

Breaking the Silence: The Moderating Effects of Self-Monitoring in Predicting Speaking Up in the Workplace*

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ABSTRACT Whereas both management scholars and practitioners emphasize the importance of employee input for improving workplace practices, research suggests that many employees are hesitant to express their opinions or voice their views because doing so might lead to retaliation. Consequently, they remain silent rather than speak up about workplace happenings, actions or ideas of others, needed changes, and other job-related issues. Drawing on various literatures, we developed and tested a conceptual scheme for examining the influence of self-monitoring on the relationships between two individual (locus of control and self-esteem) and two contextual (top-management openness and trust in supervisor) factors and speaking up. Data from 118 telecommunications employees and their coworkers provided supporting evidence. As predicted, low self-monitors, in comparison to high self-monitors, spoke up more often as internal locus of control, self-esteem, top-management openness, and trust in supervisor increased. The theoretical and practical implications of our results are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Employees have increasingly become recognized as an invaluable source of ideas for 'doing things better' (Harrington, 2001). Accordingly, informed organizations have enacted numerous programmes designed to involve employees in discussions relating to improving workplace practices. Nonetheless, despite assurances to the contrary, many employees believe that participating in such discussions or 'speaking up' is a risky proposition (Ryan and Oestreich, 1998). Believing that if they do express their views they may face retaliation, these employees often choose to remain silent rather than share their ideas or opinions about workplace happen-

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ings, the actions or ideas of others, needed changes, and other job-related issues (Morrison and Milliken, 2000).

Given the significance attached to employee input, but yet the reluctance of many employees to speak up, the objective of the present study was to investigate the influence of self-monitoring on the relationships between various individual and contextual factors and speaking up in the workplace. By identifying antecedents that influence employees' speaking up behaviour, and by understanding the process by which the decision about whether or not to do so is made, we may better comprehend a dilemma that is seemingly pervasive in organizations. Further, increased knowledge about speaking up may enable organizations to develop better mechanisms for encouraging greater employee input.

SPEAKING UP DIFFERENTIATED

The management literature includes several constructs that focus on breaching what has become known as the 'wall of silence' in organizations, within which employees are reluctant to express their views. In the current context, we simply define *speaking up* as openly stating one's views or opinions about workplace matters, including the actions or ideas of others, suggested or needed changes, and alternative approaches or different lines of reasoning for addressing job-related issues. As defined, speaking up is both related to and yet conceptually distinct from other forms of workplace expression. It differs from principled organizational dissent (Graham, 1986), employee voice (Hirschman, 1970), whistle blowing (Miceli and Near, 1985), issue selling (Ashford et al., 1998), taking charge (Morrison and Phelps, 1999), and upward influence attempts (Waldron, 1999). Whereas principled organizational dissent, employee voice, whistle blowing, issue selling, and upward influence attempts are driven by dissatisfaction, perceived violations of personal principles, or attempts to focus an organization's attention on strategic issues, speaking up evolves from a desire to improve an organization by suggesting different approaches or different lines of reasoning across all kinds of issues despite feelings related to general work satisfaction. Speaking up and taking charge differ in that taking charge encompasses both employee expression and actual changes in work procedures, whereas speaking up focuses exclusively on employee expression.

As originally conceived, voice referred to 'any attempt at all to change, rather than to escape from, an objectionable state of affairs' (Hirschman, 1970, p. 30). To date, however, voice has been used in the management literature to include everything from grievance filing and union participation to complaining and external protest. Whereas our use of speaking up is easily distinguishable from Hirschman's (1970) original conceptualization of voice as a manifestation of dissatisfaction, it does somewhat parallel Van Dyne et al.'s (1995) characterization of voice behaviour as that intended to prompt procedural, administrative, and orga-

nizational improvements rather than merely criticizing the status quo. In contrast, speaking up (as defined here) is a broader notion, including not only the voicing of suggested or needed improvements, but also openly stating views or opinions about the actions or ideas of others, as well as alternative approaches or different lines of reasoning for addressing job-related issues.

These contrasting definitions highlight what we, and others (e.g., Avery and Quiñones, 2002), have noted; there is no universally accepted definition of voice in the management literature. The definition and, thus, understanding of voice have varied widely over the past 30-plus years. Consequently, to avoid confusion between various contemporary usages and Hirschman's original conceptualization, as well as any terminological misunderstanding related to our central focus and findings, we have elected to use the descriptive term *speaking up*, as defined above, in our discussion. In doing so, our intent is to be clear in our specific use and operationalization of the term.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In conceptualizing speaking up and identifying its nomological network, no one theory seemed to adequately specify its relevant antecedents and the process inherent in an employee's decision to speak up. We have thus drawn on the literatures of several related constructs to explain the processes that workers go through in deciding to engage in a specific behaviour. A review of prior theoretical and empirical work, thus provided a basis for our thinking. This review led us to conclude that, when considered in combination with various individual and contextual factors, differences in *self-monitoring* – that is, the extent to which people monitor the appearances of self that they display in public settings and interpersonal relationships – could be a meaningful predictor of speaking up behaviour. We believed this to be true for several reasons. First, there is continuing evidence that individuals differ in the extent to which they can and do cultivate and project public appearances across settings and interpersonal encounters (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). Given the risks that may accompany openly expressing one's views, such differences may play into an employee's decision to speak up. Second, we believe that the degree to which individuals regulate their expressive self-presentation for the sake of desired public appearances offers promise for leveraging our understanding of basic individual and interpersonal dynamics (including speaking up) common to workplace settings. Indeed, self-monitoring has been shown to predict one's position within a workplace social network, and both high and low self-monitors appear to actively participate in the construction of their social worlds at work (Mehra et al., 2001). Third, there has been a growing interest among organizational scholars in the role that self-monitoring plays in shaping employee behaviour (e.g., Day et al., 2002). For instance, research has shown that high self-monitors (relative to low self-monitors) are more likely to emerge as leaders. To

the extent that giving voice to one's emotions has likewise been associated with leadership status (Tiedens, 2001), individual differences in self-monitoring may also be a predictor of speaking up. Finally, self-monitoring is an individual level variable that has been shown to have a pervasive influence on behavioural choices in both social interactions and interpersonal relationships. Empirical evidence from diverse sources suggests that self-monitoring links one's thoughts to one's actions, thus, offering the promise of helping to explain employees' self-regulatory practices (Snyder, 1979).

Our review revealed two other important points. First, discretionary behaviour, such as speaking up, is often preceded by deliberate and careful contemplation about the consequences of doing so (Morrison and Phelps, 1999). Therefore, for employees to offer their views, they must believe that doing so will not be too costly. In this regard, Withey and Cooper (1989) point out that both direct and indirect costs are associated with employee voice. We believe the same is true for speaking up. Direct costs are incurred, for example, through the time and energy expended in speaking one's mind. Examples of indirect costs include a possible diminished public image, potential retaliation by those with contrasting viewpoints, risk of spawning antagonistic relationships, and a wounded psyche if one's views are discounted or ignored.

A second important point that provided a basis for our thinking is that both individual and contextual factors are apt to impact the decision to speak up (Ashford et al., 1998; Morrison and Phelps, 1999). With regard to the former, numerous individual factors have been the focus of past research on discretionary behaviour. The two individual factors selected for investigation here (*viz.*, locus of control and self-esteem) are fundamental dimensions that underlie discretionary human interactions. Both occupy a central role in several theories and models of individual behaviour. Furthermore, each has been widely used to explain differences in a variety of work-related outcomes. Finally, various literatures suggest that both may be associated with speaking up. Regarding the contextual factors we chose to study, speaking up is undeniably a contextually embedded phenomenon. Thus, like Ashford et al. (1998), we believe that employees 'read the context for clues' for how speaking up will be received. We, however, also believe that differences in self-monitoring will interact with contextual considerations to influence an employee's decision to speak up. Previous research supports our selection of two variables to conceptualize context. Top-management openness (TMO) was selected because, as will be discussed below, the extent to which higher ups encourage employees to offer input and make suggestions is believed to be a major contributor to context favourability. As a second variable, trust in supervisor was chosen (as will be elaborated) because the risk assumed by engaging in speaking up is believed to be especially salient when the individual in whom one places one's trust is one's supervisor. An increased understanding of both top-management

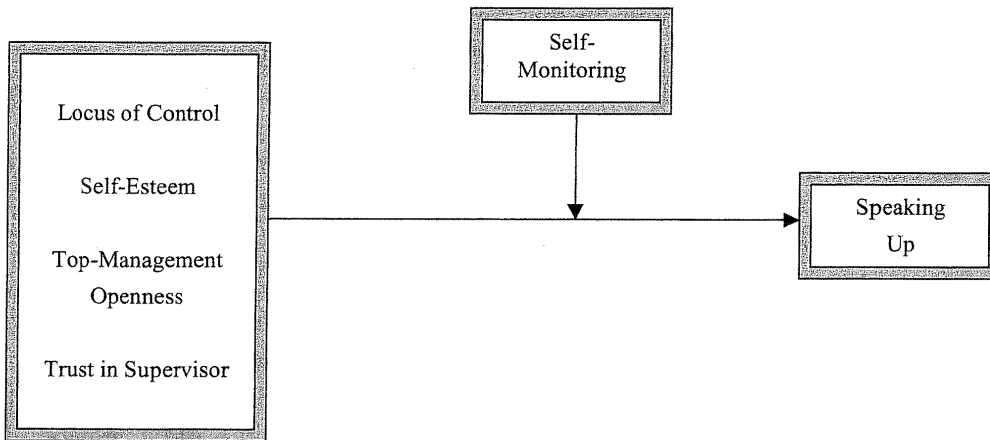


Figure 1. Conceptual scheme of speaking up

openness and trust in supervisor has potential practical application for enhancing individual lives and organizational effectiveness.

CONCEPTUAL SCHEME AND HYPOTHESES

Presented in Figure 1, our conceptual scheme thus proposes that self-monitoring interacts with two individual (viz., locus of control and self-esteem) and two contextual (viz., top-management openness and trust in supervisor) factors to influence speaking up. That is, the magnitude of these factors' influence (i.e., moderation) is believed to be dependent on the degree to which individuals monitor their expressive behaviour. The proposed scheme is not intended to test a fully specified model, but rather, to describe speaking up as a phenomenon, to examine some important predictors, and to explore the role of self-monitoring. Given this limited scope, we use the term 'conceptual scheme' rather than model in our discussion.

Self-Monitoring

Self-monitoring measures the extent to which people observe, regulate, and control the public appearances of self that they display in interpersonal relationships (Snyder, 1979). According to self-monitoring theory, individuals vary in their sensitivity to contextual cues, and in their ability to adapt their behaviour to the requirements of a situation. Prototypic *high self-monitors* (HSMs) are sensitive to contextual cues and are capable of deliberately modifying their behaviour for the sake of desired public appearances. They read the nature of a situation, invoke an image of the type of person the situation calls for, and then use the image as

a guide to their own behaviour. In this regard, HSMs tend to be very self-aware and play to their audience. The prototypical HSM has been described as 'someone who treats interactions with others as dramatic performances designed to gain attention, make impressions, and at times entertain' (Snyder, 1987, p. 178).

In contrast, the expressive behaviours of prototypic *low self-monitors* (LSMs) tend to reflect their own inner attitudes, emotions and dispositions. In particular, LSMs have no desire (or perhaps even ability) to project what they perceive to be a false image of themselves (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). This is not to say, however, that LSMs do not use contextual cues to guide their behaviour, but that they do so for a different reason. Rather than assessing situations for guidance in how to project a desired image, LSMs search for situations that permit the display of their authentic selves. They do this through the 'cognitive asking and behavioural answering of the question "Who am I and how can I be me in this situation?"' (Snyder, 1979, p. 103). Thus, rather than looking to contextual cues for guidance in how to behave, LSMs use knowledge of their own self-image to search for situations that allow them to be themselves.

Self-monitoring is thus expected to interact with the individual and contextual factors identified in our conceptual scheme. Based on the findings described above, HSMs are more likely to be concerned with how speaking up affects their public appearances and to express their thoughts in a manner deliberately designed to project an image intended to impress relevant others. LSMs, being less concerned with enhancing their own status in the eyes of others, are more likely to be concerned with how speaking up mirrors their true underlying values and to be less concerned with regulating their comments for the sake of desired public appearances (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). These motivational differences between LSMs and HSMs should reveal themselves in the direction and strength of the interactions of self-monitoring and each of the hypothesized predictors of speaking up. In this sense, individual and contextual factors that may be expected to positively influence the speaking up behaviour of LSMs may have the opposite effect on HSMs.

Individual Factors

Locus of control (LOC). Individuals with an internal LOC (dubbed Internals) believe that they exercise control over their own lives, whereas their counterparts (dubbed Externals) believe that their destinies are largely beyond their own control and are determined by fate, chance, or powerful others. An external LOC is believed related to passivity and learned helplessness, whereas an internal LOC is believed related to more proactive concepts such as planning, coping, persistence, and other problem-solving techniques (Rotter, 1992). Consistent with these suppositions, Internals have been shown to have higher self-efficacy (Phillips and Gully, 1997), to have greater upward influence (Schilit, 1986), and to perform better under

conditions of participation (Kren, 1992) than Externals. Internals have also been shown to see stronger relationships between what they do and what happens to them on the job (Mitchell et al., 1975).

Whereas prior research would seem to suggest that, relative to Externals, Internals are more apt to speak up because they believe they can influence their work environment, self-monitoring theory offers a more complex understanding of the relationship between locus of control and expressing one's views. To wit, research has indicated that for HSMs the need to maintain a favourable self-image will supercede personal attributes (Snyder, 1979). Hence, we predicted that even allowing for the tendency of Internals to be more likely to express their views, the strong need of HSMs to regulate their self-presentation (Gardner and Martinko, 1988) and their ability to present an inauthentic self (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000) would lead them to at least temper, if not actually withhold, their views for fear of possibly damaging their public image. Thus, we expected that HSMs with an external LOC would speak up more than HSMs with an internal LOC. In contrast, given their overriding need to remain true to their authentic selves (John et al., 1996), combined with the penchant for expressing their views as a means of exerting control, we anticipated that LSMs with an internal LOC would speak up more than LSMs with an external LOC. Thus, in the workplace:

Hypothesis 1: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between internal locus of control and speaking up such that the relationship between internal locus of control and speaking up will be positive for LSMs and negative for HSMs.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem, 'the favourability of an individual's self-evaluation' (Watson et al., 2002, p. 185), is an important predictor of attitudes and behaviour both on and off the job. LePine and Van Dyne (1998) found that self-esteem had a significant and positive influence on individuals' expressive behaviour, as well as that self-esteem interacted with contextual factors such that individuals with low levels of self-esteem were more responsive to contextual stimuli fostering voice. Self-esteem has also been positively linked to coping with organizational change (Judge et al., 1999), and to having a bearing on the interpersonal influence strategies individuals choose to employ (Benson and Hornsby, 1988).

Self-esteem measures capture not only beliefs about the self, but also patterns and styles of self-presentation (Baumeister et al., 1989). Individuals with low levels of self-esteem are oriented toward self-protection and, thus, are unlikely to put themselves in positions of vulnerability. Although speaking up, if successful, exposes one to the chance of enhancing one's status, it also presents the risk of losing face if one fails. Therefore, in contrast to individuals with high self-esteem, those with low self-esteem are more likely to avoid the self-presentational risks associated with speaking up and, consequently, are less likely to do so.

Whereas the preceding logic suggests a direct effect, we anticipated that the relationship between one's self-esteem and speaking up would be moderated by one's self-monitoring orientation. Following a core proposition of self-monitoring theory, for HSMs, whose behaviour is especially susceptible to contextual cues, we expected speaking up to be more frequent when self-esteem is low than high. Individuals with low levels of self-esteem strive to gain the approval of others, leading them to engage in self-presentation strategies (Brockner, 1988). One self-presentation strategy that individuals with low self-esteem use is to voice agreement with the views of significant others. This strategy would be reinforced by a high self-monitoring orientation, as HSMs are more susceptible to pressure from others (Mehra et al., 2001), as well as more likely to make decisions similar to those with whom they interact socially (Kilduff, 1992). It is logical, therefore, to expect HSMs with low self-esteem to seek social approval by voicing beliefs (i.e., speaking up) to match those of relevant others. For HSMs with high self-esteem, however, their need for social approval would be expected to be lower, leading to less speaking up behaviour.

In contrast, for LSMs, whose behaviour is guided by inner or dispositional influences, we expected speaking up to be more frequent when self-esteem is high rather than low (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). The rationale behind this expectation is based on the argument that LSMs, in comparison to HSMs, should be more consistent in behaving in accordance with their attitudes because they are more aware of their inner thoughts and feelings and their attitudes' action implications (Jawahar, 2001). By comparison, being more easily deflected by contextual cues, HSMs should rely more on the behaviour and attitudes of relevant others in determining how to enhance their self-image. Therefore, in the workplace:

Hypothesis 2: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between self-esteem and speaking up such that the relationship between self-esteem and speaking up will be positive for LSMs and negative for HSMs.

Contextual Factors

Top-management openness (TMO). One contextual cue that employees attend to in deciding whether to express their views is TMO. As defined here, TMO is the degree to which top management is believed to encourage employees to offer input and make suggestions. Ashford and her colleagues (1998) have argued that if employees believe that top management will react positively to their proactive attempts to enhance the workplace, or at least not react negatively, they will perceive a greater chance of success and will view their actions as less risky. Their assertion is supported by the work of Morrison and Phelps (1999) that found TMO to be positively related to taking charge, and by that of Scott and Bruce (1994)

that showed TMO to be positively related to employees engaging in innovative behaviour. Furthermore, Schilit and Locke (1982) reported that subordinates most often blamed their failed upward influence attempts on the closed-mindedness of their superiors.

We suggest, however, that the degree to which top management is believed to encourage employees to offer input and make suggestions may have a differing effect depending on an employee's self-monitoring orientation. Given that LSMs (relative to HSMs) seek out situations that permit them to be true to their inner attitudes, emotions, and dispositions, they are likely to view a top management that expresses an interest in their ideas and suggestions as an invitation to speak up about job-related issues. Conversely, they are likely to keep their opinions to themselves when they believe that top managers are uninterested in hearing them. As Snyder (1987) has noted, although the behaviour of LSMs generally reflects their authentic feelings, they are not amotivational. Briefly stated, in situations they judge to be 'lost causes', they are reasonable enough to see little value in 'falling on their own swords' for no good purpose. In such circumstances, they are more likely to 'bite their tongues' and either psychologically or physically disengage.

HSMs, on the other hand, are predisposed to actively fashioning information to be more in line with what they deem higher ups wish to hear (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). This contrast highlights the fact that, as suggested, if LSMs feel that they cannot express what they perceive to be the truth, they are apt to say nothing at all, whereas HSMs will frame circumstances in line with what they think will offer the greatest advantage to their public image. In this regard, HSMs have been shown, for instance, to be especially adept at using cues from relevant others as guidelines for crafting their verbal (and nonverbal) self-presentations for the purpose of engaging in information manipulation (Fandt and Ferris, 1990). Further, they have been shown to be better than LSMs at feigning emotional displays, and at rationalizing their presentation of information, being willing to tailor expressive behaviour to match social pressures (Caldwell and O'Reilly, 1982).

Just the same, HSMs have been shown to engage in extra-role behaviours, such as speaking up, only when doing so enhances their public image as viewed by their supervisors (Caligiuri and Day, 2000). To the extent that HSMs have been shown to use contextual cues as guidelines for regulating and controlling their verbal self-presentation (Snyder, 1979), they ask the following: 'How will speaking up in this situation enhance my image in the eyes of top management?' By contrast, LSMs ask this: 'Is top management truly interested in hearing my honest opinion?' The interpersonal world of the HSM, relative to the LSM, is characterized by a striving to create appearances that enhance their own entitlements. A behaviour that is viewed by HSMs as mundane is unlikely to further their desire to be seen as unique and, thus, less likely to provide an opportunity to cultivate a public image

that entitles favourable treatment (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). Thus, whereas LSMs would be expected to embrace behaviours conducive to display of their true underlying values, HSMs would be more likely to eschew actions that do not allow for projecting images designed to enhance their own unique status in the eyes of others. Indeed, because of their desire to be seen as unique, HSMs (relative to LSMs) have been shown to actively strive to be dissimilar in their behaviour, as compared to others within a group (Snyder and Monson, 1975). This suggests, that to the extent voicing one's views is a commonplace behaviour, HSMs may perceive little benefit in speaking up as a mechanism for cultivating a unique public image that enhances their own entitlements (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). As a consequent, HSMs would be expected to prefer other means for gaining the public spotlight and, thus, constructing a unique public self. The concern with appearances of HSMs is so strong that they have been shown to be willing to even engage in deception to enhance their status. By contrast, true-to-themselves LSMs have been repeatedly shown to be less concerned with enhancing their own status in the eyes of others and to be more concerned with protecting their true underlying values. As Gangestad and Snyder (2000) note, these differences in concern for projecting a public image and their manifestations 'permeate the very fabric of individuals' lives, affecting friendship worlds, their romantic lives, their interactions with the consumer marketplace, and their work worlds' (p. 533).

The notion that HSMs are apt to speak up less when it is seen as a commonplace behaviour and engage in other activities for establishing their uniqueness finds support in Arkin's (1981) theory of self-presentation. Arkin proposes that there exists an acquisitive self-presentation style that derives from an individual's concern for enhancing 'undefined favoured treatment in unknown future circumstances' (p. 313). The emphasis of acquisitive self-presenters is to 'get ahead' by searching out roles that enhance their status and, thereby, bolster their claims to entitlements (Wolfe et al., 1986). As noted by Gangestad and Snyder (2000), the notion of acquisitive self-presentation captures the self-serving nature of image cultivation characteristic of HSMs, especially as it relates to effective negotiations within hierarchical social structures. Indeed, calling for new theoretical perspectives, Gangestad and Snyder suggest that future research should explore how HSMs interact with their 'bosses' to 'enhance their own entitlements by using techniques very different from those most effective with persons with whom they have no formally defined status relationship' (p. 547).

Drawing on Arkin's theory of protective self-presentation and the conceptual roots of self-monitoring theory, according to which individuals differ meaningfully in their concern for public appearances and the management of social images, it therefore seems reasonable to expect speaking up to increase among LSMs as top management openness increases. Alternatively, it is possible that among HSMs speaking up will decrease as top management openness increases and, hence, becomes more commonplace. Thus, in the workplace:

Hypothesis 3: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between top-management openness and speaking up such that the relationship between top-management openness and speaking up will be positive for LSMs and negative for HSMs.

Trust in supervisor. Trust is defined as a state 'involving confident positive expectations about another's motive with respect to oneself in situations entailing risk' (Boon and Holmes, 1991, p. 194). As an important contextual factor in workplace behaviour, trust has been shown to manifest itself in workplace attitudes and actions (Brockner et al., 1997). Although trust is important in many work relationships (see, e.g., McAllister, 1995), the risks assumed by engaging in trusting behaviour may be especially salient when the individual in whom one places one's trust is one's supervisor. Due to the power that supervisors hold over employee outcomes, and due to the proximal nature of the supervisor-subordinate relationship (Pierce et al., 1984), trust in one's supervisor may play an especially important role in an employee's decision to speak up.

One's self-monitoring orientation, however, will likely moderate the relationship between trust in supervisor and speaking up. In instances where trust in one's supervisor is high, a low self-monitoring orientation should serve to even further increase the likelihood of speaking up. Because LSMs prefer situations that allow them the freedom to be themselves (Snyder and Gangestad, 1982), they are especially responsive to the trustworthiness of parties in their interpersonal interactions. HSMs, on the other hand, as noted, tend to behave more opportunistically, being willing to play to their audience so as to enhance their own entitlements. Given that they are more willing to engage in deception, it is reasonable to expect that they are also more likely to be less trusting than LSMs. Therefore, they are less likely to be influenced by consequences stemming from trust and to display lower levels of interpersonal commitment and less stable social bonds (Snyder and Gangestad, 1982). Moreover, as noted in connection with top-management openness, to the extent speaking up is a common behaviour and less a means for cultivating a unique public image, HSMs may actually speak up less as trust in one's supervisor increases and the open expression of one's views becomes the norm rather than a means for establishing a unique public image that enhances one's entitlements. These differences in orientation can be expected to influence daily interactions not only with one's supervisor, but also with one's co-workers (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). Recognizing these differences, whereas we expected the relationship between trust in supervisor and speaking up to be positive for LSMs, we predicted it would be negative for HSMs. Thus, in the workplace:

Hypothesis 4: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between trust in supervisor and speaking up such that the relationship between trust in supervisor and speaking up will be positive for LSMs and negative for HSMs.

METHOD

Participants and Data-Collection Procedures

The focal sample for this study consisted of 291 employees of a telecommunications company located in the southern United States. The company was believed to be especially appropriate for our study's stated purpose. Like many others in the telecommunications industry, it had (at the time) experienced phenomenal growth over the prior decade. Given the dynamic nature of both its internal and external environments, speaking up (especially as it involved sharing ideas or opinions about job-related issues) was highly prized. Nonetheless, as noted by the company's human-resource manager, certain efforts to solicit employee input had not been uniformly accepted by all managers.

Data for hypothesis testing were gathered through surveys sent to company employees via interoffice mail. The dependent variable, speaking up, was assessed on a separate instrument sent to participants' coworkers. Participants were assured confidentiality and were informed that their responses would be used for research purposes only. Surveys were returned via US mail in postage-paid reply envelopes.

The employee survey assessed the predictor variables and requested demographic information pertaining to respondents' gender, age, race, job title, education, and tenure with the organization, in their current job, and with their present supervisor. The final section of the employee survey asked respondents to provide the names, phone numbers, and departments of up to three coworkers with whom they worked closely and who they thought might be willing to independently complete a short survey and return it directly to the first author. Participants were told that they could list as coworkers their supervisors, peers, or subordinates – anyone who worked closely with them and was familiar with their work.

The survey sent to the identified coworkers asked them to assess the relevant employee's speaking up behaviour. Assessing the dependent variable through coworker surveys avoids common-method variance and limits social desirability responding that may distort self-reports of speaking up. In addition to the speaking up measure, coworkers were asked for the same demographic information as the study's focal employees, to indicate their hierarchical position relative to the focal employee, how frequently they interact with the focal employee, and how long they have been acquainted. Coworker surveys were distributed and collected using the same procedure as that for employee surveys.

Exactly 169 of the employee surveys were returned for a response rate of 58 per cent. Of those, 25 failed to provide coworker names, reducing the useable responses to 144. A total of 422 coworker surveys were distributed for these 144 participants. Exactly 209 of the coworker surveys (49.5 per cent) were returned for 118 participants, representing 81.9 per cent of the employee participants returning the initial surveys and 40.5 per cent of the original sample. Of these 118, 53 participants were rated by a single coworker, 39 were rated by two work-

ers, and 26 were rated by three coworkers. Of the coworkers returning surveys: 15 per cent were supervisors, 73 per cent were peers, and 12 per cent described their relationship as 'other'. Approximately 61.5 per cent of the responding coworkers indicated that they saw the employee participants they were asked to rate several times a day, and 71.3 per cent that they had known one another for over one year.

The final sample was predominantly female (86.4 per cent) and Caucasian (80.5 per cent) with an average age of 31.16 years ($SD = 10.79$). Average tenure with the present organization was 2.45 years ($SD = 2.58$), and average tenure in the present job was 2.22 years ($SD = 2.92$). The sample was fairly well educated with 19.5 per cent having completed high school, 45.8 per cent having completed some college, 25.4 per cent with a college degree, 5.1 per cent having done some graduate work, and 1.7 per cent with master's degrees.

Dependent Variable: Speaking Up Measure Development

A three-phase process was followed in developing a speaking up measure. In the initial phase, items were generated to represent the full range of the speaking up domain. Fourteen knowledgeable judges, acting alone, served as a review panel to assess the items for clarity and meaningfulness. A total of eight items were retained on the basis of being assessed by all 14 judges to best reflect the target domain.

In Phase 2, the eight surviving items were pilot tested with a sample of 60 executive masters of business administration students, all of whom were employed full-time. The students were provided with the following instructions: 'Please read over the following statements and indicate the degree to which each statement characterizes a person with whom you work or have worked closely.' Responses were on a five-point continuum (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Respondents were then asked to comment on the clarity and applicability of the items and to suggest additional items. Based on respondent feedback, six additional items were generated.

In Phase 3, the six additional items, together with the original eight items, were administered to 107 upper-level undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in advanced management courses, following the same procedure as employed in Phase 2. All respondents were prescreened to assure prior or current working experience. The pool of 14 items was then examined with principal axis factor analysis, using communalities in the primary diagonal and a varimax rotation. Two factors were extracted having eigenvalues greater than one. (An oblique rotation performed on the data yielded similar results.) With individual factors being identified by those items loading $\geq |0.30|$ on a single factor, eight items were removed from further analysis due to cross-loadings. Factor 1 loaded on four items characterized by the judges as Speaking Up. Two items with negative loadings defined

Table I. Factor loadings, means, and standard deviations for six item speaking up measure

<i>Item</i>	<i>Factor loadings</i>	<i>Item M</i>	<i>Item SD</i>
1. Speaks up when workplace happenings conflict with his/her sense of what is appropriate	79	4.04	0.95
2. Stands up to the actions or ideas of others when warranted	79	3.79	1.04
3. Can be counted on to say things that need to be said	80	3.86	1.02
4. Is careful not to express ideas that may be contrary to what others believe ^a	68	3.89	0.98
5. Speaks up if he/she feels a plan or idea won't work	77	4.03	0.86
6. Remains quiet rather than say what's on his/her mind in discussion of controversial issues ^a	54	3.87	1.12
Eigenvalue	3.25		
% item variance explained	54.19		
Coefficient α	0.82		

Notes

$n = 107$. Decimals omitted for factor loadings. ^aReverse scored.

Factor 2. The observation that both items loading on Factor 2 had negative loadings, whereas Factor 1 had no loadings similar in sign, raised concern that the separation of factors resulted from an artifact of measurement. To further explore this possibility, the items identified as comprising Factors 1 and 2 were subjected to a second factor analysis. Results of the second factor analysis of the six remaining items are presented in Table I and indicated that all items loaded on a single factor (eigenvalue = 3.25) that accounted for over 54 per cent of the variance. The mean factor loading for the six items was 0.73, demonstrating their homogeneity. A mean inter-item correlation of 0.40 supported the presence of a unidimensional construct. Examination of the item frequency distributions and item standard deviations (see Table II) revealed that restriction of range was not a concern. The alpha coefficient was 0.82.

In our main study, the alpha coefficient for the six items was 0.81. An item analysis, however, led to closer scrutiny of Item 4. Although Item 4 is reverse-coded, many respondents did not treat it as such. A subsequent exploratory factor analysis revealed a two- rather than one-factor solution. The second factor consisted solely of Item 4, thus, this item was excluded from further data analysis. Upon removal of this item, the coefficient alpha increased from 0.81 to 0.87.

Speaking up was computed for each subject in our main study by averaging coworkers' responses to the remaining five speaking up items. We computed an intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) to verify that it was appropriate to create an average rating for the 65 focal employees for whom we had multiple speaking up ratings. ICC computations yielded a moderate and significant level of agree-

Table II. Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and intercorrelations for all study variables

Variables	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Dependent variable</i>										
1. Speaking up	118	19.49	3.63	(.87)						
<i>Independent variables</i>										
2. LOC	168	23.65	2.94	0.05	(.65)					
3. Self-esteem	167	42.29	4.70	-0.02	0.43	(.84)				
4. TMO	168	20.72	5.08	-0.04	0.31	0.08	(.91)			
5. Trust in supervisor	168	23.10	5.28	-0.10	0.37	0.10	0.44	(.84)		
<i>Moderator variable</i>										
6. Self-monitoring	168	47.13	6.38	0.02	0.25	0.31	0.00	0.10	(.83)	
<i>Control variable</i>										
7. SDR	167	44.74	6.47	0.02	0.13	0.33	0.12	0.20	0.08	(.75)

Notes

For *r* at and above |0.16|, $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed). Coefficient alpha reliability estimates are in parentheses. Decimals are omitted from reliability coefficients.

LOC = Locus of Control. TMO = Top-Management Openness. SDR = Social Desirability Responding.

ment ($ICC = 0.50$, $p < 0.05$), indicating that it was appropriate to average the coworker ratings.

Predictor Variables

Locus of control. The extent to which individuals believe they exercise control over their lives, was measured with the six items that form the internality dimension of Levenson's (1974) Locus of Control Scale. Sample items include: 'When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it'; 'I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life', with agreement indicative of an internal locus of control.

Self-esteem. The extent to which individuals make favourable self-evaluations was assessed with Rosenberg's (1965) ten-item self-esteem measure. Sample items include: 'On the whole, I am satisfied with myself'. 'I feel that I have a number of good qualities'.

Self-monitoring. Self-monitoring was instantiated with the 13-item Revised Self-Monitoring Scale (Lennox and Wolfe, 1984). Sample items include: 'In social situations, I have the ability to alter my behaviour if I feel that something else is called for'; 'I have the ability to control the way I come across to people, depending on the impression I wish to give them'; 'In conversations, I am sensitive to even the slightest change in the facial expression of the person I'm conversing with'.

Top-management openness. TMO was assessed with a six-item measure developed by Ashford and colleagues (1998). Sample items include: 'Upper management is interested in ideas and suggestions from people at my level in the organization'; 'I feel free to make recommendations to upper management to change existing practices'.

Trust in supervisor. Trust in supervisor was gauged with a six-item measure. Items were selected/adapted from various sources. Sample items include: 'I can usually trust my supervisor to do what is good for me'; 'When my supervisor says something, you can really believe that it is true'; 'My supervisor will take advantage of you if you give him/her a chance' (reverse scored).

Social desirability responding. Social desirability responding is widely recognized as a possible threat to the validity of research employing multi-item measures. Thus, 13 items from the short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Ballard, 1992) were incorporated into the survey instrument. Sample items include: 'I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way' (reverse scored); 'No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener'.

Cronbach's alpha was computed on each measure and all measures were anchored by a five-point response continuum ranging from strongly agree (= 5) to strongly disagree (= 1) and summed. All measures were coded so that a high score indicates a positive level of agreement.

ANALYSES AND RESULTS

To confirm the value of using all five predictors (including self-monitoring) in our analyses, we took two steps prior to testing our hypotheses. First, we examined the strength of the linear relationships among the predictor variables. Tolerance statistics for the predictors placed in a complete equation with speaking up as the dependent variable and social desirability as a covariate ranged from 0.67 for LOC to 0.84 for self-monitoring, with $M = 0.76$ and $SD = 0.07$, indicating that multicollinearity among the predictors was not a concern (Norusis, 1997). Second, an exploratory factor analysis was performed to obtain evidence for discriminant validity of the measures. Discriminant validity was verified by summing items and performing a principal axis factor analysis with a varimax rotation on the summed LOC, self-esteem, self-monitoring, TMO, and trust in supervisor measures. As anticipated, the two-factor solution revealed that the measures loaded on separate individual (LOC, self-esteem, self-monitoring) and contextual (TMO, trust in supervisor) factors.

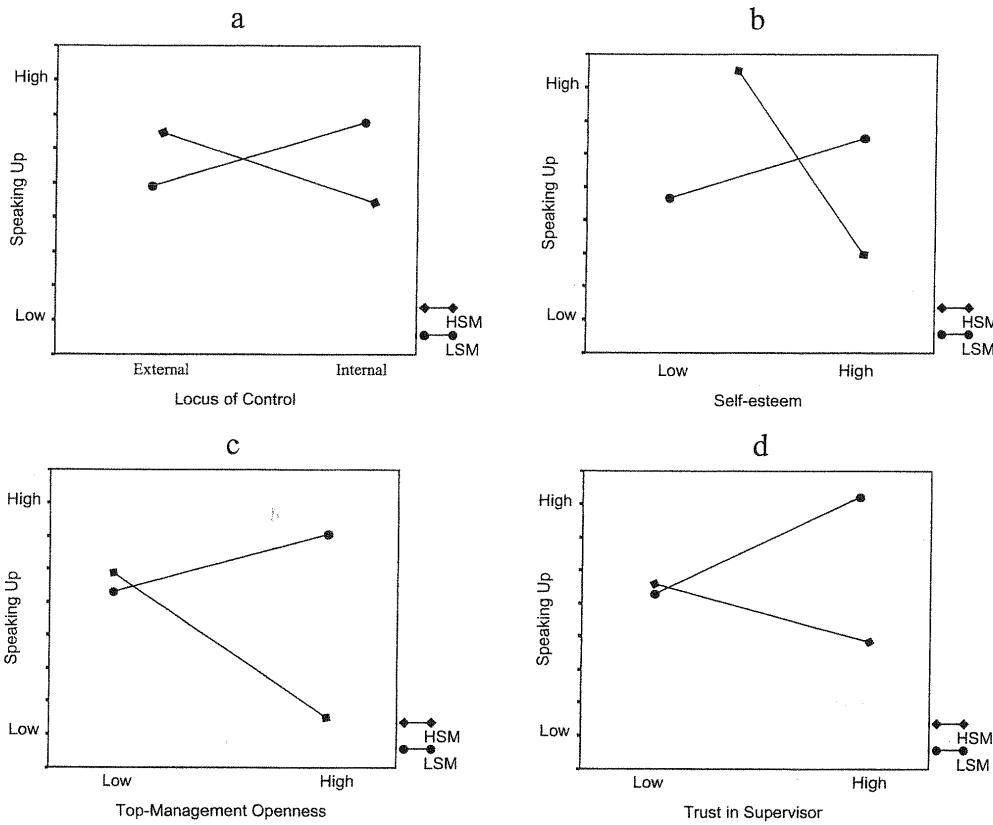
Table II presents the means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and intercorrelations for all study variables. Correlations with SDR ranged from ± 0.02 to ± 0.33 , indicating that the data are not substantially contaminated by efforts of employee

participants to present themselves in a favourable way. The internal consistency (Cronbach's α) for speaking up was acceptable (0.87) and generally adequate for most of the predictor variables (ranging from 0.83 for self-monitoring to 0.91 for TMO). The one exception was LOC, with a borderline reliability of 0.65. This alpha, however, is within the customary range for the internality dimension of the Levenson measure (Presson et al., 1997). Because an initial set of regression analyses using SDR ($\alpha = 0.75$) as a covariate indicated no significant SDR effects, it was excluded from further analyses to maximize the power of our statistical tests.

Moderated multiple regression was used to test our hypotheses. Our interest in multiple antecedents, however, somewhat complicated our analysis of interactions. Although moderated regression using interaction terms is the proper analytical model, there is some choice in how many antecedent variables to examine in each regression analysis. This choice requires weighing a sacrifice of statistical power by putting all antecedents into a single analysis against tolerating some amount of Type I inflation error by executing separate models. The lower power alternative is to regress speaking up simultaneously on all four antecedents, self-monitoring, and all four interaction terms (each antecedent X speaking up). This omnibus test consumes 10 degrees of freedom. In contrast, an analysis that considers each antecedent separately along with self-monitoring will yield greater statistical power, but also more Type I error inflation. Whereas each of these regressions consumes only 4 degrees of freedom, with four antecedents, four different regressions must be computed. Given the impact of our limited sample size on the statistical power of our analysis, acknowledged methodological artifacts that reduce statistical power when using moderated regression, and the unavoidability of multicollinearity among interaction terms, all of which are factors that contribute to a diminished opportunity of detecting moderator effects that do exist, we chose to implement separate regressions.

Results of these regression analyses are given in Table III. The nature and direction of all interactions were examined graphically (Figure 2). Separate regression lines were computed and subsequently plotted based on a mean \pm 1 SD split for self-monitoring. That is, regression lines were plotted for the interactive relationships for individuals who scored high on self-monitoring and for those who scored low on self-monitoring.

Hypothesis 1 suggested that self-monitoring would moderate the relationship between locus of control and speaking up such that the relationship between locus of control and speaking up would be positive for LSMs and negative for HSMs. The interaction of LOC and self-monitoring is significant ($\beta = -2.12$, $p < 0.05$), supporting self-monitoring as a moderator of the LOC – speaking up relationship. Because the interaction is significant, it was plotted and interpreted (Figure 2a). A negative sloped regression line was plotted for internal HSMs; internal LSMs had a positive and more steeply sloped regression line. As Figure 2a shows, the strongest, positive relationship between LOC and speaking up occurred when



Notes
 HSM = High Self-Monitoring. LSM = Low Self-Monitoring.

Figure 2. Interaction of self-monitoring and predictor variables

self-monitoring was low. As LOC increased, so too did LSMs' likelihood of speaking up. In contrast, as LOC increased for HSMs, speaking up behaviour declined. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was supported.

Hypothesis 2 stated that self-monitoring would moderate the relationship between self-esteem and speaking up such that the relationship between self-esteem and speaking up would be positive for LSMs and negative for HSMs. As shown in Figure 2b, the interaction of self-esteem and self-monitoring is significant ($\beta = -2.81, p < 0.05$), thus, supporting Hypothesis 2. As before, a negative sloped regression line was plotted for HSMs, and a positive sloped regression line was plotted for LSMs. As self-esteem increased LSMs spoke up more often than HSMs, leading to the highest degree of speaking up when self-esteem was high and self-monitoring was low.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that self-monitoring would moderate the relationship between top-management openness and speaking up such that the relationship between top-management openness and speaking up would be positive for LSMs

and negative for HSMs. This hypothesis received support from the interaction of TMO ($\beta = -1.81$, $p < 0.05$) with self-monitoring. As shown in Figure 2c, for individuals high on self-monitoring there was a negative relationship between speaking up and TMO. In other words, those individuals who were high on self-monitoring, and who perceived top-management to be open to employee expression, were less likely to speak up than high self-monitors who did not perceive top-management to be open; the opposite was true for low self-monitors. Individuals who scored low on self-monitoring were more likely to speak up when they perceived top-management to be open, as indicated by the positive slope of the LSMs' regression line. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that self-monitoring would moderate the relationship between trust in supervisor and speaking up such that the relationship between trust in supervisor and speaking up would be positive for LSMs and negative for HSMs. As shown in Figure 2d, Hypothesis 4 received support from the interaction of trust in supervisor ($\beta = -2.04$, $p < 0.05$) with self-monitoring. The relationship between speaking up and trust in supervisor mimics the pattern of the relationship between speaking up and TMO, with those low on self-monitoring more likely to speak up as trust in supervisor increases. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 was also supported.

Although our results supported both Hypotheses 3 and 4, we were concerned about possible nonindependence in employee ratings of 'top-management openness' and 'trust in supervisor'. To obviate this concern, we inspected the histogram of residuals, the normal probability plot of residuals, and the scatter plot of residuals versus the predicted values for the regression models associated with each hypothesis. The absence of abnormalities reflective of a dependency effect suggested that the underlying regression models were appropriate and our tests of the associated hypotheses were not biased. In addition, we computed Durbin-Watson test statistics to determine if the adjacent residuals in either analysis were sequentially correlated. The d value for both regression models was 2.19, indicating no significant correlation between successive residuals (Norusis, 1997). These follow-up analyses bolster the support we found for Hypotheses 3 and 4.

DISCUSSION

Individual Factors

Our expectation that LOC would interact with self-monitoring to significantly influence speaking up was confirmed. The speaking up behavior of LSMs was accentuated by an increase in internality. As previously suggested, this may indicate a heightened willingness among LSMs to speak up to the extent to which they also believe that they exercise control over their lives. The opposite effect occurred for HSMs. As internality increased, speaking up decreased. Whereas the exact reason

for this negative relationship is speculative, HSM Internals, who tend to be proactive in their attempts to influence their environment, may simply prefer image-projecting activities other than speaking up. HSM Externals, on the other hand, may find it more prudent to simply echo whatever relevant others are saying rather than voicing a view that they believe would not matter anyway. This explanation is consistent with Externals' doubts about their ability to influence their work outcomes and is an important direction for future research.

Self-monitoring also interacted with self-esteem to significantly influence speaking up. As self-esteem increased, LSMs spoke up more often. This finding corresponds with the notion that because LSMs (relative to HSMs) are more aware of their inner realities (as opposed to contextual cues) and regard them as being more relevant guides to action, LSMs should show greater reliance on their own level of self-esteem as a guide to speaking up. This suggests that speaking up may be a complementary part of the high self-esteem, low self-monitoring individual's behavioural repertoire.

In contrast, as self-esteem increased, HSMs spoke up less often. It is possible that the tendency of HSMs to be more susceptible to pressure from relevant others, combined with the need for social approval characteristic of those with low self-esteem, may lead HSMs with low self-esteem to avoid negative evaluations by voicing beliefs to match those of relevant others and to do so more readily than HSMs with high self-esteem. Offering opinions consistent with others may be a means by which HSMs with low self-esteem attempt to win favour. By comparison, it is logical to expect that having more confidence in their own beliefs, HSMs with high self-esteem are less likely to use speaking up as a means for gaining social approval by conforming to the beliefs of others. Further research along these lines would make a particularly valuable contribution to our understanding of individual differences on speaking up.

Contextual Factors

Our study also suggests that, in combination with top-management openness, self-monitoring is likewise a meaningful predictor of speaking up. Whereas the relationship between top-management openness and speaking up was positive for LSMs, as predicted, it was negative for HSMs. This finding is consistent with the contention that LSMs are more likely to speak up when top management is seen as willing to listen to what they have to say and, in contrast, are likely to keep their opinions to themselves when they believe that higher ups are uninterested in hearing their true views. The inverse relationship between top-management openness and speaking up for HSMs supports the belief that, to the extent speaking up is a commonplace behaviour, HSMs may perceive little benefit in expressing their views, in that, doing so will not be seen by higher ups as unusual and, thereby, a means for cultivating a unique public image that enhances their own entitlements.

This interpretation aligns with Arkin's theory of protective self-presentation and the fundamental postulates of self-monitoring theory, according to which individuals differ in the extent to which they can and do engage in self-monitoring for the purpose of regulating their expressive self-presentation. Our results thereby respond to Gangestad and Snyder's (2000) call for the development of new theoretical perspectives relating to how HSMs interact with their 'bosses' in an effort to enhance their own entitlements. Empirical confirmation of the notion that HSMs actually engage in alternative means for gaining the public spotlight and, thus, constructing a unique public self in the eyes of top management awaits future research.

Finally, within in the confines of our sample, self-monitoring moderated the relationship between trust in supervisor and speaking up. As trust in one's supervisor increased, LSMs were more likely to speak up. This finding is in accord with the observation that LSMs prefer situations that allow them the freedom to be themselves (Snyder and Gangestad, 1982). Conversely, for HSMs, as trust in supervisor increased, speaking up behaviour declined. It has been suggested that given that HSMs are more willing to engage in deception and display lower levels of interpersonal commitment and less stable social bonds, they are also less trusting than LSMs and, thus, less likely to be influenced by consequences stemming from trust (Snyder and Gandestad, 1982). Further research is needed to systematically examine the conditions that explain the effects of the trust in one's supervisor X self-monitoring interaction on speaking up.

IMPLICATIONS

Theoretical Implications

Our results suggest several theoretical implications. Foremost, the empirical verification of speaking up as a concept makes a meaningful contribution to the literature on the human experience in organizations. Although deemed important in the popular press, speaking up has received limited scientific investigation. Our study takes a step toward addressing this gap by providing insight into the individual and contextual factors associated with employees expressing their views, as well as into the interactional effects of self-monitoring on speaking up behaviour. Except for recent research on supervisors' performance ratings of employees who make constructive suggestions to improve their work group (Van Dyne and LePine, 1998), no other results relating to speaking up at the individual level have been published.

Moreover, our study further validates self-monitoring as an important personal orientation that should continue to be incorporated into organizational behaviour research. To date, research on self-monitoring suggests that LSMs, unlike HSMs, may be particularly devoted to close social relationships in which they and their

partners exhibit mutual trust (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). The current findings substantiate this propensity for LSMs. Although much self-monitoring research has focused on the behaviour of HSMs, and their penchant for using contextual cues to guide behaviour, consistent with Snyder's (1987) conjectures, LSMs in this study also seemed to use contextual cues as a guide to behaviour, but toward a different end. LSMs appeared to speak up most often when in situations conducive to their true dispositions. HSMs, on the other hand, appeared to be more opportunistic in their behaviour.

The speaking up measure we developed and tested also makes a research contribution. We used a rigorous, multi-step process to develop our measure and took steps to assure a set of items with high face and construct validity. Subsequent empirical verification will attest to the usefulness of this measure for future investigations of speaking up. The use of coworker ratings to gauge employees' speaking up behaviour further serves to reinforce the methodological process we used, and provides an empirical precedent for the study of workplace expression through the eyes of coworkers. Colleagues who are well acquainted and work closely with an employee provide a unique perspective for assessing work-related behaviours.

Practical Implications

Our findings also have practical implications. One top-management consultant claims that many 'false' decisions (meaning those that eventually get undone by unspoken factors and inaction) result from 'silent lies'. According to Charan (2001), employees at all levels fail to engage in honest dialogue due to intimidation and lack of trust and, as a consequence, indecisiveness results. This observation further substantiates the prevalence of fear in employees' decisions to remain silent (Ryan and Oestreich, 1998) and the belief that without truth in organizations there can be no trust (Wetlaufer, 2001). Our findings can help top managers identify and address the personal and contextual factors that engender silence, rather than open, honest dialogue. Further, they imply that aside from individual dispositions, certain contextual factors influence employees' decisions to speak up, namely top-management openness and trust in one's supervisor.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The contributions of our study should be considered in light of its limitations. At the same time, these limitations, coupled with our findings, produce fertile ground for future research. The cross-sectional nature of our study is one limitation. Cross-sectional studies do not allow for a true test of causality or rule out the possibility of reverse causality. Future research should attempt to study how speaking up behaviours unfold over time. A longitudinal investigation into the decision to speak

up may also serve to uncover additional variables that impact employees' speaking up.

In the future, researchers may want to incorporate self-assessments of speaking up, in addition to coworker ratings, into their empirical investigations. Although self-assessments of speaking up would be subject to socially desirable responding and common-method variance, they would also allow researchers to assess the level of agreement between employee participants' and coworkers' ratings of this behaviour. Moreover, the use of self-assessments could be helpful in investigating a basic supposition underlying our conceptual scheme. That is, the belief that LSMs and HSMs are driven by different motives in speaking up. As noted, however, research does indicate that, in contrast to LSMs, HSMs are predisposed to actively fashioning information to be more in line with what they deem higher ups wish to hear, will craft their verbal (and nonverbal) self-presentations for the purpose of engaging in information manipulation, and are willing to tailor expressive behaviour to match social pressures.

Our study could further be limited by the sample used and its size. Although there is no reason to suspect that these results are specific to the sample studied, the generalizability of our findings would be verified by replication in different samples. For example, our sample was highly educated, with most participants having at least some college education, and included only one organization. Future studies may want to include workers of different educational levels and in different organizations and, perhaps, different industries. As noted, our sample size necessarily affected the nature of our analyses. Given our available statistical power, we elected to compute separate regressions for each of our hypothesized antecedents rather than a single omnibus test. The significance of our findings should be judged accordingly. Future studies employing larger samples and other analytical models will be required to substantiate our results.

Finally, researchers investigating employee expression should take care to avoid conceptual confusion by clearly specifying whether their focus is speaking up, voice, and so forth, so as to avoid confusion in interpreting research results. Future research should also more fully investigate the extent to which these different concepts occupy the same construct space. This will require clarifying the theoretical foundations of employee expression and addressing the vital question of construct coverage.

NOTE

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