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DISSERTATION

UNDERSTANDING WORKPLACE DEVIANCE: AN APPLICATION OF PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION THEORY

Submitted by

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Department of Psychology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Spring 2000

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

March 22, 2000

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY NATHAN JOHN LUTHER ENTITLED UNDERSTANDING WORKPLACE DEVIANCE: AN APPLICATION OF PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION THEORY BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

Committee on Graduate Work

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

UNDERSTANDING WORKPLACE DEVIANCE: AN APPLICATION OF PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION THEORY

As costs associated with workplace deviance continue to mount, research on the topic has become increasingly fragmented and atomistic, focusing on three narrow explanations for deviant acts at work. Personal characteristics, normative climates, and severed employee-organization linkages all have demonstrable relationships with workplace deviance. However, they have rarely been examined in combination. Primary socialization theory was imported from the adolescent deviance literature in order to unify the three predominant themes in workplace deviance research.

Employed college students (N = 268) in an introductory psychology course completed the Hogan Personality Inventory and survey materials regarding deviant work behavior, normative work climates, relations with co-workers, and bonds with their employing organization. Confirmatory factor analysis supported a three-factor structure for workplace deviance, comprised of property deviance (e.g., theft), production deviance (e.g., shirking), and substance use on the job.

Separate hierarchical linear regression models were examined for the three workplace deviance factors. Regression results supported, for the most part, the hypotheses suggested by primary socialization theory. Norms at the workgroup level were the dominant drivers of deviance in the workplace, while organizational norms were

indirectly linked to deviance through workgroup norms. Moreover, the effect of organizational norms on deviance was generally moderated by employee-organization linkages. Lastly, personal characteristics (i.e., integrity) affected deviance primarily through the network of norms and linkages.

The results suggest that primary socialization theory is a viable organizing structure for research on workplace deviance. Moreover, organizations should be aware of the complex interplay between personal characteristics, normative climates, and employee-organization linkages in designing interventions targeting workplace deviance.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to thank my adviser, Kevin R. Murphy, for his support, insight, and knowledge throughout my graduate career. Regarding the research process, I am deeply grateful to him for leaving me alone so I could get my work done. I also wish to thank George C. Thornton III for providing several unique opportunities and for serving as a model of integrity and professionalism. Also, I would like to thank Scott Hamilton for his support and friendship during the bleak early days. Lastly, thanks to Paul Toth. This is for both of us.

A debt of gratitude to my research assistants, Chris (Dr. Know) Ricles and Brandon Beard, for performing a thankless job with enthusiasm. Even more gratitude to Joanne Moran and Sue Squier for enduring my bureaucratic incompetence, endless pleas for assistance, and irascible nature with humor, empathy, and sweets. Thanks for looking out for me: I would not have finished without you.

My deepest thanks and warmest hugs are offered to my family. Thank you mom and dad for providing emotional support and guidance during this test of endurance and patience, and for serving as constant reminders of the value of education. And to my sister, Jill, thank you for the comic relief. I love you all so much.

Lastly, but most importantly, I offer my most heartfelt gratitude to my colleague, my closest friend, my partner-in-crime, and my confidant. I could not (and probably would not) have endured this trial without your support, your encouragement, your laughter, and your heart. You are, in a word, precious. Thank you.

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Chapter I

Understanding workplace deviance: An application of primary socialization theory

Workplace deviance is a potentially costly problem for all organizations. While most employees spend their worktime in ways which benefit the organization, a substantial portion are involved in behaviors which are disruptive or damaging to the organization, including theft, absenteeism, production slow-downs, sabotage, and substance use (Hollinger & Clark, 1983b; Lewicki, Poland, Minton, & Sheppard, 1997; Murphy, 1993). The cost of workplace deviance in terms of dollars and hours lost is virtually incalculable. However cost estimates of only one form of deviant work behavior, employee theft, range from four billion to 200 billion dollars annually (Murphy, 1993), underscoring the extent of the problem.

Historically there have been two approaches to explaining workplace deviance. The person-centered approach has focused on personal attributes which lead to (or prevent) deviant behavior, such as integrity (Jones, 1981; Murphy & Luther, 1997) or conscientiousness (Hogan & Ones, 1997). On the other hand, situational approaches suggest that deviant work behavior results from environmental factors, such as normative forces (Altheide, Adler, Adler, & Althiede, 1978; Greenberg, 1997; Kemper, 1966; Mars, 1994), or the breakdown of bonds between the individual and the organization (Greenberg, 1990; Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1979; Szwajkowski, 1989). The research

on both person-centered and situational approaches has yielded many important findings regarding workplace deviance. However neither approach has attempted to integrate the other's contributions and, as a result, neither approach adequately explains workplace deviance.

The field of psychology has moved toward an interactionist approach which seeks to integrate person-based and situational determinants of behavior under unified theoretical structures (Murtha, Kanfer, & Ackerman, 1996; Newcomb & Bentler; 1988; Sackett, 1985; Scarr, 1996; Schneider, 1983). The interactionist approach has rarely been applied empirically to workplace deviance; However, at least conceptually is has been conceded that, "...employee deviance is dependent on the characteristics of the worker employed, the normative integration of their work group, and perceived levels of employer unfairness" (Hollinger, Slora, & Terris, 1992; p. 156). Primary socialization theory (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998; Oetting, Deffenbacher, & Donnermeyer, 1998), which has been developed in the literature on adolescent substance use, provides a framework for integrating person-based and situational explanations of workplace deviance.

Workplace Deviance

Despite decades of research on various forms of deviant behavior in work situations, only recently has the broad construct of workplace deviance been indentified and investigated (Bennett & Robinson, 1996). Early sociological and anthropological studies of workplace deviance focused on narrow forms of deviant behavior such as embezzlement (Cressy, 1953), "goldbricking" and "rate-busting" (Collins, Dalton, & Roy, 1946; Roy, 1952, 1954; Sherif & Sherif, 1969), police corruption (Stoddard, 1968), theft

within specific occupations (Hawkins, 1984; Horning, 1970; Mars, 1973, 1974), and even the role of deviance in streamlining work processes (Bensman & Gerver, 1963). These studies offered rich, detailed insight into their subject matter but suffered from limited scope.

Research on specific deviant work behaviors continues (e.g., Greenberg, 1990, 1993; Markham & McKee, 1995; Normand, Salyards, & Mahoney, 1990). However, several researchers began combining different forms of deviance into composites, which resulted in more stable and reliable measures (Rushton, Brainerd, & Pressley, 1983). This research indicated that formerly conceptually distinct forms of workplace deviance were related and, when combined, formed a broad construct of workplace deviance or counterproductivity (Guinn, 1983; Mangione & Quinn, 1975).

The workplace deviance construct was further refined by Hollinger and Clark (1982a, 1982b, 1983b) in an enormous study of retail, manufacturing, and health care industries. Hollinger and Clark identified and studied two related forms of workplace deviance -- property deviance and production deviance -- which combined many previously isolated, but conceptually similar, deviant work behaviors. A defining feature of Hollinger and Clark's two-factor model is that it is restricted to deviant work behaviors targeting the organization. Property deviance, which includes theft, pilferage, embezzlement, and sabotage, was defined as deviance "...directed against the property and assets of the work organization..." (Hollinger & Clark, 1982a; p. 97). Production deviance, on the other hand, captures behaviors which defy organizational norms and policies regarding work quantity and quality, including restricted output, tardiness, and extended rest breaks. Hollinger and Clark (1982b) found that property and production

deviance were moderately correlated across all three industries leading them to conclude that they were, "...theoretically related manifestations of the same phenomenon" (pp. 338-339). Further research confirmed disctinctions between property deviance and production deviance (Hollinger et al., 1992).

There have been recent attempts to further broaden the workplace deviance construct. Robinson and Bennett (1995) expanded the definition of workplace deviance to include behaviors directed at other individuals in the work situation as well as behaviors aimed at harming the organization. Robinson and Bennett's multi-dimensional scaling results suggested that two orthogonal dimensions underlie workplace deviance. The first dimension reflected whether the behavior was aimed at harming an individual or the organization. The second dimension represented the severity of the act. The two dimensions were crossed, creating a four category taxonomy of deviance. The organization-directed categories corroborated Hollinger and Clark's production and property deviance taxonomy. The interpersonal categories were labeled "political deviance" and "personal aggression."

There is clearly a meaningful and important distinction between interpersonal and organization-directed deviance. Robinson and Bennett (1995) suggest that, "...different variables may explain different types of workplace deviance. For example, organizational variables might be more likely to influence deviance directed at harming organizations, and individual variables may be more likely to explain interpersonal forms of deviance" (p. 567). Their research supports the notion that organizational and interpersonal deviance are, to a degree, best predicted by different variables (Bennett & Robinson, 1996). Moreover, the inclusion of interpersonal acts of aggression under the rubric of workplace

deviance creates construct confusion. For example, the connection between spreading rumors about a co-worker and stealing from the company is not immediately apparent. Therefore, the present study will focus on organization-directed deviance, defining workplace deviance as behavior that defies organizational policies, expectations, or norms regarding appropriate workplace behavior and is intended to damage the organization.

Person-based Explanations of Workplace Deviance

Person-based explanations of workplace deviance contend that people possess some enduring quality, usually a personality characteristic, that leads them to steal from their employer, sabotage work equipment or loaf on the job (Murphy, 1993). Furthermore, these characteristics may be assessed at the time of hiring in order to weed out potential liabilities (Paajanen, 1989). Several techniques have been used to identify likely workplace deviants including polygraph analysis, graphology (or handwriting analysis), and pre-employment drug testing (Murphy & Luther, 1997). However, the most widely-used and accepted means of predicting workplace deviance is personality testing. While person-based explanations for workplace deviance have been variously termed employee reliability (Hogan & Hogan, 1989), theft proneness (Ash, 1991) and socialization (Collins & Bagozzi, 1999; Gough, 1960), the most common explanations center around the personality characteristics of conscientiousness and integrity.

Conscientiousness

Resurgent interest in personality for predicting work-related outcomes has focused almost exclusively on the big five personality taxonomy (Costa & McCrae, 1988; Digman, 1990). Within the big five, conscientiousness has been acknowledged as the

most useful for personnel selection (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Kanfer, Ackerman, Murtha, & Goff, 1993; Tett, Jackson, & Rothstein, 1992). Much of the validation evidence for conscientiousness in the workplace has used job performance criteria. However, defined by Hogan and Ones (1997) as "conformity and socially prescribed impulse control," conscientiousness has intuitive and empirical links with several deviant work behaviors (Hogan & Ones, 1997; Murphy, 1993). People who exhibit low conscientiousness tend to be undependable and careless. They are generally unwilling to expend extra work effort and often require close supervision. As a result, employees on the low end of the conscientiousness continuum are more likely to commit dishonest or deviant acts at work (Murphy, 1993). In a summary of past research on personality and job performance criteria, a moderate relationship between conscientiousness (referred to as "dependability") and "delinquency" was reported (Hough, Eaton, Dunnette, Kamp, & McCloy, 1990). Furthermore, a meta-analysis examining the links between personality and job-relevant criteria reported that the relationship between conscientiousness and a composite criterion of irresponsible behavior was $\underline{r} = -.24$ (Hough, 1992).

Integrity

In contrast to conscientiousness, which was empirically identified through factor analysis and subsequently applied to workplace deviance, integrity tests were developed specifically to screen out undesirables in personnel selection. It is estimated that roughly 15% of all employers in the US conduct some form of integrity testing, administering approximately 2.5 million tests annually (Murphy, 1993; O'Bannon, Goldinger, & Appleby, 1989; Sackett & Harris, 1984). There are a variety of different types of integrity tests but the majority share a common core of features. Most integrity tests include

questions regarding admissions of past workplace dishonesty, attitudes toward dishonest behavior, theft-related personality characteristics or cognitions, and responses to ambiguous, hypothetical work situations (Murphy & Luther, 1997).

Integrity tests may be broken down into two broad categories based on the clarity of the test purpose to the test taker. These categories have been variously labeled as "overt" and "personality-based" (Sackett, Burris, & Callahan, 1989; Sackett & Harris, 1984) or "clear-purpose" and "veiled-purpose" tests (Murphy, 1993). Clear-purpose tests are primarily comprised of questions regarding attitudes toward dishonesty at work and often prompt the respondent for bald-faced admissions of past workplace dishonesty. Conversely, veiled-purpose tests triangulate on integrity by measuring several related constructs such as self-control, conscientiousness, impulsiveness, and hostility to rules (Hogan & Brinkmeyer, 1997; Murphy, 1993). Even though clear-purpose and veiled-purpose tests are conceptually distinct, they are generally considered to measure a common construct (Murphy & Luther, 1997; Woolley & Hakstian, 1992).

The validity evidence for integrity tests suggests they are useful for predicting a wide variety of workplace deviance criteria. Kobbs and Arvey (1993) found that integrity tests distinguish between deviant and non-deviant nurses, defined by past disciplinary actions. In a study of three department stores in three different geographic areas, Cherrington and Cherrington (1985) determined that the mean level of within-store honesty was related to unexplained inventory shortages. Integrity tests have been demonstrably related to admissions of workplace drug and alcohol use (Jones, 1980), admissions of theft (Jones, Slora, & Boye, 1990; Werner, Jones, & Steffy, 1989) and turnover intentions (Joy, 1991). A comprehensive meta-analysis of integrity tests

examined validities for predicting workplace theft and a composite of deviant work behavior (Ones, Viswesvaran, & Schmidt, 1993). The results yielded moderate correlations with theft criteria ($\underline{r}$ = .36) and counterproductive behavior ($\underline{r}$ = .32). When corrected for unreliability and statistical artifacts, the estimated population correlations increased to ρ = .52 and ρ = .45, respectively, indicating substantial relationships between integrity and workplace deviance.

A Distinction

There is clear conceptual overlap between integrity and conscientiousness but they are not redundant constructs. Murphy and Lee (1994) examined whether conscientiousness accounted for the relationship between integrity and job performance. They found that integrity contributed incremental variance to job performance above that explained by conscientiousness, leading them to conclude that conscientiousness and integrity are not fully redundant. In a similar study, Ones (1993) concluded that integrity may be a broad form of conscientiousness. That is, conscientiousness may be subsumed by the larger, more global construct of integrity analogous to the concept of general mental ability, or *g*. These studies come to somewhat different conclusions about the two constructs, but both conclude that a distinction between integrity and conscientiousness should be maintained.

Person-based explanations, particularly integrity and conscientiousness, have obvious usefulness for organizations facing problems with workplace deviance. However, person-based explanations are not without shortcomings (Murphy & Luther, 1997). The mechanism by which integrity or conscientiousness leads to workplace deviance has not been adequately explained in the personality literature. At best, it is described as a

probabilistic relationship whereby one who is low on integrity is likely to commit deviant acts at work. At worst, it is an axiomatic relationship whereby the individual is powerless to resist the urge to steal or loaf on the job. Furthermore, person-based explanations of workplace deviance have been proposed and examined in a conceptual vacuum, without regard to other approaches. Validation research has highlighted the relationship between personal characteristics and deviant behavior. However, despite the urgings of many researchers and theorists, person-based explanations have not accounted for situation-based explanations of workplace deviance.

Situational Explanations of Workplace Deviance

In contrast to person-based explanations, situational explanations stress the importance of the work environment in eliciting deviant behavior. Early situation theorists identified two distinct processes in the development and maintenance of workplace deviance (Kemper, 1966). "Parallel deviance" arose from employees following the norms and modeling the behaviors of deviant organizational agents, such as managers and co-workers (i.e., "When in Rome..."). On the other hand, "reciprocal deviance" resulted from weakened bonds between the organization and the individual due to organizational mistreatment. In this situation, the individual reciprocates by engaging in behaviors that harm the orgnization (i.e., "An eye for an eye..."). Most of the subsequent research and theory on situational determinants of deviance followed the general form of Kemper's taxonomy and may be grouped into two broad classes of situational explanations: Socialization/normative influences and weakened employee-organization bonds.

Socialization and the Normative Basis of Workplace Deviance

Socialization is the process by which employees learn the formal and informal role expectations within organizations (Chao, O'Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, & Gardner, 1994; Fisher, 1986). Individuals enter an organization with a vague idea of job demands, social responsibilities, and organizational culture and climate. The socialization process modifies or crystallizes these impressions by providing information regarding job demands, role expectations, and the norms, values, and goals of both relevant workgroups and the organization itself (Anderson & Ostroff, 1997). The essence of socialization involves assimilating the individual into the organizational culture, maximizing the fit between the individual and established work practices and norms (Anderson & Ostroff, 1997). Through the application of social learning techniques, the socialization process modifies individual behaviors, attitudes, and norms to fit organizational and workgroup expectations.

In addition to teaching employees about prevailing norms and goals, the socialization process also indirectly leads to homogeneous organizations (Anderson & Ostroff, 1997). Socialization ensures fit between the organization and the employee through the two-way processes of attraction, selection, and attrition (ASA, Anderson & Ostroff, 1997; Schneider, 1983, 1987). Potential employees are attracted to organizations with goals, values, and beliefs similar to their own. In addition, organizations are attracted to potential employees who complement rather than compromise prevailing practices. Furthermore, organizations select employees who are similar to existing employees, while individuals select organizations whose defining features are congruent with their own. In the retention phase, employees self-select out of work situations in which the norms,

values, and expectations differ from their own. Similarly, organizations release employees who fail to fit with important aspects of the organization.

This process ensures that the normative climate of most organizations is stable and self-perpetuating (Murphy, 1993; Schneider, 1983, 1987) and that organizations become relatively homogeneous with regard to defining personality characteristics (Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995). Applied to deviant behavior, deviant organizations or workgroups will likely attract, select and retain deviant employees, thus perpetuating the deviant normative climate. In addition, deviant individuals will seek out, select, and remain in work situations that accommodate their predilections. According to Mars, "Those workers who cannot adjust (to the deviant atmosphere), leave; those who can adjust find that the working environment satisfies them and they stay on" (1994; p. 193). The ASA process as applied to deviance is likely to filter throughout all levels of the organization, creating similar socialization pressures at many levels of the organization (Hackman, 1992; Trevino & Youngblood, 1990). In this sense, deviance (or honesty) becomes institutionalized throughout the organization.

Through the socialization process, employees learn the norms governing acceptable behavior in the workplace, including deviance. Normative transmission theories of deviant behavior, such as differential association theory (Sutherland, 1947, 1949), propose that deviant behavior results from increased contact with socialization sources espousing deviant norms (Dessaur, 1971). Specifically, Sutherland (1949) suggested:

> Criminal behavior is learned in association with those who define such criminal behavior favorably and in isolation from those who define it unfavorably, and a person in an appropriate situation engages in such

> criminal behavior if, and only if, the weight of the favorable definitions exceeds the weight of the unfavorable definitions (p. 240).

In the work situation, the likelihood of individual deviance increases when norms encouraging or condoning deviance outweigh norms promoting honest or prosocial behavior (Merriam, 1977; Sutherland, 1947, 1949).

There are multiple (sometimes competing) socialization sources within the organization (Chao et al., 1994), including the organization itself (represented by organizational agents such as supervisors and management), and workgroup peers. Each of these socialization sources educates employees about normative expectations, monitors behavior, and reinforces adherence to normative standards. While formal socialization instructs the employee on becoming a productive, savvy, knowledgeable contributor to organizational success (Anderson & Ostroff, 1997), informal socialization is often a gateway to deviant behavior (Hawkins, 1984; Hollinger & Clark, 1982a; Murphy, 1993).

The organization. Several studies shed light on the role of organizational norms in eliciting workplace deviance (Greenberg, 1997; Kemper, 1966; Merriam, 1977). Employees tend to interpret the norms or behavior of visible organizational agents as those of the organization itself (Kemper, 1966; Levinson, 1965). As a result the organizational climate of honesty is often a direct reflection of the behavior and policies of management and supervisors (Cherrington & Cherrington, 1985; Kemper, 1966; Murphy, 1993). Ultimately, organizational norms trickle down through descending levels of the organization to affect individual behavior. Kemper (1966) suggested employees follow the lead of a deviant organization, referring to this phenomenon as "parallel deviance." In addition, Trevino and Youngblood (1990) proposed a "bad barrel"

conceptualization of deviant behavior, in which, "...something in the organizational environment poisons otherwise good apples" (p. 378).

Research has supported the effect of organization-level norms and policies on deviance. Cherrington and Cherrington (1985) found that a strong code of ethics within the organization reduced levels of employee theft, as measured by inventory shrinkage. Hollinger and Clark (1982b) found perceptions of formal sanctions were negatively related to both production and property deviance. In two separate samples, Kamp and Brooks (1991) found company policies were related to self-reports of theft behavior. They concluded that company policies permeated all levels of the organization, creating a culture of theft or deviance.

In addition to organizational policies, employees are socialized regarding the climate of deviance by the behavior of organizational agents. Deviant behavior by visible agents of the organization sends a message that deviance is tolerated or even encouraged (Ditton, 1977; Kemper, 1966; Murphy, 1993). For example, supervisors often serve as a conduit for organizational norms regarding deviance (Hollinger & Clark, 1983b; Kamp & Brooks, 1991). Greenberg (1997) concluded that one of the primary reasons for theft is the normative climate created by an immediate supervisor which rewards employees for deviant behavior. In addition, Greenberg (1998) noted that supervisors often allow a little theft as a means of social control and increasing employee satisfaction. These actions suggest to the employee that the organization condones deviance.

Workgroups. Most people have meaningful and continued contact with other employees at work, defined collectively as the workgroup (Hackman, 1992). One of the critical functions of the workgroup is providing data about organizational reality. As the

primary definer of organizational reality, the workgroup exerts considerable influence over the attitudes and behavior of group members (Hackman, 1992; Murphy, 1993). On a molecular level, workgroup socialization, "...define(s) what range of behavior is acceptable and what is unacceptable...(and provides) rewards for acceptable behaviors and sanctions for unacceptable ones" (Murphy, 1993; p. 42). The workgroup establishes norms as an efficient and powerful means of influencing member behavior toward the fulfillment of workgroup goals (Feldman, 1984; Hackman, 1992).

It has been suggested that the power of workgroups to regulate behavior rests in the rewards and punishments that accompany adherence to or defiance of group norms (Hackman, 1992). Workgroups punish non-conformers by ostracism and witholding information , thereby making ordinary work demands extremely taxing (Collins et al., 1946; Hackman, 1976; Roy, 1952, 1954). Compared to the informal rewards and sanctions of the workgroup, the formal recognition and punishments wielded by the organization are distal indeed, carrying commensurately less weight in shaping behavior (Hollinger & Clark, 1982b; Kamp & Brooks, 1991). Whereas the organization may set the general tone for deviant behavior, "...employee deviance is regulated by the informally established normative consensus of the work group" (Hollinger & Clark, 1982b; p. 334).

While most workgroups follow societal and organizational conventions regarding honest behavior, it is not unusual for them to condone or encourage deviant behaviors including theft, sabotage, absenteeism, and production slowdowns. Moreover, research consistently reveals workgroup norms which contradict the policies, norms, and rules of the larger organization (Greenberg, 1997; Roy, 1952, 1954). Research has uncovered surprisingly comprehensive normative structures governing deviance within workgroups,

almost like textbooks for dishonesty covering technical aspects of deviance (e.g., what and how to steal), motivations (e.g., why to steal), and rationalizations and "neutralization" techniques to salve a guilty conscience (Cressy, 1970; Ditton, 1977; Greenberg, 1998; Henry & Mars, 1978; Hollinger, 1991; Mars, 1994).

Much of the research on the normative control of deviance at the workgroup level has focused on employee theft. For example, Altheide and colleagues (1978) suggested that workgroup norms not only regulate theft but also specify acceptable amounts, the conditions under which theft is tolerated, and how to steal without detection. In a study of employee theft in a manufacturing plant, Horning (1970) found that, in addition to limits of theft, the workgroup determined which items which might be pilfered, defined as "property of uncertain ownership." Mars (1974) described an elaborate theft operation in which dockworkers strictly defined and enforced theft limits, described as "working the value of the boat," noting that, "There were always rules that governed limits and amounts, rules about who could be fiddled and who not, and rules about who could be incorporated and who must be excluded" (Mars, 1994; p. 19). Similar structures have been reported among garment workers (Seih, 1987), waiters, (Hawkins, 1984), and others (Mars, 1994).

Workgroup governance of deviant behavior is not limited to theft. Following World War II, several sociologists examined restricted output, or "goldbricking," in manufacturing plants (Collins et al., 1946; Roy, 1952, 1954). These case studies revealed sophisticated normative structures governing acceptable amounts of output within work groups. Additional case studies have outlined comprehensive normative tutorials on codes of police misconduct (Stoddard, 1968), acceptable uses of forbidden tools in an

aircraft manufacturing facility (Bensman & Gerver, 1963), and the development and maintenance of "absence cultures" (Johns & Nicholson, 1982; Markham & McKee, 1995; Martocchio, 1994; Nicholson & Johns, 1985).

The normative climates of organizations and workgroups have far-ranging implications for workplace deviance. Taken together, these socialization sources define, monitor, and sanction acceptable and unacceptable behavior in the workplace. Through formal and informal sanctions and rewards, employee behavior is shaped to help achieve the goals of these socialization sources. Despite their obvious explanatory power, socialization pressures cannot explain all of the variance in workplace deviance. Normative approaches to deviance have failed to fully account for the role of personal characteristics in workplace deviance. In addition, normative approaches to deviance do not adequately explain acts of retaliation against the organization. Moreover, the finding that poor links between the employee and the socialization source may modify the impact of norms (Hackman, 1992; Murphy, 1993; Sherif & Sherif, 1969) has been overlooked in the workplace deviance literature. While norms clearly are a powerful controlling force in deviant work behavior, they are only part of the full explanation.

Deviance and Bonds with the Organization

The second broad class of situational explanations involves bonds between the organization and the individual (Kemper, 1966). Individuals form both rational and emotional bonds with the employing organization, such as satisfaction (Locke, 1976) and commitment (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Meyer & Allen, 1997). When these bonds are weakened or broken (often as the result of real or perceived mistreatment), the likelihood of deviance targeting the organization increases. To understand the link between bonds

and deviance, it is important to understand the conditions under which bonds are formed and maintained. The conceptualization of employment as a contractual relationship sheds light on the dynamics operating between organizational treatment, bonds with the organization, and deviant outcomes.

Psychological contracts. The employment relationship between individuals and organizations has been conceptualized as a social exchange contract (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986; Levinson, 1962, 1965; Robinson & Morrison, 1995; Rousseau, 1989). The psychological contract between employee and organization reflects a set of beliefs regarding the nature and status of the exchange relationship between the two parties. The employee develops beliefs regarding the obligations of the organization and how well the organization has met those obligations. Employees subjectively evaluate their treatment by the organization based on their expectations or beliefs about fairness. Mutual fulfillment of obligations maintains and strengthens the employee-organization bond (Robinson, 1995).

Over time and repeated exchanges the contract is strengthened and modified to reflect fulfilled obligations and future-oriented expectations. The employee establishes trust that the organization will reward increased effort or loyalty, and forms general impressions regarding the organization's commitment to the employee (Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-LeMastro, 1990; Robinson, 1995). The result is strengthened bonds or linkages between the individual and the organization, reflected in increased satisfaction (Randall, Cropanzano, Borman, & Birjulin, 1994) and commitment (Eisenberger et al., 1986; 1990; Murphy, 1993).

Violations of the psychological contract. Employee attitudes and behaviors are affected by beliefs about the status of the psychological contract (Robinson & Morrison, 1995; Robinson & Rousseau, 1994). Violation of the psychological contract occurs when one party defaults on their obligations to the other, which results in, "...a specific form of distributive justice that may have unique and intense attitudinal, behavioral, and emotional reactions for the parties involved" (Robinson, 1995; pp. 94-95). In addition to creating feelings of distributive injustice, violations of the psychological contract also produce feelings of procedural injustice (Robinson & Morrison, 1995). While adjusting outcomes to reduce inequity is fairly straightforward (Adams, 1965), restoring feelings of procedural fairness following violation of the psychological contract is much trickier (Robinson, 1995).

The feelings of injustice following violations of the psychological contract are likely to lead employees to "even the score" with the organization (Greenberg, 1990, 1997; Robinson & Bennett, 1997; Sieh, 1987, Szwajkowski, 1989; Tucker, 1989). Defaulting on obligations or unfair treatment of employees have been linked to deviance targeting the organization (Bies, Tripp, & Kramer, 1997; Kemper, 1966; Lewicki et al., 1997; O'Leary-Kelly, Griffin, & Glew, 1996; Szwajkowski, 1989). Similarly, the literature on both distributive and procedural justice presents a robust relationship between justice perceptions and a wide range of deviant work behaviors, including property deviance (Giacalone & Rosenfeld, 1987; Greenberg, 1990, 1997; O'Bannon et al., 1989, Mars, 1994; Taylor & Walton, 1971) and production deviance (Adams, 1965; Dailey & Kirk, 1992; Dittrich & Carrell, 1979; Hollinger et al., 1992).

Violations of the psychological contract and the attendant feelings of distributive and procedural injustice damage employee-organization bonds. Weakened bonds are reflected in lowered satisfaction and decreased commitment (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Robinson, 1995), both of which are risk factors for deviance. Dissatisfied employees often engage in deviance directed at the organization to counteract negative feelings associated with dissatisfaction (Lehman & Simpson, 1992; Locke, 1976). Dissatisfied employees are more liable to steal from their employers (Cherrington & Cherrington, 1985; Hollinger & Clark, 1982a, 1983b), use drugs and alcohol at work (Hollinger, 1988; Mangione & Quinn, 1975), engage in higher levels of counterproductive behavior (Gottfredson & Holland, 1990; Guinn, 1983; Mangione & Quinn, 1975; Moretti, 1986), and exhibit increased absenteeism and turnover intentions (Locke, 1976). Moreover, weakened commitment increases the likelihood of property deviance (Frank, 1989; Hollinger, 1986; Hollinger & Clark, 1983b; Murphy, 1993), and production deviance, including absenteeism, lateness, and turnover intentions (Hollinger, 1986; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Mowday et al., 1982). The research on satisfaction and commitment makes it clear that employees are much more likely to retaliate against an organization with whom they have weak or non-existent bonds.

The connection between employee-organization linkages and workplace deviance is well established. In general, when the organization mistreats employees and breaches the psychological contract, it is reflected in distributive and procedural (and perhaps interactional) injustice cognitions, and reduced satisfaction and commitment, all of which are related to workplace deviance. However, like socialization pressures, the literature linking bonds to deviance is incomplete, failing to fully account for personal

characteristics in the the conceptualization of workplace deviance. Furthermore, research on the connection between bonds and deviance has failed to factor organizational characteristics into their models. Lastly, research on the link between employee-organization bonds (specifically justice research) and workplace deviance has become increasingly atomistic, focusing on the specific (and perhaps arcane) situations leading to retaliatory behavior in the laboratory (e.g., Greenberg, 1993; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997).

Taken together, situational explanations of workplace deviance have obvious value for understanding why employees steal, loaf, or play hooky from their employers. It is clear that normative pressures and broken bonds lead to deviance at the individual level. However, like person-centered explanations, they suffer from several previously mentioned deficits. Moreover, situational explanations are often examined in a vacuum with respect to one another. Socialization forces and employee-organization linkages have rarely been combined under a single theoretical model of workplace deviance. A unifying theoretical structure is needed to organize previous research and guide future developments.

Primary Socialization Theory and Workplace Deviance

The study of workplace deviance has primarily centered around person-based and situational explanations. While both approaches have yielded many important and robust findings, their failure to account for each other has resulted a patchwork collection of hypotheses, explanations, and rationales for workplace deviance (see Hollinger & Clark, 1983b; Merriam, 1977; Murphy, 1993, for reviews). At the same time, several authors have stressed the importance of interactional approaches to workplace deviance (Cherrington & Cherrington, 1985; Mars, 1994; Murphy, 1993; Sackett, 1985). However,

no theory has been developed to capture the links between personal characteristics, normative pressures, employee-organizational bonds, and workplace deviance.

Primary Socialization Theory

Primary socialization theory (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998) was developed to integrate research on personal characteristics and social influences in the etiology of adolescent deviance. The fundamental premise of primary socialization theory is that many, if not all, social behaviors are learned, including deviance (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998). This learning takes place through interactions within a network of socialization sources that define, monitor, and sanction behavior. Ultimately, it is the interactions between the individual and the primary socialization forces which dictate patterns of prosocial and deviant behavior. In other words, deviance does not simply result from an absence of prosocial forces. Rather, primary socialization theory stresses the importance of active learning in the development of deviant behaviors.

Primary socialization sources are the entities having the greatest social influence over attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavior (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998). Critical information about acceptable and unacceptable social behavior is channeled to the individual by these socialization agents, who monitor and shape behavior (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998). While there are a myriad of potential socialization forces present in any individual's development, primary socialization sources are distinctive by their direct influence over the individual. Primary socialization sources bond directly with the individual, directly communicate normative standards, and directly monitor and shape behavior through reward and sanction power. Any other (i.e., secondary) socialization sources act on the individual through the primary socialization process.

Within the primary socialization process, two critical forces combine to shape individual behavior; the normative climate of the socialization source, and the strength of the bond linking the individual to the specific socialization source. In general, primary socialization sources follow societal conventions by encouraging and rewarding honest or prosocial behavior (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998). However, it is not unusual for primary socialization sources to encourage or espouse deviance. Primary socialization theory suggests that deviance results from, "...differential exposure to prosocial and deviant messages and this relative exposure determines learning of deviant attitudes and behaviors" (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998, p. 1010). Similar to Sutherland's (1947) differential association theory, primary socialization theory suggests that deviance is likely when the normative forces encouraging deviance outweigh the forces discouraging deviant behavior. However, exposure to deviant norms is not sufficient to influence individual behavior.

Primary socialization theory proposes that the individual is suspended, or enmeshed, in a network of socialization forces (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998). The individual is connected to each of these socialization sources by cognitive and emotional bonds, which allow the transmission of normative information. Bonds between the individual and the socialization source modify the impact of norms on individual behavior. In this sense, the bonds serve as conditioning factors to deviance. Strong bonds indicate identification with the socialization source and incorporation of the specific norms. Furthermore, strong bonds suggest that the socialization source maintains reward and sanction power over individual behavior. Therefore, strong bonds increase the likelihood of compliance with the specific normative proscriptions. It follows that strong

bonds with prosocial or honest socialization sources help inoculate against deviant behavior. Conversely, strong bonds with deviant sources create a ripe context for deviance.

However, when socialization bonds are weakened, the conduit of normative influence is compromised, resulting in unpredictable effects on behavior. Severed bonds suggest that the reward and sanction power of the socializiation source is neutralized. However, weakened bonds do not necessarily result in retaliation against the socialization source. In a sense, the individual is alienated from the particular socialization source. This sense of normlessness may lead to prosocial behavior, deviance, or a mixture depending on bonds with other socialization sources and their norms. In general, however, weak bonds with deviant socialization sources signify a rejection of deviant normative influence and may result in reduced levels of deviance. Conversely, severed bonds with prosocial sources may pose a risk factor for deviance. However, as previously noted, the result of weakened bonds on deviant behavior not nearly so predictable as the effect of strong bonds.

Bonds between socialization sources. In addition to bonds between individuals and socialization sources, primary socialization theory also proposes a set of bonds connecting socialization sources (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1997a). Linkages between socialization sources allow for reciprocal normative influence between socialization sources. However, the amount of influence exerted between socialization sources is, once again, conditioned by the strength of the bonds between the sources. Normative information is transmitted between socialization sources via the bonds. When bonds between socialization sources are intact, they are likely to share a similar normative

orientation. If the bond is compromised, normative influence between socialization sources may be cut off, regardless of the valence of the norms. This may result in conflicting normative orientations between socialization sources. The implications for deviance at the individual level depend on the relative strength of the invididual-source bonds and the normative climates of the socialization sources in question.

The role of personal characteristics. Like many normative transmission theories of deviance, primary socialization theory places primary emphasis on socialization forces in shaping behavior. However, primary socialization theory distinguishes itself from other normative transmission theories by explicitly acknowledging the critical role of individual characteristics in the etiology and maintenance of deviant behavior. Rather than viewing the individual as a passive sponge of normative influence, primary socialization theory stresses the active role of the individual in the socialization process through learning and bonding, which is affected by personal characteristics (Oetting et al., 1998). In other words, primary socialization theory suggests that personal characteristics have an indirect impact on deviance such that, "Traits are likely to relate to deviant behaviors when, and only when, they influence the primary socialization process" (Oetting et al., 1998, p. 1341). That is, personal characteristics influence the socialization process which, in turn, affects deviance.

Personal characteristics may alter the socialization process in two ways. First, most individuals are capable of bonding with socialization sources and are, in fact, motivated to do so. However, some personal characteristics interfere with the bonding process, resulting in weak or nonexistent bonds. As previously mentioned, weak bonds with prosocial socialization sources may lead to deviance. Second, among individuals

who are capable of bonding with socialization sources, certain characteristics may increase the likelihood of bonding with deviant socialization sources rather than prosocial ones. In either case, primary socialization theory suggests that personal characteristics only lead to deviance by altering the primary socialization process. Characteristics which do not influence the socialization process, while perhaps making life difficult for the individual, are unlikely to lead to deviance.

Primary Socialization Theory Applied to Workplace Deviance

Primary socialization theory was developed to integrate strands of research and theory on adolescent deviance. However, it has clear potential for reconciling the person-based and situational explanations of workplace deviance. Applied to the work setting, primary socialization theory posits that several socialization sources have the potential to influence employee behavior through normative pressures. Furthermore, the relationship between norms and behavior may be modified by employee-socialization source bonds.

There are several potentially important socialization sources within the work environment (Chao et al., 1994). Most of the research and theory regarding normative influences on workplace deviance has focused on the organization and workgroup levels. Each of these sources is directly responsible for teaching employees the social norms of the workplace. Furthermore, each of these sources directly monitors behavior and exercises the direct reward and sanction power necessary for shaping behavior (Murphy, 1993). Taken together, the organization and the workgroup form the context within which employees learn the norms governing workplace behavior.

The organization. The normative climate of the organization is critical in the development of patterns of deviant and honest behavior among employees. In general, the

organization is a source of prosocial or honest norms regarding work behavior. However, "...there is evidence from qualitative research that in some organizations informal norms exist that condone, if not encourage (deviance) by employees" (Greenberg & Scott, 1996; p. 123). However, the mere presence of honest or deviant organizational norms does not determine behavior. According the primary socialization theory, the organization's normative influence is conditioned by employee-organization bonds.

Strong bonds signify that the individual accepts the conditions of group membership in the organization (Hackman, 1992), including the normative climate. In other words, the employee is invested in the organization and follows its lead. When the organization endorses honest behavior, strong bonds with the employee should protect against workplace deviance (Cherrington & Cherrington, 1985; Murphy, 1993). Within deviant organizations, strong bonds with the employee should increase the likelihood of deviant behavior (Kamp & Brooks, 1991; Kemper, 1966; Trevino & Youngblood, 1990).

Conversely, in the context of weak employee-organization bonds, behavioral patterns are more complex and, in some cases, multiply determined. In general, weak employee-organization bonds short-circuit the impact of organizational norms on behavior. However, the net effect on behavior depends on additional factors. For example, in this situation, employees may resort to retaliation to "punish" the organization for a perceived breach of contract. The form of the retaliation may be depend on the normative climate of the organization. If the organization espouses prosocial behavor, deviance may result from a severed relationship (Greenberg, 1997; Hollinger & Clark, 1983b; Kemper, 1966; Mowday et al., 1982; Robinson & Morrison, 1995).

However, an employee may retaliate against a deviant organization by committing honest acts, such as whistle-blowing (Miceli & Near, 1989; Near & Miceli, 1995).

In addition to direct retaliation, primary socialization theory suggests that, when the bonds between an organization and the individual are compromised, the role of other socialization sources in determining behavior is magnified. In this case, the influence of the organization over behavior is compromised and other socialization sources become more influential. The result on behavior then depends on the normative climate of the surrogate group. For example, Tucker (1989) noted that disenfranchised employees tend to gravitate together and use deviance as a means of expressing grievances. He proposed that, "...strengthening ties between employees and employers in high theft potential settings should have a considerable effect on how grievances are handled" (Tucker, 1989; p. 327). However, even though the normative influence of the organization may be cut off by weak bonds, the threat of formal sactions by the organization (e.g., termination, demotion) may mitigate full-blown individual deviance (Hollinger & Clark, 1983a).

The workgroup. As with the organization, workgroup influence on behavior depends on both bonding and the direction of norms. Qualitative and quantitative research has demonstrated the importance of workgroup norms in deviant behavior (Altheide et al., 1978; Hollinger & Clark, 1983b; Horning, 1970; Mars, 1994; Merriam, 1977; Murphy, 1993; Roy, 1952, 1954). Workgroup norms generally define the specific limits, targets, and nature of acceptable deviance among employees. The normative pressure exerted on the individual by the workgroup can be very powerful but, as with the other socialization sources, normative influence must be channeled through bonds with the individual.

Bonds between the individual and the work group play an important role in the determination of workplace deviance. Regardless of the direction of the group's normative climate, if the employee-workgroup bond is weak or non-existent, the work group may exert reduced influence over individual behavior. Murphy (1993) expressed this position by noting, "If you have no interest in and little interaction with your co-workers, their norms regarding honesty in the workplace are likely to have little impact on your behavior" (p. 162). The conditions under which group norms are likely to have the greatest effect on individual members is when the group is attractive, cohesive, and powerful (Hackman, 1992; Murphy, 1993). These conditions strengthen the bond between the individual and the group, creating a situation where the individual identifies strongly with the group and internalizes group norms. This type of bonding can benefit the organization if the group communicates prosocial or honest norms to its members. However, strong bonds with deviant groups are likely to lead to individual deviance (Mars, 1994; Horning, 1970).

On the other hand, weakened or broken bonds compromise normative transmission between the workgroup and the individual. While this may not signify outright rejection of the group's normative climate, reduced bonds do make normative compliance less likely. For example, weakened bonds to deviant work groups, while they may not increase prosocial behavior per se, are likely to decrease individual deviance. Qualitative research on production deviance highlighted the interplay between workgroup bonds and norms in establishing patterns of deviant behavior (Collins et al., 1946). The prevailing normative climate within this particular workgroup encouraged "goldbricking." Moreover, while the workgroup was generally cohesive, a few employees rejected group

membership, thereby shortcircuiting the group's normative influence. These employees adhered to the production specifications of the organization. In this case, weak bonds with a deviant work group resulted in increased honest behavior. On the contrary, weak bonds with an honest work group may reduce the likelihood of prosocial behavior. In addition, severed workgroup bonds may also lead to acts of retaliation against the group. For example, in a typology of theft, Greenberg (1997) noted that renegade individuals may steal to spurn honest co-workers. In this case, weak bonds with an honest group may lead to "anti-social" acts of theft (Greenberg, 1997).

Bonds between socialization sources at work. Primary socialization theory suggests that socialization sources do not operate independently of one another. Rather, they are capable of exerting influence over each other's normative climate. However, it is unlikely that normative influence between the organization and the workgroup is fully reciprocal. It is more likely that normative influence cascades down the hierarchy of socialization sources, from the organization to the workgroup (Hackman, 1992; Kamp & Brooks, 1991). For example, deviant organizations may employ deviant supervisors who, in turn, lead deviant workgroups. In this situation, deviance filters throughout the organization, contaminating every level, and could ultimately lead to producing "bad apples in bad barrels" (Kamp & Brooks, 1991; Trevino & Youngblood, 1990).

However, the transmission of normative influence between socialization sources is reliant on bonds between the groups in question. The primary socialization process emphasizes the importance of the bonds between the primary socialization sources for communicating normative standards. If bonds between socialization sources are strong, they likely share similar normative climates. If the bonds between the socialization

sources are violated, the conduit for communicating and enforcing normative standards is cut off (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998). This may result in contradictory normative orientations between socialization sources. The combination of norms and bonds suggests that a deviant work group is likely to be the result of strong bonds with a deviant organization, or disrupted bonds with an honest organization.

The interplay of norms and bonds among socialization sources suggests both direct and indirect effects of normative climates on individual behavior. Based on the propositions of primary socialization theory, the organization and the workgroup likely exert direct influence on deviant behavior, tempered by bonds between the employee and the specific socialization source. Furthermore, the effect of organizational norms on individual behavior is likely to be partially mediated by workgroup effects. This is a non-reciprocal relationship, meaning the chain of influence operates only downward.

H1: The normative environments of the organization and the workgroup will be related to individual deviance. Furthermore, due to relative proximity to the employee, the effect of workgroup norms on deviant behavior will be stronger than that of organizational norms.

H2: The normative climate of the organization will exert an indirect effect on individual deviance, mediated by workgroup effects.

H3: Bonds between the employee and the workgroup and the employee and the organization will serve primarily as moderators of the norm-deviance relationships. The bonds themselves will exert little direct effect on workplace deviance.

H4: Workplace deviance will be partially explained by the interactions between the direction of socialization norms and the strength of bonds with the workgroup and

the organization, above and beyond the main effects of the norms themselves. Norm-bond interactions will be examined at both the organization and workgroup levels. The strength of the bond between the employee and the socialization source will modify the normative effect on deviant behavior. Strong bonds to prosocial sources will inoculate against deviant behavior. These conditions will result in the lowest levels of workplace deviance. Strong bonds with deviant sources will result in the highest reported levels of workplace deviance. Weak bonds to prosocial sources create a risk factor for deviance (especially retaliation) and will lead to increased levels of reported deviance. The effect of weak bonds to deviant sources is unclear but will likely lead to reduced levels of deviant behavior. Due to proximity with the individual, the interaction effect of work group norms/bonds will exert a stronger effect on deviance than will the organization-level effect.

Personal characteristics. According to primary socialization theory, personal characteristics play an indirect but crucial role in understanding deviant behavior. Primary socialization theory suggests that personality exerts influence on deviance through the socialization process in one of two ways; personality prevents or disrupts bonds with prosocial/honest socialization sources or enhances bonds with deviant sources.

The personality characteristics most reliably related to workplace deviance - integrity and conscientiousness - are likely to affect bonding with socialization sources. Certain aspects of integrity or conscientiousness such as conformity, helpfulness, and impulsivity may clearly help or hinder bonding with socialization sources. Employees who are low on conscientiousness tend to avoid extra work, have problems with authority, and fail to conform to rules and standards. These types of behaviors would tend

to disrupt or prevent bonding with prosocial socialization sources. Furthermore, integrity and conscientiousness are related to job performance (see Hogan & Ones, 1997; Murphy & Luther, 1997; and Ones et al., 1993 for reviews). Poor or erratic work performance is likely to create conflicts with management and co-workers, thereby weakening bonds at both the organization and workgroup levels (Levinson, 1965; Robinson & Morrison, 1995). Moreover, Paajanen (1988) identified ten individual characteristics that were reliably linked with workplace deviance, including undependability, problems with authority, excitement seeking, and poor work motivation. Most, if not all, of the ten individual differences could easily interfere with forming bonds with honest or prosocial socialization sources, thereby indirectly increasing the likelihood of deviance at work.

Personality may also enhance bonds with deviant socialization sources (Oetting et al., 1998). Individuals tend to bond more readily to others with similar interests, attitudes, and abilities (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998; Tesser, Campbell, & Smith, 1984). In the area of deviance, it has been suggested that individuals predisposed to deviance will seek out similar others (Merriam, 1977; Sutherland, 1947; Tucker, 1989), thereby creating a climate or culture of deviance. In addition, people tend to self-select into work situations that are compatible with their personal attributes, or select out of situations which conflict (Schneider, 1987, Schneider et al., 1995). This suggests that individuals who are low on integrity or conscientiousness are likely to seek out similar others, or choose work situations which correspond to their own views. In this case, low conscientiousness or integrity may enhance bonds with deviant workgroups and organizations.

Primary socialization theory specifies that the influence of personal characteristics on deviant behavior is fully mediated by the primary socialization process (Oetting et al.,

1998). However, there are several conditions operating within the workplace that make full mediation unlikely. First, even though individuals have some control over the work situation, they are generally unable to select their co-workers and are, thus, limited in the peer relationships they may form. Furthermore, the ASA framework suggests that within organizations (and workgroups) there is range restriction in personality types, which further restricts the type of peers one is likely to bond with at work. In addition, the most deviant employees are likely to be removed from the work situation, thereby limiting the range of devianc individuals within any given workgroup or organization. For these reasons, personality may exert a residual direct effect on deviance, once the primary socialization model is accounted for.

Taken together, these conditions suggest that, while primary socialization may mediate the effect of personality on deviance, it is unlikely to be fully mediated. However, hypothesizing the mere presence of a mediational effect is unsatisfactory as well. The underlying ASA assumption suggests that personality, organizational and workgroup normative climates, and workplace deviance are likely to be interrelated. This is the statistical definition of a mediational relationship (Baron & Kenny, 1986). In this case, a more concrete estimate of the strength of the mediational relationship is warranted.

H5a: There will be a correlation between personality (i.e., integrity) and deviance.

H5b: The relationship between integrity and workplace deviance will be partially mediated by the normative atmosphere of the organization and the workgroup and by the norm-bond interactions at the workgroup and organization levels. This hypothesis will be tested using hierarchical linear regression. Integrity will be added

on the final step of the regression model. The effect will be substantially reduced from its zero-order magnitude, but will still contribute non-trivial variance to the understanding of workplace deviance. The indirect effect of integrity will be be stronger than the residual direct effect.

A schematic representation of the model to be tested is presented in Figure 1. The arrows leading from organizational and workgroup norms to workplace deviance represent Hypothesis 1. Moreover, the dashed line between organizational norms and workplace deviance indicates that there will be relatively little residual variance explained by organizational norms after accounting for workgroup norms (i.e., Hypothesis 2). The effects of employee-organization and employee workgroup linkages are represented by arrows that bisect the norm-deviance relationships, indicating that the linkages alter, or moderate, the relationship between norms and deviance at both the workgroup and organization levels (i.e., Hypothesis 4). Moreover, there are no arrows directly leading from linkages to workplace deviance, reflecting their primary focus as moderator variables (Hypothesis 3). The final set of hypotheses suggests that the effect of integrity on workplace deviance will be mediated by the socialization process (i.e., Hypotheses 5a and 5b). The mediation hypothesis is represented by arrows leading from integrity to the normative atmosphere of the organization and workgroup, which, in turn, lead to workplace deviance. Accordingly, no direct link is specified between integrity and workplace deviance.

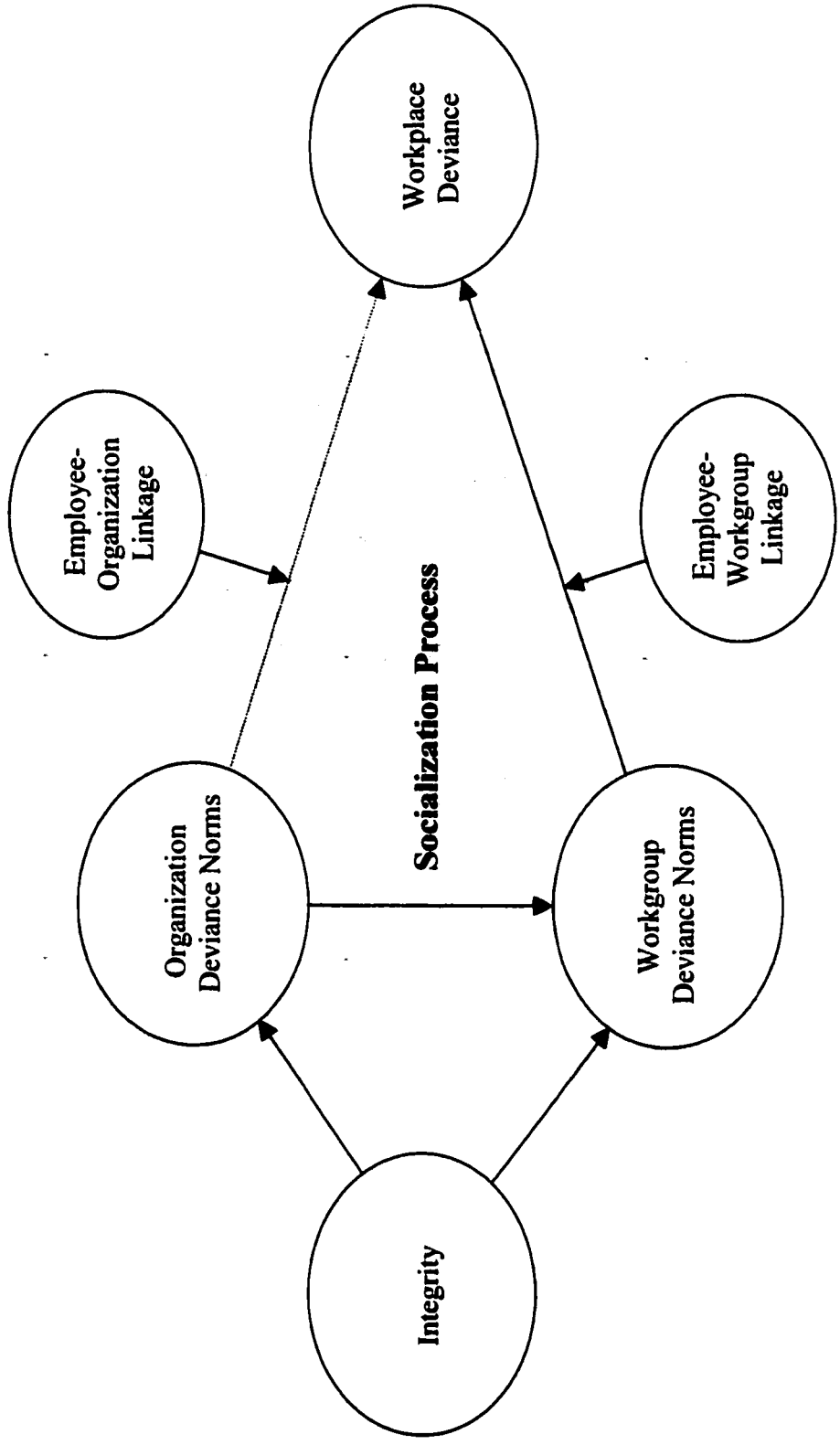


Figure 1. Hypothesized model of workplace deviance based on primary socialization theory

Chapter II

Method

Sample

The sample was drawn from currently employed students in introductory psychology courses at a large, western university. Data were collected in several hour-long sessions over two consecutive semesters. A total of 296 participants completed the materials, however data from 28 participants were omitted for a variety of reasons including having been unemployed at the time of data collection, holding more than one job, and obvious random or non-responding. The final sample (N = 268) included 97 males (36.2%) and 171 females (63.8%). Most of the participants (70.9%) were younger than 21 years old, 25.4% were between the ages of 21 and 25, 1.5% were between 26 and 30, and 2.2% were older than 31 years of age. Nearly a third of participants (32.5%) had spent less than six months in their present job, 28.7% had between six months and one year of tenure, 23.5% had one to two years, 14.9% three to five years, and less than 1% had over five years tenure with their current employer. The final sample of 268 participants far exceeded the recommended 130 participants necessary for detecting small interaction effects using multiple regression at a power level of .80 with a significance criterion of .10 (Cohen, 1988).

Measures

All of the measures were paper-and-pencil instruments. In order to maintain confidentiality, respondents were urged several times to not leave any identifying information (e.g., name, social security number) on the materials.

Workplace deviance. The workplace deviance measure was an adaptation of previous surveys by Hollinger and Clark (1983b) and Robinson and Bennett (1995). The final measure included 22 workplace deviance items (all measures are included in the Appendix). The workplace deviance items were prefaced with the statement, "How often do YOU engage in the following activities at work?" The 22 deviant behaviors were then listed (e.g., Taking unauthorized long lunch or coffee breaks, Taking company merchandise). The response format, adapted from Hollinger and Clark's (1983b) survey, ranged from 1 to 6 and included response options of "almost daily," "weekly," "monthly," "yearly," "happened once," and "never." Respondents also had the option of marking each item "not applicable." Items were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected greater levels of deviance.

Inspection of item-level statistics indicated that five workplace deviance items were marked as "not applicable" by over 10% of respondents. For example, "Damaging merchandise in order to buy it on discount" and "'Surfing the internet' or sending personal e-mail on company time" were not applicable for 16.8% and 31.3% of respondents, respectively. In order to optimize the power and stability of subsequent analyses and focus on the most representative deviant work behaviors, these five items were eliminated (see Appendix). In addition, item-level statistics revealed severe range restriction in the item pertaining to sabotaging company equipment. Specifically, 91.1%

of respondents chose the "never" or "not applicable" response options. As a result, this item was also omitted from further analyses.

The factor structure of the remaining 16 workplace deviance items was examined using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Traditional CFA model-fit indices based on maximum likelihood (ML) estimation may be inappropriate when assumptions of normality have been violated (West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). For example, the chi-square statistic may be inflated, while the comparative fit index (CFI) may be depressed, resulting in an underestimate of model fit. In the case of non-normal data, robust statistics – specifically, the Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square statistic (S-Bχ^2) and the robust comparative fit index (RCFI) - may provide more accurate estimates of model fit. Due to the extreme skew of the workplace deviance items, robust statistics supplemented conventional indices in evaluating model fit.

Three workplace deviance factors were specified. In addition to Hollinger and Clark's (1983b) property and production deviance factors, an additional substance use factor was hypothesized based on more recent findings (Holcom, 1993). Factor loadings and residuals for workplace deviance items are shown in Table 1. The ML solution suggested the three-factor model was a poor fit with the data, χ^2 (99) = 164.34, p = < .001, CFI = .913. However, robust statistics reflected acceptable model fit, S-Bχ^2 (99) = 123.36, p = .049, RCFI = .941. Based on the CFA, three workplace deviance scales were formed. The property deviance scale contained five items (α = .69), the production deviance scale contained nine items (α = .85), and the substance use scale was comprised of two items (α = .68). Intercorrelations among the resulting workplace deviance scales

Table 1

Factor Loadings for Workplace Deviance Measures

Item	Individual Deviance		Co-worker Deviance		Co-worker Sanctions		Organization Sanctions	
	FL	Res	FL	Res	FL	Res	FL	Res
Property Deviance								
Taking company property	.398	.918	.628	.778	.695	.719	.477	.879
Getting paid for more hours than you worked	.591	.807	.566	.824	.704	.710	.537	.843
Borrowing or taking money	.316	.949	.577	.817	.491	.871	.384	.923
Using tools/property /equipment for personal use	.505	.863	.576	.818	.542	.840	.535	.845
Taking office supplies home	.627	.779	.744	.669	.672	.740	.641	.767
Production Deviance								
Taking long breaks	.618	.786	.603	.797	.420	.908	.487	.874
Arriving late	.603	.798	.716	.698	.688	.726	.618	.786
Doing slow/sloppy work	.577	.817	.664	.748	.632	.755	.634	.774
Leaving early	.595	.804	.692	.722	.692	.722	.681	.733
Abusing sick leave	.547	.837	.686	.728	.720	.694	.620	.785
Work on personal matters	.684	.729	.606	.795	.704	.710	.712	.702
Daydreaming	.616	.788	.699	.715	.650	.760	.621	.784

(Table 1 cont.)

Item	Individual Deviance		Co-worker Deviance		Co-worker Sanctions		Organization Sanctions	
	FL	Res	FL	Res	FL	Res	FL	Res
Refusing to follow orders	.484	.875	.704	.710	.591	.807	.488	.873
Dragging out work for overtime	.617	.787	.611	.791	.663	.748	.643	.766
Substance Use								
Work under the influence of alcohol	1.000	.000	.860	.510	.891	.454	.916	.402
Work under the influence of drugs	.532	.846	.725	.689	.871	.491	.693	.721

Note. FL = Factor loading, Res = Residual.

ranged from low (r = .14) to moderate (r = .54), which further indicated that, while related, the workplace deviance measures were not redundant (see Table 2).

Integrity. Integrity was operationalized by the Employee Reliability Index (ERI) from the Hogan Personality Inventory (HPI), a 206-item general personality test based on the big five taxonomy of personality characteristics. The ERI measures several personality dimensions, including thrill-seeking and hostility to rules, which form a single composite (Hogan & Hogan, 1995). The ERI has been thoroughly researched and is generally considered a construct valid measure of integrity (Hogan & Hogan, 1992, 1995). A reliability estimate for the present study was not supplied by the test publisher. However, the HPI manual estimates the internal consistency reliability for the ERI at .75 (Hogan & Hogan, 1995).

Workgroup deviance norms. The normative climate of workgroup deviance was measured by two broad dimensions based on research by Hollinger and Clark (1983b) and Kamp and Brooks (1991). The first dimension, co-worker deviance, measured the extent of on-the-job deviance by co-workers. The second, co-worker sanctions, assessed co-worker reactions to specific deviant acts. When answering questions about the workgroup climate, respondents were instructed to "...think about the people at work with whom you have regular contact on the job." The item pool for co-worker deviance and co-worker sanctions mirrored that of the workplace deviance measure. The same six items were omitted due a large percentage of missing values.

Co-worker deviance items were prefaced with the statement, "How often do YOUR CO-WORKERS engage in each of the following activities?" The response format, taken from Hollinger and Clark's (1983b) original survey, was identical to that used for

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations of All Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Production deviance	22.64	8.35	.85			
2. Property deviance	10.39	4.30	.54	.69		
3. Substance use	2.88	1.81	.28	.14	.68	
4. Integrity	8.97	3.24	-.40	-.22	-.26	.75
5. Co-worker production deviance	32.12	10.71	.56	.43	.12	-.24
6. Co-worker property deviance	13.89	6.05	.45	.65	.17	-.18
7. Co-worker substance use	4.63	2.91	.22	.22	.52	-.21
8. Co-worker production deviance sanctions	23.69	6.15	-.32	-.14	-.01	.13
9. Co-worker property deviance sanctions	15.34	4.04	-.37	-.35	-.14	.17
10. Co-worker substance use sanctions	7.54	2.45	-.20	-.09	-.41	.18
11. Organization production deviance sanctions	24.89	6.18	-.18	-.08	.02	.09
12. Organization property deviance sanctions	17.39	3.55	-.14	-.21	.02	.08
13. Organization substance use sanctions	9.20	1.48	.00	-.06	-.29	.18
14. POS	81.38	20.03	-.39	-.08	-.11	.19
15. Co-worker relations	76.88	14.75	-.13	-.04	-.07	.03
16. Psychological contract	1.79	7.17	-.10	-.10	-.14	.09
17. Sex	1.64	0.48	-.18	-.10	-.27	.15
18. Age	1.35	0.63	.00	.16	.04	.00
19. Tenure	2.22	1.07	-.05	.10	.07	.07

(Table 2 cont.)

Variable	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
5. Co-worker production deviance	.87						
6. Co-worker property deviance	.72	.78					
7. Co-worker substance use	.53	.39	.77				
8. Co-worker production deviance sanctions	-.41	-.20	-.09	.87			
9. Co-worker property deviance sanctions	-.48	-.43	-.26	.69	.79		
10. Co-worker substance use sanctions	-.30	-.19	-.52	.47	.49	.91	
11. Organization production deviance sanctions	-.15	-.13	.04	.24	.17	.05	.84
12. Organization property deviance sanctions	-.05	-.21	.00	.04	.12	.07	.61
13. Organization substance use sanctions	-.04	-.08	-.30	.06	.15	.43	.33
14. POS	-.36	-.26	-.14	.19	.18	.12	.11
15. Co-worker relations	-.13	-.17	-.12	.20	.28	.12	-.09
16. Psychological contract	-.07	-.08	-.05	-.05	-.02	-.04	-.14
17. Sex	-.01	-.03	-.14	.02	.06	.17	-.18
18. Age	-.01	.08	-.03	.02	.03	.02	-.10
19. Tenure	.16	.07	.06	.03	-.03	-.02	.05

(Table 2 cont.)

Variable	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
12. Organization property deviance sanctions	.65							
13. Organization substance use sanctions	.40	.76						
14. POS	.00	-.04	.94					
15. Co-worker relations	-.11	-.09	.39	.91				
16. Psychological contract	-.11	-.04	.31	.03	.80			
17. Sex	-.09	.10	.12	.15	-.02	--		
18. Age	-.02	.00	-.10	-.10	-.03	-.12	--	
19. Tenure	-.02	-.01	.06	19	.00	-.14	.15	--

Note. Means, standard deviations, and correlations based on entire sample using pairwise omission of missing cases. Alpha reliability estimates appear on the diagonal, where applicable. Sex (1 = male, 2 = female).

the workplace deviance items, ranging from 1 = Almost daily to 6 = never. Items were reversed coded so high scores indicated higher levels of co-worker deviance. Three factors were specified, including property and production deviance and substance use (see Table 1). As with the workplace deviance model, robust statistics revealed an improvement in model fit, S-Bχ^2 (99) = 167.55, $p < .01$, RCFI = .934, over traditional fit indices, χ^2 (99) = 199.93, $p = < .001$, CFI = .908. However, both indicated adequate fit for the three-factor model. On the basis of the CFA, three co-worker deviance scales were created: a five-item property deviance scale ($\alpha = .78$), a nine-item production deviance scale ($\alpha = .87$), and a two-item substance use scale ($\alpha = .77$). Intercorrelations among co-worker deviance scales were moderate to strong (see Table 2).

Co-worker sanction items were identical to workplace and co-worker deviance items. Co-worker sanction items were prefaced with the statement, "What would the most common reaction of YOUR CO-WORKERS be to each of the following activities?" Response options, taken from Hollinger and Clark (1983b), included 1 = encourage, 2 = do nothing, 3 = discourage, 4 = avoid the person/people involved, and 5 = inform persons in authority, and "not applicable." Items were coded so high scores reflected greater negative sanctions. Again, the same six items were omitted due to missing values. The specified three-factor model for co-worker sanctions was identical to those specified for workplace and co-worker deviance (see Table 1). Even though the ML solution yielded adequate model fit indices, χ^2 (99) = 184.12, $p = < .001$, CFI = .913, the robust statistics showed a slight improvement, S-Bχ^2 (99) = 164.31, $p = .049$, RCFI = .926. Three co-worker sanction scales were subsequently created: property deviance ($\alpha = .79$), production deviance ($\alpha = .87$), and substance use ($\alpha = .91$). Intercorrelations among co-

worker sanctions were comparatively high, ranging from $\underline{r} = .47$ to $\underline{r} = .49$ (see Table 2). However, results from the CFA suggested that property deviance, production deviance, and substance use sanctions among co-workers were distinct factors.

Organizational deviance norms. Organizational norms regarding deviance were assessed using the same 22 items used to measure workplace deviance. Respondents were directed to focus on their employing organization when answering the questions, which were prefaced with the statement, "How severe would the reaction of the ORGANIZATION be to each of the following activities?" Response options (Hollinger & Clark, 1983b) ranged from 1 to 5 and included, "not at all severe," "slightly severe," "moderately severe," "severe," "very severe," and "not applicable." High scores reflected strong sanctions against deviance. As with previous measures, the same six items were omitted from subsequent analyses due to the high percentage of missing data. The three factor solution for organizational sanctions (see Table 1) resulted in a poor fit with the data, χ^2 (99) = 236.71, $\underline{p} = < .001$, CFI = .868; S-Bχ^2 (99) = 220.00, $\underline{p} < .001$, RCFI = .827. However, the reliability estimates for the resulting scales, with the exception of property deviance ($\alpha = .65$), were adequate (production deviance: $\alpha = .84$; substance use: $\alpha = .76$). Moreover, single-factor and higher-order factor structures yielded substantially worse fit indices. Therefore, the three-factor solution was retained. Correlations between the three organizational sanctions scales were moderate to high (see Table 2), suggesting moderate overlap between organizational norms.

Employee-organization linkages. Two scales represented the bond between organization and individual; the Survey of Perceived Organizational Support (SPOS, Eisenberger et al., 1986) and a measure of the psychologicial contract (Robinson, 1996).

The SPOS is a 17-item measure of the extent to which employees feel that their organization cares about them (e.g., "The organization really cares about my well-being") and values their contributions (e.g., "The organization takes pride in my accomplishments at work"). The SPOS is related to affective commitment, absenteeism, and performance measures (Eisenberger et al., 1990; Lynch, Eisenberger, & Armeli, 1999). Response options ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. High scores reflected a stronger bond. The CFA supported previous findings (e.g., Shore & Tetrick, 1991) of a one-factor solution for the SPOS, χ^2 (119) = 379.21, p = < .001, CFI = .916 (see Table 3). The resulting 17-item scale showed high internal consistency (α = .94).

The second measure of employee-organization linkages was a scale developed by Robinson (1996) that assesses the strength of the psychological contract with the organization. Previous research has found that breaches of psychological contracts as measured by this scale were related to lower levels of work performance (Robinson, 1996). Seven aspects of the psychological contract were examined including promotions, pay, pay-for-performance, training, job security, career development, and emotional support. The extent to which the psychological contract was upheld or breached for each dimension was assessed by two questions. The first question asked whether the organization had made promises regarding the particular dimension (e.g., "How much has your employer promised you promotions or advancement?"). The second question directly followed the first and asked if the promise was upheld (e.g., "Has your employer fulfilled this promise?"). Response options for each set of questions included 1 = not at all, 2 = not much, 3 = some, 4 = pretty much, and 5 = very much. Following procedures developed by Robinson, a difference score was calculated for each dyad. For example, if

Table 3

Factor Loadings for the Survey of Perceived Organizational Support

Item	FL	Res
The organization values my contribution to its well-being	.644	.765
If the organization could hire someone to replace me at a lower salary it would do so	.506	.862
The organization fails to appreciate any extra effort from me	.684	.729
The organization strongly considers my goals and values	.632	.775
The organization would ignore any complaint from me	.652	.758
The organization disregards my best interests when it makes decisions that affect me	.585	.811
Help is available from the organization when I have a problem	.659	.752
The organization really cares about my well-being	.775	.632
The organization is willing to extend itself in order to help me perform my job to the best of my ability	.716	.699
Even if I did the best job possible, the organization would fail to notice	.708	.706
The organization is willing to help me when I need a special favor	.682	.732
The organization cares about my general satisfaction at work	.784	.621
If given the opportunity, the organization would take advantage of me	.689	.724
The organization shows very little concern for me	.848	.530
The organization cares about my opinions	.802	.598

(Table 3 cont.)

Item	FL	Res
The organization takes pride in my accomplishments at work	.811	.585
The organization tries to make my job as interesting as possible	.612	.791

Note. FL = Factor loading, Res = Residual.

the organization promised high levels of promotion (i.e., 5) but had failed to fulfill the promise (i.e., 1), the score for this pair of items would be 4. The items were reverse coded so that negative scores represented breach of promise, while positive scores indicated that the organization had exceeded its promises. As suggested by Robinson (1996), a single factor was specifed for the psychological contract scale (see Table 4), resulting in an adequate model fit, χ^2 (14) = 41.30, p = < .001, CFI = .935. The resulting seven-item scale had a reliability estimate of .79.

Individual-workgroup linkages. The bond between individual and workgroup was assessed with 15 items adapted from Hollinger and Clark's (1983b) original survey and research on primary socialization theory as applied to adolescent deviance (e.g, Swaim, Oetting, & Casas, 1996; Swaim, Oetting, Edwards, & Beauvais, 1989). The questions asked about emotional bonds (e.g., "I consider my co-workers to be friends") and levels of conformity (e.g., "I conform to the expectations of my co-workers") within the workgoup. The items were measured on a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. High scores reflected strong bonds. A unitary factor structure was specified, resulting in a relatively poor fit with the data, χ^2 (90) = 318.93, p = < .001, CFI = .876. However, two- and three-factor models yielded substantially worse fit statistics. Moreover, the unitary scale yielded high internal consistency (α = .91) and was, therefore, employed in subsequent analyses (see Table 5).

Secondary Data Collection

In an attempt to prevent contamination of normative perceptions by personal characteristics in self-report data, a secondary data collection strategy was employed. Participants were asked to distribute a short survey to five of their workgroup peers.

Table 4

Factor Loadings for Psychological Contract

Item	FL	Res
Promotions or advancement	.673	.740
Competitive pay	.691	.723
Pay based on job performance	.658	.753
Adequate training	.470	.830
Job security	.529	.849
Development opportunities	.696	.718
Support with personal problems	.448	.894

Note. FL = Factor loading, Res = Residual.

Table 5

Factor Loadings for Co-worker Relations

Item	FL	Res
I spend time with my coworkers outside of work	.578	.816
I can rely on my coworkers to help me out	.725	.688
I feel like a valued part of my workgroup	.805	.593
I conform to the expectations of my coworkers	.486	.874
I do not feel close to my coworkers	.728	.686
The things my coworkers say have no effect on me	.517	.856
Membership in my workgroup is important to me	.698	.716
My coworkers can trust me to help them	.522	.853
I feel like I am part of a team	.783	.622
I consider my coworkers to be friends	.823	.568
I agree with the views of my coworkers	.615	.789
My coworkers and I do NOT think alike	.506	.863
I would NOT stick up for my coworkers if they were in trouble	.540	.841
I enjoy spending time at work with my coworkers	.751	.660
I follow the informal rules set by my workgroup	.496	.869

Note. FL = Factor loading, Res = Residual.

The survey contained the co-worker deviance, co-worker sanctions, and organizational sanctions items plus questions regarding their age, sex, and tenure. The surveys were enclosed in stamped envelopes addressed to the researcher. Co-worker responses were to be aggregated for each participant (excluding those of the participant) to assess workgroup and organizational normative climates regarding deviance. Furthermore, if more than one participant was employed by the same organization, those aggregates were to be combined to form the organizational norm measure. However, workgroup data was returned for only 51 of the 162 respondents who participated during the first wave of data collection. Due to the unacceptably low response rate (31.5%), the secondary data collection strategy was abandoned during the latter half of data collection. Therefore, co-worker deviance and sanctions, and organizational sanctions were based on self-report.

Chapter III

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Prior research has consistently shown that demographic characteristics are related to workplace deviance. Specifically, men are more deviant than women, younger workers are more deviant than older workers, and less-tenured workers are more deviant than their more-tenured counterparts. Accordingly, gender, age, and tenure were examined as control variables for production deviance, property deviance, and on-the-job substance use. There was no theoretical basis for proposing interactions among the control variables; therefore, only main effects were examined.

The first one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) examined the effect of gender, age, and tenure on property deviance. The overall model was non-significant, F (8, 213) = 1.39, ns, and explained only a small percentage of variance in property deviance (η^2 = .05). Furthermore, none of the main effects was statistically significant. The full-model ANOVA on production deviance was also non-significant, F (8, 205) = 1.49, ns, η^2 = .06. The main effect for gender was significant, F (1, 205) = 6.77, $p < .05$, η^2 = .03, with males reporting higher levels of production deviance (M = 24.62, SD = 8.86) than females (M = 21.52, SD = 7.93). However, no other main effect was statistically significant. The full model for substance use reached statistical significance, F (8, 249) = 2.69, $p < .01$, η^2 = .08. However, among main effects, only gender was significantly

related to substance use, $\underline{F}$ (1, 249) = 18.90, $\underline{p} < 01$, η^2 = .07. Males reported more on-the-job substance use ($\underline{M}$ = 3.53, $\underline{SD}$ = 2.39) than females ($\underline{M}$ = 2.52, $\underline{SD}$ = 1.27). Due to the relatively weak overall effects on property deviance, production deviance, and substance use, gender, age, and tenure were omitted as control variables from subsequent analyses. It should be noted that the lack of observed relationships between age and tenure and workplace deviance may have resulted from range restriction among the control variables.

Regression Models

The workplace deviance measurement model (see Method) and small to moderate intercorrelations among the three deviance scales (see Table 2) supported treating property deviance, production deviance, and workplace substance use as separate outcomes. On the other side of the equation, predictors were converted to deviation scores by subtracting raw values from the mean for each predictor. The resulting "centered" scores aid in interpretation of the regression weights (Aiken & West, 1991).

In addition, predictors were rationally combined to form blocks, which were entered hierarchically to determine their unique contribution to specific facets of workplace deviance. The order of entry reflected the research question, addressing specific hypotheses. The first predictor block of contained only the integrity measure, which was entered into the equation on the first step for two reasons: First, integrity was the starting point of the model represented in Figure 1. Second, entering integrity on the first step provided a comparison standard for testing subsequent mediation hypotheses (specifically, Hypothesis 5a).

The second block represented the normative climate of the respondent's workgroup, consisting of co-worker deviance and co-worker sanctions against deviance. The third block, representing organizational norms, was comprised of a single measure of organizational sanctions against deviance. For both workgroup and organizational norms, only the normative structure pertaining to the specific form of deviance was entered into the equation (e.g., norms regarding production deviance were entered into the regression equation only for production deviance). The workgroup and organizational norm predictor blocks addressed Hypotheses 1 and 2. The relationship between normative climate and deviance (i.e., Hypothesis 1) was assessed using two indices. First, the amount of unique variance accounted for by the workgroup norm block and the organization norm block was examined. Second, the regression weights for the normative predictors in the full deviance models also provided information regarding the relationship between norms and workplace deviance.

Hypothesis 1 also indicated that the relationship between workgroup norms and deviance would be larger than the organizational norm-deviance relationship. This was examined by comparing the respective regression weights (i.e., B) for co-worker and organization sanctions and co-worker deviance and organization sanctions in the full models for all forms of workplace deviance, based on procedures described by Neter, Kutner, Nachtsheim, and Wasserman (1996).

Entering workgroup norms and organizational norms in separate blocks also addressed Hypothesis 2, which suggested that the effect of organizational norms on deviance would be mediated by workgroup effects. With workgroup norms entered into the regression model on the preceding step, the change in explained variance associated

with the third step reflected the unique contribution of organization norms. It was hypothesized that organizational norms would contribute little unique variance to workplace deviance with workgroup norms in the model.

The fourth block contained three predictors. The first predictor represented the linkage between individual and workgroup, or workgroup relations. The other two predictors - POS and the psychological contract – represented individual-organization linkages. The third hypothesis posited that employee-organization and employee-workgroup linkages served primarily as moderators of the norm-deviance relationship. Therefore, this block was not expected to add substantively to the explanation of workplace deviance.

The final block consisted of four terms representing two-way interactions between norms and linkages. The interaction terms were created by taking the cross-products of the relevant predictors. The first two interaction terms represented norm-bond interactions at the workgroup level. One term examined the interaction between co-worker deviance and the individual-workgroup linkage. The second term was composed of co-worker sanctions and the individual-workgroup linkage. The second set of interactions involved organizational norms and linkages. One term was comprised of the cross-products of organizational sanctions and POS, while the other was the product of organizational sanctions and strength of the psychological contract. Again, only deviance-specific interaction terms were entered into the equation. The change in explained variance associated with the addition of the interaction block and the individual regression weights for interaction terms were examined to address Hypothesis 4.

Property deviance. Integrity was entered into the equation on the first step, accounting for a significant percentage of variance in property deviance, $\Delta R^2 = .03$, F (1, 156) = 4.14, $p < .05$ (see Table 6). The subsequent addition of the co-worker norms block resulted in a large, significant increase in variance accounted for in property deviance, $\Delta R^2 = .41$, F (2, 153) = 55.88, $p < .001$. Following co-worker norms, the addition of organizational norms failed to add significantly to the explanation of property deviance, $\Delta R^2 = .003$, F (1, 152) = .88, ns. The addition of the linkage block accounted for a significant unique amount of variance in property deviance, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, F (3, 150) = 3.66, $p < .05$. The two-way interactions were entered on the last step. However, the interaction block failed to significantly add to the explanation of property deviance, $\Delta R^2 = .002$, F (4, 146) = .17, ns.

With all predictors in the equation, the full model explained 48% of the variance in property deviance, F (11, 146) = 12.22, $p < .001$. Significant main effects were found for three predictors in the full model. There was a strong, positive relationship between co-worker deviance and property deviance. In addition, the psychological contract had a significant negative effect, which suggested that breaches of the contract were associated with higher levels of property deviance. Lastly, contrary to the hypothesized direction of the relationship, POS was positively related to property deviance. That is, increases in POS led to increases in property deviance. An examination of Table 2 indicated that the zero-order relationship between POS and property deviance was negative. However, due to correlations among predictors, in the full equation the semi-partial correlation between POS and property deviance was positive, sr = .16. No additional main effects were statistically significant and no significant interactions were detected in the full property

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Results for Property Deviance (N = 158)

Variable	ΔR^2	B	SE_B	95% confidence interval for B Low	High
Step 1					
Integrity	.026*	-0.046	0.085	-0.213	0.121
Step 2					
Co-worker property deviance norms	.410**				
Co-worker deviance		0.462***	0.051	0.362	0.562
Co-worker sanctions		-0.119	0.074	-0.264	0.026
Step 3					
Organization property deviance sanctions	.003	-0.087	0.079	-0.242	0.068
Step 4					
Linkages	.038*				
POS		0.040**	0.015	0.011	0.069
Psychological contract		-0.080*	0.038	-0.154	-0.006
Co-worker relations		0.002	0.021	-0.039	0.043
Step 5					
Two-way interactions	.002				
CWPD x CWR		-0.001	0.004	-0.009	0.007
CWDS x CWR		<0.001	0.005	-0.010	0.010

(Table 6 cont.)

Variable	ΔR^2	B	SE_B	95% confidence interval for B Low	High
OPD x POS		-0.002	0.004	-0.010	0.006
OPD x PC		-0.002	0.01	-0.022	0.018

Note. CWPD = Co-worker property deviance, CWDS = Co-worker property deviance sanctions, CWR = Co-worker relations, OPD = Organization property deviance sanctions, POS = Perceived organizational support, PC = Psychological contract.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

deviance model. Moreover, the regression weights for co-worker and organizational sanctions against property deviance were not significantly different, F (1, 146) = 0.09, ns, nor were those for co-worker deviance and organization sanctions, F (1, 146) = 2.57, ns. Therefore, in the full model, workgroup norms were not significantly stronger predictors of property deviance than were organizational norms.

Production deviance. The first predictor entered into the regression was integrity, which explained a significant amount of variance in production deviance, $\Delta R^2 = .13$, F (1, 157) = 23.61, $p < .001$ (see Table 7). The co-worker norms block accounted for a significant amount of production deviance variance above and beyond that explained by integrity, $\Delta R^2 = .28$, F (2, 155) = 37.68, $p < .001$. However, the addition of organizational norms failed to significantly increase the amount of explained variance, $\Delta R^2 = .005$, F (1, 154) = 1.33, ns. The linkage block similarly failed to contribute significantly to the prediction of production deviance, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, F (3, 151) = 1.91, ns. Finally, the two-way interactions accounted for a significant increase in explained production deviance variance, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, F (4, 147) = 2.91, $p < .05$.

The full model explained nearly 50% of the variance in property deviance, $R^2 = .48$, F (11, 147) = 12.44, $p < .001$. With all predictors entered into the equation, significant main effects were found for three predictors. Integrity and POS exerted negative effects on production deviance, while co-worker production deviance was positively related to production deviance. Moreover, neither co-worker sanctions nor co-worker deviance exerted significantly stronger effects in the full model for production deviance than did organization sanctions, Fs (1, 147) = 0.004 and 3.19, ns, respectively.

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression Results for Production Deviance (N = 159)

Variable	ΔR^2	B	SE_B	95% confidence interval for B Low	High
Step 1					
Integrity	.131**	-0.393*	0.172	-0.730	-0.056
Step 2					
Co-worker production deviance norms	.284***				
Co-worker deviance		0.341**	0.054	0.235	0.447
Co-worker sanctions		-0.172	0.096	-0.360	0.016
Step 3					
Organization production deviance sanctions	.005	-0.163	0.096	-0.351	0.025
Step 4					
Linkages	.021				
POS		-0.076*	0.030	-0.135	-0.017
Psychological contract		0.044	0.075	-0.077	0.087
Co-worker relations		0.005	0.042	-0.103	0.191
Step 5					
Two-way interactions	.041*				
CWPD x CWR		-0.006	0.004	-0.014	0.002
CWDS x CWR		-0.007	0.007	-0.021	0.007

(Table 7 cont.)

Variable	ΔR^2	B	SE_B	95% confidence interval for B Low	High
OPD x POS		-0.001	0.004	-0.009	0.007
OPD x PC		-0.031**	0.011	-0.053	-0.009

Note. CWPD = Co-worker production deviance, CWDS = Co-worker production deviance sanctions, CWR = Co-worker relations, OPD = Organization production deviance sanctions, POS = Perceived organizational support, PC = Psychological contract.

* $p < .05$

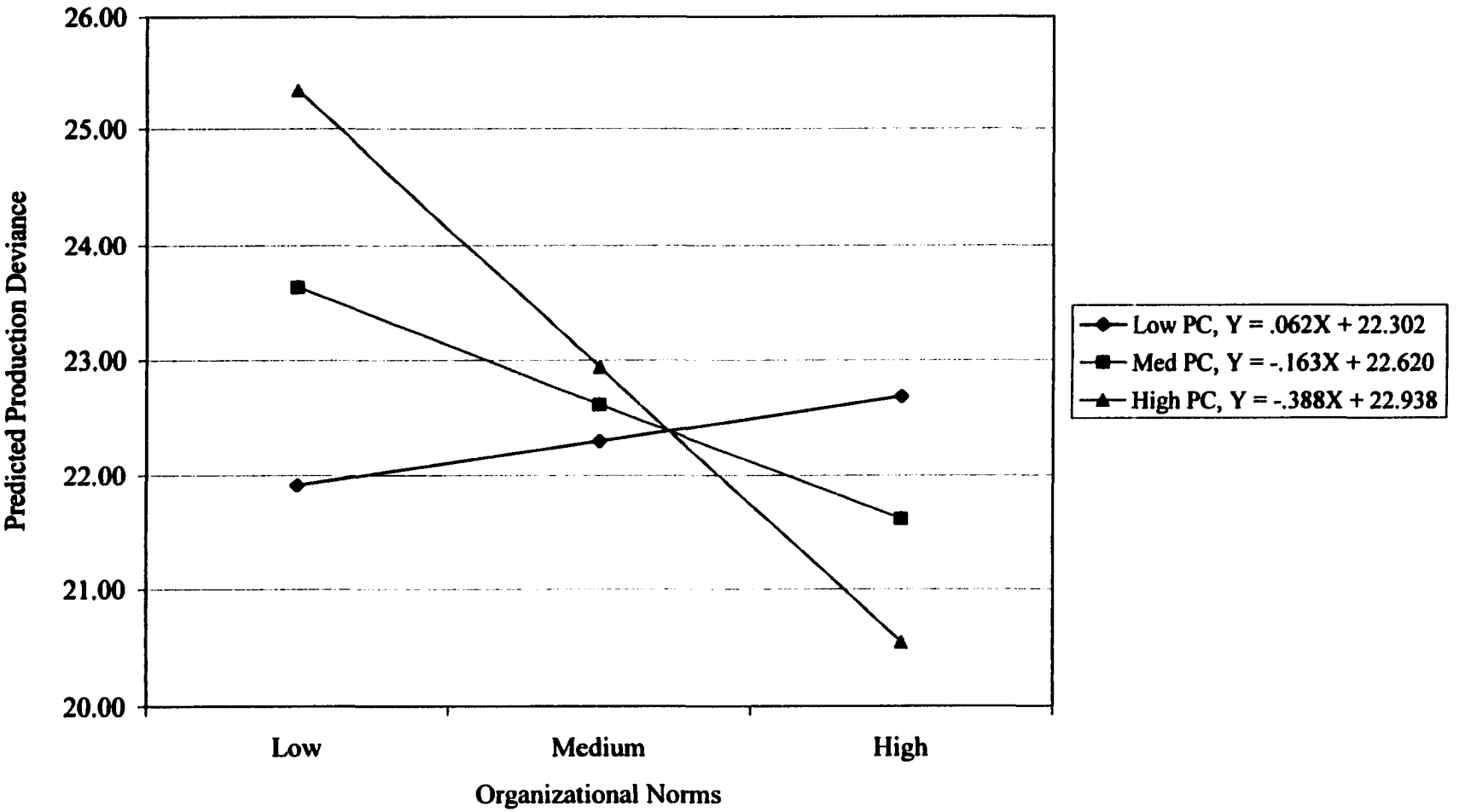
** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

A significant two-way interaction between organizational sanctions and the psychological contract was also detected in the production deviance model. The two-way interaction indicated that the relationship between organizational norms and production deviance was dependent on the strength of the psychological contract with the organization. Specifically, the regression weight for the interaction (B = -.03) reflected the change in the slope of the regression line for predicting production deviance from organizational norms, per unit increase in the strength of the psychological contract. In other words, as the psychological contract increased in strength, the slope of the regression line for prediction production deviance from organizational norms decreased by a factor of .03.

The interaction was further analyzed based on procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991). To interpret the interaction, the simple slope of the regression line predicting production deviance from organizational norms was examined at specific levels of the psychological contract. Based on recommendations by Aiken and West (1991) and Cohen and Cohen (1983), the simple slope of the organizational norm-production deviance relationship was examined at the mean of the psychological contract (with centered predictors, the mean is equal to zero), at one standard deviation (SD = 6.18) above the mean and one standard deviation below the mean. The resulting equations are presented and graphed out in Figure 2. Simple slope analyses suggested that, when the psychological contract is strong (i.e., at one standard deviation above the mean), there is a significant, negative relationship between organization sanctions and production deviance, B = -.39, t (157) = 2.87, p < .01. However, at low levels of psychological contract (i.e., one SD below the mean), organizational norms have a

Figure 2. Simple slope analysis of the organizational norm x psychological contract interaction for production deviance



negligible effect on production deviance, B = .06, t (157) = .56, ns. That is, when the organization upheld (or exceeded) its promises, organizational norms exerted a powerful protective effect against production deviance. However, the protective effect was nullified when the organization was perceived as having reneged on its obligations.

Substance use. The final regression equation examined substance use at work (see Table 8). The addition of integrity into the model accounted for a significant amount of variance in substance use, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, F (1, 211) = 15.80, p < 001. Co-worker norms regarding substance use were entered next, resulting in a significant increase in variance accounted for, $\Delta R^2 = .26$, F (2, 209) = 40.74, p < .001. Organizational norms, added on the next step, failed to significantly add to the explanation of substance use, $\Delta R^2 = .009$, F (1, 208) = 2.71, ns, nor did the addition of employee linkages with workgroups and organizations, $\Delta R^2 = .01$, F (3, 205) = 1.03, ns. Two-way interactions, which were entered on the final step, resulted in a nonsignificant increase in explained variance, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, F (4, 201) = 1.94, ns.

The full regression model explained 37% of the variance in workplace substance use, F (11, 201) = 10.88, p < .001. Three significant main effects emerged in the full model, all related to normative structures. Co-worker substance use was positively related to individual substance use, while co-worker and organizational sanctions were negatively related to substance use. No additional significant main effects were detected. Co-worker or organization sanctions against substance use were not significantly different, F (1, 201) = 0.06, ns: However, co-worker substance use was a significantly stronger predictor in the full substance use model than were organization sanctions, F (1, 201) = 6.39, p < .05.

Table 8

Hierarchical Regression Results for Substance Use (N = 213)

Variable	ΔR^2	B	SE_B	95% confidence interval for B Low	High
Step 1					
Integrity	.070**	-0.067	0.035	-0.136	0.002
Step 2					
Co-worker substance use norms	.261**				
Co-worker substance use		0.208**	0.042	0.126	0.290
Co-worker sanctions		-0.133*	0.053	-0.237	0.029
Step 3					
Organization substance use sanctions	.009	-0.160*	0.081	-0.319	-0.001
Step 4					
Linkages	.010				
POS		0.006	0.006	-0.006	0.018
Psychological contract		-0.023	0.015	-0.052	-0.006
Co-worker relations		-0.006	0.008	-0.022	0.010
Step 5					
Two-way interactions	.024				
CWSU x CWR		-0.003	0.003	-0.009	0.003
CWSS x CWR		0.003	0.004	-0.005	0.011

(Table 8 cont.)

Variable	ΔR^2	B	SE_B	95% confidence interval for B Low	High
OSU x POS		-0.006	0.005	-0.016	0.004
OSU x PC		0.027*	0.013	0.002	0.052

Note. CWSU = Co-worker substance use, CWSS = Co-worker substance use sanctions, CWR = Co-worker relations, OPD = Organization substance use sanctions, POS = Perceived organizational support, PC = Psychological contract.

* $p < .05$

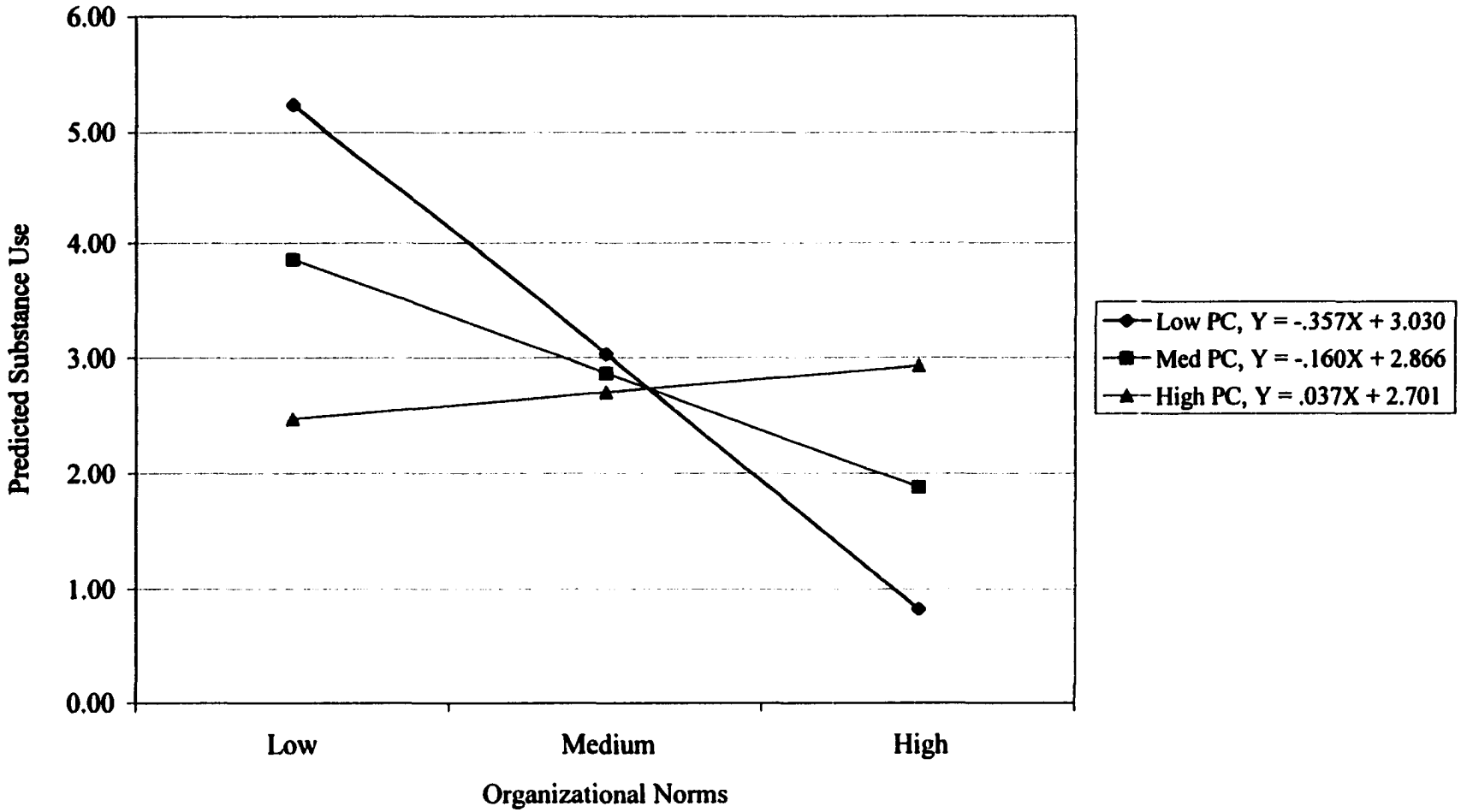
** $p < .001$

The two-way organizational sanctions x psychological contract interaction was also significant, rendering the main effect for organizational sanctions meaningless. The regression weight for the interaction (B = .027) signified the amount of slope change in predicting substance use by organizational norms, per unit increase in psychological contract. Simple slope analysis of the relationship between organizational norms and substance use was conducted at the same levels of psychological contract as the previous interaction. The regression equations are presented and graphed in Figure 3. At high levels of the psychological contract, the effect of organizational sanctions on substance use was negligible, B = .04, t (211) = .30, ns. However, at low levels of the psychological contract, there was a strong negative effect of organizational sanctions on substance use, B = -.36, t (211) = 2.87, p < .01. The organizational norm x psychological contract interaction for substance use took an opposite form from the interaction for production deviance. When the organization was viewed as having kept its side of the bargain, organizational norms had virtually no effect on substance use levels. However, when the psychological contract was strained, organizational norms exerted a strong negative effect on substance use. In this case, the protective effect of organizational sanctions against substance use was present when the psychological contract was breached, rather than when it was strong.

Testing the Mediation Hypotheses

The final set of analyses examined the role of norms and bonds in mediating the relationship between integrity and workplace deviance (i.e., Hypotheses 5a and 5b). The mediation hypothesis specified that integrity was related to deviance (i.e., Hypothesis 5a)

Figure 3. Simple slope analysis of the organizational norm x psychological contract interaction for substance use



through the network of norms and bonds at the workgroup and organization levels (i.e., Hypothesis 5b). The mediation hypothesis was tested separately for property deviance, production deviance, and substance use. Following procedures described by Baron and Kenny (1986), a new set of regression models were conducted with integrity entered on the last step to determine its unique contribution above and beyond the predictors already in the full model. The unique contribution was then compared to the variance accounted for by integrity when entered into the model on the first step. A reduction in the strength of the relationship indicates mediation.

After all main effects and two-way interactions were entered into the property deviance model, integrity was entered in the equation, resulting in a non-significant increase in explained variance, $\Delta R^2 = .001$, $F(1, 146) = 0.29$, ns. When entered into the model on the first step, integrity accounted for nearly 3% of the variance in property deviance. While the mediation hypothesis was supported, it should be noted that the zero-order integrity-property deviance relationship was not particularly large in the first place. Entering integrity into the model for production deviance on the final step resulted in a significant increase in variance explained, $\Delta R^2 = .018$, $F(1, 147) = 5.22$, $p < .05$. However, this unique contribution is small compared to the variance accounted for in production deviance by integrity when entered on the first step ($\Delta R^2 = .13$). Therefore, the mediation hypothesis was partially supported for production deviance. Lastly, entering integrity into the substance use model on the last step resulted in a nonsignificant increase in explained variance, $\Delta R^2 = .012$, $F(1, 201) = 3.78$, ns. When entered into the model on the first step, integrity accounted for nearly 7% of the variance in substance use. Therefore, the mediation hypothesis was supported for substance use.

Chapter IV

Discussion

The primary aim of the present study was testing primary socialization theory as an explanation for workplace deviance. Previous research on adolescent substance use has found that primary socialization theory's network of norms and bonds form a powerful explanatory tool. Applied to workplace deviance, the socialization agents exerting the greatest influence on individual behavior were identified as the workgroup and the organization. It was hypothesized that the normative climates at the workgroup and organization level would influence deviant behavior. It was further proposed that socialization effects on deviance would be moderated by linkages between the specific socialization forces and the individual. Lastly, it was hypothesized that individual differences (i.e., integrity) would be related to deviance primarily indirectly, through the mechanisms of norms and bonds.

Normative climates. The first hypothesis proposed that the normative climates of the workgroup and organization would be related to individual deviance behavior, which was supported. Moreover, it was posited that workgroup norms would exert comparatively stronger effects than organizational norms on deviance. The data offered qualified support for this supposition. In the full property deviance, production deviance, and substance use models, the main effect of co-worker deviance was consistently the strongest effect. The main effect of organizational sanctions was statistically significant

only in the substance use model; and this main effect was rendered moot by the presence of the organizational sanction-psychological contract interaction. Moreover, zero-order correlations between workgroup norms and specific forms of workplace deviance were consistently higher than correlations between organizational norms and deviance. However, in the full regression models, only one statistically significant difference was detected between organizational and workgroup level effects: Co-worker deviance was a stronger predictor of substance use than were organizational sanctions. Taken together, these results suggest that, while workgroup norms *appeared* to have exerted stronger effects on workplace deviance, they were not consistently significantly stronger determinants of workplace deviance than were organizational norms.

Hypothesis 2 indicated that the effect of organizational norms on workplace deviance would be mediated by norms at the workgroup level. The addition of workgroup norms accounted for large amounts of unique variance in production deviance, property deviance, and substance use. However, the subsequent addition of organizational norms failed to account for more than 1% of the unique variance in any of the three forms of workplace deviance. That is, the effect of the organizational norms on deviance was nearly fully mediated by the workgroup effects, thereby lending support for the second hypothesis. The pattern of results for workgroup and organizational norms mirrors previous findings that formal organizational norms regarding deviance are mediated by the informal norms of the workgroup (Hollinger & Clark, 1982b; Lewicki et al., 1997). However, even though organizational norms did not substantively add to the explanation of workplace deviance with workgroup norms in the model, it should not be concluded that organizational norms are unimportant determinants of deviant behavior. The

organizational climate forms the context in which workgroup norms, including norms surrounding deviance, are formed and maintained. In this sense, the organization sets the overall tone for deviance in the workplace.

Linkages. Within the context of primary socialization theory, linkages between individuals and socialization sources serve as conditioning factors for the relationship between norms and deviance. In this sense, these linkages are important solely as moderators. Even though previous research has consistently identified individual-organization linkages as important determinants of deviance in the workplace, in the present study they were examined primarily as moderators. The addition of the linkage block contributed statistically significant amounts of variance only to the property deviance model. Further analyses indicated that co-worker relations did not contribute to workplace deviance as either a main effect or a moderator. The POS main effect was statistically significant in the property deviance and production deviance models, but not for substance use. Furthermore, POS did not emerge as a moderator in any of the regression models. The psychological contract main effect was statistically significant only in the property deviance model. However, as discussed below, psychological contracts did moderate of the effect of organization-level norms on production deviance and substance use. Overall, the patterns of results suggest that co-worker relations play little role in governing deviant behavior either directly or in combination with workgroup norms. Furthermore, within the primary socialization network, POS exerts small but direct effects on various forms of deviance. Conversely, psychological contracts exert little direct effect on deviance, but create conditions for organization-level normative influence on workplace deviance.

Interactions. The fourth hypothesis addressed the interplay between norms and bonds in determining workplace deviance. Specifically, it was posited that linkages between the employee and socialization sources (i.e., workgroups and organizations) would moderate the relationship between specific normative climates and deviant behavior. For example, the normative influence of a deviant workgroup may be short-circuited if the individual fails to identify with or value membership in the workgroup. Conversely, organizational sanctions against deviance may be disregarded (or even rejected) if the employee feels betrayed or slighted by the organization. However, the regression equations provided relatively little support for this hypothesis, especially at the workgroup level.

There were no significant two-way interactions between workgroup norms and linkages in the production deviance, property deviance, and substance use models. In fact, only one of the interactions – in the production deviance equation – even distantly approached significance ($t = 1.46$, $p = .15$). The lack of norm-bond interactions at the workgroup level, especially in the context of the large workgroup norm main effects, strongly suggests that workgroup influence on deviance transcended the linkage with the individual. That is, it did not matter whether the respondents loved or hated their co-workers, they complied with the group.

There were two significant interactions between norms and bonds (i.e., the psychological contract) at the organization level. The first interaction was statistically significant in the full production deviance model, following the form suggested by primary socialization theory. A healthy linkage between the employee and the organization led to a strong, negative relationship between organizational sanctions and

deviance. That is, when employees felt connected with the organization, they followed organizational sanctions against shirking, slacking, and tardiness. However, compromised employee-organization bonds resulted in a negligible organizational sanction effect against deviance. In other words, when employees felt mistreated, the power of formal sanctions to control deviance was short-circuited.

The second significant organizational norm-bond interaction emerged in the full model for substance use. However, this interaction took the opposite form from the previously discussed interaction. In the prediction of substance use, weak employee-organization linkages resulted in a strong *negative* effect for organizational sanctions, while strong bonds between the employee and the organization resulted in negligible effects for formal substance use sanctions. In other words, employees who felt maltreated by the organization tended to follow organizational guidelines regarding substance use at work. On the other hand, employees who felt the organization had lived up to its end of the employment bargain disregarded organizational substance use norms.

One possible explanation for this finding may be range restriction in substance use among employees with strong bonds to the organization. In other words, perhaps strong bonds with employees serve to reduce substance use at work to near-zero levels. A variance comparison found that substance use was significantly less variable for the lower third of the sample on the psychological contract measure ($\underline{s}^2 = 3.18$) versus the upper third ($\underline{s}^2 = 1.06$), $\underline{F}$ (59, 57 = 3.00, $\underline{p} < .01$). Therefore, employees with a strong connection to the organization varied less in terms of substance use than did employees with weakened bonds. While this analysis is inconclusive (especially given the reduced

sample sizes), it does suggest a possible artifactual explanation for the aberrant form of the interaction.

One interesting aspect of the interactions is the lack of a pattern suggesting retaliation or vengeful behavior. Many researchers and theorists (Bies et al., 1997; Greenberg & Scott, 1996; Lewicki et al., 1997; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997) have accorded a primary causal role to retaliation in the etiology of workplace deviance. The act of retaliation suggests an active defiance of organizational prescriptions regarding specific behaviors. The most effective retaliation, at least in terms of redressing inequity cognitions, may be defiance of organizational norms or rules. In other words, "hit 'em where it hurts." Under this assumption, one would expect a strong *positive* relationship between sanctions and deviance when the psychological contract is breached. However, this was not the case. When the psychological contract was strained, organizational norms for production deviance had little or no effect, while norms for substance use provided protection for the organization.

The failure to detect an interaction pattern supporting retaliation may be due to the strength of the situation. When the employee-organization linkage is strained or severed, the psychological conditions may be ripe for retaliation; however, work conditions or constraints may prevent employees from acting on the impulse to retaliate (Robinson and Bennett, 1997). For example, formal grievance mechanisms, tight security, or a lack of attractive items to steal may all circumvent attempts to redress mistreatment through retaliation. Rather than being a knee-jerk reaction to mistreatment, it is possible that retaliation against the organization may only occur under a very restrictive set of

conditions (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997; Skarlicki, Folger, & Tesluk, 1999). Further research should address the conditions under which retaliation is most likely.

Individual differences. The final set of hypotheses addressed the relationship between integrity, workplace deviance, and the primary socialization model. It was proposed that integrity would be related to deviant behavior in the workplace, which was supported. The addition of integrity on the first step of the regression models for property deviance, production deviance, and substance use produced statistically significant increases in explained variance. The second hypothesis specified that integrity would be related to the normative climates of the workgroup and the organization. An examination of the zero-order correlations indicated that integrity was negatively related to co-worker deviance, but positively related to sanctions at the workgroup and organizational levels.

The final hypothesis regarding integrity was of primary importance in this study. It was proposed that the integrity exerted primarily indirect effects on deviance through the mechanism of norms and bonds with workgroups and organizations. With all other predictors in the model, integrity contributed little unique variance to the various forms of workplace deviance. The increase in explained variance was statistically significant only in the production deviance model. Furthermore, in none of the equations did the addition of integrity account for more than 1.8% of the remaining outcome variance. That is, the effect of integrity on property deviance, production deviance, and substance use was largely indirect, operating through the network of norms and bonds in the primary socialization model.

It is important to note that empirical support for the mediation hypothesis does not suggest that integrity testing should be abandoned in efforts to control or eliminate

deviance in the workplace. Primary socialization theory proposes a dynamic model of deviance, whereby personal characteristics exert their effects through the socialization process. Similar to Schneider's (1987) ASA framework, it is proposed that people seek out and remain in situations (i.e., form bonds) that correspond to their personal characteristics, and select out of situations that do not. In the case of workplace deviance, individuals who are low in integrity tend to gravitate toward workgroups and organizations that share or support this characteristic, while individuals who are high in integrity tend to leave workgroups and organizations that do not support honest behavior. Through the ASA process, deviance becomes self-perpetuating in workgroups and organizations. Therefore, while integrity may not be directly linked to deviance on the individual level, it has a powerful indirect effect on deviance through choice of work climate.

Implications

Organizations typically have two options for controlling deviance in the workplace; (1) changing the person or, (2) changing the situation (Murphy, 1993; Murphy & Luther, 1997). The first option involves changing the type of employee entering or remaining with the organization. Generally, changing the person involves adopting a screening process such as honesty or integrity testing that targets the identification of likely miscreants or, in the words of Trevino and Youngblood (1990), "bad apples." The second option, changing the situation, involves altering systemic factors that contribute to deviant behavior. In other words, cleaning up the "bad barrels" (Trevino & Youngblood, 1990). Situational interventions may take many forms, including increased security, decreased opportunities for theft, or targeting formal or informal norms that target

deviance. The results of the present study have clear implications for both forms of interventions.

Changing the person. Organizations confronted with the problem of workplace deviance often look to change the type of employee entering the workplace, generally through personnel screening (Murphy & Luther, 1997). A considerable body of research supports the validity of integrity or honesty tests for predicting a wide range of deviant work behaviors. Furthermore, employee selection (e.g., integrity testing) has been promoted as the most effective means of controlling workplace deviance (Collins & Griffin, 1997). However, the present study indicates that, once primary socialization factors are accounted for, integrity may contribute little to the prediction of workplace deviance. This seems to suggest that focusing on "bad apples" may be a waste of time since the real driver of workplace deviance is "bad barrels." However, this perspective ignores the subtle dynamics of person-situation determinants of individual behavior. Schnieder and others (Scarr, 1996; Schneider, 1983, 1987; Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995) proposed that person and situation factors are intertwined such that people "make" their environments. The ASA framework suggests that certain types of people are attracted to, selected by, and retained in corresponding types of organizations. Conversely, certain types of people are repelled, rejected, and released by certain organizations. Through the ASA framework, workgroup and organizational deviance cultures and climates are self-perpetuating (the Dallas Cowboys being the textbook example) because individuals are selective regarding the situations in which they choose to enter and remain.

In this respect, integrity may play an important, albeit an indirect, role in workplace deviance. Deviant individuals (i.e., those low in integrity) seek out work situations that correspond to their beliefs and values, evidenced by the relationships between integrity and normative climates in the present study. Moreover, workgroups and organizations select and retain employees who embody or support important norms or values. Taken to the logical end, enough bad apples will rot the barrel, thereby making it an even more attractive work situation for additional bad apples. Therefore, adopting an integrity testing program may have long-term, cumulative effects on the honesty climate of the organization. In addition, the decision to employ integrity testing may have an immediate, proximal effect by sending a message that the organization is serious about controlling or eliminating deviance.

Changing the situation. The second option for controlling workplace deviance targets systemic factors that encourage or fail to discourage deviant behaviors. The results of the present study suggest that workgroup norms, particularly levels of co-worker deviance, dwarf other factors in the determination of workplace deviance. In all three regression equations, the addition of workgroup norms accounted for at least 26% of the variance in specific forms of workplace deviance. Moreover, in the full regression models, co-worker deviance was the most powerful predictor of production deviance, property deviance, and substance use. The clear implication is that working within a deviant workgroup is a risk factor for individual deviance. In addition, the lack of interactions between workgroup norms and bonds further suggests that the normative climate affects individual deviance regardless of the employee's relations with his or her co-workers. It has been shown that group norms are most powerful when the individual

identifies with the target group (Hackman, 1992; Sherif & Sherif, 1969). However, in the present study, the employee-workgroup linkage did not modify the effect of workgroup norms on individual behavior.

The lack of norm-bond interactions at the workgroup level may, however, reflect the ASA process in action. An important component of Schneider's framework is that people select out of work situations that clash with their values, beliefs, or characteristics. The result may be range restriction, not only in individual characteristics, but also in terms of bonds with the workgroup. Employees who are a better match with the group, like the group more, and are likely to stay. Those who are a poor match, dislike the workgroup, and are likely to leave, resulting in an increasingly cohesive workgroup. It follows that the individuals who are most likely to leave (i.e., those dissatisfied with the group) are also those who are least likely to adhere to group norms. Therefore, the workgroup norm-bond interaction may not be observable in well-established groups, due to a lack of dissenters.

Ultimately, the results suggest that the interventions against workplace deviance should be leveraged primarily at the workgroup level. This may be easier said than done. Group norms develop over time, arising from a wide range of shared experiences, and often are intrinsic to the survival of the group (Feldman, 1984). Moreover, Feldman notes that, "...until it is known more concretely why norms develop and why they are strongly enforced, attempts to change group norms will remain haphazard and difficult to accomplish" (p. 52). Ironically, given the propositions of the ASA framework, the first step in changing the workgroup situation may be changing the people who comprise the group. Workgroup norms are, in part, a reflection of group members. An influx of high

integrity employees in a deviant workgroup would likely alter the normative climate of the group, assuming the high integrity members are not driven from the situation.

The effect of organizational norms on workplace deviance is less clear. The addition of organizational norms in the regression equations for production deviance, property deviance, and substance use failed to account for significant amounts of unique variance. However, this does not necessarily mean that organizational norms should be ignored in addressing workplace deviance. As previously mentioned, the effect of organizational norms on workplace deviance was nearly fully mediated by the more proximal workgroup norms. In other words, the organizational sets the tone for deviance throughout the work situation. Therefore, changing the organizational situation is likely to result in changes to workgroup norms. For example, beefing up security may send a message to workgroups that encouraging theft is not acceptable and will not be tolerated. Workgroup norms are likely to change in response to shifts in the organizational honesty climate.

In the full deviance models, the effect of organizational norms was either non-existent, as in the property deviance model, or was moderated by the employee-organization linkage, as in the models for production deviance and substance use. In the case of production deviance, weakened employee-organization bonds rendered organizational norms ineffective in controlling deviance. Conversely, weakened employee-organization bonds increased the intended effect of organizational norms against substance use. While the interactions took opposite forms, it may be concluded that the employee-organization linkage alters the effect of organizational norms on deviant behavior, at least in the case of production deviance and substance use. In order to

have an effect on workplace deviance, any intervention at the organizational level should address both the normative climate of the organization and the connection between the employee and the employing organization.

Previous research and theory has focused on the direct effect of bonds with the organization in determining deviant work behavior. The present study did not find strong main effects for either POS or the psychological contract. POS exerted small main effects on various forms of deviance, while the psychological contract served primarily as a moderator of the norm-deviance relationship at the organization level. Again, despite the small effects, organizations cannot afford to ignore the bond with employees in interventions targeting workplace deviance. The relationship between bonds and deviance is complicated and possibly situation-specific (Greenberg, 1993; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Future research on primary socialization theory should focus on the specific situations in which employee-organization bonds serve as main effects and moderators of employee deviance.

A final caveat regarding interventions that change the situation focuses on personal characteristics. Recent research suggests that the effectiveness of situational interventions targeting deviant behavior may be moderated by personal characteristics (Skarlicki et al., 1999; Ryan, Schmit, Daum, Brutus, McCormick, and Brodke, 1997). For example, Ryan and colleagues split a sample of college students into high and low honesty groups based on results of an integrity test and compared their perceptions of behaviors and situations regarding honesty in the workplace. They found that low honesty individuals perceived dishonest behaviors as less dishonest than their high honesty counterparts. In addition, the low honesty group viewed social control factors (e.g.,

factors (e.g., deterrents, policies, and facilitation of dishonesty) as less influential in controlling deviance than did the high honesty group. The results suggest that dishonest workers may view workplace deviance as normal behavior in a dishonest world. Moreover, dishonest employees may also simply be more obtuse in reading situational signals pertaining to deviance than honest workers. For example, an "unmistakable" message regarding deviance to honest workers such as the installation of security cameras may be ambiguous to the dishonest worker. Organizations and workgroups may have to resort to increasingly unambiguous interventions to catch the attention of dishonest workers. However, by doing so, they run the risk of creating an uncomfortable environment for the majority of employees. Future research should further examine the role of personal characteristics as moderators of the relationships between situational factors and deviance.

Limitations

There are several limitations that need to be addressed regarding the internal and external validity of the present study. The first limitation stems from the reliance on self-report data, which raises a number of concerns about effect size inflation. Staw (1975) suggested that individuals strive to maintain consistency in attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions in their responses to self-report items, thereby artificially inflating relationships among variables. In the present study, respondents answered questions about their own behavior, as well as perceptions of deviance among co-workers and sanctions against deviance at the workgroup and organizational levels. It is possible that the motivation to maintain consistency may have contaminated the measures of workgroup and organizational norms, thereby inflating relationships among variables under

consideration. In addition, item wording may have further increased the likelihood of inflated effect sizes. All of the items pertaining to deviance, co-worker deviance, and workgroup and organizational sanctions were based on identical statements, with different question stems and response formats. The similarity of the items may have elicited similar response patterns, thereby increasing the likelihood percept-percept inflation (Spector, Chen, & Brannick, 1990). Lastly, most of measures employed in the present study used Likert-type scale formats, which raises the possibility of common method variance contamination of the observed relationships.

While self-report data raises legitimate questions about upwardly biased effect size estimates, there is evidence that concerns regarding percept-percept inflation may, in fact, be inflated themselves. Several authors have suggested that self-report data may not necessarily upwardly bias effect size estimates. In an examination of multitrait-multimethod matrices, Spector (1987, 1992) found little evidence for effect size inflation due to common method variance, concluding that percept-percept inflation on the basis of common method variance alone was unlikely, especially with properly developed instruments. Moreover, in an analysis of nearly 43,000 zero-order correlations, Crampton and Wagner (1994) determined, "Percept-percept inflation may be more the exception than the rule in microresearch on organizations" (p. 72). The conclusions of Spector and Crampton and Wagner, while encouraging, do not eliminate concerns over self-report data. Therefore, the results from the present study should be interpreted with a degree of caution.

Ideally, in the present study, data on workgroup and organizational norms would have been collected through independent sources, thereby eliminating concerns about

contamination. As previously mentioned (see Method), this approach was attempted during the first half of data collection. However, co-worker data collection was abandoned due to extremely low response rates and high costs. Future research on normative bases of workplace deviance should attempt to collect data from multiple sources and aggregate responses at the targeted levels of analysis (e.g., workgroup, division, organization). Hierarchical linear modeling (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992), which allows the partitioning of variance at individual and aggregate levels within nested models, provides an ideal platform for investigating individual, workgroup, and organization level components of workplace deviance.

An additional limitation addresses the accuracy of self-report data, especially involving sensitive or potentially damaging issues such as deviant work behavior. It is possible that respondents underreported their actual level of deviance due to biased self-perceptions, fear of reprisals, or social desirability, resulting in range restriction in the outcome variable. As a result, the effect size estimates presented in the results may be artificially depressed. However, it should be noted that alternative methods of assessing deviance (e.g., disciplinary actions at work, drug testing, and arrest records) are more costly, difficult to obtain, and result in even greater range restriction than self-reports (Holcom, 1993). Moreover, there is evidence that self-reports are reasonably accurate measures of deviance, given assurances of anonymity (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). The collection of data in the university setting (i.e. not at the work site) and precautions taken to ensure confidentiality may have mitigated range restriction in the outcome measure. In addition, the level of involvement in workplace deviance (see Table 9) in the present

Table 9

Percentage of Involvement in Workplace Deviance

Item	Response 1	2	3	4	5	6	NA
Property Deviance							
Taking company property	41.0	20.5	13.4	14.6	6.0	1.1	3.4
Getting paid for more hours than you worked	46.3	16.0	16.0	11.6	5.2	2.6	1.9
Borrowing or taking money	83.2	6.6	4.1	1.1	0.7	1.1	3.4
Using tools/property /equipment for personal use	37.7	15.7	15.3	16.4	7.5	2.6	4.5
Taking office supplies home	44.8	13.4	13.4	16.8	5.2	1.1	5.2
Production Deviance							
Taking long breaks	24.6	13.4	9.7	18.7	18.7	6.7	8.2
Arriving late	18.3	19.4	19.8	22.0	16.0	3.7	0.7
Doing slow/sloppy work	45.1	17.2	13.8	14.2	7.1	1.9	0.7
Leaving early	51.5	14.2	11.9	10.4	7.5	1.9	2.2
Abusing sick leave	33.6	20.1	24.3	16.0	1.5	1.5	3.0
Work on personal matters	28.0	10.8	22.0	23.1	11.6	3.4	0.4
Daydreaming	20.1	13.1	17.5	25.0	13.4	9.3	0.7

(Table 9 cont.)

Item	Response 1	2	3	4	5	6	NA
Refusing to follow orders	49.6	23.9	13.8	9.3	0.7	1.1	1.1
Dragging out work for overtime	50.7	13.1	13.4	11.2	4.5	.04	6.7
Substance Use							
Work under the influence of alcohol	75.0	12.3	4.9	4.1	1.5	.04	1.5
Work under the influence of drugs	81.7	5.2	3.0	3.4	4.5	1.5	0.4

Note. Percentages based on entire sample (N = 268). Percentages may not total to 100% due to a small number missing cases. 1 = Never, 2 = Once, 3 = Yearly, 4 = Monthly, 5 = Weekly, 6 = Almost daily, NA = Not applicable.

sample was comparatively higher than that reported in similar studies (e.g., Bennett & Robinson, 1996; Hollinger & Clark, 1983b), which suggests that the respondents were not shy about admitting to past transgressions. Therefore, it is unlikely that range restriction in the workplace deviance measures affected the results of the present study.

The cross-sectional nature of the present study presents additional limitations. First, primary socialization theory suggests a dynamic view of the etiology and maintenance of deviance within a social system. Applied to workplace deviance, individual behavior is influenced by the network of norms and bonds to various socialization sources, such as the workgroup and the organization. However, the individual is not a passive actor in the process. The individual brings to the work situation values, beliefs, and perceptions that affect bonding with the socialization sources. Given the degree of correspondence between the individual and the work situation, the employee may stay, leave, or maybe not even join in the first place. Moreover, primary socialization theory suggests that normative climates are plastic, changing in response to the characteristics of constituent members and the normative climates of other socialization sources. The assumption is that deviance and the patterns of contributing factors are not fixed, but dynamic. Cross-sectional data offers only a snapshot of the social situation at a single point in time. To truly test the propositions of primary socialization theory, a longitudinal study is required.

A second limitation regarding cross-sectional data is the inability to determine the directionality of hypothesized relationships. For example, it was hypothesized that disruptions in the bond between the employee and the organization would lead (indirectly) to increased levels of workplace deviance. However, cognitive dissonance

theory (Festinger, 1957) would suggest just the opposite. For example, an individual who commits an act that damages the organization may, in turn, devalue the organization in an attempt to maintain consistency among values and behavior (i.e., "If I am stealing from the organization, they must have wronged me."). While the cognitive dissonance explanation is admittedly unlikely in this situation, it is still important to conclusively determine the direction of the relationships regarding deviance. Additional research should employ longitudinal models to test the dynamic hypotheses suggested by primary socialization theory and determine the direction of observed relationships between workplace deviance and its correlates.

A final limitation concerns the generalizability of the results to organizations at large. The sample was composed entirely of college students enrolled in a course in introductory psychology. It may be argued that data from college students does not generalize to the working population. However, all of the respondents were employed at least part-time at the point of data collection, in a wide range of industries ranging from food service to construction to insurance. Moreover, problems with workplace deviance tend to be concentrated at lower levels of the organization, with younger, less tenured employees (Hollinger et al., 1989; Szwajkowski, 1989; Tucker, 1989), who are demographically similar to the present sample. Therefore, the present sample reflects a population of interest in the area of workplace deviance.

Considerations for Future Research

The present study is the first to combine normative pressures, personal characteristics, and individual-organization linkages in the study of workplace deviance. Primary socialization theory was imported from the adolescent deviance literature as an

organizing structure the fragmented research on workplace deviance. The results suggest that primary socialization theory has potential value for predicting workplace deviance. However, due to limitations discussed earlier, other explanations for the results must be considered.

One possible alternative explanation of the results comes from theory and research on attitudes. The theory of reasoned action (Azjen, 1988; Fishbein & Azjen, 1975) suggests that attitudes are related to behaviors through behavioral intentions. Two components of attitudes - attitudes toward the behavior and subjective norms - combine to predict intentions. Attitudes toward the behavior are internalized evaluations of particular courses of action. They arise from salient beliefs and the perceived value of the behavior in question. Subjective norms, on the other hand, are beliefs about the expectations and reactions of referents (who may be individuals, groups, or an organization) toward the behavior. The impact of subjective norms on behavioral intentions is determined by the individual's motivation to comply with the referent. If motivation to comply with a particular referent is low, the effect of subjective norms on intentions may be neutralized. If motivation to comply is high, the effect of the particular subjective norms on behavioral intentions will likely be strong. In general, the influence of subjective norms may be obviated by sufficiently strong internalized attitudes toward the behavior.

It is quite possible that the variables and relationships proposed by primary socialization theory might be recast in terms of the theory of reasoned action. For example, integrity may be tapping internalized standards of honest workplace behavior (Ash, 1991). Moreover, in the present study, workplace and organizational norms might

serve as a proxy for subjective norms in the theory of reasoned action. Finally, motivation to comply is very similar to the concepts of the employee-workgroup and employee-organization linkages specified by primary socialization theory. It is possible that the present results reflect the theory of reasoned action masquerading as primary socialization theory, especially due to the reliance on self-report data. Future research on primary socialization theory should attempt to gather normative data from independent sources in order to rule out the theory of reasoned action as an alternative explanation.

An additional research concern arises from the lack of norm-bond interactions at the workgroup level. Two possible explanations merit further examination. First, it is possible that the 15-item co-worker relations scale did not provide adequate construct coverage of the employee-workgroup linkage. For example, it has been suggested that adherence to workgroup norms is most likely when the group is attractive, cohesive, and powerful (Hackman, 1992; Murphy, 1993). However, the co-worker relations scale may only have tapped into the cohesiveness aspect. Future research on the role of employee-workgroup linkages as moderators of the norm-deviance relationship should use expanded measures of workgroup variables, including attractiveness and power.

A second possible explanation for the lack of a norm-bond interaction at the workgroup level may be due to the restricted definition of workplace deviance. The present study defined workplace deviance as those behaviors that defy organizational policies, norms, or expectations and are intended to harm the organization. Deviant behaviors targeting individuals in the work situation (e.g., sexual harassment, obstructionism) were deliberately omitted from study. As noted by Robinson and Bennett (1995), different variables may predict organizationally-directed versus interpersonally-

directed deviance in the workplace. It is possible that the norm-bond interaction at the workgroup level is a powerful predictor of interpersonal deviance rather than behavior targeting the organization. Future research should examine the role of the workgroup norm-bond interaction in an expanded definition of workplace deviance.

Summary and Conclusions

The present body of literature on workplace deviance presents a fragmented picture of predictors, correlates, and outcomes. The present study attempted to unite three separate strands of research using primary socialization theory as an organizing structure. In general, the propositions of primary socialization theory as applied to workplace deviance were supported. Deviance was influenced by the normative climates of important socialization sources within the organization. The normative climates within the organization were themselves related. In addition, the effect of integrity on workplace deviance was almost entirely mediated by the network of norms and bonds proposed by primary socialization theory. However, an important aspect of primary socialization theory - the interactions of norms and bonds in determining individual deviance - was only partially supported. The effect of organizational norms on deviance depended, in part, on the employee-organization linkage. However, at the workgroup level, the effect of norms on individual behavior was powerful and direct. These results mirror previous findings that, among predictors of workplace deviance, the norms of co-workers are of primary importance.

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Appendix

WORKPLACE BEHAVIOR SURVEY

This survey contains questions regarding behaviors at work. Questions are printed on BOTH sides of each page. Circle the response that is most accurate. Please work quickly but respond to every question. Please be honest in your responses; remember that this information is completely anonymous.

How often do YOU engage in each of the following activities at work:

All items rated on the following scale:
1 = almost daily
2 = weekly
3 = monthly
4 = yearly
5 = happened once
6 = never
na = not applicable

Taking unauthorized long lunch or coffee breaks	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Punching a time card for an absent employee	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Taking company merchandise	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Getting paid for more hours than you worked	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Damaging merchandise in order to buy it on discount	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Using your employer's tools, property, or equipment for personal projects	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Borrowing or taking money from your employer without authorization	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Short-changing or overcharging customers	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Failing to report theft of employer's property	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Coming to work late without approval	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Taking office supplies home	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Doing slow or sloppy work on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Working under the influence of alcohol	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Leaving work early without approval	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Using sick leave when not sick	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Working on a personal matter instead of doing work for your employer	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Working under the influence of drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Spending too much time fantasizing or daydreaming instead of working	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Refusing to follow your employer's instructions	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
"Surfing the internet" or sending personal e-mail on company time	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Dragging out work in order to get overtime	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Intentionally damaging company property	1	2	3	4	5	6	na

The next two sections ask you questions about the co-workers with whom you work closely. When answering these questions, think about the people at work with whom you have regular contact on the job.

How often do YOUR CO-WORKERS engage in each of the following activities?

All items rated on the following scale:
1 = almost daily
2 = weekly
3 = monthly
4 = yearly
5 = happened once
6 = never
na = not applicable

Taking unauthorized long lunch or coffee breaks	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Punching a time card for an absent employee	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Taking company merchandise	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Getting paid for more hours than you worked	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Damaging merchandise in order to buy it on discount	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Using your employer's tools, property, or equipment for personal projects	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Borrowing or taking money from your employer without authorization	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Short-changing or overcharging customers	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Failing to report theft of employer's property	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Coming to work late without approval	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Taking office supplies home	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Doing slow or sloppy work on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Working under the influence of alcohol	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Leaving work early without approval	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Using sick leave when not sick	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Working on a personal matter instead of doing work for your employer	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Working under the influence of drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Spending too much time fantasizing or daydreaming instead of working	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Refusing to follow your employer's instructions	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
"Surfing the internet" or sending personal e-mail on company time	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Dragging out work in order to get overtime	1	2	3	4	5	6	na
Intentionally damaging company property	1	2	3	4	5	6	na

What would the most common reaction of your CO-WORKERS be to each of the following activities?

All items rated on the following scale:
1 = encourage
2 = do nothing
3 = discourage
4 = avoid the person/people involved
5 = inform persons in authority
na = not applicable

Taking unauthorized long lunch or coffee breaks	1	2	3	4	5	na
Punching a time card for an absent employee	1	2	3	4	5	na
Taking company merchandise	1	2	3	4	5	na
Getting paid for more hours than you worked	1	2	3	4	5	na
Damaging merchandise in order to buy it on discount	1	2	3	4	5	na
Using your employer's tools, property, or equipment for personal projects	1	2	3	4	5	na
Borrowing or taking money from your employer without authorization	1	2	3	4	5	na
Short-changing or overcharging customers	1	2	3	4	5	na
Failing to report theft of employer's property	1	2	3	4	5	na
Coming to work late without approval	1	2	3	4	5	na
Taking office supplies home	1	2	3	4	5	na
Doing slow or sloppy work on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	na
Working under the influence of alcohol	1	2	3	4	5	na
Leaving work early without approval	1	2	3	4	5	na
Using sick leave when not sick	1	2	3	4	5	na
Working on a personal matter instead of doing work for your employer	1	2	3	4	5	na
Working under the influence of drugs	1	2	3	4	5	na
Spending too much time fantasizing or daydreaming instead of working	1	2	3	4	5	na
Refusing to follow your employer's instructions	1	2	3	4	5	na
"Surfing the internet" or sending personal e-mail on company time	1	2	3	4	5	na
Dragging out work in order to get overtime	1	2	3	4	5	na
Intentionally damaging company property	1	2	3	4	5	na

The next section asks you questions about the organization you work for.

How severe would the reaction of the ORGANIZATION be to each of the following activities?

All items rated on the following scale:
1 = not at all severe
2 = slightly severe
3 = moderately severe
4 = severe
5 = very severe
na = not applicable

Taking unauthorized long lunch or coffee breaks	1	2	3	4	5	na
Punching a time card for an absent employee	1	2	3	4	5	na
Taking company merchandise	1	2	3	4	5	na
Getting paid for more hours than you worked	1	2	3	4	5	na
Damaging merchandise in order to buy it on discount	1	2	3	4	5	na
Using your employer's tools, property, or equipment for personal projects	1	2	3	4	5	na
Borrowing or taking money from your employer without authorization	1	2	3	4	5	na
Short-changing or overcharging customers	1	2	3	4	5	na
Failing to report theft of employer's property	1	2	3	4	5	na
Coming to work late without approval	1	2	3	4	5	na
Taking office supplies home	1	2	3	4	5	na
Doing slow or sloppy work on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	na
Working under the influence of alcohol	1	2	3	4	5	na
Leaving work early without approval	1	2	3	4	5	na
Using sick leave when not sick	1	2	3	4	5	na
Working on a personal matter instead of doing work for your employer	1	2	3	4	5	na
Working under the influence of drugs	1	2	3	4	5	na
Spending too much time fantasizing or daydreaming instead of working	1	2	3	4	5	na
Refusing to follow your employer's instructions	1	2	3	4	5	na
"Surfing the internet" or sending personal e-mail on company time	1	2	3	4	5	na
Dragging out work in order to get overtime	1	2	3	4	5	na
Intentionally damaging company property	1	2	3	4	5	na

THE ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

This survey contains a series of questions about your relations with your employing organization and your coworkers. Circle the response that is most accurate. Please try to work quickly but respond to every statement. Please be honest in your responses; remember that this information is completely anonymous.

The following section asks about the extent and fulfillment of your employer's obligations to employees.

All items rated on the following scale:
1 = not at all
2 = not much
3 = some
4 = pretty much
5 = very much

1a. How much has your employer promised you promotions or advancement? 1 2 3 4 5
1b. Has your employer fulfilled this promise? 1 2 3 4 5

2a. How much has your employer promised competitive pay? 1 2 3 4 5
2b. Has your employer fulfilled this promise? 1 2 3 4 5

3a. How much has your employer promised that your pay will be based on your job performance? 1 2 3 4 5
3b. Has your employer fulfilled this promise? 1 2 3 4 5

4a. How much has your employer promised adequate training? 1 2 3 4 5
4b. Has your employer fulfilled this promise? 1 2 3 4 5

5a. How much has your employer promised that you will have job security? 1 2 3 4 5
5b. Has your employer fulfilled this promise? 1 2 3 4 5

6a. How much has your employer promised career development opportunities? 1 2 3 4 5
6b. Has your employer fulfilled this promise? 1 2 3 4 5

7a. How much has your employer promised support with personal problems? 1 2 3 4 5
7b. Has your employer fulfilled this promise? 1 2 3 4 5

The following section is a series of statements about your views of your employing organization. When responding to these statements, think about the organization as a whole.

All items rated on the following scale:
1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = somewhat disagree
4 = neutral
5 = somewhat agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

1. The organization values my contribution to its well-being	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. If the organization could hire someone to replace me at a lower salary it would do so	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. The organization fails to appreciate any extra effort from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. The organization strongly considers my goals and values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. The organization would ignore any complaint from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. The organization disregards my best interests when it makes decisions that affect me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Help is available from the organization when I have a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. The organization really cares about my well-being	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. The organization is willing to extend itself in order to help me perform my job to the best of my ability	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Even if I did the best job possible, the organization would fail to notice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. The organization is willing to help me when I need a special favor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. The organization cares about my general satisfaction at work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. If given the opportunity, the organization would take advantage of me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. The organization shows very little concern for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. The organization cares about my opinions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. The organization takes pride in my accomplishments at work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. The organization tries to make my job as interesting as possible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The following section is a series of statements about the CO-WORKERS with whom you work closely. When responding to these statements, think about the people that you have regular contact with on the job.

All items rated on the following scale:
1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = somewhat disagree
4 = neutral
5 = somewhat agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

1.	I spend time with my coworkers outside of work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I can rely on my coworkers to help me out.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I feel like a valued part of my workgroup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I conform to the expectations of my coworkers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I do not feel close to my coworkers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	The things my coworkers say have no effect on me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Membership in my workgroup is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	My coworkers can trust me to help them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I feel like I am part of a team.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	I consider my coworkers to be friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	I agree with the views of my coworkers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	My coworkers and I do NOT think alike.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I would NOT stick up for my coworkers if they were in trouble.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	I enjoy spending time at work with my coworkers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	I follow the informal rules set by my workgroup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This last section contains demographic questions. The information on this sheet will be numerically coded and this sheet will be destroyed. There will be no way of tracing your responses.

1. Sex male female

2. Age under 20
21 - 25
26 - 30
31 - 40
over 40

3. How long have you worked for your present employer?

less than 6 months
6 months to 1 year
1 - 2 years
3 - 5 years
over 5 years

4. What is the name of the organization you work for (This question will be given a numerical code and the name of the organization will then be destroyed. There will be no way of identifying the organization from the code. This is to ensure the confidentiality of your responses)?

Thank you very much for your participation!