# Employee Voice and Silence

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Annu. Rev. Organ. Psychol. Organ. Behav. 2014. 1:173-97

First published online as a Review in Advance on January 2, 2014

The Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior is online at orgpsych.annualreviews.org

This article's doi: 10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-031413-091328

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## Keywords

upward communication, information sharing, proactive behavior

#### **Abstract**

When employees voluntarily communicate suggestions, concerns, information about problems, or work-related opinions to someone in a higher organizational position, they are engaging in upward voice. When they withhold such input, they are displaying silence and depriving their organization of potentially useful information. In this article, I review the current state of knowledge about the factors and motivational processes that affect whether employees engage in upward voice or remain silent when they have concerns or relevant information to share. I also review the research findings on the organizational and individual effects of employee voice and silence. After presenting an integrated model of antecedents and outcomes, I offer some potentially fruitful questions for future research.

### INTRODUCTION

In 2010, the US Department of Homeland Security launched a national campaign called "If You See Something, Say Something™—a slogan that can be found on signs and billboards throughout the country. The idea captured by the name of this campaign seems quite simple, not just in the context of national security but also in the context of the employment relationship. If one sees a potential problem, one should notify someone in a position of authority. Within many work organizations, however, the idea of speaking up if you see something of concern is anything but simple. Employees see things all the time in the course of doing their work and interacting with customers and other employees: problems that are brewing, inefficiencies, inappropriate activities, opportunities for improvement, strategic issues, etc. Yet they do not necessarily say anything about these observations to individuals within their organization who might be able to take action. They do not necessarily engage in voice and may instead choose to remain silent.

## Voice and Silence Within Organizational Behavior

The term voice has a long and varied history in the organizational sciences, including a central place in the procedural justice literature (e.g., Bies & Shapiro 1988, Folger 1977). It is important, therefore, to begin by being clear about the definition that I am following here. Consistent with a large and growing body of recent research, I am defining employee voice as informal and discretionary communication by an employee of ideas, suggestions, concerns, information about problems, or opinions about work-related issues to persons who might be able to take appropriate action, with the intent to bring about improvement or change (Detert & Burris 2007, Morrison 2011, Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008b, Van Dyne & LePine 1998). It is a form of extrarole upward communication behavior that, although constructive in intent, challenges and seeks to alter the status quo (Van Dyne et al. 2003). As the definition highlights, the content of the message can vary widely, from ideas for how to do things differently to information about serious or potentially serious problems. The former has been referred to as promotive (Liang et al. 2012) or suggestion-focused (Morrison 2011) voice, whereas the latter has been referred to as prohibitive (Liang et al. 2012), remedial (Olson-Buchanan & Boswell 2008), or problem-focused voice (Morrison 2011).

The target, or potential recipient, of the voice message can also vary: a supervisor, one's teammates, someone external to the organization, etc. Here, however, I am restricting my focus to upward and internal voice, for which the target is a supervisor or another person in a higher organizational position. I am also restricting my focus to informal voice. For a good integrative review of research on formal voice mechanisms, such as suggestion systems, grievance procedures, or unions, readers should see Klaas et al. (2012).

Silence, a more recent construct, refers to the withholding of potentially important input or to instances when an employee fails to share what is on his or her mind (Morrison & Milliken 2000, Pinder & Harlos 2001). It is not merely a lack of speech, as not speaking can occur for many reasons, including having nothing meaningful to convey. Rather, silence refers to not speaking up when one has a suggestion, concern, information about a problem, or a divergent point of view that could be useful or relevant to share (Milliken et al. 2003, Van Dyne et al. 2003).

## The Importance of Understanding Voice and Silence

The question of why employees do or do not speak up when they hold potentially useful information is one that is not easy to answer, as there are many factors that can impact this choice. It

is nonetheless an important question for organizational scholars to try to answer. If voice is withheld within an organizational context, both performance and employee morale may suffer, so the consequences may be significant. In addition, there is evidence suggesting that voice is in fact stifled in many organizations and that employees are often very hesitant to engage in voice, particularly when the information could be viewed by the recipient as negative or threatening (Detert et al. 2010, Milliken et al. 2003).

There is also reason to believe that organizational leaders are often unaware of this tendency toward silence. Leaders and key decision makers often fail to see the issues and problems that frontline employees see, and they may assume that "no news is good news" and that they know everything that is going on within the organization (Ashford et al. 2009). They may also believe that employees feel free to communicate upward, failing to recognize the reluctance and fear that many employees experience when it comes to upward voice. As Detert & Trevino (2010, p. 264) wrote, "Many well-meaning leaders are unintentionally reinforcing an authority-ranking social frame that is so pervasive and fundamental that most employees enter organizations expecting to 'tread lightly' around those in power." As a result of the failure to realize these tendencies, leaders may have a distorted sense of how their organization is performing and about the level of support for organizational decisions and practices (Tourish & Robson 2006), and they may fail to take timely or appropriate action.

These dynamics suggest a need to understand not just the factors and conditions that motivate employees to speak up when they have suggestions, information, or opinions—a question that has elicited a sizable amount of research attention—but also the factors and conditions that stifle employee voice. In some cases, these may be two sides of the same coin. However, a more explicit focus on the latter question may bring to light factors that are not as apparent from a focus on the former. The dynamics described above also highlight the importance of understanding the individual and organizational implications of voice and silence.

### Objectives of This Review

This review speaks to the above issues. It covers the growing body of empirical research on upward employee voice and silence, including work on related constructs such as issue selling (Ashford et al. 1998), internal whistle-blowing (Miceli et al. 2008), and critical upward communication (Kassing 2002, Tourish & Robson 2006). It integrates and builds upon work on predictors, explanatory mechanisms, and consequences. The focus is on understanding not just when and why employees engage in voice, but also when and why they so often do not, and on the consequences of these choices.

A key question that this review poses is why employees often see things but keep that information to themselves. Answering that question requires a somewhat broader focus than has been seen in much of the voice and silence literature to date. In particular, it requires a perspective that recognizes the role of emotions and nonconscious processes, as the failure to engage in voice does not always reflect a cognitive or deliberate decision process. As well, it requires a multilevel perspective, focused on understanding how contextual factors, including the behavior of supervisors and leaders, may create structural, interpersonal, and psychological barriers to voice and on how those factors work in concert with individually rooted factors.

This review is organized into six parts. It begins with a very brief discussion of the history of research on employee voice and silence. In the second section, I discuss two of the central assumptions in the voice and silence literature: the assumption that employees often withhold important input and the assumption that this is bad for organizations. Next, I elaborate on the prevailing view within the literature about the processes and motives leading to voice and silence,

as well as the supporting empirical research on antecedents. In the fourth section, I discuss some work that provides a foundation for a broader view of the processes and motives preceding voice and silence. The fifth section integrates these perspectives into a more comprehensive model of these phenomena. That model includes both motivating and inhibiting factors, as well as individual and collective-level outcomes. The review concludes with a discussion of future research opportunities.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON VOICE AND SILENCE

### Voice in Response to Dissatisfaction

Research on voice as an informal, discretionary upward communication behavior has grown significantly over the past decade and continues to grow, with a number of scholars actively engaged in research in this area. However, theoretical and empirical research on this behavior appeared as early as the late 1980s in a set of studies examining employees' responses to job dissatisfaction. Rusbult et al. (1988) developed a typology of such responses, based on Hirschman's (1970) exit–voice–loyalty model of reactions to organizational decline. The typology included four response categories, one of which was voice, defined as "actively and constructively trying to improve conditions through discussing problems with a supervisor or co-worker, taking action to solve problems, suggesting solutions, seeking help from an outside agency like a union, or whistle-blowing" (Rusbult et al. 1988, p. 601). Though broader than current conceptualizations of voice, this definition encompasses the notion of voice as voluntary improvement-oriented communication. These early studies showed voice to be positively associated with prior job satisfaction, job investment, and high-quality job alternatives (Rusbult et al. 1988, Withey & Cooper 1989). The amount of variance explained was quite low, however, most likely owing to the low internal validity of the measures used to assess voice.

### Voice as a Form of Extrarole Behavior

In the late 1990s, organizational behavior scholars began to recognize voice not merely as a response to unsatisfying conditions but as an important form of extrarole behavior, or one of the ways in which employees can go above and beyond the requirements of their jobs. Expanding on work by Van Dyne et al. (1995), Van Dyne & LePine (1998) introduced the term voice to the extrarole behavior literature and demonstrated its conceptual and empirical distinctiveness both from in-role behavior and from more cooperative and nonchallenging forms of extrarole behavior such as helping others. This conceptualization of voice has, to this time, driven much of the empirical research on discretionary voice behavior.

## **Employee Silence**

Employee silence emerged as a construct in the organizational behavior literature with the publication of Morrison & Milliken's (2000) conceptual paper on organizational silence. That paper focused on the causes and effects of silence at the collective level and on the organization-level factors that often give rise to climates of silence, which exist when there is widespread reluctance to speak up about critical issues of concern. Soon thereafter, Pinder & Harlos (2001) published a model of silence at the individual level of analysis. They defined employee silence as the withholding of any form of genuine expression about a perceived or experienced injustice from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Hereafter just "voice."

persons capable of effecting change or redress and argued that silence in the face of injustice is pervasive in organizations. Subsequent studies have built on Pinder and Harlos's definition, expanding the focus from silence about injustice to silence about any critical issues of concern (Milliken et al. 2003, Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008a).

The literatures on voice and silence have sometimes run parallel and at other times intersected, raising questions about whether they should be integrated. I have argued elsewhere that they should be (Morrison 2011). Conceptually, silence is failure to voice, and voice is a choice (deliberate or otherwise) to not remain silent. If an employee has an idea or suggestion, or is aware of a problem or issue, that employee can either speak up or withhold that information. Empirically, however, the relationship between voice and silence is often muddied, owing to limitations in the ability of observers to know whether or not an employee is remaining silent. A supervisor may report that an employee never offers suggestions, but this could be either because the employee does not have any suggestions to offer or because he or she is withholding suggestions. Behaviorally these look the same, but only the latter is silence. Unfortunately, existing measures of employee voice, which assess the overall frequency with which employees offer suggestions, raise issues, and communicate divergent opinions, cannot necessarily be used to infer silence. Measures of silence, by contrast, which explicitly assess information withholding (e.g., Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008a), can be used to infer the extent to which an employee is or is not engaging in voice.

### Related Research Streams

A separate research stream that helped to lay the foundation for current understanding of employee voice behavior is the work on issue selling (Ashford et al. 1998; Dutton & Ashford 1993; Dutton et al. 1997, 2002). Issue selling refers to efforts by an employee to get organizational leaders to pay attention to an issue that the employee sees as particularly important. This activity entails not just engaging in voice, but also behaviors such as identifying allies, building a coalition, and preparing a formal presentation. This breadth notwithstanding, research on issue selling provides very useful insight into the processes by which employees decide whether or not to speak up about issues they regard as important.

There have also been numerous studies over the years on the predictors and outcomes of employee whistle-blowing (see Miceli et al. 2008 for a good review of this work). Whistle-blowing refers to the disclosure of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices to persons or organizations that may be able to effect action (Miceli et al. 2008). Given that the whistle-blowing literature considers not just external reporting, but also the use of internal channels for raising concerns, it has direct relevance for our understanding of informal upward voice behavior.

Another related body of research is the work by organizational communication scholars on the upward expression of disagreement or contradictory opinions, which can be seen as a form of employee voice. The focus within that literature has been on the different ways in which employees express dissent and on how critical upward feedback is often suppressed and distorted by employees and disregarded by their managers (Kassing 2002; Tourish & Robson 2003, 2006).

### CORE ASSUMPTIONS IN THE LITERATURE

The dozens of articles and book chapters on employee voice and silence that have appeared in recent years tend to be built upon two key assumptions. The first is that employees do not necessarily share their ideas and concerns and that the tendency toward silence often dominates the inclination to voice. The second assumption is that voice is important for organizations and, by implication, that silence is harmful. It is worth considering both of these assumptions.

## **Employees Often Withhold Input**

The idea that employees often fail to speak up when they have potentially important information or ideas can be found throughout the literature on voice and silence. For example, researchers have argued that "voice is...insufficiently provided by employees" (Detert & Burris 2007, p. 869), that "employees frequently choose to remain silent about important issues at work" (Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008a, p. 37), that "employees often feel compelled to remain silent in the face of concerns or problems" (Morrison & Milliken 2000, p. 706), and that "reluctance to voice substantive and relevant ideas and questions at work is widespread" (Detert & Edmondson 2011, p. 461).

Is it true, however, that employees often withhold their input? Based on the data available, it seems that it may be, Ryan & Oestreich (1991) published a book more than 20 years ago in which they reported the results of interviews with 260 employees from 22 organizations across a range of industries. Seventy percent of these individuals reported feeling afraid to speak up about certain issues or problems at work. In 2003, Milliken and colleagues (2003) interviewed 40 young professional employees and found that 85% reported that they had, on at least one occasion, felt unable to raise an issue of concern and that only 51% indicated that they generally felt comfortable speaking to their boss or to management about problems or issues that concerned them. More recently, Detert and colleagues (2010) surveyed 439 employees working in different organizations and found that 42% reported withholding information when they felt they had nothing to gain, or something to lose, by sharing it. This withholding included not just information about illegal or unethical activities, but also suggestions for addressing routine problems or for making improvements. Another recent study was conducted in an academic medical context (Souba et al. 2011). The authors polled 254 chairs of medicine and surgery departments and found that 69% reported that it was common or widespread in their organization for people to not raise or talk about important problems. Additionally, research on whistleblowing, which has been conducted across a variety of organizational contexts, suggests that only about half of the people who observe wrongdoing at work blow the whistle on that activity (Miceli et al. 2008). The evidence, therefore, does seem to support the idea that voice is not necessarily the default option when employees have ideas, concerns, or opinions and that silence is not an uncommon choice in the workplace.

## Withholding of Input Is Harmful

A second central assumption in the literature is that, even though it may not be appreciated by those in positions of authority, employee voice is very important—perhaps even necessary— for an organization to function effectively and that silence is dysfunctional. Citing a variety of different literature streams, researchers argue that voice is associated with a wide range of positive organizational outcomes, such as learning, improved work processes, innovation, error correction, the curtailment of illegal or immoral behavior, and crisis prevention (Detert & Edmondson 2011; Detert & Trevino 2010; Grant 2013; LePine & Van Dyne 2001; Liang et al. 2012; Morrison & Milliken 2000; Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008b, 2012). On the flip side, employee silence has been implicated in a range of large-scale organizational failures, including the crash of the space shuttle *Columbia* in 2003 (Greenberg & Edwards 2009) and the implosion of Enron in 2001 (Milliken et al. 2003).

Scholars have also argued that voice has beneficial effects for employees, such as sense of control and feeling that one is valued, and conversely, that silence creates dissatisfaction, stress, and cynicism (Morrison & Milliken 2000, Perlow & Repenning 2009). Moreover, it has been argued that individual acts of silence can become self-reinforcing, producing norms of silence

within work units and organizations that can be highly dysfunctional and difficult to break (Morrison & Milliken 2000, Perlow & Repenning 2009).

The empirical evidence for these effects, however, is more limited. Although there is case-based evidence that employee silence can undermine organizational learning, error correction, and crisis prevention (e.g., Graham 2002, Perlow & Williams 2003) and evidence that the expression of minority viewpoints improves group problem solving (e.g., Nemeth et al. 2001), systematic investigation of the organizational effects of employee voice or silence has been sparse. One study that examined this issue was MacKenzie et al. (2011), which showed voice to have a positive impact on work-group task performance (at least up to a certain point) and work-group performance, in turn, to have a positive effect on organization-level financial performance. To my knowledge, the only other study on unit-level outcomes is a recent paper by Detert et al. (2013). The authors of that paper took a novel approach to studying voice, using social network methods to examine the effects of voice flows, or the number of upward voice ties to the leader. They found a positive association between voice flows targeted at a leader of an organizational unit and unit effectiveness. This was true whether the voice came from subordinates within that unit or from employees in other units.

There is even less direct evidence for the psychological or attitudinal effects of voice or silence. Although research on procedural justice has shown that employees feel more valued and a greater sense of control when they are given the opportunity to express their views prior to a decision (Folger 1977, Folger & Cropanzano 1998, Lind & Tyler 1988), we cannot necessarily conclude from this finding that employees will also feel more valued and in control when they choose to speak up voluntarily. Research does show, however, that expressing one's feelings, rather than keeping them inside, has both physical and mental health benefits (Pennebaker 1997). Consistent with these findings, Perlow & Williams (2003, p. 53) concluded from interviews with employees in a variety of different organizations that "silence can exact a high psychological price on individuals, generating feelings of humiliation, pernicious anger, resentment, and the like that, if unexpressed, contaminate every interaction, shut down creativity, and undermine productivity." These ideas, however, have not been rigorously tested.

## WHY EMPLOYEES ENGAGE IN VOICE OR REMAIN SILENT: TRADITIONAL VIEW

The question of why employees do or do not engage in voice has garnered a great deal of research attention in recent years, but certain aspects of the process have been more explicit than others. In the section that follows, I explain how the decision process leading to voice or silence has typically been portrayed.

## Initial Motivation to Engage in Voice

The starting condition for voice or silence is that an employee either is aware of a problem or opportunity or has an idea, concern, or perspective that might be relevant or important to share or convey (Miceli et al. 2008, Pinder & Harlos 2001). That is, the employee must have something to potentially say. Assuming this is the case, there exists what Detert & Edmondson (2011) called a latent voice episode, or what might be more accurately described as a latent voice opportunity. A latent voice opportunity occurs when the potential exists to speak up: The employee could choose to engage in voice if he or she is sufficiently motivated and able to do so. But the motivation must exist.

A core premise found throughout the voice literature is that the underlying motivation for voice is prosocial in nature (Grant & Ashford 2008, Van Dyne et al. 2003). That is, voice is motivated by

the desire to bring about a constructive change for the organization or for one or more stake-holders. The likelihood of voice should therefore be greater to the extent that an employee has a strong desire or sense of obligation to help the organization operate more effectively or more appropriately vis-à-vis its employees, customers, or the external community (Morrison 2011). This does not mean that one's supervisor or other members of the organization will necessarily regard voice as constructive, as they may hold different views of what is in the best interests of the organization and its stakeholders or about who should weigh in on various issues. Rather, it means that the primary intent is to bring about positive change, improvement, or redress, and not to merely complain or get a positive outcome for oneself. As a parallel, whistle-blowing is generally regarded as a constructive, prosocial behavior, even though it is often viewed as threatening and undesirable (and is sometimes punished) by organizational leaders (Miceli et al. 2008).

Support for the idea that voice is prosocially motivated can be found in studies showing a relationship between employee voice and a variety of internal motivational states reflecting a sense of commitment to the well-being of one's organization, coworkers, or customers. These include felt responsibility for constructive change (Fuller et al. 2006), sense of obligation (Liang et al. 2012), work-group or organizational identification (Liu et al. 2010; Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008a,b), conscientiousness (Nikolaou et al. 2008), and customer orientation (Lam & Mayer 2013).

Even more direct support for the idea of voice being other oriented is a recent finding that employees with high duty orientation are more likely to view voice as within their role and are thus more likely to engage in voice, whereas employees with high achievement orientation are more likely to view voice as outside of their role and are thus less likely to engage in voice (Tangirala et al. 2013). Tangirala and colleagues (2013) argued that when opportunities to voice arise, employees who prioritize the interest of the group (e.g., those with high duty orientation) tend to speak up, whereas those who are more likely to focus on consequences for the self (e.g., those with high achievement orientation) tend to remain silent. There is also a recent study showing that silence is less likely when organizations have caring climates, which encourage benevolence and prosocial behavior, and more likely when organizations have instrumental climates, which encourage self-interest (Wang & Hsieh 2013).

### Efficacy and Safety Calculus

As highlighted in the preceding section, there is evidence that the underlying motivation for voice is an internalized sense of commitment to improvement or to helping others. This internal commitment, however, has not actually been afforded central attention in conceptual models of the voice process. It has instead been taken as a given, and primary emphasis has been on the decision calculus that occurs when an employee is considering whether or not to speak up. Specifically, focus has been on two key judgments: (a) efficacy (sometimes referred to as instrumentality), which is the employee's perception about whether engaging in voice will be effective in bringing about the desired result, and (b) safety or risk, which is the employee's perception of whether engaging in voice will have negative consequences for the self or for one's relationships with others. The core argument has been that individuals are more likely to engage in voice as their judgments of efficacy and safety increase, and more likely to remain silent as they decrease.

The importance of efficacy judgments can be found in any of the foundational works on voice and silence (Ashford et al. 1998, Miceli & Near 1992, Morrison & Milliken 2000, Pinder & Harlos 2001, Withey & Cooper 1989) and continues to be a central theme in the literature (Detert & Trevino 2010, Morrison et al. 2011). These beliefs, about whether voice will be effective in bringing about change, are likely shaped by a variety of factors, including self-confidence and sense

of personal agency, whether the intended voice target has a history of being receptive to input, and both the actor and the target's levels of influence and status within the organization. The most direct evidence that judgments of efficacy affect voice comes from the study by Ashford and colleagues (1998) showing that the likelihood of issue selling directly related to the perceived probability of success. As well, studies have found a relationship between voice and efficacy-related cognitions such as personal control, influence, and empowerment (Frazier & Fainshmidt 2012; Kassing 2002; Lam & Mayer 2013; Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008b, 2012; Venkataramani & Tangirala 2010) and between voice and action-oriented personality traits such as extraversion, assertiveness, and proactive personality (Crant et al. 2010, LePine & Van Dyne 2001, Naus et al. 2007).

Conversely, there is evidence that believing that it is futile to speak up is a key determinant of employee silence (Detert & Trevino 2010, Milliken et al. 2003). In the extreme, a sense of futility may give rise to a state that Pinder & Harlos (2001) referred to as employee acquiescence. Acquiescence is a deep form of silence in which an employee has essentially given up hope of improvement and feels completely powerless to speak up.

The second key judgment at the root of voice or silence is the extent to which it is safe to engage in voice (Ashford et al. 1998, Detert & Burris 2007, Miceli et al. 2008, Morrison & Milliken 2000, Pinder & Harlos 2001). A central theme in the literature is that voice is often perceived to be risky. An employee may fear that by speaking up in a way that challenges current practices or past decisions or that highlights a serious problem, he or she will be viewed as a troublemaker or complainer, lose respect or support from others, receive a negative performance review, get assigned to undesirable projects, not be considered for promotion, or even get fired (Detert & Trevino 2010, Grant 2013, Milliken et al. 2003). Employees may also be concerned that sharing their views or concerns will upset others or cause others to suffer negative repercussions.

There are many reasons why employees may believe voice to have such risks, particularly in the case of prohibitive voice, which is focused on problems or sensitive topics (Liang et al. 2012). It can be difficult for people to hear input or feedback as constructive and nonthreatening, and thus difficult to not meet it with defensiveness or resistance (Argyris 1990, Burris 2012, Morrison & Milliken 2000). Even managers who sincerely wish to be open to employees' ideas and concerns may feel vulnerable or threatened by input from below that is critical of existing policies or practices (Ashford et al. 2009), and they may therefore respond in a defensive or hostile manner. Employees are also cognizant of the social discomfort created by difficult conversations and the transmittal of bad news. The desire to avoid such discomfort and to maintain social harmony often gives rise to the well-known MUM effect (Rosen & Tesser 1970), which stifles honest and often necessary communication (Lee 1993). Power asymmetry may also cause voice to be seen as risky (Morrison & Rothman 2009). Because supervisors and individuals in more senior positions typically control rewards, resources, and assignments, employees may not want to jeopardize their relationships with them, which may lead them to be particularly reluctant to engage in voice up the hierarchy (Milliken et al. 2003, Pinder & Harlos 2001).

In light of these theorized potential negative consequences associated with voice, it is perhaps not surprising that studies have found employees to be more likely to engage in voice when they have a greater sense of psychological safety and more likely to remain silent when they perceive voice to be unsafe (Detert & Burris 2007, Detert & Trevino 2010, Liang et al. 2012). In a similar vein, Ashford et al. (1998) found that perceived risk to one's image was inversely related to the propensity to engage in issue selling. The more personally risky that voice is perceived to be, the less likely an employee will be to speak up with ideas or concerns. Consistent with this idea, Stamper & Van Dyne (2001) found less voice behavior among employees who were involuntarily working part time and who might therefore be hoping to switch to full-time status, arguing that

such individuals are likely to be particularly concerned about evoking negative reactions from others.

Other empirical findings also support the idea that voice will be curtailed if employees do not feel that their input will be taken seriously and acted upon or that they may suffer negative consequences for sharing their ideas or concerns. For example, voice has been shown to relate positively to perceptions that one's supervisor is open to input and fair (Detert & Trevino 2010, Edmondson 2003, Saunders et al. 1992, Takeuchi et al. 2012), to perceptions that one has a positive and supportive relationship with one's supervisor (Botero & Van Dyne 2009, Kassing 2002, Tangirala & Ramanujam 2012, Van Dyne et al. 2008), and to perceptions that one's supervisor is a transformational or ethical leader (Avey et al. 2012, Detert & Burris 2007, Liu et al. 2010, Walumbwa & Schaubroeck 2009). Voice has also been shown to be more likely when managers solicit input and engage in consultative behaviors, both of which signal receptivity to employee voice (Fast et al. 2013, Tangirala & Ramanujam 2012). In sum, supervisor and leader behavior has been identified as a critical influencer of voice and silence.

It is not just direct supervisors who have an effect, but also skip-level leaders, or those who are two or more levels above the employee. Detert & Trevino (2010) provided compelling qualitative evidence that multiple skip-level leaders are important in shaping perceptions about voice and thus the decision about whether to speak up. From their findings, they proposed that beliefs about voice not making a difference are a greater barrier to engaging in voice to immediate supervisors, whereas safety concerns are a greater barrier to engaging in voice to skip-level leaders given their more powerful position. Liu et al. (2013) extended these ideas, examining how engaging in voice to a particular leader is shaped by not just the employee's relationship with that leader, but also the employee's relationship with other leaders in the hierarchy and the relationships among those leaders. A key finding from that study is that employees are more likely to engage in voice to their direct supervisors when the direct supervisors have positive relationships with those at higher levels in the hierarchy. With such relationships in place, input to one's supervisor has a greater likelihood of being acted upon.

In many organizations, however, leaders may not be seen as very open or interested in input from employees, which may serve to stifle voice. In some cases, this may be because they do not actually want nor see the value of input (Ashford et al. 2009). Research on power has shown that power holders tend to be overconfident in their own competence and decisions and thus fail to appreciate the value of input and advice from others (Morrison & Rothman 2009, See et al. 2011). In other cases, leaders may recognize the value of upward input but may behave in ways that make employees reluctant or unwilling to speak up (Ashford et al. 2009). They may fail to provide adequate mechanisms for participation, exhibit impatience with or intolerance of dissent, or fail to develop supportive and trusting relationships with employees (Milliken et al. 2003). Although there is some initial research on how leader behavior affects the likelihood of voice or silence, there is a need for empirical research on what makes leaders more or less receptive to voice. A recent study by Fast et al. (2013) showed that managers with low self-efficacy experienced greater ego defensiveness and thus engaged in less voice solicitation, but more work along these lines would be valuable.

# A BROADER VIEW OF WHY EMPLOYEES ENGAGE IN VOICE OR REMAIN SILENT

Although it seems clear that beliefs about efficacy and concerns about risk are important determinants of voice and silence, the predominant model of when and why employees engage in voice or remain silent has two significant gaps. First, the focus has been mainly on the deliberate and

rational processes by which employees weigh costs, benefits, and likely success. There is growing recognition, however, that conscious cognitive processing is only part of the story, particularly in the case of silence. Second, although existing models of antecedents to voice acknowledge the role of self-focused concerns in stifling upward communication, the desire to achieve various types of positive outcomes for the self can also play a role in motivating and supporting voice, an idea that has not been given much consideration.

### Nonconscious Processes and Emotions

A few recent papers help to provide an expanded view of why employees often remain silent (e.g., Detert & Edmondson 2011, Kish-Gephart et al. 2009). These works suggest that silence often stems from automatic processes that involve little if any conscious or calculative consideration of costs and benefits. This may be particularly likely when an employee is in a situation that evokes a high level of fear, as there is evidence that high-intensity negative emotions such as fear can lead to a short-circuiting of systematic processing (Kish-Gephart et al. 2009). If an employee experiences a high level of fear, perhaps stemming from an angry outburst by a boss, the employee may automatically retreat without any careful consideration of the pros and cons of speaking up.

Employees may also hold implicit voice theories, or taken-for-granted beliefs about the riskiness of voice, which get applied automatically (Detert & Edmondson 2011). This process may cause employees to withhold voice regardless of the specific context or the behavior of supervisors or leaders in the organization. In other words, even if supervisors are objectively very approachable and open to input, employees may remain silent because of deeply held schemas about the riskiness of speaking up in a hierarchy. Examples of these implicit beliefs about voice are that one should not embarrass one's boss in public and that challenging the status quo can have negative career consequences (Detert & Edmondson 2011).

There are likely to be both evolutionary and learned origins of these implicit beliefs, and of fear of speaking up in the face of authority more generally. Compelling arguments can be made for how humans have evolved to be vigilant and self-protective in the face of higher-status others and for the survival benefits of not offending those with higher status (Kish-Gephart et al. 2009). These arguments suggest that employees are, in a sense, hardwired to be reticent when interacting with superiors and to avoid any behavior that could be seen as a challenge to authority.

It is also likely that socialization, starting very early in life and continuing over time, plays an important role in the development of implicit voice theories and the automaticity of silence (Detert & Edmondson 2011, Kish-Gephart et al. 2009). Through both direct and indirect experiences with parents, teachers, religious figures, bosses, and other authority figures, people develop schemas about not challenging authority. Like most schemas, these become so deeply ingrained that one does not even consider alternatives (e.g., "Should I speak up about this issue?"). Culture is likely to come into play as well. We should expect, for example, that people who have grown up in a high-power-distance culture, or even a culture that emphasizes respect for one's elders, will be more likely to exhibit silence stemming from learned schemas about what is and is not appropriate behavior in a hierarchical setting. Implicit beliefs about voice can also become socially shared and embedded within an organization or work unit. Two recent studies show that work units develop collective perceptions about the safety and efficacy of voice and that these shared beliefs have an effect on individual voice and silence (Frazier & Fainshmidt 2012, Morrison et al. 2011).

In addition to fear, another negative emotion, anger, may also affect whether employees speak up or remain silent. Anger has been argued to increase the likelihood of whistle-blowing (Edwards et al. 2009, Harvey et al. 2009) and can help to overcome silence by pushing an employee toward action (Kish-Gephart et al. 2009). Just as intense fear can cause an employee to automatically

remain silent, intense anger or frustration can trigger voice, regardless of whether a careful consideration of benefits and risks would support doing so. In other words, a highly angry employee may speak up even when the rational choice would be to remain silent. Yet Grant (2013) argues that, ironically, the very emotions that may spur employees to engage in voice (i.e., anger, frustration) may undermine their ability to do so in a way that others see as constructive. Supporting this idea, he found that employees who had greater knowledge about how to manage their emotions not only engaged in voice more frequently, but also experienced a stronger positive relationship between voice and performance evaluations. In other words, their voice behavior was viewed more positively.

### Other Motives Related to the Self

Not only have emotions and nonconscious processes been underemphasized in the voice literature, but so has explicit recognition that the decision to voice may be shaped, at least in part, by the desire to achieve positive self-relevant outcomes. Voice is primarily prosocial, but this does not mean that it lacks benefits for the actor, nor that the actor will fail to consider those benefits. It is therefore reasonable to assume that when employees are deciding whether to engage in voice, they may consider not just how this behavior could lead to organizational or unit-level improvement, but also how it could potentially advance their own interests. For example, an employee who offers a suggestion for improving the way in which expenses are approved is likely considering both how the change could improve overall effectiveness and how it could improve the efficiency or ease with which she is able to do her job. This duality of pro-voice motives may be particularly strong when one is deciding whether or not to speak up about a justice violation, in which case the employee may be focused on not just improving the situation for other employees but also obtaining personal restitution (Klaas et al. 2012).

Self-promotion and political motives may also be relevant in motivating voice behavior (Klaas et al. 2012). Given that other forms of prosocial employee behavior, such as organizational citizenship behavior, have been shown to be influenced by the desire to make a good impression (Bolino et al. 2006), we should expect that voice may be as well. Although speaking up with a controversial idea or highlighting a problem carries the risk of making one look like a troublemaker or complainer (Milliken et al. 2003), offering a constructive suggestion or a way to fix an important problem can highlight one's expertise and commitment. In fact, existing research studies support the idea that engaging in voice can sometimes have positive image effects (Burris 2012, Burris et al. 2013, Grant 2013, Whiting et al. 2012), even though existing conceptual models of voice have generally failed to incorporate impression management motives except as an inhibitor to speaking up.

Lastly, an individual's personal identity and desire to behave in a way that is consistent with that identity can also drive voice behavior. Ashford & Barton (2007) highlighted that employees may engage in voice as a way to affirm their sense of self and reinforce what they value. For example, an employee who sees herself as very environmentally conscious might feel compelled to speak up about the failure of the organization to recycle. The self plays an important role in motivating voice, but not in the instrumental way that we typically assume self-focused motives to operate.

# PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER: ANTECEDENTS AND OUTCOMES OF VOICE AND SILENCE

Having reviewed the research on why employees do or do not speak up when they have suggestions, concerns, or opinions, including recent research pointing to the importance of emotions,

schemas, and a broader set of motives, my goal in this section is to integrate that work into a coherent framework. In addition, I connect that work with the existing research on outcomes of voice and silence. Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the overall model.

#### Motivators and Inhibitors

As the figure shows, the starting point for either voice or silence is a latent voice opportunity. Whether this opportunity materializes into voice or silence then depends on a number of individual-level and contextual factors that can either strengthen or attenuate the link between a voice opportunity and subsequent behavior. Those factors can be divided into two categories: motivators and inhibitors. I have made this distinction to highlight that there are often opposing forces acting upon the employee, both those that are pulling in the direction of speaking up and those that are pulling in the direction of remaining silent. As Kurt Lewin (1951) articulated, behavior at any moment in time can be viewed as an equilibrium between driving forces that encourage movement or change and restraining forces that discourage it. It is only when the former are stronger than the latter that new behavior or change comes about. Applying this notion to the voice decision implies that employees will engage in voice only when the motivators or driving forces are stronger than the inhibitors or restraining forces. This suggests that a main reason for the pervasiveness of silence is that, even though there may be motivating and enabling factors present, they are not strong enough to overcome the inhibiting factors.

The various motivators and inhibitors can operate through multiple mechanisms. First, motivators can operate by strengthening the desire to make a positive difference in one's workplace. In other words, they can intensify or trigger the prosocial motivation that is necessary, although not sufficient, for voice behavior to occur. Second, motivating factors can also operate by impacting the subjective expected utility calculus that underlies the decision to engage in voice

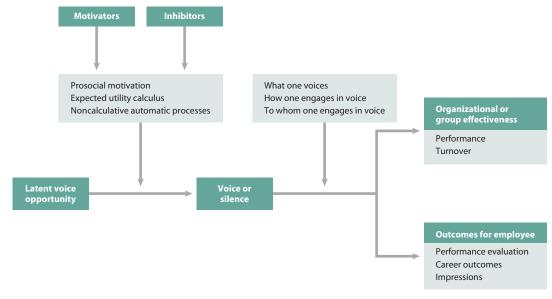


Figure 1

A model of antecedents and outcomes of employee voice and silence

or remain silent, in a way that either increases the expected probability that voice will be effective or decreases the expected probability that speaking up will have negative repercussions. By altering the answers to questions such as "Can I do it?," "Is it feasible?," or "Is it risky?," motivating factors can increase the pull to speak up. Within this calculus are considerations of not just potential image or career costs (Ashford et al. 1998), but also potential benefits for the individual such as enhanced image or personal well-being (Ashford & Barton 2007, Klaas et al. 2012), which as noted, have not been discussed much in the voice literature. Third, motivators can operate through a pathway that is largely automatic and independent of deliberate decision making (Detert & Edmondson 2011).

A wide range of voice motivators have been empirically identified. These have been discussed in the prior sections and are summarized in **Table 1**. They include dispositional factors such as extraversion, proactive personality, and duty orientation (Crant et al. 2010, LePine & Van Dyne 2001, Tangirala et al. 2013); attitudes toward and perceptions of one's organization and job such as identification, felt obligation for constructive change, satisfaction, and control (Frazier & Fainshmidt 2012; Fuller et al. 2006; Liang et al. 2012; Liu et al. 2010; Luchak 2003; Olson-Buchanan 1997; Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008a, 2008b, 2012; Venkataramani & Tangirala 2010); perceptions of supervisors or leaders such as openness, consultation, and positive

Table 1 Variables that can motivate or inhibit voice

	Motivators	Inhibitors
Individual dispositions	Extraversion Proactive personality Assertiveness Conscientiousness Duty orientation Customer orientation	Achievement orientation
Job and organizational attitudes and perceptions	Organizational identification Work-group identification Felt obligation for change Job satisfaction Role breadth Control or influence Organizational support	Detachment Powerlessness
Emotions, beliefs, and schemas	Anger Psychological safety	Fear Futility Image or career risks
Supervisor and leader behavior	Openness Consultation Leader–member exchange Transformational leadership Ethical leadership Leader influence	Abusive leadership
Other contextual factors	Group voice climate Caring climate Formal voice mechanisms	Job and social stressors Climate of fear or silence Instrumental climate Hierarchical structure Change-resistant culture

leader-member exchange (Botero & Van Dyne 2009, Detert & Burris 2007, Detert & Trevino 2010, Edmondson 2003, Liang et al. 2012, Liu et al. 2010, Tangirala & Ramanujam 2012, Saunders et al. 1992, Takeuchi et al. 2012, Tangirala & Ramanujam 2012, Van Dyne et al. 2008); the belief that it is safe to take risks (Detert & Burris 2007); and contextual factors such as group and organizational climate (Ashford et al. 1998, Frazier & Fainshmidt 2012, Morrison et al. 2011, Wang & Hsieh 2013). Other motivating factors that have been discussed in the literature, but that have not received much empirical attention, include emotions such as anger (Edwards et al. 2009, Harvey et al. 2009) and the presence of formal voice mechanisms (Glauser 1984, Morrison & Milliken 2000, Pinder & Harlos 2001).

Inhibiting factors pull the employee toward silence, reducing the likelihood of speaking up. They too can operate through three different pathways. First, they can reduce the prosocial drive and commitment to make a difference, essentially increasing apathy or resignation. Second, they can alter the expected utility calculus by reducing the employee's assessment of capability, efficacy, and safety. In other words, they can make voice seem overly risky or like a waste of time and effort. Third, they can inhibit action via automatic or nonconscious processes.

The third column of Table 1 provides a summary of the barriers or inhibitors that have been shown to diminish voice and increase the tendency toward silence. These include individual-level variables such as achievement orientation (Tangirala et al. 2013), psychological detachment (Burris et al. 2008), and implicit beliefs about the futility or danger of voice (Detert & Edmondson 2011). Others are contextual factors, such as abusive leadership (Detert & Trevino 2010), job and social stressors (Ng & Feldman 2011), an ethical climate that is instrumental in focus (Wang & Hsieh 2013), and an organizational culture that is resistant to change (Dutton et al. 1997), all of which are likely to foster more systemic silence within a given workplace. Additional inhibitors that have been emphasized in conceptual treatments of silence are perceived powerlessness (Morrison & Rothman 2009), the emotional state of fear (Kish-Gephart et al. 2009), a climate of fear or silence (Morrison & Milliken 2000, Pinder & Harlos 2001), and organizational hierarchy (Milliken et al. 2003, Pinder & Harlos 2001). My sense is that the strongest of these factors are the deeply rooted fears and implicit beliefs that can cause employees to rationalize and justify the choice to remain silent (e.g., "No one really wants to hear what I have to say," "I don't want to make waves," "If it is a serious issue someone else will raise it," "I am not senior enough to raise something like this").

### Outcomes of Voice and Silence

In addition to having a wide range of motivators and inhibitors, voice can also have a range of outcomes. These outcomes can be divided into two categories: organization or work-unit outcomes and outcomes for the employee (see Figure 1).

In an earlier section of this review, I discussed some of the research on how voice and silence affect group and organizational effectiveness. Although that research is rather limited, it suggests that groups and organizations perform better when employees share their ideas and concerns (Detert et al. 2013, MacKenzie et al. 2011, Nemeth et al. 2001) and that performance suffers when there is a high level of silence (Perlow & Williams 2003). Suggestions and new ideas from employees may help groups to take advantage of opportunities, information about problems may enable those problems to be corrected, and dissenting opinions can lead to more informed decisions. It is possible, however, that beyond a certain threshold, the beneficial effects of voice on unit-level performance diminish or even reverse. Too much input, particularly if it is conflicting, can overload decision making and make it very difficult to reach consensus and take action (Ashford et al. 2009, Morrison & Milliken 2000).

Complementing discussions of how voice impacts organizational effectiveness, a recent study examined the effect of voice on unit-level turnover (McClean et al. 2013). The authors argued that voice may increase subsequent turnover if managers are not able or willing to be responsive to the issues raised. The results lent support for this idea, showing a positive relationship between voice and exit when the unit manager lacked access to resources, when he or she did not participate in higher-level decision making, and when the management team was not change oriented; a negative relationship between voice and exit existed when these conditions were present.

As far as I know, there has not been any direct empirical research on the effects of silence. Consequently, it is not clear whether (a) the organizational implications of silence are merely failure to reap the potential positives associated with voice or (b) there are more significant repercussions associated with employees' actually withholding information. It has been argued, however, that significant levels of silence have effects on organizations that go beyond those associated with lack of information, such as high levels of employee stress, dissatisfaction, and disengagement, which can undermine performance and retention (Morrison & Milliken 2000).

With respect to outcomes for the employee, research has focused on performance evaluations, career outcomes associated with performance evaluations, and general impressions of the employee. In one of the first studies to examine the issue of how voice affects employees, Siebert et al. (2001) found a negative relationship between peer ratings of voice and promotions and salary increases two years later. These findings suggest that engaging in voice can harm one's career success. However, subsequent research, conducted in the laboratory, supports a different conclusion. Whiting et al. (2008) had subjects read about the behavior of an employee, including whether or not the employee voiced her opinion about how to improve workflow in the department, and then rate that employee's performance. Results showed a positive relationship between voice and performance appraisals. In another set of laboratory experiments, Whiting et al. (2012) explored factors that might moderate the effects of voice. They had subjects watch videos of employees engaging in voice within a team setting. They found that subjects liked the employee more, attributed stronger prosocial motives to him, rated his performance more highly, and considered the behavior to be more constructive, when the message included a solution and when the employee was seen as highly trustworthy. Raters also viewed voice behavior more positively when it happened sooner rather than later and when speaking up was normatively encouraged. No effects were found for message framing, which is somewhat surprising given evidence that framing can have strong effects on reactions to information (e.g., Levin et al. 1998).

Burris (2012) focused on how managers respond to both the act of engaging in voice and the content of the message. Across three studies, he found that when voice is seen as supportive of the status quo rather than challenging, managers are more likely to regard the employee as loyal and are less likely to feel threatened, and as a result, they are more likely to endorse the message. This finding underscores the potential costs associated with the challenging aspect of voice, even though challenge is valuable, and perhaps even necessary, for uncovering problems and the need for corrective action.

Consistent with the idea that the employee-level effects of voice depend on how the behavior is viewed by others, Grant (2013) found that voice has a more positive effect on performance evaluations to the extent that the employee is effective at regulating his or her emotions while engaging in voice. Additionally, Burris and colleagues (2013) found that voice is more likely to lead to favorable outcomes (higher performance and less involuntary turnover) when the employee and manager both agree that the employee is engaging in a high level of voice, but that employees are rated more negatively and are more likely to be terminated when they overestimate their level of voice relative to the estimations made by their managers. The authors offered several possible

reasons for these negative effects, including the idea that overestimators may have had inflated self-assessments or poor self-awareness, which has been associated in other research with negative outcome (e.g., Atwater & Yammarino 1992).

To conclude, the evidence suggests that groups and organizations perform better and have less turnover when employees voice suggestions and concerns, although there is a need for more empirical research on this issue and, in particular, a need for research on boundary conditions. The existing body of evidence also suggests that voice can impact how an employee is evaluated and viewed by others. However, these relationships have been shown to be contingent on both what the employee voices (e.g., whether the message is more challenging or supportive) and how the employee engages in voice (e.g., timing, emotions), as these affect the target's receptivity to the message and the attributions that he or she makes about the employee's motives. For these same reasons, the effects of voice on unit-level performance are likely to depend on the specifics of what and how one communicates. A message that is not viewed favorably is unlikely to be endorsed or acted upon, and is thus unlikely to lead to more effective functioning, corrective action, or better decision making. The effects of voice depend as well on the recipient (to whom the employee speaks), because managers and leaders differ in their openness to upward input and ability to act upon it (Detert et al. 2013, Fast et al. 2013, McClean et al. 2013). Leaders also vary in their openness to assertive behavior more generally. For example, Grant et al. (2011) found that extraverted leaders were less receptive than more introverted leaders to employee proactivity.

## Implications for Scholarship and Practice

The framework depicted in Figure 1 is meant to complement existing models of the antecedents and consequences of voice and silence (e.g., Morrison 2011), yet it is also meant to provide a slightly broader way of thinking about these behaviors. A few key features are worth pointing out. First, the model explicitly acknowledges issue awareness as a starting point—something generally presumed rather than explicitly included as a variable in models of voice and silence. Second, the model highlights that there are both motivators and inhibitors that come into play in determining whether a given voice opportunity results in voice or silence. As also indicated, these motivators and inhibitors operate not just through their effects on efficacy and cost calculations, but also through their effects on prosocial motivation and noncalculative automatic processes. Having the predictor variables organized into motivators and inhibitors, rather than some other set of categories, is meant to highlight the competing pressures for and against voice and the tensions that these may create. In some cases, these tensions are between what is best for the individual and what is best for the collective, and may create significant internal conflict. This internal conflict has been discussed within the literature (Tangirala et al. 2013), but not explored very deeply. Lastly, the model highlights that one cannot draw conclusions about the effects of voice and silence, particularly for the employee, without taking into consideration the nature of the message, how it was conveyed, and how the recipient interpreted the behavior and responded to the message.

It is my hope that this model will not just help guide future conceptual and empirical research on voice and silence, but also provide guidance to managers. Grounded in empirical research evidence, the model highlights that there are many different things that managers can do to encourage and enable more upward input: foster higher levels of identification with the common enterprise in order to strengthen employees' drive to make a positive difference, consult with employees and convey sincere receptivity to their input, and nurture a workplace climate that places value on honest communication. At the same time, the model highlights the things that can stifle voice, and the importance of minimizing these factors so that they do not overpower the conditions that can

encourage it. There is a natural reluctance to convey negative or potentially threatening information, particularly to individuals in positions of authority or higher status. This means that active efforts need to be taken to counterbalance these inhibiting forces and to ensure that they are not reinforced by negative leadership behaviors, a climate of fear, or a work environment that causes employees to feel disengaged or powerless.

The model, especially the outcome portion, has potential value for employees as well. For example, employees should recognize that their voice behavior is likely to be more effective and well received if they have established images of themselves as trustworthy and credible and if they are mindful of managing strong negative emotions. The evidence also suggests that, even when one is voicing criticism or information about a serious problem, the likelihood of that information being taken seriously and acted upon is greater if one is able to present it in a way that is less directly threatening to the recipient and also provide a potential solution rather than just information about the problem.

### FUTURE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES: WHERE TO GO FROM HERE

Understanding of employee voice and silence has significantly expanded in recent years, as a result of growing research interest in these phenomena. Yet many questions and issues remain. In this final section. Lidentify what I regard to be some of the most important research questions for future conceptual development and empirical investigation. These are not just questions that have been insufficiently addressed in existing work, but also questions that I believe to have the most potential for expanding our understanding of employee voice and silence in meaningful ways and for providing guidance to managers who wish to ensure that voice is not being stifled or ignored in their organizations. I begin with a discussion of some of the gaps in research on the effects of voice and silence. This is followed by a discussion of how the study of factors that motivate and inhibit voice might be expanded. I conclude with some thoughts on how we might delve more deeply into understanding the nature and temporal dynamics of voice and silence. Table 2 provides a summary of the research questions and some sample hypotheses.

Table 2 Some future research questions and hypotheses

Research questions	Sample hypotheses	
What are the effects of silence on the individual employee?	Silence will lead to higher stress. Silence will lead to higher dissatisfaction and disengagement.	
What are some of the factors that moderate the positive effect of voice on unit-level effectiveness?	The relationship between voice and effectiveness will be moderated by the status and communication skills of the source.  The relationship between voice and effectiveness will be moderated by the urgency and specificity of the message.  The relationship between voice and effectiveness will be moderated by the target's level of extraversion, psychological power, and conscientiousness.	
How do relations with coworkers affect voice and silence?	The strength of an employee's social relationships will be positively related to voice. Status within the work group will be positively related to voice.	
How do macrolevel contextual factors affect voice and silence?	Voice will be less common as the favorability of job market conditions declines.  Voice will be more common in cultures characterized by high assertiveness.	
How do characteristics of the message affect the motivation to engage in voice?	Issue seriousness will have a positive effect on the likelihood of voice.  Gains versus loss framing will have an effect on the likelihood of voice.	

#### Research on Outcomes

It is encouraging to see that an increasing number of studies have been focused on the implications of voice for how employees are viewed and evaluated by their supervisors. This line of investigation should continue, as it is important to understand when speaking up is likely to harm versus enhance an employee's image, relationships with coworkers, and career success. There is a particular need for field research on this issue, as many of the existing studies have been laboratory experiments. It would also be valuable to examine the employee-level effects of remaining silent. As noted, there has been little empirical research on the effects of withholding input, and as a result, we do not have much concrete evidence that it leads to negative outcomes. However, from what is known about the effects of repressing feelings and opinions more generally, it is reasonable to hypothesize that silence, particularly when prolonged and when it cuts across multiple issues, will lead to higher stress and also to higher dissatisfaction and disengagement (Morrison & Milliken 2000).

There is also a need for more research that looks at effects beyond the individual actor—in particular, research on how employee voice and silence impact different aspects of unit-level effectiveness. We should expect that voice will generally enhance unit performance, although there may be boundary conditions to these effects, and voice may have more mixed effects on unit-level harmony and cohesion. Exploring such effects will require research at the aggregate rather than individual level of analysis. It will also require consideration of conditions that make voice more or less effective, as units with high levels of voice behavior can reap the benefits of that input only if it is listened to and acted upon. The impact of voice on unit-level performance is likely to depend on such things as the nature of the information being voiced (e.g., whether the suggestions being offered are useful), how it is conveyed (e.g., specificity, persuasiveness, emotional tone), and the receptivity of the target, as suggested in Figure 1. Researchers have begun to make inroads into exploring how factors such as these impact ratings of the employee, but not how they affect whether the message is accepted and acted upon so that it may lead to organizational change or improvement.

Pursuing this issue of when voice will be more or less effective in initiating change opens up many research questions and points to hypotheses worth testing. For example, characteristics of the employee, such as status and communication skills, likely play an important role in explaining the effectiveness of voice. Employees with higher status or credibility will be taken more seriously, and those with stronger communication skills will be more successful in conveying their messages. Recipients should also be more likely to respond to messages that are urgent (as opposed to not needing immediate action) and concrete or specific (as opposed to vague about the issue or how to address it). Target characteristics, such as extraversion, power, and conscientiousness, are also worth considering. Past research suggests that highly extraverted leaders and those with an inflated sense of psychological power may be less responsive to employee input, whereas those who are highly conscientious may be more responsive (Grant et al. 2011, See et al. 2011).

### Research on Motivators and Inhibitors

Significant opportunity also exists for expanding our understanding of the conditions that motivate and inhibit employee voice. Most of the empirical research on predictors has focused on employee-level attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and dispositions. However, to build from studies suggesting that shared beliefs impact voice within work groups (Fraizer & Fainshmidt 2012, Morrison et al. 2011), it would be worthwhile to consider more fully the effects of one's colleagues and relationships with one's colleagues on the decision of whether to engage in voice or remain silent, as it is likely that voice is shaped by social and relational factors. For example, one

hypothesis worth testing is that employees with more positive social relationships with their peers engage in voice more than those without. Another is that employees with higher perceived status are more likely to engage in voice. Both of these predictions are consistent with the finding that employees who are more central within their work group display more voice behavior (Venkataramani & Tangirala 2010).

I also believe that there is an opportunity for research on the effects of more macrolevel contextual factors, so that organizational scholars can understand variations in voice and silence not just across individuals and work groups, but also across organizations, industries, and parts of the world. Although early research on upward communication suggests that voice can be enabled or stifled by the structure and culture of the organization (Glauser 1984), there has been very little research on such effects. It could be very valuable as well to consider how industry, economic, or labor market conditions might affect voice and silence. Consistent with some of the arguments made by Rusbult and colleagues (1988) in considering different responses to dissatisfaction, I hypothesize that any external factors that increase feelings of job insecurity or reduce one's job alternatives will make voice seem more risky and thus strengthen the tendency toward silence. This would imply, for example, a relationship between more risky forms of voice (e.g., raising problems) and the availability of jobs in a particular industry or region.

As well, we know very little about the effects of national culture, other than Botero & Van Dyne's (2009) finding that power distance is negatively related to voice. This finding makes sense, as voice is a challenging form of upward communication and high-power-distance cultures are ones in which people have very high respect for hierarchical and power differences (Hofstede 1991). However, cultural differences in voice are likely to extend beyond power distance. For example, Morrison et al. (2004) found that employees in the United States more frequently asked their supervisors for feedback than did employees in Hong Kong. This difference was due to cultural differences in not just power distance but also the self-assertiveness dimension of individualism, which reflects the extent to which a culture values directness in communication (Singelis 1994). Extending these findings to upward voice, which like feedback seeking is an assertive upward communication behavior, I hypothesize that employee voice will be more common in cultures characterized by high assertiveness. It would also be worth investigating the effects of cultural differences in organizational communication norms and formal communication mechanisms. As well, it could be interesting to explore cultural differences in how employees engage in voice, and in the value placed on voice versus silence.

## The Nature and Temporal Dynamics of Voice and Silence

As discussed in an earlier review article (Morrison 2011), the voice and silence literatures have focused relatively little on the type of information that employees are conveying or withholding, nor how variations in message type affect the likelihood or effects of voice and silence. However, some recent work suggests that, in examining predictors, it may be useful to distinguish between suggestions (i.e., promotive voice) and problems (i.e., prohibitive voice). Specifically, Liang et al. (2012) found that felt obligation was more strongly related to promotive voice, whereas psychological safety was more strongly related to prohibitive voice. There is also some evidence that responses to voice may differ depending on the type of message conveyed (Burris 2012, Whiting et al. 2012). This work is encouraging and points to the value of more fine-grained conceptualizations and operationalizations of voice when investigating antecedents and consequences.

Our understanding of voice could also be deepened by considering characteristics other than the promotive–prohibitive distinction. For example, issue seriousness has been shown to increase the likelihood of whistle-blowing behavior (Miceli et al., 2008), and I would expect it to affect other types of voice as well. As seriousness increases, the potential costs of remaining silent do as well, which can intensify the motivation to speak up. It could also be fruitful to consider the effect of framing. Even in situations in which one is considering whether to speak up about a problem, the issue can be framed in terms of the losses associated with the status quo or in terms of the gains that would accompany a change. The same is true for suggestion-focused voice. Whereas research on the delivery of bad news suggests that people are more reluctant to convey negative than positive information (Rosen & Tesser 1970), research on framing effects suggests that one might be more likely to make a risky choice (i.e., engage in voice) when faced with a situation framed in terms of losses to be avoided (Kahneman & Tversky 1979).

Lastly, I would like to make a case for moving beyond consideration of just voice frequency and for recognizing that voice and silence can vary in intensity and also over time. Independent of how often employees speak up, they may engage in voice more gently or more forcefully, which can affect how others respond. Silence can vary in intensity as well, as Pinder & Harlos (2001) point out. In some cases, the employee is completely resigned to the status quo or feels completely incapable of speaking up. Silence is deeply entrenched and unlikely to change. In other cases, the employee might be on the verge of speaking up, meaning that it might take just a small push—a new event, new information, a shift in mood or affect, a momentary loss of inhibition—for him or her to decide to engage in voice. The decision of whether to speak up is a process, one that often unfolds slowly over time. An employee may need time to decide whether, when, and how to communicate an idea or concern, and will often not engage in voice right away. The employee may decide to gather more information, talk to trusted colleagues, or more carefully think through the pros and cons of raising a particular issue. In such cases, what appears to be silence may be just the early stages leading to voice. This suggests the value of recognizing the temporal dynamics inherent in the voice and silence process, and the ways in which employees might move back and forth between voice and silence over time.

### **CONCLUSION**

The decision to engage in voice or remain silent, especially when considered in the aggregate, can have significant implications for organizations and the people within them. For organizations, performance may suffer if employees do not share suggestions and concerns, and they may miss opportunities to correct problems and take advantage of new ideas. For employees, being willing to speak up can in many cases be image enhancing and can lead them to be seen as better performers. However, there are many forces that hold employees back and make them reluctant or unwilling to speak their minds. Organization leaders, therefore, need to foster conditions that motivate and enable voice while at the same time breaking down inhibitors, such as the often legitimate fear of being dismissed or viewed negatively.

In this review, I have synthesized the extensive research literature on upward employee voice and employee silence, integrating work on predictors, explanatory mechanisms, and consequences. My focus has been on providing a comprehensive understanding of when and why employees will engage in informal upward voice, why they often fail to do so, and the consequences of these choices. I have also suggested some ways in which future studies might broaden and deepen our understanding of the causes, consequences, and nature of voice and silence in the workplace.

### **DISCLOSURE STATEMENT**

The author is not aware of any affiliations, memberships, funding, or financial holdings that might be perceived as affecting the objectivity of this review.

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### Errata

An online log of corrections to *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior* articles may be found at http://www.annualreviews.org/errata/orgpsych.