessary to ensure that modeling occurs. It could be argued that when targets are individuals, observers do not imitate as much because their own sense of morality punishes them more than if the target were an organization.

Hypotheses 1a-e. Target predicts of all behavioral responses (reporting, confronting, aiding the target, ignoring the behavior, and imitating the behavior). Specifically, observing deviance targeting an individual is associated with greater: (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target compared to deviance targeting an organization. However, observing deviance targeting an organization is associated with greater: (d) ignoring and (e) imitation.

Severity. Severity is also expected to predict behavioral actions. Skarlicki and Kulik (2005) suggested the severity of the behavior influences a third party's decision to act because more severe behaviors are more likely to incite more moral anger in third parties. Rawl's (1971) theory of justice is based on the expectation that injustice towards individuals versus nonhuman targets elicits a stronger deontic response. When a deviant behavior is severe enough, it instills a desire to respond by "righting the wrong" because it creates more moral or deontic anger. Therefore, severe behaviors are likely to elicit deontological responses while minor behaviors are more likely to lead to ignoring or imitation.

**Hypotheses 2a-e.** Severity predicts all behavioral responses (reporting, confronting, aiding the target, ignoring the behavior, and imitation). Specifically, observing severe deviance is associated with greater: (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target compared to witnessing minor deviance. However, observing minor deviance is associated with greater: (d) ignoring and (e) imitation.

**Severity x target interactions.** Although the target and severity of observed deviance are expected to independently predict observer actions, these two variables may also work together to affect observer actions. Recall that Rawls (1971) defined deontological response as a behavior an observer feels compelled to perform in order to respond in some way in defense of a fellow human being who has suffered an injustice. While severe deviant behaviors directed at organizations are expected to yield direct deontological responses, because organizations are not human, they are not expected to elicit the same level of moral outrage and anger in the observer (O'Reilly & Aquino, 2011; Rawls, 1971) that a human target would elicit. Because deontological response is driven by moral outrage and anger (Rawls, 1971), the higher moral anger that is likely to be provoked by observing a human target of severe deviance is likely to yield the greatest observer deontological actions compared to observing minor deviance and organizationally-directed deviance, regardless of severity. Along those same lines, ignoring the observed deviance is most likely to occur when an observer's threshold for moral anger is not reached because there is little to drive the deontological response (Rawls, 1971). This is also the most likely condition for an observer to imitate the behavior because imitation will be less likely to be punished by an observer's own sense of morality if the behavior being imitated is a low severity behavior.

Hypotheses 3a-e. Severity moderates the relationship between target (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target such the relationship between target and observer reactions is stronger when severity is high compared to when severity is low. However, the opposite relationship is expected for (d) ignoring the behavior and (e) imitating the behavior. That is, when severity is low, the relationship between target and observer reactions is stronger than when severity is high.

**Observer identification with the target.** The basic argument behind Rawl's (1971) theory of justice is that because we perceive ourselves to be similar to another being, we become angry when the rights of another similar being are violated. Similarity or identification with the target of the injustice is one of the reasons why we are motivated to correct the injustice. Skarlicki and Kulik (2005) acknowledged the impact of similarity by including identification with the victim as one of the predictors of the third party's decision to act. For example, you will feel a stronger connection towards a friend at work versus a coworker you don't know very well. This connection will cause you to feel more moral anger on your friend's behalf than for an unfamiliar coworker if you witness a DWB directed towards them. As discussed earlier, this will increase the likelihood that an observer will respond deontologically. Conversely, when observers do not identify closely with the target, they are less likely to respond in a deontological manner and instead are more likely to ignore or even imitate these behaviors. This study includes identification with the target, but goes further than previous research and allows for identification with a non-human entity: the organization.

Hypotheses 4a-e. Identification with the target predicts all behavioral responses (reporting, confronting, aiding the target, ignoring the behavior, and imitating the behavior). Specifically, observing deviance directed at a target with whom an observer identifies is associated with greater: (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target compared to observing deviance directed towards a target the witness does not identify with. However, observing deviance directed towards a target with whom an observer does not identify is associated with greater: (d) ignoring and (e) imitation.

Further, I also expect an interaction between identification with the target and the type of target (individual versus organization). Skarlicki and Kulik (2005) included identification with the target as a moderator of the negative impact-decision to act relationship. When observers do not identify with the target, they are more likely to take less direct action to "right the wrong." For example, when an employee sees a coworker, who is also a friend, being verbally abused by another employee, the observer will likely confront the transgressor. On the other hand, if an employee saw one coworker verbally abuse another, the observer might report the transgressor to the supervisor rather than defend someone they don't know well. When the deviant behavior is directed towards an individual, the observer will still be motivated to do something to correct the situation. That action will just be more direct in cases where the observer identifies with the targeted individual. However, when identification is low, ignoring and imitating are more likely responses for observers, especially when the target is the organization. As organizationally directed deviant behaviors are already expected to elicit fewer deontological responses, low identification with that organization will repress these types of responses even further.

Hypotheses 5a-e. Identification moderates the relationship between target and (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target such that the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger when identification with the target is high as opposed to low. However, the opposite relationship is expected for (d) ignoring the behavior and (e) imitating the behavior. That is, the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger when identification with the target is low as opposed to high.

While identification with the target is expected to alter the behavior of observers,

the severity of the behavior is still expected to be more important to the observer's decision to respond with specific behaviors. This is made explicit in the models of third party reactions and research on justice theory discussed earlier (Folger, 2001; O'Reilly & Aquino, 2011; Rawls, 1971; Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005; Skarlicki & Rupp, 2010). Thus, severe behaviors are expected to produce deontic responses despite the level of identification with the target.

**Hypotheses 6a-e.** Severity is more important (have a larger regression weight) than identification with the target in all behavioral responses: (a) reporting, (b) confronting, (c) aiding the target, (d) ignoring the behavior, and (e) imitating the behavior.

However, the deviance target is expected to be more important than severity in predicting all four deontological responses. Because deontological responses are based on the experience of moral anger in response to an act of injustice (Rawls, 1971), it is only logical to assume then that the target will be of primary import to the observer when deciding which action to take in response.

**Hypotheses 7a-e.** Target is a stronger predictor than the severity of the behavior and identification with the target for all behavioral responses: (a) reporting, (b) confronting, (c) aiding the target, (d) ignoring the behavior, and (e) imitating the behavior.

**Moral anger.** Skarlicki and Kulik (2005) suggested that perceptions of unfairness or "wrongness" on the part of the observer would be the emotional response that would lead to the behavioral response. This emotional response is derived from the deontic or moral anger which is said to motivate the deontic response (Folger, 2001; Rawls, 1971). In essence,

observers are more likely to experience higher levels of moral outrage or deontic anger when targets are human and when the behavior is severe which motivates them to respond in a deontic manner. However, low severity behaviors or organizationally directed behaviors are less likely to elicit moral anger and so behaviors such as ignoring and imitating are more likely rather than deontic responses. Thus, the level of moral anger felt by the observer should explain the likelihood of each behavioral response.

**Hypothesis 8a-e.** Observer moral anger mediates the relationship between target and (a) reporting, (b) confronting, (c) aiding the target, (d) ignoring the behavior, and (e) imitating the behavior such that the level of moral anger experienced fully explains the likelihood of these responses.

# **Chapter II**

#### Methods

The current study was a 2 X 2 X 2 (target x severity x identification with target) within subjects design using a policy capturing methodology. Participants were asked to read 28 short scenarios describing an observation of a coworker engaging in deviant behavior wherein the severity and target of the observed deviance, as well as the observer's identification with the target are manipulated. They were then asked to rate their level of moral anger and make a decision about how likely they would be to respond with the five actions proposed (report the actor, confront the actor, aid the target, ignore the behavior, or imitate the behavior).

# **Policy Capturing**

Policy capturing is an experimental design that is meant to help researchers understand how a person or a group of people make decisions when presented with several pieces of information (cues). An analysis of the data reveals the relative importance of each cue against the others (when regression weights are standardized). Instead of exposing participants only once to each condition, which would be standard in a 2 X 2 X 2 within subjects design, participants were exposed to each condition three times across multiple scenarios in order to establish response patterns which, in turn, increases reliability allowing for a more accurate assessment of observer responses (see Aiman-Smith, Scullen & Barr, 2002 and Karren & Barringer, 2002 for a more detailed review).

As with all studies, policy capturing does have its advantages and limitations.

Advantages of this experimental design not only include better control over confounding variables but also better generalizability of the results because participants make decisions

based on several pieces of information which is similar to how individuals make decisions in the real world. Power is also increased because each participant rates each condition several times.

## **Participants**

Two hundred fifty two participants were recruited from a large, racially diverse, urban university as well as through social networking sites and email list-serves (e.g. Facebook, the SIOP student discussion list, the researcher's contacts, and the contacts of colleagues and faculty). Participants were required to work at least 20 hours a week and be at least 18 years old. Hair, Black, Babin, and Anderson (2010) suggest 100 to be a minimum sample to have enough power to detect significant  $R^2$  values at  $\alpha$ =.05 with .80 power for a multiple regression equation with 5 variables. Thus, the sample size was sufficient for my analyses. Participants were 12% African American, 17.5% Asian, 27.5% Hispanic, .8% Native American/Pacific Islander, 34.3% white, and 4.8% other. The average age of participants was 25.68 (SD=8.57), and the sample was 79.8% female. They had an average of 8.25 years of work experience (SD=.55), worked 27.98 hours per week (SD=12.788), and 35.5% of participants worked full time. Student participants received extra credit in a psychology course in exchange for their voluntary participation. Fifty-eight participants were dropped due to various reasons (missing catch items, not qualifying as a working adult, and not completing the survey) resulting in a final sample of 194 participants.

#### Measures

**Moral anger.** Moral anger was measured using a single item. Participants were asked to rate how Pat's behavior made them feel. The response scale is a nine point Likert-type scale with anchors at "1" (not at all angry) and "9" (very angry). To avoid the attribution of

any negative emotion felt by the participants to the moral anger question, participants were also asked to indicate how annoyed they felt about Pat's behavior using similar response anchors (1=not at all annoyed, 9=very annoyed). This second item was not used in the analyses.

Action. The preferred actions participants would take were measured by five items in which participants were asked to "please read the following statements and indicate the likelihood of performing each action" using a five point Likert scale with anchors ranging from "1" (not at all likely) to "5" (very likely). The items were "I would ignore what just happened," I would report the person who did that to someone in authority in my organization," "I would confront that person who did that," "I would offer my co-worker support" (individually directed behaviors), and "I would try to help my organization out" (organizationally directed behaviors).

**Manipulation check.** To ensure that participants understood the differences in the scenarios, manipulation check questions were inserted after each condition. Sample items include "Please indicate who was impacted by Pat's behavior," "Please rate how wrong Pat's behavior was." The response scale is a five point Likert scale with anchors at "1" (strongly disagree) and "5" (strongly agree). There were also three additional catch items to check for non-conscientious responding. Sample items include "Please choose "C" from the answer choices below for key purposes."

#### Procedure

Participants were asked to read 28 scenarios (Appendix B). The scenarios reflected each of the eight conditions (individual/organizational target; high/low severity; identification/no identification with the target). Target was manipulated by clearly labeling

the target of the DWB as either the organization or a person (Terry or Chris; all names in the conditions are intentionally unisex to avoid any gender similarity biases). Severity was manipulated by presenting behaviors that have already been deemed "high" or "low" in severity based on Robinson and Bennet's (1995) study on DWB. For individually directed DWBs, identification with the target was manipulated by presenting the target as either a friend or just a co-worker. In organizationally directed DWBs, identification with the target was manipulated by scenarios that specifically state that the reader likes their job, the company, and the people they work with or that the job and company are okay but the observer is looking for a better opportunity.

Four of the 28 scenarios were used for practice as suggested by Aiman-Smith et al., (2002); that is, data from those 4 scenarios were not included in the analyses reported in the Results section. The remaining 24 scenarios were divided equally between the eight conditions and presented in random order to eliminate order effects. It took participants an average of just over 45 minutes to complete the entire survey.

Participants were instructed to "read each story carefully and think about how you would feel and act if you were another worker in the same company and had just seen this happen." After reading each scenario, participants were instructed to rate their level of moral anger over the act and the likelihood of performing each action. In the practice set, participants answered the three manipulation check items after each scenario. For the rest of the scenarios, participants answered the manipulation check items at the end of one scenario in each condition.

## **Chapter III**

#### Results

Descriptive statistics (means, correlations, etc.) are presented in Table 1. The DWB (DWB) target variable was dummy coded (1=individual, 0=organization). The DWB severity and identification with target variables were dichotomous (i.e., 0=low levels of each variable and 1= high levels of each variable). Using the Durbin-Watson statistic option in SAS PROC REG, I tested for autocorrelation. This statistic yields similar information as the intra-class correlation (ICC; i.e. both will indicate that there is a group level similarity) however, the Durbin-Watson statistic is used more in repeated measures designs. This statistic is also suggested by Aiman-Smith et al. (2002) to be the preferred method of testing for autocorrelation in policy capturing data. Results ranged from *d*=.898 to *d*=1.266. Values less than two indicate positive serial correlation, thus the data indicate significant autocorrelation of the residuals. These results suggested that the data be treated as nested and that multi-level analyses were most appropriate for hypothesis testing. I used SAS Proc Mixed to address this multi-level issue.

Level-one (within-subject) variables in these analyses reflect differences in participant responses across scenarios due to the manipulations. Level-two (between-subject) variables reflect differences between participants. Because the independent variables were dichotomous, they contain an interpretable zero point and thus were not centered.

Because I expected observer reactions to vary due to the effects of the independent variables (target, severity, and identification) presented in the scenarios, the hypotheses were tested using level-one predictors of level-one outcomes (e.g. severity predicting reporting at observation 1). Proc Mixed controls for group (person-level) effects in the regression, thus

analyzing both predictors and outcomes at level-one, using Proc Mixed, removes the between-subjects effect of the person from each observation allowing for an examination of the relative importance of each independent variable (i.e., target, severity, and identification) across participants.

Due to the volume and complexity of the hypotheses, I present results concerning the main effects first (hypotheses 1, 2, and 4a-e). Next, I present the moderation hypotheses (3 and 5a-e) followed by the mediation analyses (6a-e). Lastly, I report the findings on the relative importance of target, severity, and identification on the behaviors (7 and 8a-e).

## **Main Effects**

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 4 predicted main effects of DWB target, DWB severity, and identification with the target of DWB, respectively, on observer reactions. To test these hypotheses, each behavior reaction (confronting, reporting, aiding, imitating, and ignoring) was regressed on each independent variable (target, severity, and identification) and the control variables (age, gender, hours worked per week, years of work experience, years at current job, part time/full time, managerial status, and knowledge of psychology). Tables 2-6 contain the unstandardized regression weights for all main effects regression analyses.

Hypotheses 1a-c predicted that observers of DWB targeting individuals would be more likely to endorse the reporting, confronting, and aiding responses. Hypotheses 1d and 1e predicted that observers of DWB targeting organizations would be more likely to endorse the ignoring and imitating responses. Result indicate that target was a significant (p<.01) predictor of confronting (b=.391), aiding the target (b=.551), ignoring (b=-0.273), and imitating (b=-0.131). However, target was not a significant predictor of reporting (b=.043). These results support hypotheses 1b-e, but not hypothesis 1a.

Hypotheses 2a-c predicted severity of observed DWB would be positively related to the reporting, confronting, and aiding responses. Hypotheses 2c and 2d predicted that severity of observed DWB would be negatively related to the ignoring and imitating responses. As predicted, severity was found to be a significant (p<.01) predictor of reporting (b=1.034), confronting (b=.433), aiding the target (b=.522), ignoring the behavior (b=-0.546), and imitating the behavior (b=-.138). Thus, hypotheses 2a-e were supported.

Hypotheses 4a-c proposed that observers' identification with the target would be positively related to the reporting, confronting, and aiding responses and negatively related to the ignoring and imitating responses. As predicted, observers' identification with the target was a significant (p<.01) predictor of reporting (b=.113), confronting (b=.279), aiding the target (b=.359), ignoring the behavior (b=-0.169), and imitating the behavior (b=-.051). Thus, hypotheses 4a-e were supported.

# **Relative Importance**

Hypotheses 6a-e and 7a-e predicted the relative importance of level-one target, severity, and identification when entered into regression equations. Hypotheses 6a-e predicted that DWB severity would have a stronger influence on observer reactions than identification with the target. Hypotheses 7a-e predicted that target would have a stronger influence on observer reactions than both severity and identification. To test these hypotheses, I ran a multi-level regression with target, severity, and identification (along with the control variables) for each of the five outcome variables: reporting, confronting, aiding the target, ignoring, and imitating. Table 9 contains all of the standardized estimates for variables used in regression analyses related hypotheses 6-7. By comparing the magnitude of

the standardized estimates to one another (as suggested by Aiman-Smith et al., 2002), I can discern the relative importance of the variables to each other.

Severity was consistently greater in magnitude than identification across all outcomes (reporting, confronting, aiding, ignoring, and imitating) lending support for hypotheses 6a-e. However, contrary to hypothesis 7, target did not appear to be the most important variable across all outcomes. Target had the strongest influence on confronting, aiding, and imitating responses; lending support for hypotheses 7b, c, and e. However, target was not significantly related to observer reporting ( $\beta$ =.001); thus hypothesis 7a was not supported. In the ignoring model, severity ( $\beta$ =-.018) had a larger standardized estimate than target ( $\beta$ =-.008) although identification ( $\beta$ -.001) was still the smallest. Thus, hypothesis 7d was not supported.

#### Moderation

For hypotheses 3a-e and 5a-e, I hypothesized that severity of CWB and observer identification with the target, respectively, would moderate the relationships between target and the five behavioral actions (reporting, confronting, aiding, ignoring, and imitating). Specifically hypothesis 3 predicted that severity would moderate the relationship between target and (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target such the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger when severity is high compared to when severity is low. However, the relationship between target and (d) ignoring the behavior and (e) imitating the behavior was expected to be stronger when severity is low. The levelone severity x target term was significant (p<.01) in the reporting (b=.496), confronting (b=.351), ignoring (b=-.205), and imitating (b=.155) models when entered into the regression equations with all other variables. Because the variables are dichotomous, the interactions were graphed using the dummy code values. The graphs (see Figures 6-9) show these

interactions appear consistent with the hypotheses lending support for hypotheses 3a, b, d, and e. The severity x target interaction was non-significant when predicting aiding the target.

Hypotheses 5 predicted that observers' identification with the target would moderate the relationship between target and (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target such that the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger when identification with the target is high as opposed to low. However, the relationship between target and observer reactions was expected to be stronger for (d) ignoring the behavior and (e) imitating the behavior when identification with the target is low as opposed to high. The level-one identification x target term was significant (p<.01) in the confronting (b=.142) and imitating (b=.096) models when entered into the regression equations with all other variables. The graphs (Figures 10 and 11) lend support to hypotheses 5b and e as these were consistent with the hypotheses. Hypotheses 5a, c, and d were not supported as the interaction terms were not significant.

#### Mediation

Hypotheses 8a-e predicted that observer moral anger would mediate the relationship between the target and observer reactions. To test this, I used Bauer, Preacher and Gil's (2006) SAS macro for testing lower level mediation of lower level effects. Their basic conceptualization of mediation is similar to Baron and Kenny's (1986) procedure which tests for a zero c' path; the difference here is that the level 2 variables must also be accounted for in the regression. This can be done by restructuring the data according to the system outlined by Bauer et al. (2006). Specifically, by stacking the predictor and mediator variables into a single new variable (Z) and creating two identification variables, a single level one equation

can be written to test for mediation while still accounting for level 2 variance. Then, the test for a zero c' path will indicate the predicted mediation.

Hypothesis 8a predicted observer moral anger would mediate the relationship between the target and reporting behaviors. The total effect (target predicting reporting) was non-significant and so mediation was not run on these variables. Hypothesis 8a was not supported.

Hypotheses 8b-e predicted observer moral anger would mediate the relationship between target and confronting, aiding, ignoring, and imitating behaviors. While full mediation was not supported for any of these outcomes, the results did support partial mediation (Figures 12-15). The estimated indirect effect of target on confronting was .147 (95% CI= 0.094, 0.199) and the estimated total effect was .390 (95% CI= 0.308, 0.472) which indicates that 37% of the total effect of target on confronting behaviors was due to observer moral anger. The estimated total effect of target on aiding the target was .550 (95% CI= 0.452, 0.649) and the estimated indirect effect was .163 (95% CI= 0.108, 0.217). This indicates that 29% of the total effect of target on aiding the target was due to observer moral anger. For the test of moral anger as a mediator between target and ignoring the behavior, the estimated indirect effect was -.168 (95% CI= -0.224, -0.111) and the estimated direct effect was -.272 (95% CI= -0.348, -0.196). This suggests that 62% of the total effect of target on ignoring the behavior was due to the observer's level of moral anger (the lower the level, the more likely the behavior was to be ignored). The indirect effect of target on imitation was -.044 (95% CI= -.064, -.024) and the direct effect was -.131 (95% CI= -.176, -.086). Thus, 34% of the total effect of target on imitating the behavior was due to the observer's level of

moral anger (the lower the level, the more likely the behavior was to be imitated). In sum, hypotheses 8b-e were supported.

## **Chapter IV**

#### Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the reactions of observers to DWB. By integrating two models of observer deontological response (O'Reilly & Aquino, 2011; Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005) and Bandura's (1977, 2004) social learning theory, I proposed that the target of the DWB, the severity of the DWB, and the observer's identification with the target would predict the type of actions (reporting the actor, confronting the actor, aiding the target, ignoring the DWB, and imitating the DWB) the observer would choose in response to the DWB. Results based on data collected via a policy capturing study were largely supportive of my hypotheses (Table 10). I present a review of the study hypotheses and results below.

Applying the deontological response models, I found evidence that human targets, high severity DWBs, or high identification yield more deontological responses (confronting, reporting, and aiding). Opposite conditions (organizational targets, low severity DWBs, or low identification with the target) were more strongly associated with ignoring and imitating by observers. Thus, deontological responses were replicated which supports the application of these models in the DWB domain. The exception to these results occurred in the target predicting reporting hypothesis. It was expected that when the target of the DWB was an individual, observers would be more likely to report the actor than when the target was an organization. Results found no significant difference between the two targets when predicting reporting responses. This may be due to the official nature of reporting behaviors. It could be that because reporting a DWB does not immediately lessen the negative impact on the target,

no level of moral outrage is required and so the target itself is not what inspires the deontic response.

Based on similar predictions in the deontological responses models, I predicted the severity of the DWB and the observer's identification with the target would moderate the relationship between target and observer behavioral responses (O'Reilly & Aquino, 2011; Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005). As predicted, severity moderated the relationship between target and observer reactions such that for individual targets, reporting, confronting, and aiding behaviors were more likely when severity was high as opposed to low. When the target was an organization, ignoring and imitating were more likely when severity was low versus high. These results support deontological theory by showing that deontological responses were most likely to occur in response to observing severe interpersonal deviance (e.g., verbal abuse). Conversely, minor organization-directed DWB (e.g., production deviance) is most likely to inspire imitation or ignoring.

Contrary to prediction, severity did not change the relationship between target and aiding behaviors; participants were just as likely to aid individuals when severity was low as when severity was high. This may be due to the low cost of aiding the target to the observer. To elaborate, O'Reilly and Aquino (2011) suggested third parties would consider the cost of their actions before choosing to act; these costs could include lost political power, lower productivity, fewer resources, lost time, etc. Aiding the target by giving them social support, comfort, or help with their work does not necessarily translate into a high cost to the observer. This low cost would make this kind of behavioral response the easiest and fastest way to address the negative impact on the target regardless of DWB severity.

Identification with the target of DWB was expected to moderate target such that when identification was high and the target was an individual, reporting, confronting, and aiding behaviors were expected to be most likely. When identification was low and the target was an organization ignoring and imitation were expected to be most likely. However, identification only moderated the target-confronting and target-imitating relationships. To return to the cost of responding to DWBs, confronting and imitating are high cost behaviors. Confronting the actor costs the observer in terms of political power and possible retribution. Imitating the actor can lead to punishments or sanctions for the observer. These high cost behaviors would only be likely at the extremes of identification. Consistent with O'Reilly and Aquino's model (2011), observers would be more likely to spend political capitol and face possible retribution if the target were an individual that the observer identified with highly. The chance of punishments and sanctions are reduced when the target is an organization and low identification with said organization relieves the observer of more moral restraints. When predicting reporting, aiding, and ignoring responses, it is likely that because these behaviors are "low cost" to the observer in most cases, identification is not necessary. That is, the main effect of target on these three outcomes explains the relationship sufficiently.

Because the moral anger necessary to initiate a deontological response is based on a model of human justice, target was expected to be the most important factor in observer decisions to act, followed by severity and identification. As predicted, severity was consistently more important than identification across all observer reactions. However, contrary to predictions, target was only most important when predicting confronting, aiding, and imitating behaviors. Again, because reporting is a more formal response, which does not

immediately lessen the negative impact of the DWB on the target, this may be why severity was the most important variable to observer decisions. Severity may have been more important than target when predicting ignoring responses because low severity behaviors just do not inspire enough moral anger in individuals to do anything.

Similarly, observer moral anger was expected to mediate the relationship between target and observer behavioral responses because moral anger is suggested to be the motivational force behind the deontological response (Folger, 2001). The results largely supported these predictions. Partial mediation was supported for confronting, aiding, ignoring, and imitating responses, but not for reporting. Because reporting is a formal, detached response, it may not immediately satisfy an observer's moral anger. Confronting the actor and aiding the target are both immediate responses which do something to resolve or lessen the effect of the DWB on the target; reporting is a way to punish the actor but it does not relieve the negative impact of the DWB on the target.

# **Theoretical Implications**

This study integrates models of deontological theory, which had previously been specific to areas of justice or fairness, into DWB research. The evidence supports the argument that whether or not observers choose to respond in a deontological manner when faced with DWB depends on the target of DWB, severity of the DWB, and whether or not the observer identifies with the target.

However, reporting did not appear to be a deontological response in this context.

Target did not predict reporting responses and moral anger was not a mediator. This may be because reporting the actor does not fulfill the need to right the wrong immediately. It may result in punishing the actor but it does not address the negative impact felt by the target.

These results also demonstrate that observers are not unaffected by DWBs; deviance at work involves more than just the actor and the target. Models of deviance in the workplace should be broadened to include observers. The responses the observers take would likely influence the outcomes experienced by all three parties. For example, how are the negative effects experienced by a target of verbal abuse changed when an observer confronts the actor? Does this affect actor recidivism? How does the observer feel about their own response? All of these questions are examining a third dynamic in DWB researcher: the observer.

Another contribution of this study to deontological response research is the inclusion of a non-human target: the organization. Participants indicated that while individuals were more likely to be the recipient of a deontological response, organizations could also sometimes benefit from this response as well. When DWBs were severe or the participant identified highly with the organization, reporting and confronting were likely responses. Clearly, when the individual was the target, the type and magnitude of the responses were greater. However, that an organization can still inspire some of these responses is something that should be examined further and in more depth. This may indicate a need to expand deontological theory beyond human to human interactions.

Lastly, this research demonstrates conditions which can lead to imitation of DWBs. While social learning theory suggests that observers will model negative behaviors under certain circumstances, this research did not present all conditions necessary for replication to occur (e.g., rewards or punishments for the actors necessary to motivate the observer to replicate behavior; Bandura, 1977) and yet significant relationships were still found. One of the requirements for social learning theory, which would likely affect the magnitude of the

relationships found, is that observers should be motivated by the reward or punishment of the actor. If the actor gains something substantial out of the DWB, and the observer also values that reward, the observer should be more likely to imitate. However, the opposite would be expected if the observer views the actor receiving punishment for the DWB. In the current study, significant relationships were still found for imitation using target, severity, and identification as predictors. Clearly, adding rewards and punishment to this research would yield more understanding, but this study lends support for some of the variables that can determine an observer's choice to imitate DWBs.

## **Practical Implications**

This study helps organizational researchers and managers understand the circumstances surrounding observer responses to DWBs. When observers ignore or imitate DWBs, organizations lose money. Whether in terms of lost productivity (i.e. production deviance or most individually directed behaviors), or in terms of lost office supplies or equipment (i.e. theft or sabotage), these kinds of behaviors are expensive. The results showed a positive relationship between identification and reporting, confronting, and aiding the target; there was a negative relationship with ignoring and imitating. Regardless of target, when identification was higher, participants were more likely to find a way to right the wrong. However, when identification was low, participants indicated they were more likely to ignore or even imitate the DWB. By fostering greater organizational identification in employees, these organizations can expect more self-policing actions, and less ignoring and imitation.

Organizations and managers should also understand that deviance in the workplace affects observers as well as the target. What type of response the observer chooses depends

on target, severity, and identification, but these responses have clear organizational implications (as discussed above). Ignoring the observers, when considering organizational policies to address DWB, could be costly.

## Limitations

One of the biggest limitations of this study is that actual behavioral responses were not gathered; rather participants rated the likelihood of their behavioral intentions. However, the theory of planned behavior suggests that behavioral intentions are the immediate antecedent to actual behavior (Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). Given enough control to implement their intentions, individuals will follow through. Therefore, measuring behavioral intentions rather than actual behaviors should be indicative of actual observer behaviors. Future research should include varying levels of observer control over their own behavioral responses in order to better determine how observers react to DWBs.

The low-fidelity nature of this study is another important limitation. That is, this study did not examine live behavioral responses of observers to live DWBs. Instead, participants were presented with written scenarios and asked how they would likely respond. It is difficult to stage situations in which actual targets, behavior severity, and identification with the target can be manipulated. However, live situations in which participants view actual DWBs and their behavioral and emotional responses are recorded would yield more generalizable data. Future research should include live or videotaped scenarios. Researchers may also consider asking participants about their actual experiences observing DWB. However, DWBs do not typically have many observers, especially as they increase in severity and thus the likelihood of punishment. Consequently, this approach may yield a poor sampling of behaviors. Participants would also be affected by their ability to recall the

situation, changing perceptions of identification, and knowledge of any rewards or punishments the actor may have received as a result of the DWB With all of these limitations, this research design appeared to be the most efficient way of initially investigating these types of questions as this allowed for more control over confounding variables. It is encouraging that significance was found given the low-fidelity nature of this design, but replication using other approaches and methodologies would increase confidence in these findings.

Another limitation is that the sample collected was largely female. While it was racially diverse, the large percentage of females may affect the interpretation of the results. Eagly (2009) reviewed a large body of research concerning gender differences in prosocial and helping behavior. In general, men seemed more inclined to help strangers when initiative by the observer was needed and women were more likely to engage in communal prosocial behaviors (Eagly, 2009). This may suggest that there could be gender differences in the types of behavioral responses to observing DWBs. Given these possibilities, this sample may underestimate the likelihood of behaviors such as confronting the actor and overestimate the likelihood of aiding the target.

It was encouraging that imitation and ignoring responses were significant behavioral responses for observers. Due to the already large burden placed on participants, knowledge of any rewards or punishments for actors could not be integrated into the design as this would have created far too many scenarios for participants. The motivation to replicate is one of the steps outlined in social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). Observers must have a reason to replicate the modeled behavior or not. This could be a lack of consequences for the actor's behavior, gaining resources, or on the opposite end, a severe punishment. Resources gained,

or even a lack of punishment, for the actor would be a motivator for the observer to replicate the behavior. A severe punishment for the actor's behavior would, however, curtail the replication of the DWB by the observer. Social desirability may have also suppressed imitation and ignoring responses, but it is encouraging for future researchers that significance was still found in the data.

#### **Future Research**

Future researchers should investigate actor rewards and punishments in order to further understanding of the imitation response. Rewards are the motivator behind the reproduction of modeled behavior according to social learning theory; punishments may further inhibit imitation (Bandura, 1977). Additional variables to consider are different types of identification. In the current study, high and low identification were examined, but negative identification should also be considered. For example, the likelihood of imitation may go up dramatically if the observer disliked the organization rather than just not identify with it. The same may be true when the target is an individual. Also, identification with the actor was not included in the current study. If the observer is friends with the actor, the observer may take a more lenient attitude towards the DWB. Inversely, if the observer dislikes the actor, the level of moral anger felt when viewing the DWB may be increased further.

Individual differences should also be considered when designing future experiments. As discussed earlier, gender may influence behavioral responses to DWB. It is important to take into account not only observer gender, but also actor and target gender as violation of gender roles may influence observer behaviors as well.

Another variable to examine is the emotional response, and the variables involved in that response, the observer feels when they have viewed a DWB. While this study did measure observer moral anger, more distal emotional outcomes are also crucial to our understanding of the observer experience in this context. What do the observers feel if they took no action? What if they were unable to take action? How does this affect their performance? These questions are just the tip of the iceberg when considering observer experiences.

Additional research using more high-fidelity situations is also necessary. While it is encouraging that these results were found using such a low-fidelity method, it is important to examine these relationships using other methods that can more closely imitate real DWB situations.

#### Conclusions

The current study extended observer research into the DWB domain. Results showed that observers did respond to DWBs. Target, severity, and identification predicted observer behavioral responses and moral anger was a partial mediator between target and most of these behaviors. This study integrated models of deontic responses and social learning theory to predict these behaviors (Bandura, 1977; O'Reilly & Aquino, 2011; Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005). It furthered deontic response research by demonstrating that these types of behavioral responses can be directed towards non-human targets, the organization in this case, under certain circumstances.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

	М	SD	Sev	Tar	ID	MA	R	С	AT	NA	I	Gender	Age	WE	FT	HPW	YCJ	М	P
MA	5.872	2.723	0.257**	0.112	0.088**														
R	3.173	1.516	0.341**	0.014	0.037*	0.607**													
C	3.038	1.433	0.151**	0.136**	0.097**	0.376**	0.424**												
AT	3.767	1.294	0.201**	0.213**	0.139**	0.491**	0.563**	0.537**											
NA	1.942	1.256	-0.217**	-0.109**	-0.067**	-0.426**	-0.534**	-0.406**	-0.499**										
I	1.192	0.608	-0.114	-0.107**	-0.042**	-0.120**	-0.181**	-0.126**	-0.254**	0.272**									
Gender	0.820	0.384				0.013	0.012	-0.095**	-0.052**	-0.003	-0.024								
Age	25.588	7.994				0.029	-0.008	-0.015	-0.015	0.000	-0.082**	-0.199**							
WE	7.867	7.309				0.035*	-0.006	0.066**	0.040**	-0.027	-0.083**	-0.194**	0.856**						
FT	0.376	0.485				0.030*	0.000	0.035*	0.029*	0.047**	-0.031*	-0.023	0.418*	0.427*	*				
HPW	30.500	9.375				0.026	0.026	0.058**	0.069**	0.026	-0.059**	-0.072**	0.406**	0.433*	* 0.810*	*			
YCJ	3.0193	3 4.669				0.038*	-0.042**	0.000	-0.013	0.038*	-0.052**	-0.094**	0.661**	0.696*	* 0.312*	* 0.258*	*		
M	0.232	0.422				-0.051**	0.008	0.051**	0.001	-0.042**	-0.021	-0.028	0.126**	0.197*	* 0.203*	* 0.242*	* 0.168*	*	
P	0.737	0.440				-0.055**	-0.037*	-0.035*	-0.064**	0.078**	0.001	0.116**	-0.195**	-0.151	**-0.092*	* -0.022	-0.008	-0.005	
Race	3.356	1.517				-0.032*	-0.033*	-0.038**	-0.053**	0.041**	-0.011	-0.102**	0.231**	0.269*	** 0.127	** 0.135*	* 0.156*	* 0.233	** 0.016

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; Race (1=African American, 2=Asian, 3=Hispanic, 4=Native American/Pacific Islander, 5=White, 6=Other); WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

Table 2. Main Effects on Reporting the Behavior

Variables	Target	Severity	Identification
Intercept	2.956 (0.455)**	2.180 (0.465)**	2.965 (0.476)**
Estimate	0.043 (0.042)	1.034 (0.049)**	0.113 (0.037)**
Age	0.001 (0.016)	0.005 (0.016)	0.001 (0.016)
WE	0.006 (0.018)	0.004 (0.018)	0.006 (0.018)
HPW	0.012 (0.012)	0.015 (0.012)	0.012 (0.012)
YCJ	-0.021 (0.019)	-0.020 (0.019)	-0.021 (0.020)
Gender	0.067 (0.167)	0.140 (0.164)	0.067 (0.168)
FT	-0.171 (0.157)	-0.174 (0.222)	-0.171 (0.227)
M	0.0414 (0.157)	-0.041 (0.154)	0.051 (0.158)
P	-0.104 (0.149)	-0.123 (0.154)	-0.129 (0.149)

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

Table 3. Main Effects on Confronting the Target

Variables	Target	Severity	Identification		
Intercept	4.002 (0.549)**	3.984 (0.549)**	4.060 (0.549)**		
Estimate	0.391 (0.039)**	0.433 (0.033)**	0.279 (0.033)**		
Age	-0.049 (0.018)**	-0.049 (0.018)**	-0.049 (0.018)**		
WE	0.059 (0.021)**	0.059 (0.021)**	0.059 (0.021)**		
HPW	0.008 (0.014)	0.008 (0.014)	0.008 (0.014)		
YCJ	-0.013 (0.023)	-0.013 (0.023)	-0.013 (0.023)		
Gender	-0.352 (0.194)	-0.350 (0.194)	-0.350 (0.194)		
FT	-0.033 (0.262)	-0.029 (0.262)	-0.035 (0.262)		
M	0.125 (0.182)	0.131 (0.182)	0.126 (0.182)		
P	-0.098 (0.172)	-0.099 (0.172)	-0.100 (0.172)		

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

Table 4. Main Effects on Aiding the Target

Variables	Target	Severity	Identification		
Intercept	4.011 (0.413)**	3.916 (0.413)**	4.171 (0.423)**		
Estimate	0.551 (0.048)**	0.522 (0.041)**	0.359 (0.035)**		
Age	-0.032 (0.014)*	-0.031 (0.014)*	-0.034 (0.014)*		
WE	0.032 (0.016)*	0.036 (0.016)*	0.033 (0.016)*		
HPW	0.017 (0.010)	0.017 (0.010)	0.020 (0.011)		
YCJ	-0.004 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)		
Gender	-0.127 (0.145)	-0.109 (0.146)	-0.154 (0.149)		
FT	-0.129 (0.197)	-0.135 (0.197)	-0.215 (0.202)		
M	-0.071 (0.137)	-0.126 (0.137)	-0.038 (0.140)		
P	-0.187 (0.129)	-0.150 (0.129)	-0.229 (0.132)		

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

Table 5. Main Effects on Ignoring

Variables	Target	Severity	Identification
Intercept	1.965 (0.371)**	2.235 (0.348)**	1.638 (0.383)**
Estimate	-0.273 (0.035)**	-0.546 (0.041)**	-0.169 (0.032)**
Age	0.005 (0.005)	0.000 (0.011)	0.010 (0.013)
WE	-0.021 (0.014)	-0.021 (0.013)	-0.025 (0.013)
HPW	-0.004 (0.009)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.010)
YCJ	0.020 (0.015)	0.026 (0.014)	0.023 (0.016)
Gender	-0.092 (0.131)	-0.069 (0.122)	-0.057 (0.135)
FT	0.242 (0.176)	0.062 (0.165)	0.198 (0.182)
M	-0.201 (0.123)	-0.067 (0.115)	-0.206 (0.127)
P	0.210 (0.116)	0.096 (0.108)	0.222 (0.120)

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

Table 6. Main Effects on Imitating

Variables	Target	Severity	Identification
Intercept	1.547 (0.196)	1.416 (0.182)**	1.546 (0.196)**
Estimate	-0.131 (0.023)**	-0.138 (0.018)**	-0.051 (0.015)**
Age	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)
WE	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.008)
HPW	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.069)
YCJ	0.002 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.007)	0.0024 (0.008)
Gender	-0.058 (0.069)	-0.005 (0.064)	-0.076 (0.069)
FT	0.070 (0.093)	0.046 (0.086)	0.092 (0.094)
M	-0.008 (0.065)	0.014 (0.060)	-0.008 (0.065)
P	-0.010 (0.062)	-0.006 (0.057)	-0.015 (0.062)

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no)

**Table 7.** Target by Severity Interactions

Variables	Reporting	Confronting	Aiding	Ignore	Imitate
Intercept	2.271 (0.466)**	3.876 (0.550)**	3.624 (0.402)**	2.378 (0.346)**	1.521 (0.181)**
Target	-0.205 (0.053)**	0.215 (0.047)**	0.510 (0.055)**	-0.170 (0.045)**	-0.208 (0.027)**
Severity	0.786 (0.058)**	0.258 (0.043)**	0.481 (0.041)**	-0.443 (0.050)**	-0.216 (0.023)**
TarXSev	0.496 (0.064)**	0.351 (0.054)**	0.081 (0.053)	-0.205 (0.056)**	0.155 (0.027)**
Age	0.005 (0.015)	-0.049 (0.018)**	-0.030 (0.013)*	-0.001 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.006)
WE	0.004 (0.018)	0.059 (0.021)**	0.031 (0.015)*	-0.018 (0.013)	-0.005 (0.007)
HPW	0.015 (0.012)	0.008 (0.014)	0.015 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.004)
YCJ	-0.021 (0.019)	-0.013 (0.023)	0.000 (0.016)	0.024 (0.014)	-0.001 (0.007)
Gender	0.136 (0.164)	-0.350 (0.194)	-0.088 (0.140)	-0.082 (0.127)	-0.013 (0.063)
FT	-0.170 (0.221)	-0.029 (0.262)	-0.091 (0.191)	0.092 (0.163)	0.066 (0.086)
M	-0.043 (0.154)	0.130 (0.182)	-0.142 (0.132)	-0.091 (0.113)	0.018 (0.059)
P	-0.110 (0.145)	-0.099 (0.172)	-0.139 (0.125)	0.111 (0.107)	-0.008 (0.056)

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

Table 8. Target by Identification Interactions

Variables	Reporting	orting Confronting Aiding Ignore		Imitate	
Intercept	2.922 (0.475)**	3.900 (0.550)**	3.862 (0.411)**	1.966 (0.368)**	1.614 (0.196)**
Target	0.010 (0.056)	0.320 (0.048)**	0.501 (0.055)**	-0.217 (0.456)**	-0.179 (0.028)**
ID	0.080 (0.052)	0.208 (0.043)**	0.309 (0.044)**	-0.113 (0.046)**	-0.099 (0.020)**
TarXID	0.066 (0.073)	0.142 (0.055)**	0.100 (0.054)	-0.111 (0.060)	0.096 (0.096)**
Age	0.001 (0.016)	-0.049 (0.018)**	-0.032 (0.014)*	0.006 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.006)
WE	0.005 (0.018)	0.059 (0.021)**	0.029 (0.016)	-0.018 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.007)
HPW	0.012 (0.012)	0.008 (0.014)	0.018 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.005)
YCJ	-0.022 (0.019)	-0.013 (0.023)	-0.002 (0.017)	0.019 (0.015)	0.0017 (0.008)
Gender	0.069 (0.167)	-0.350 (0.194)	-0.127 (0.144)	-0.087 (0.129)	-0.058 (0.069)
FT	-0.172 (0.226)	-0.035 (0.262)	-0.155 (0.195)	0.222 (0.175)	0.065 (0.093)
M	0.042 (0.157)	0.126 (0.182)	-0.066 (0.136)	-0.219 (0.121)	-0.008 (0.065)
P	-0.107 (0.149)	-0.100 (0.172)	-0.205 (0.128)	0.220 (0.115)	-0.015 (0.061)

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Unstandardized parameter estimates; standard errors within parentheses; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

**Table 9.** Relative Importance

Variables	Reporting	Confronting	Aiding	Ignore	Imitate
Intercept	0.643**	1.401**	1.066**	0.677**	0.449**
Target	0.001	0.011**	0.020**	-0.008**	-0.005**
Severity	0.033**	0.010**	0.012**	-0.018**	-0.004**
ID	0.002**	0.006**	0.010**	-0.004**	-0.001**
Age	0.000	-0.001**	0.000	0.000	0.000
WE	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000
HPW	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
YCJ	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Gender	0.015	-0.047	-0.010	-0.008	-0.001
FT	-0.025	-0.006	-0.016	0.010	0.008
M	-0.004	0.017	-0.014	-0.010	0.002
P	-0.011	-0.012	-0.015	0.010	-0.002

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; Standardized estimates; n=194; WE=years of total work experience; HPW=hours worked per week; YCJ=years worked at current job; Gender (1=female, 0=male); FT=full time (1=participant is a full-time worker, 0=participant is a part-time worker); M=manager (1=participant is a manager, 0=participant is not a manager); P=participant works in, has a degree in, or is a student of Psychology (1=yes, 0=no).

 Table 10. Hypotheses

Hypotheses	Reporting	Confronting	Aiding	Ignoring	Imitation
<b>1a-e.</b> Target will be a significant predictor of all behavioral responses. Specifically, observing deviance targeting an individual will be associated with greater (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target compared to deviance targeting an organization, and less (d) ignoring and (e) imitation compared to deviance targeting an organization.	Not supported	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported
<b>2a-e.</b> Severity will be a significant predictor of all behavioral responses. Specifically, observing severe deviance will be associated with greater (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target compared to witnessing minor deviance and less (d) ignoring and (e) imitation compared to minor deviance.	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported
<b>3a-e.</b> Severity is expected to moderate the relationship between target (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target such the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger when severity is high compared to when severity is low. However, the opposite relationship is expected for (d) ignoring the behavior and (e) imitating the behavior. That is, when severity is low, the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger than when severity is high.	Supported	Supported	Not Supported	Supported	Supported
<b>4a-e.</b> <u>Identification</u> will be a significant predictor of all behavioral responses. Specifically, observing deviance directed at a target the observer identifies with will be associated with <u>greater</u> (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding the target and <u>less</u> (d) ignoring and (e) imitation compared to minor deviance.	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported
<b>5a-e.</b> <u>Identification</u> is expected to <u>moderate</u> the relationship between target and (a) reporting, (b) confronting, and (c) aiding	Not Supported	Supported	Not Supported	Not Supported	Supported

Hypotheses	Reporting	Confronting	Aiding	Ignoring	Imitation
the target such that the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger when identification with the target is high as opposed to low. However, the opposite relationship is expected for (d) ignoring the behavior and (e) imitating the behavior. That is, the relationship between target and observer reactions will be stronger when identification with the target is low as opposed to high.					
<b>6a-e.</b> Severity will be determined as more important (have a larger regression weight) than identification with the target in all behavioral responses: (a) reporting, (b) confronting, (c) aiding the target, (d) ignoring the behavior, and (e) imitating the behavior.	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported	Supported
<b>7a-e.</b> Target will be a <u>stronger predictor</u> than the severity of the behavior and identification with the target for all behavioral responses: (a) reporting, (b) confronting, (c) aiding the target, (d) ignoring the behavior, and (e) imitating the behavior.	Not Supported	Supported	Supported	Not Supported	Supported
<b>8a-e.</b> Observer <u>moral anger</u> is expected to <u>mediate</u> the relationship between target and (a) reporting, (b) confronting, (c) aiding the target, (d) ignoring the behavior, and (e) imitating the behavior such that the level of moral anger experienced fully explains the likelihood of these responses.	Not Supported	Partially Supported	Partially Supported	Partially Supported	Partially Supported

Figure 1. Skarlicki and Kulik's Model

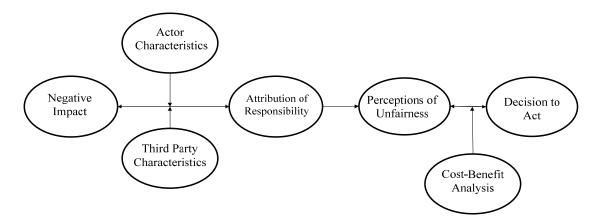


Figure 2. O'Reilly and Aquino's Model

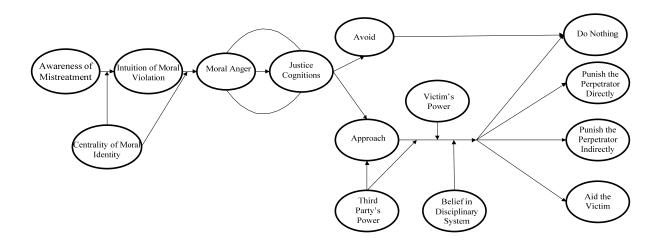


Figure 3. Severity Moderation

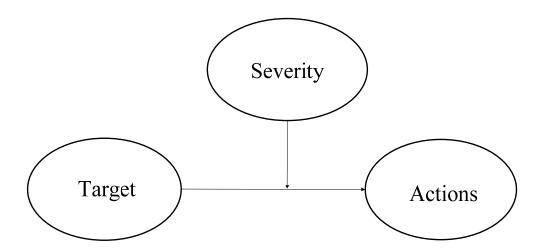


Figure 4. Identification Moderation

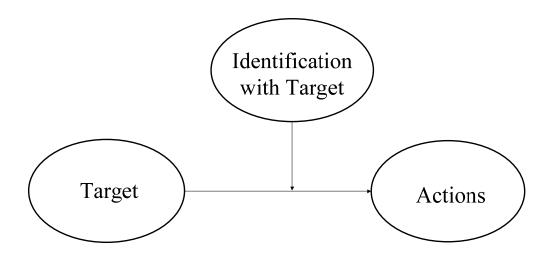


Figure 5. Moral Anger Mediation



Figure 6. Target by Severity: Reporting

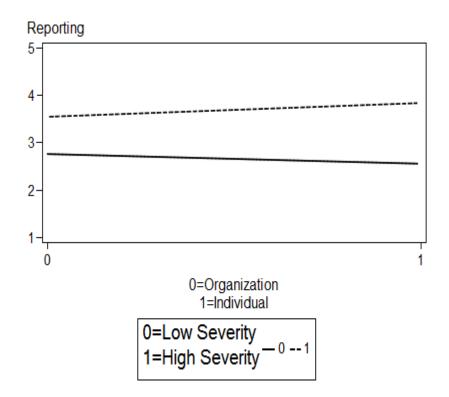


Figure 7. Target by Severity: Confronting

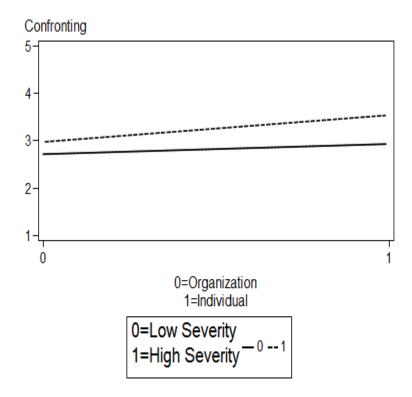


Figure 8. Target by Severity: Ignoring

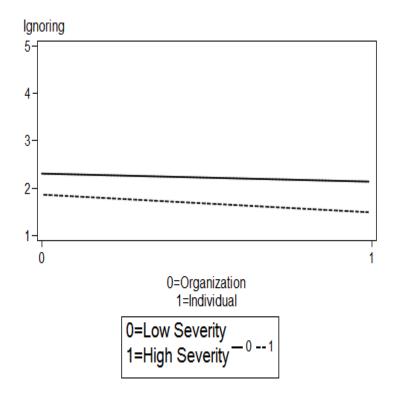


Figure 9. Target by Severity: Imitation

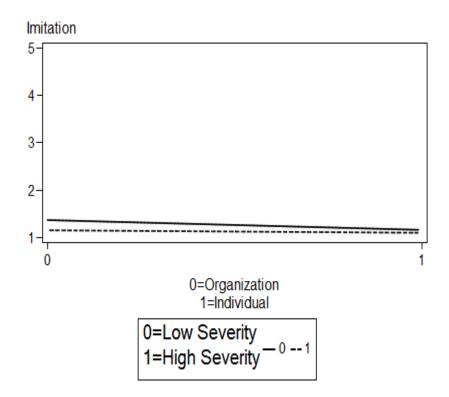


Figure 10. Target by Identification: Confronting

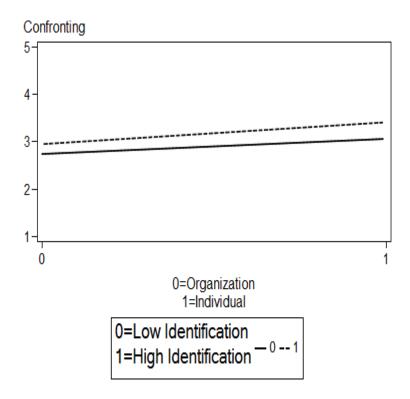


Figure 11. Target by Identification: Imitation

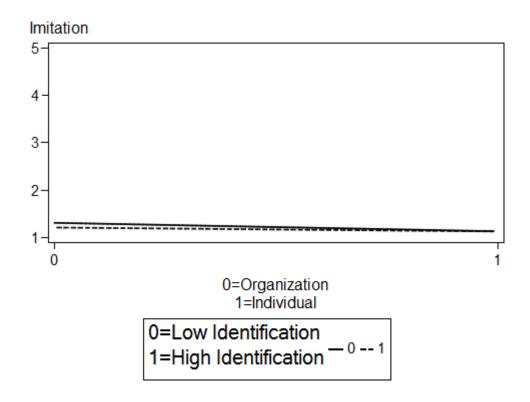
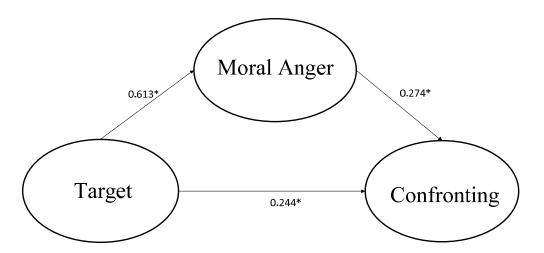
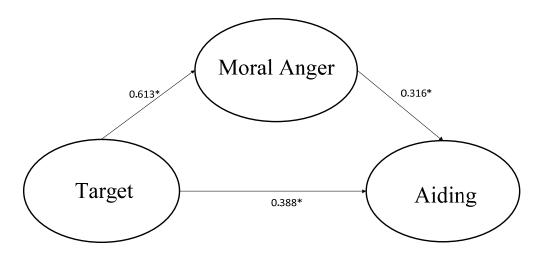


Figure 12. Moral Anger Mediates Target to Confronting



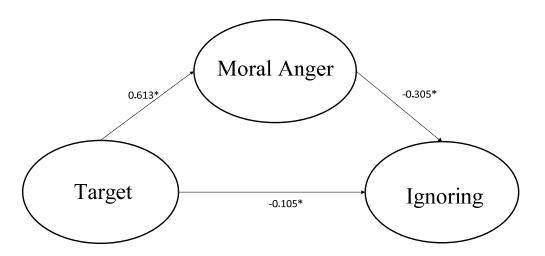
Note: Path diagram illustrating how moral anger partially mediates the relationship between target and confronting behaviors. The pathway from target to confronting controls for moral anger. \*=p<.01;

Figure 13. Moral Anger Mediates Target to Aiding



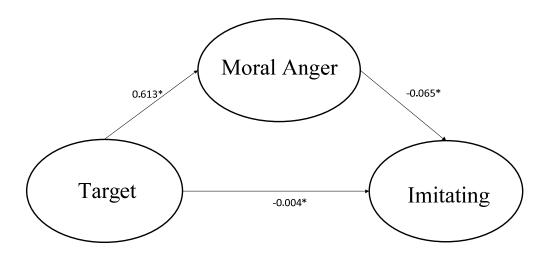
Note: Path diagram illustrating how moral anger partially mediates the relationship between target and aiding behaviors. The pathway from target to aiding controls for moral anger. \*=p<.01;

Figure 14. Moral Anger Mediates Target to Ignoring



Note: Path diagram illustrating how moral anger partially mediates the relationship between target and ignoring behaviors. The pathway from target to ignoring controls for moral anger. \*=p<.01;

Figure 15. Moral Anger Mediates Target to Imitating



Note: Path diagram illustrating how moral anger partially mediates the relationship between target and imitating behaviors. The pathway from target to imitating controls for moral anger. \*=p<.01;

#### Appendix A

#### Scenarios

Low severity, organizationally directed, identification with target. Imagine you are a worker at Teleworld, a telecommunications organization. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job and you are proud to be a part of Teleworld. One day you notice that one of your coworkers, Pat, is intentionally working slowly.

Imagine you are a worker at Gencom, a pharmaceutical company. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job and you are proud to be a part of Gencom. One day you notice that one of your coworkers, Pat, is intentionally leaving work 30 minutes earlier than allowed.

Imagine you are a worker at SuperCo, a retail organization. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job and you are proud to be a part of SuperCo. One day you notice that one of your coworkers, Pat, is intentionally taking frequent breaks that are 10-15 minutes longer than allowed.

Imagine you are a worker at Reeding Inc., a manufacturing firm. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job and you are proud to be a part of Reeding, Inc. One day you notice that one of your coworkers, Pat, is intentionally wasting copy paper.

Low severity, organizationally directed, no identification with target. Imagine you are a worker at Gencom, a pharmaceutical company. Your job is okay, and the company is okay, but you have been searching for a better opportunity. One day you notice that one of your coworkers, Pat, is intentionally leaving work 30 minutes earlier than allowed.

Imagine you are a worker at SuperCo, a large retail organization. Your job is okay and the company is okay, but you have been searching for a better opportunity. One day you notice that one of your coworkers, Pat, is intentionally taking frequent breaks that are 10-15 minutes longer than allowed.

Imagine you are a worker at Reeding Inc., a manufacturing firm. Your job is okay and the company is okay, but you have been searching for a better opportunity. One day you notice that one of your coworkers, Pat, is intentionally wasting copy paper.

Low severity, individually directed, identification with target. Imagine you are a worker for Teleworld, a telecommunications organization. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, being unnecessarily rude to another coworker, your friend Chris.

Imagine you are a worker for Gencom, a pharmaceutical company. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is gossiping about another coworker, your friend Chris.

Imagine you are a worker for SuperCo, a large retail organization. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is blaming a coworker, your friend Chris, for a mistake that Pat made.

Imagine you are a worker for Reeding Inc., a manufacturing firm. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is competing unnecessarily with another coworker, your friend Chris, on a project that requires cooperation, not competition.

Low severity, individually directed, no identification with target. Imagine you are a worker for Gencom, a pharmaceutical company. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is gossiping about Terry, a coworker you don't know very well.

Imagine you are a worker for SuperCo, a large retail organization. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is blaming Terry, a coworker you don't know very well, for a mistake that Pat made.

Imagine you are a worker for Reeding Inc., a manufacturing firm. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is competing unnecessarily with Terry, a coworker you don't know very well, on a project that requires collaboration, not competition.

High severity, organizationally directed, identification with target. Imagine you are a worker for Teleworld, a large telecommunications organization. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job, and you are proud to be a part of Teleworld. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, intentionally breaking the office copier.

Imagine you are a worker for Gencom, a large pharmaceutical company. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job, and you are proud to be a part of Gencom. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, accepting a bribe from a supplier.

Imagine you are a worker for SuperCo, a large retail organization. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job, and you are proud to be a part of SuperCo. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, lying about the number of hours he worked that week.

Imagine you are a worker for Reeding Inc, a manufacturing firm. You have been working here for a while, you really enjoy your job, and you are proud to be a part of Reeding Inc.. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, stealing a company computer.

High severity, organizationally directed, no identification with target. Imagine you are a worker for Gencom, a large pharmaceutical company. Your job is okay and the company is okay, but you have been searching for a better opportunity. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, accepting a bribe from a supplier.

Imagine you are a worker for SuperCo, a large retail organization. Your job is okay and the company is okay, but you have been searching for a better opportunity. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, lying about the number of hours he worked that week.

Imagine you are a worker for Reeding Inc, a manufacturing firm. Your job is okay and the company is okay, but you have been searching for a better opportunity. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, stealing a company computer.

**High severity, individually directed, identification with target.** Imagine you are a worker at Teleworld, a large telecommunications organization. One day, you notice that a coworker, Pat, is intentionally messing up a report that another coworker, your friend Chris, was preparing.

Imagine you are a worker at Gencom, a large pharmaceutical company. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, verbally abusing another coworker, your friend Chris.

Imagine you are a worker at SuperCo, a large retail organization. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is stealing from another coworker, your friend Chris.

Imagine you are a worker at Reeding Inc., a manufacturing firm. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, is intentionally skipping safety procedures that could endanger another coworker, your friend Chris.

**High severity, individually directed, no identification with target.** Imagine you are a worker at Gencom, a large pharmaceutical company. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, verbally abusing Terry, a coworker who you don't know very well.

Imagine you are a worker at SuperCo, a large retail organization. One day you notice a coworker, Pat, is stealing from Terry, a coworker who you don't know very well.

Imagine you are a worker at Reeding Inc., a manufacturing firm. One day, you notice a coworker, Pat, is intentionally disregarding safety procedures that could endanger Terry, a coworker you don't know very well.

# Appendix B

## Demographics

Please indicate your ethnicity.
African American
Asian
Hispanic
Native American/Pacific Islander
White
Other
Please indicate your gender:
Female
Male
Please enter your age in years:
Please enter your work experience in years. If you have not worked, please enter 0.
Please select the answer choice which reflects your current employment situation:
Full Time Employee
Part Time Employee
Not Currently Working
How many hours per week do you work? If you do not have a job, please enter 0.
How long have you worked at your current job in years? If you are not currently working,
please enter 0.
Please describe the industry in which you work (e.g., restaurant, retail trade, banking,
engineering). DO NOT write the name of your employer. If you are not currently working
please write N/A.

Is your job a supervisory or management position or does your job require you to formally
supervise other employees?
Yes
No
I am not currently working
Please check "Yes" if you are a student in psychology, have a degree in psychology, or work
within the field of psychology.
Yes
No

## Appendix C

## Moral Anger

How does Pat's behavior make you feel?

1-not at all angry

9-very angry

1-not at all annoyed

9-very annoyed

### Appendix D

#### Actions

1= Not at all likely

### 5=Very likely

Please indicate how likely you would be to do the following actions.

- 1. I would do the same thing that Pat did.
- 2. I would report Pat to someone in authority.
- 3. I would do nothing.
- 4. I would confront Pat.
- 5. I would offer my co-worker support. (individually directed behaviors)
- 6. I would try to help my organization out. (organizationally directed behaviors)

# Appendix E

# Manipulation Check

Please rate how much you like Terry/Chris/the organization in the scenario above
1-not at all
5-very much
Please rate how wrong Pat's behavior was.
1-not at all
5-very much
Please indicate who was impacted by Pat's behavior.
The organization
Terry
Chris