CONTRASTING WORKPLACE OSTRACISM AND WORKPLACE INCIVILITY
VIA OBSERVER REACTIONS

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by
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ABSTRACT

Workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are similar constructs in that both are low-intensity negative behaviors at work yet with ambiguous intent to harm (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). Thus, it is not clear whether the two constructs should be considered the same or not. I argue that workplace ostracism can be differentiated from workplace incivility by examining observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. To contrast workplace ostracism with workplace incivility, I examine how observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility react to those who are directly involved in workplace ostracism and workplace incivility: the targets toward whom workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are directed, and the perpetrators who are the source of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. I also examine observer reactions to those who are completely uninvolved in workplace ostracism and workplace incivility: unrelated others, or nonspecific others in the workplace with whom observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility may interact subsequently.

In particular, first, drawing on an evolutionary and stigmatization framework, I argue that observers will react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility. Second, as observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to perceive workplace ostracism as unjust, immoral and harmful, I argue that observers will react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. Third, as workplace ostracism primes the need to belong in observers of workplace ostracism, I argue that observers of workplace ostracism will be motivated to conform toward the opinions of unrelated others and behave prosocially towards unrelated others at work. On the other hand, social learning theory, social information processing theory, and priming
frameworks together suggest that observers of workplace incivility can learn from or be primed with uncivil thoughts after observing incivility, and thus are less likely to conform toward the opinions of unrelated others and behave prosocially towards unrelated others.

Results from three studies generally supported these predictions. That is, observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility reacted differently to the target, perpetrators, and unrelated others: compared to observers of workplace incivility, observers of workplace ostracism were more likely to react negatively to the target and positively to the perpetrators (Study 1), and to conform (but not behave prosocially) to unrelated others (Study 3). However, findings of explanations for these effects were mixed: compared to workplace incivility, more stigmatization of the target did not explain observers’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism; and a greater need to belong did not mediate workplace ostracism observers’ conformity and prosocial behaviors toward unrelated others (Study 3). However, justice perceptions did explain observers’ more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism (Study 1), and supplemental analyses suggest less empathic concern toward the target may play a role in explaining observers’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism. Finally, findings regarding moderators of observer reactions were mixed: perceiving the target as an in-group or out-group member largely did not change observer reactions (Study 1), and target resistance did not change observer reactions (Study 2).

In summary, by showing that observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility reacted differently to the target, perpetrators, and unrelated others, this study established that the two constructs have fundamental differences despite of their similarities and that workplace ostracism should be treated as a unique construct. As findings regarding mediating and moderating variables were mixed, this study also calls more future research to examine the
underlying mechanisms and potential moderators of these observer reactions. Practical implications of the study were also discussed.
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CHAPTER 1: CONTRASTING WORKPLACE OSTRACISM AND WORKPLACE INCIVILITY VIA OBSERVER REACTIONS

Since numerous constructs (e.g., workplace incivility, abusive supervision, workplace ostracism, bullying, social undermining and interpersonal conflict) in the field of workplace mistreatment overlap considerably in both conceptualization and measurement, there is concern about whether these constructs are substantially different from each other or largely the same (Hershcovis, 2011; Tepper & Henle, 2011). This concern is particularly true for workplace ostracism and workplace incivility because the two constructs have a lot of conceptual similarities. Conceptually, workplace ostracism shares the defining characteristics of workplace incivility, which is characterized as low-intensity behaviors at work that violate the norm of respect yet with ambiguous intent to harm (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). These characteristics also apply to workplace ostracism, which is defined as ignoring or excluding others at work (Ferris, Brown, Berry, & Lian, 2008), since the behaviors of ignoring or excluding other colleagues can be seen as relatively less intense mistreatment behaviors at work that violate the mutual respect norm, and it is also unclear whether the behaviors of ignoring or excluding are intended to harm other colleagues. Reflecting this overlap in conceptualization between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, items representing workplace ostracism are often included in measures of workplace incivility (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Ferris, Chen, & Lim, 2017; Hershcovis, 2011; Martin & Hine, 2005).

In addition to the two constructs’ similarities in conceptualization and measurement, workplace ostracism and workplace incivility overlap in other ways: both are prevalent in the workplace (Andersson & Pearson 1999, O’Reilly, Robinson, Berdahl, & Banki, 2015), tend to covary with each other (Lim, Cortina, & Magley, 2008; Lim & Lee, 2011; Martin & Hine, 2005),
and are similarly associated with negative outcomes including workplace attitudes and well-being (Ferris et al., 2008; Martin & Hine, 2005; O’Reilly et al., 2015; Robinson, O’Reilly, & Wang, 2013; Schilpzand, De Pater, & Erez, 2016; Sulea, Filipescu, Horga, Ortan, & Fischmann, 2012; Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2005). These findings lead to the question of whether workplace ostracism is a unique construct and different from workplace incivility in meaningful ways.

To address whether workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are distinct, I propose examining workplace ostracism and workplace incivility from the perspective of observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility: that is, those who observe workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, but (unlike the targets or the perpetrators) are not directly involved in workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. Adopting the perspective of observers may help differentiate workplace ostracism from workplace incivility, as past research comparing workplace ostracism and workplace incivility has focused on the perspective of the targets, that is, comparing the effects of experiencing workplace ostracism and workplace incivility on the targets of the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility (e.g., O’Reilly et al., 2015; Zadro et al., 2005; Ferris et al., 2008; Sulea et al., 2012; Martin & Hine, 2005). However, the effects of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility on the targets may not be where differences between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are most apparent. Instead, I propose in this study that differences between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are particularly likely to be seen when the perspective of observer reactions is examined.

I argue that observers of workplace ostracism will react differently compared to observers of workplace incivility because more recently research has pointed out that workplace ostracism and workplace incivility differ conceptually in an important way: workplace ostracism is the
omission of acts whereas workplace incivility is the commission of acts (Ferris et al., 2017; Robinson et al., 2013). In particular, workplace ostracism does not involve any actions toward the targets, in the sense that the targets of workplace ostracism are not even acknowledged in workplace ostracism, whereas workplace incivility involves interactions with the targets of workplace incivility (albeit in a negative manner; Ferris et al., 2017; Robinson et al., 2013). Because of this conceptual difference, I propose that observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility will react differently to three groups: (a) the targets whom workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are directed towards; (b) the perpetrators who are the source of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility; and (c) unrelated others, or the uninvolved others in the workplace who are not involved in the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility (either as the targets, perpetrators, or observers) but whom observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility will interact with in the future (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Foulk, Woolum & Erez, 2016).

First, drawing on evolutionary explanations of ostracism, I argue that observers of workplace ostracism are more likely to interpret workplace ostracism as a signal of the targets’ stigma and thus react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility. Second, observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to perceive workplace ostracism as unjust, immoral and harmful, and thus react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility (O’Reilly et al., 2015; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015). Third, unlike observers of workplace incivility – who learn from or are primed with uncivil thoughts after observing workplace incivility and thus are less likely to treat unrelated others prosocially in subsequent social interactions (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Foulk et al., 2016) – I predict that observers of
workplace ostracism are more likely to be primed with a stronger need to belong and thus try to satisfy the need to belong by engaging in prosocial behaviors towards unrelated others and conforming more to the opinions of unrelated others subsequently.

My study provides a number of contributions to the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility literatures. First, this study helps to answer the question of whether and how workplace ostracism is different from workplace incivility. To date, workplace ostracism and workplace incivility research have typically examined workplace ostracism and workplace incivility separately: the workplace ostracism literature does not discuss how workplace ostracism is related to workplace incivility, while the workplace incivility literature typically views workplace ostracism as interchangeable with other forms of workplace incivility. Contrary to these views, this study discusses a conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility – the workplace ostracism represents the omission of acts whereas the workplace incivility represents the commission of acts – and argues that because of this conceptual difference, the effects of workplace ostracism do not always align with the effects of workplace incivility (Ferris et al., 2017). In doing so, I highlight that workplace ostracism is a unique construct and can be empirically distinguished from workplace incivility. In addition, I inform the larger conversation in the literature of workplace mistreatment regarding whether various constructs largely overlap and are the same thing or whether they are fundamentally different.

Second, this study contributes to the workplace ostracism literature by demonstrating that going beyond the perspectives of the targets and perpetrators can further our understanding of workplace ostracism. Although observer reactions have been studied fairly commonly in the workplace incivility literature (e.g., Reich & Hershcovis, 2015) and other workplace
mistreatment literatures (e.g., injustice and abusive supervision; Mitchell, Vogel, & Folger, 2012; Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005), observer reactions are rarely discussed in the workplace ostracism literature (Ferris et al., 2017). This study thus contributes to the workplace ostracism literature by encouraging consideration of the impact of workplace ostracism on its observers.

WORKPLACE OSTRACISM AND WORKPLACE INCIVILITY

As a unique form that distinguishes from more intense and aggressive forms of workplace mistreatment (e.g., violence), workplace incivility is a more covert and yet more prevalent form of workplace mistreatment (Schilpzand et al., 2016). Formally, workplace incivility is defined as low-intensity acts at work that violate the norm of mutual respect yet are ambiguous with respect to harm intent (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). Typical examples of workplace incivility include making demeaning remarks and being condescending to other colleagues at work (Cortina et al., 2001). Such behaviors are relatively less intense than other aggressive acts, and yet still fall short of people’s expectation of mutual respect in the workplace. Moreover, it is ambiguous whether people engage in workplace incivility in order to harm others or people simply are not paying attention to their behaviors.

Workplace ostracism is usually depicted by workplace incivility researchers as one of the behavioral manifestations of workplace incivility (Cortina et al., 2001; Ferris et al., 2017). More precisely, workplace ostracism is defined as ignoring or excluding others at work (Ferris et al., 2008: 1348) or “when an individual or group omits to take actions that engage another organizational member when it is socially appropriate to do so” (Robinson et al., 2013: 206). Examples of workplace ostracism include not responding to someone’s greetings, avoiding eye contact with someone, or excluding a colleague from conversations at work (Ferris et al., 2008). These behaviors show that workplace ostracism shares the defining characteristics of workplace
incivility: less intense compared to other forms of workplace mistreatment given that workplace ostracism involves refraining from actions toward the targets whereas other forms of workplace mistreatment involve more direct, active and severe actions including violence toward the targets (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Ferris, Johnson, Rosen, Djurdjevic, Chang, & Tan, 2013; O’Reilly et al., 2015); violating the norm of mutual respect in the workplace as people go to the workplace expecting themselves to be welcomed and included by others (O’Reilly et al., 2015; Robinson et al., 2013); and yet ambiguous with respect to hostile intent, as people may engage in these behaviors accidentally (e.g., genuinely not noticing the targets; Ferris, Yan, Lim, Chen, & Fatimah, 2016) whereas other overt forms of workplace mistreatment (e.g., violence) are undoubtedly motivated by intent to harm (Andersson & Pearson, 1999).

Attesting to this conceptual overlap between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, workplace incivility scales often contain items measuring workplace ostracism. Examples of these items include “paying little attention to one’s statement” or “showing little interest in one’s opinion” (Cortina et al., 2001: 70) and “failing to inform one of a meeting one should have been informed about” (Martin & Hine, 2005: 481). Moreover, as workplace incivility, workplace ostracism is argued to be prevalent in the workplace (Andersson & Pearson 1999, O’Reilly et al. 2015). Also literature reviews on workplace ostracism and workplace incivility suggest that these two constructs exhibit similar associations with a range of employee outcomes including job satisfaction, affective commitment, well-being, withdrawal, and turnover (Robinson et al., 2013; Schilpzand et al., 2016). Thus, from conceptual, measurement, and nomological network perspectives, workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are remarkably similar, if not interchangeable with each other.

Yet despite these similarities between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, the
two constructs differ in an important aspect: workplace ostracism represents the * omission of acts whereas workplace incivility represents the * commission of negative acts* (Robinson et al., 2013). Notably, by omission I refer to the ignoring and excluding behaviors themselves. It is possible that workplace ostracism behaviors are the result of active (or commissioned) planning or refraining by the source of workplace ostracism, as when they deliberately make efforts to ensure that they withhold any tendency to engage the targets of workplace ostracism. But workplace ostracism behaviors themselves (e.g., not saying hello) represent the omission of behaviors and interactions, or in other words, the absence of expected appropriate social engagement for the targets (Robinson & Schabram, 2017).

In particular, workplace ostracism involves the perpetrators *not* interacting with its targets (e.g., perpetrators not looking at someone, not talking to them, pretending someone is not there, or removing themselves when someone is in the same room), in the sense that the targets of workplace ostracism are not even acknowledged by the perpetrators of workplace ostracism. In contrast, workplace incivility involves the perpetrators interacting with the targets of workplace incivility (e.g., perpetrators giving someone harsh remarks, interrupting them, or being rude to them), albeit in a negative manner (Ferris et al., 2017; Robinson et al., 2013). As I will argue, this conceptual difference between not interacting versus interacting with the targets has a large effect – particularly on how observers react differently to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

**OBSERVER REACTIONS**

Observers of workplace mistreatment are individuals who have observed workplace mistreatment (in this study, workplace ostracism and workplace incivility) but are not directly involved as the targets or the perpetrators of the mistreatment. As workplace mistreatment often
happens in the presence of observers in the workplace (Porath & Pearson, 2010), workplace mistreatment can have effects beyond the targets of workplace mistreatment to those who observe the mistreatment (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Glomb, Richman, Hulin, Drasgow, Schneider, & Fitzgerald, 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004). Indeed, how people react after observing workplace mistreatment is important.

First, if observers react positively to the targets and negatively to the perpetrators of workplace mistreatment, observers may help heal the targets of mistreatment and curb subsequent mistreatment from the perpetrators or potential retaliation from the targets (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Chui & Dietz, 2014; Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001). On the other hand, if observers react negatively to the targets and positively to the perpetrators of workplace aggression, observers may exacerbate the negative effects of the mistreatment for the targets, encourage subsequent mistreatment from the perpetrators, and finally contribute to a workplace climate in which mistreatment becomes the routine, and every employee can be harmed (Pearson et al., 2001; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015). Second, observers may copy what they have observed and subsequently engage in workplace mistreatment themselves towards unrelated others in the workplace, diffusing the negative outcomes of workplace mistreatment beyond the targets to the unrelated colleagues (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Glomb & Liao, 2003; Foulk et al., 2016).

Given their importance, observer reactions are a popular topic for many areas in organizational research including injustice in the workplace (e.g., Folger, 2001; Skarlicki & Rupp, 2010), abusive supervision (e.g., Mitchell et al., 2012), and – most relevant for this study – workplace incivility (Chui & Dietz, 2014; Foulk et al., 2016; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Porath & Erez, 2009; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015; Totterdell, Hershcovis, Niven, Reich, & Stride,
The findings from the workplace incivility literature suggest that observing workplace incivility is a negative and stressful experience, leading to lowered well-being (e.g., negative moods and burnout) and decreased job performance for observers (e.g., Chui & Dietz, 2014; Foulk et al., 2016; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Porath & Erez, 2009; Totterdell et al., 2012).

Beyond these direct effects of observing workplace incivility on observers, observer reactions to the targets and perpetrators of workplace incivility and unrelated others at work have also been studied. In particular, it has been shown that compared to observer reactions to civil interactions, observer reactions to the targets of workplace incivility are either positive (e.g., the customers who observed a service provider being treated with incivility supported the target more, evaluated the target more positively, and left higher tips; Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017), or at least not negative (e.g., observers of workplace incivility did not evaluate the target of workplace incivility more (or less) negatively, did not allocate more (or less) undesirable work to the target of the workplace incivility, and were not more (or less) aggressive to the target of the workplace incivility; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015). On the other hand, in comparison to observers of civil interactions, observers of workplace incivility have been found to react negatively to the perpetrators of workplace incivility (e.g., Reich & Hershcovis, 2015; Scott, Restubog, & Zagenczyk, 2013). Finally, observers of workplace incivility subsequently treat unrelated others (i.e., those who are neither the targets nor the perpetrators of workplace incivility; e.g., Foulk et al., 2016) in an uncivil manner in future interactions - what is referred to as secondary spirals of workplace incivility by Andersson and Pearson (1999).

Unlike the workplace incivility literature, the workplace ostracism literature has generally overlooked the perspective of observers of workplace ostracism (Ferris et al., 2017). Yet if the construct of workplace ostracism is no different from the construct of workplace incivility, we
would expect observers to react similarly to workplace ostracism compared to workplace incivility. That is, compared to observers of civil interactions, observers of workplace ostracism should similarly make up for or at least not punish the targets of workplace ostracism, should similarly punish the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, and should subsequently react in a more uncivil manner toward unrelated others at work. However, contrary to these expectations, I argue that observers of workplace ostracism will react differently due to the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility: workplace ostracism involves not interacting with the targets, while workplace incivility does (Ferris et al., 2017). In particular, I contrast workplace ostracism with workplace incivility by examining observer reactions to the three different groups respectively: the targets, perpetrators, and unrelated others.

OBSERVER REACTIONS TO WORKPLACE OSTRACISM AND WORKPLACE INCIVILITY

Observer Reactions to the Targets of Workplace Ostracism and Workplace Incivility

To understand how observers of workplace ostracism will react to the targets of workplace ostracism, it is instructive to consider why ostracism arises in the first place. From an evolutionary perspective (Kurzban & Leary, 2001; Goffman, 1963), human beings evolved to learn to not only associate with those who are going to generate gains for us (e.g., security and mating opportunities), but also avoid those who may threaten our lives or the group’s viability (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). Thus, those who possess or are believed to possess stigmas (e.g.,
communicable diseases\textsuperscript{1}) that threaten the individual or group would need to be recognized and excluded. Thus, when a group member is inferred to possess stigmas, other member(s) devalue the stigmatized individual and classify him or her as illegitimate for various future social interactions (Elliott, Ziegler, Altman, & Scott, 1982; Kurzban & Leary, 2001). From this evolutionary perspective, ostracism (the \textit{omission} of acts toward the target, or refraining from any interactions with someone), arises as a response mechanism to someone’s stigmas or assumed stigmas (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). That is, ostracism represents an evolutionarily effective manner to preserve the integrity of an individual or a group from the stigmatized members. Moreover, as ostracism will be more effective if other group members are also ignoring and excluding the stigmatized members, the ostracism treatment towards stigmatized individuals would also need to be quickly noticed by other group members (Ferris et al., 2017).

In line with this evolutionary logic, human beings are particularly apt at noticing the signs of ostracism (Williams & Zadro, 2005). Moreover, individuals in the workplace are also sensitive to detecting the signs of ostracism and biased towards the targets of ostracism: as workplace ostracism (the \textit{omission} of acts toward the target, or refraining from any interactions with the targets) sends out a warning signal of potential undesirable characteristics in the targets of workplace ostracism (Ferris et al., 2017), observers of workplace ostracism should follow the

\textsuperscript{1} A stigma needs not necessarily to be communicable diseases, but may also be non-communicable diseases such as mental illness or represent undesirable characteristics more generally. Such a non-communicable stigma is nevertheless threatening to an individual or group. Rather than providing a “communicable stigma”, a non-communicable stigma instead provides what is known as a “courtesy stigma” (Goffman, 1963: 30), or a stigma transferred to and placed on someone who interacts with the stigmatized person. Although interacting with the stigmatized person may not necessarily lead someone to acquiring the same disease (e.g., mental illness) or undesirable characteristics from the targets, it may be viewed negatively by virtue of interacting with the stigmatized targets. Consequently, people refrain from associating with those holding non-communicable stigma all together to avoid picking up a courtesy stigma, and thus the negative reactions of others towards them (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Birenbaum, 1992; DeScioli & Kurzban, 2013; Mehta & Farina, 1988; Goffman, 1963; Kulik, Bainbridge, & Cregan, 2008).
same evolutionary framework responding to this warning signal. That is, observers of workplace ostracism will be biased towards the targets of workplace ostracism, assuming that stigmas exist in the targets of workplace ostracism. This bias should hold even when observers of workplace ostracism lack evidence that the targets possess any stigmas, because from an evolutionary perspective it would be safer to allow false positives (i.e., excluding individuals with no actual stigmas) as false negatives (i.e., including individuals with actual stigma) are more likely to lead to potentially disastrous consequences (Kurzban & Leary, 2001; Scott & Thau, 2013). As such, observers of workplace ostracism will react negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism and refrain from any future interactions with the targets of workplace ostracism because they view the targets of workplace ostracism as so much to be avoided and excluded (Goffman, 1963; Kurzban & Leary, 2001).

Yet these observer reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism may not extend to workplace incivility, due to the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. More specifically, although workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are similar in that both are lower-intensity, less overt forms of workplace mistreatment with ambiguous intent to harm the targets, they are different in an important way. On the one hand, workplace ostracism is the omission of acts – that is, refraining from any interaction, either positive or negative, with the targets of workplace ostracism. On the other hand, workplace incivility does not refrain from all interactions but ultimately represents the commission of negative acts – for example, providing a snide remark to the targets of workplace incivility (Ferris et al., 2017; Robinson et al., 2013).

Indeed, as the perpetrators of workplace incivility do not refrain from interactions with the targets of workplace incivility, workplace incivility is less a warning signal to others of
stigmas in the targets of workplace incivility, and it is less likely to call others to avoid and exclude the targets of workplace incivility because if workplace incivility is a warning signal to others to avoid and exclude the targets of workplace incivility, the perpetrators of workplace incivility should not interact with the targets of workplace incivility in the first place. As such, workplace incivility is less likely to activate the same evolutionary response in observers of workplace incivility (e.g., being biased towards assuming that stigmas exist in the targets of workplace incivility and thus avoiding the targets of workplace incivility) as in observers of workplace ostracism.

Instead, the workplace incivility literature tends to adopt the deontic justice framework to examine observer reactions to the target of workplace incivility. Deontic justice perspective contends that people are morally obligated to uphold justice even if they are not the target of injustice (Folger, 2001). Despite being of less intensity and with ambiguous harmful intent than other forms of workplace mistreatment, workplace incivility is still likely to be perceived as raising concerns of injustice as it violates the social norms of respect at workplace and represents the commission of negative acts towards the targets of workplace incivility. As such, it has been suggested that workplace incivility is likely to trigger deontic responses in observers such as punishing the perpetrators (e.g., Porath & Erez, 2009) and compensating the targets as observers of workplace incivility are motivated to restore justice and morality. One way they can restore justice is through making up for the targets of workplace incivility. Thus, observing workplace incivility, people tend to view the target of workplace incivility as being treated unfairly and are likely to react positively or at least non-negatively to the target of workplace incivility.

In fact, what is seen in the workplace incivility literature regarding observer reactions to the targets of workplace incivility is notably different from above predictions regarding observer
reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism. Specifically, studies comparing how observers view the targets of workplace incivility versus the “targets” of workplace civility (i.e., a normal, civil conversation) found that observers of workplace incivility react either more positively or at least not negatively to the targets of workplace incivility. For example, a study by Hershcovis and Bhatnagar (2017) showed that customers who observed a service provider being treated with incivility supported the target more, evaluated the target more positively, and left higher tips to the target. Another study by Reich and Hershcovis (2015) found that observers of workplace incivility did not evaluate the target more (or less) negatively, did not allocate more (or less) undesirable tasks to the target, and were not more (or less) aggressive to the target. But at the end of the day, observers of workplace incivility are not expected to react negatively to the target of workplace incivility.

Taken together, the distinction between the omission and commission of acts towards the targets leads to differences in how observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility react to the targets of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. Thus, given the results of Reich and Hershcovis (2015) and Hershcovis and Bhatnagar (2017), compared to observers of workplace incivility, observers of workplace ostracism are more likely to respond negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism and more specifically, refrain from any interactions with the targets of workplace ostracism. Consequently, I hypothesize the following:

*Hypothesis 1a: Observers will react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility.*

In addition, as argued earlier, unlike workplace incivility which represents the commission of acts towards its targets, workplace ostracism really is the omission of acts which refrains from any interactions with the targets of workplace ostracism. As such, compared to
workplace incivility, workplace ostracism is more likely an individual or a group’s evolutionary response to the targets’ stigmas or assumed stigmas and to be viewed by observers of workplace ostracism as a warning signal to also avoid the targets of workplace ostracism. Thus, compared to observers of workplace incivility, workplace ostracism observers’ more negative reactions to, or more precisely refraining from future interactions with the targets of workplace ostracism, is a result of observers’ stigmatization of the targets of workplace ostracism. More formally, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1b: Observers’ perceptions of stigma in the targets will mediate their reactions to the targets. More specifically, observers will perceive greater stigma in the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility, and as a result, they will react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility.

Observer Reactions to the Perpetrators of Workplace Ostracism and Workplace Incivility

In the previous section, I have outlined how observer reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility differ. Indeed, there are also reasons to expect observer reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility to differ. In this section, I will describe how the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility leads to differences in observer reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

Again, the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility is that workplace ostracism represents the omission of acts whereas workplace incivility represents the commission of negative acts. That is, the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, unlike the perpetrators of workplace incivility, have refrained from any interactions with the
targets of workplace ostracism (Robinson et al., 2013). The literature on human beings’ omission bias suggests that people tend to perceive the omission of acts as associated with less maliciousness, causing less harm, and as more acceptable than the commission of negative acts (Baron & Ritov, 1994; Spranca, Minsk, & Baron, 1991).

In line with this, other work also demonstrates that workplace ostracism is generally perceived as less counter-normative and more acceptable than other forms of workplace mistreatment, including workplace incivility (O’Reilly et al., 2015). More specifically, lacking observation of the commission of acts from the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, observers of workplace ostracism are likely to find it less clear that anything wrong has actually happened or to conclude that an injustice or violation of the social norm of mutual respect has even occurred. After all, the perpetrators of workplace ostracism have not engaged in any behaviors towards the targets of workplace ostracism. That is, the perpetrators of workplace ostracism have not interacted with the targets of workplace ostracism and have not said anything mean to them. All the perpetrators of workplace ostracism have done is just not interact with the targets of workplace ostracism. As a result, it is hard to view the perpetrators of workplace ostracism in a negative light. Taken together, observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to react negatively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism because the perpetrators of workplace ostracism are not seen to have done anything wrong (or done anything, period).

Yet observers of workplace incivility will react differently to the perpetrators of workplace incivility due to the fact that workplace incivility represents the commission of negative acts. Compared to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, the perpetrators of workplace incivility more clearly engaged in negative behaviors towards the targets of workplace incivility. More specifically, the perpetrators of workplace incivility treat the targets in an uncivil
manner (e.g., saying something rude to interrupting the targets), and are more likely to be perceived as violating the social norm and fundamental expectation that individuals should be treated with respect in the workplace (Porath & Erez, 2009; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015). Thus, observers of workplace incivility can easily imagine an alternative state which would have happened instead if the perpetrators of workplace incivility treat the targets with respect and civility (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998). As a result of these violated expectations, observers of workplace incivility are more likely to perceive the perpetrators of workplace incivility as behaving negatively and unfairly.

Further, the deontic justice literature (Folger, 2001) contends that people are morally obligated to uphold morality and justice and would respond unfavorably upon observing another person engage in behaviors that violate basic moral and social norms (e.g., people should treat one another with respect and dignity). Thus, observers of workplace incivility, which violates the respect norm would perceive such violations as unjust and morally wrong, are obligated to hold the perpetrators of workplace incivility accountable and to restore justice and morality through punishing the perpetrators of injustice (e.g., Bies & Tripp, 1998; Brockner, 1990; Skarlicki, Ellard, & Kelln, 1998; Skarlicki & Rupp, 2010; Turillo, Folger, Lavelle, Umphress, & Gee, 2002). Given workplace incivility is likely to be perceived by observers as unjust, it is not surprising that findings from the workplace injustice literature about observers’ negative reactions towards the perpetrators of workplace injustice have extended to workplace incivility (Reich & Hershcovis, 2015). For example, it has been shown that the perpetrators of workplace incivility are more likely to be evaluated negatively, allocated undesirable work, and treated aggressively by observers of workplace incivility, in comparison to how the “perpetrators” of workplace civility are treated by observers of workplace civility (Reich & Hershcovis, 2015).
Taken together, given the difference of the omission versus the commission of acts between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, observers of workplace ostracism will react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. More formally, I hypothesize the following:

*Hypothesis 2a: Observers will react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.*

In other words, the human beings’ omission bias and deontic justice literatures suggest that workplace ostracism which represents the *omission* of acts, compared to workplace incivility which represents the *commission* of acts, is less likely to raise concerns of injustice in observers of workplace ostracism. Perceiving workplace ostracism as more just than workplace incivility in turn is less likely to motivate observers of workplace ostracism to restore justice through punishing the perpetrators of workplace ostracism. Thus, owing again to the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, compared to observers of workplace incivility, observers of workplace ostracism are more likely to react positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as observers of workplace ostracism are more likely to perceive workplace ostracism as just. More formally, I hypothesize that:

*Hypothesis 2b: Observers’ perceptions of injustice will mediate their reactions to the perpetrators. More specifically, observers will perceive that the perpetrators of workplace ostracism behave more fairly compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility, and as a result, they will react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.*

**Factors Influencing Observer Reactions to the Targets and Perpetrators**

In the above sections, I have argued that observers will react differently to the targets and
perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to how they will react to the targets and perpetrators of workplace incivility. Specifically, because workplace ostracism represents the omission of acts whereas workplace incivility represents the commission of acts, the evolutionary perspective of ostracism predicts that observers of workplace ostracism are more likely to assume stigmas in the targets of workplace ostracism and thus react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility. In addition, the human being’s omission bias and deontic justice literatures predict that observers are more likely to perceive workplace ostracism as more just and less harmful and thus less likely to punish the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. In this section, I argue that these predicted observer reactions will be influenced by other factors including whether observers share the same group membership (e.g., in-group versus out-group) with the targets and perpetrators and whether observers see the targets’ resistance to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

**In-group vs. out-group membership.** It has been suggested that the relationships among observers, the targets, and the perpetrators influence how observers handle observed harmful events (Latane & Darley, 1970). Extending this general argument, social identity theory and self-categorization theory more specifically suggest that individuals identify themselves as belonging to specific social units (e.g., I am a female employee) and categorize others around them into in-group and out-group members (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In line with this logic, similarity attraction theory proposes that people feel more connected toward and are more attracted to their in-group membership as they are perceived as more similar to themselves (e.g., Byrne 1971). Moreover, these theories suggest that individuals tend to be biased towards their group and in-
group members, care more about their group and in-group members, and think and behave on behalf of their group. For example, people desire to interpret things in ways facilitating positive attitudes toward their group and in-group members (Hogg & Terry, 2000). People also feel more obliged to support their group and in-group members by endorsing the same attitudes as their in-group members, conforming to their group norms (Reicher, 1984; Mackie, Gastardo-Conaco, & Skelly, 1992), or providing assistance to their in-group members (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005).

As such, I argue that how observers react to the targets and perpetrators of workplace ostracism and incivility will depend on the extent to which observers perceive the targets or the perpetrators as in-group members or out-group members. In particular, if observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members, they will react more positively towards the targets and more negatively towards the perpetrators. On the other hand, if they perceive the targets as out-group members and the perpetrators as in-group members, they will react more negatively to the targets and more positively to the perpetrators. More formally, I hypothesize:

**Hypothesis 3a:** For both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, observers’ perceptions of group membership will influence their reactions to the targets. More specifically, when observers perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members compared to when they perceive the targets as out-group members and the perpetrators as in-group members, they will react more positively to the targets and more negatively to the perpetrators.

As argued earlier, individuals are biased towards their in-group members, care more about their group and in-group members, and think and behave on behalf of their group. For
example, people desire to interpret things in ways facilitating positive attitudes toward their in-
group members (Hogg & Terry, 2000). More specifically, when observers of workplace
ostracism perceive the targets of workplace ostracism as in-group members and the perpetrators
of workplace ostracism as out-group members, observers of workplace ostracism are likely to be
biased towards the targets – their in-group members, and thus tend to interpret observed
workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in ways facilitating positive attitudes toward the
targets. As such, observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to view the targets of
workplace ostracism as possessing stigmas. Not perceiving the targets of workplace ostracism as
stigmatized, observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to react negatively to the target of
workplace ostracism (e.g., avoiding the targets of workplace ostracism).

On the other hand, when observers of workplace ostracism perceive the targets of
workplace ostracism as out-group members and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-
group members, observers of workplace ostracism are likely to show support to their in-group
members by endorsing the same attitudes as the perpetrators of workplace ostracism. That is,
they are likely to also assume stigmas exist in the targets of workplace ostracism as they perceive
workplace ostracism as a warning signal sent by their in-group members. Perceiving the targets
of workplace ostracism as possessing stigmas, observers of workplace ostracism are more likely
to react negatively to the target of workplace ostracism (e.g., avoiding the targets of workplace
ostracism). Thus, I hypothesize that:

*Hypothesis 3b: For workplace ostracism, the effect of group membership on observers’
reactions to the targets will be mediated by observers’ perceptions of stigma in the
targets of workplace ostracism. More specifically, when observers of workplace
ostracism perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group*
members compared to otherwise, they will perceive the targets as less stigmatized, and as a result, they will react more positively to the targets of workplace ostracism.

As argued earlier, people in general care more about those who they perceive as in-group group members: they think and behave on behalf of their group, are biased towards their in-group members, desire to interpret things in ways facilitating positive attitudes toward their in-group members (Hogg & Terry, 2000), feel more obliged to support their in-group members by endorsing the same attitudes and conforming to their group norms (Reicher, 1984; Mackie et al., 1992) or by providing assistance to their in-group members (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005).

In line with this logic, although the justice literature seems to assume justice or injustice always applies to considerations of all relationships (i.e., everyone should be treated with fairly), research on scope of justice (Opotow, 1990, 1994) has argued that there are cases when justice is less relevant (i.e., someone is eliminated from considerations of justice). For example, we tend to care more about and feel stronger obligations towards our family and friends than towards strangers and enemies (Opotow, 1990). More generally, people tend to perceive their in-group members as inside their scope or boundary of justice within which fairness matters and thus deserving just treatment. On the other hand, perceiving someone as an out-group member is more likely to lead to removing of the out-group member from the scope of justice. That is, out-group members are less likely to be considered as deserving just treatment. As a consequence, unfair treatment toward out-group members would seem to be more acceptable or even just (Opotow, 1990).

Building on the above arguments, I argue that how observers react to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism or workplace incivility will be shaped by whether they perceive the targets
or the perpetrators as in-group members and in the scope of justice. In particular, if observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members, they are more likely to include the target in the scope of justice and care about whether the targets are treated fairly. Thus they tend to interpret observed workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in ways facilitating positive attitudes toward the targets and negative attitudes toward the perpetrators and be biased towards perceiving workplace ostracism or workplace incivility as unjust, immoral and harmful. As such, they are more likely to hold the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility accountable, and motivated to restore justice by punishing the perpetrators of workplace ostracism or workplace incivility.

On the other hand, if observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility perceive the targets as out-group members and the perpetrators as in-group members, they will care less about the targets as they are more likely to believe that moral values and rules (e.g., fairness) do not apply to the targets. Moreover, observers are biased towards the perpetrators – their in-group members, and thus tend to interpret observed workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in ways facilitating more positive attitudes toward the perpetrators, their in-group members. As a result, observers are less likely to view workplace ostracism and workplace incivility as unjust, immoral and harmful and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility as accountable. Not perceiving workplace ostracism and workplace incivility as unjust and the perpetrators as accountable, observers are less likely to punish the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. Taken together, I hypothesize that:

_Hypothesis 3c: For both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, the effect of group membership on observers’ reactions to the perpetrators will be mediated by_
observers’ perception that the perpetrators behave unfairly. More specifically, when observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members compared to otherwise, they will perceive that the perpetrators behave more unfairly, and as a result, they will react more negatively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

**Target resistance.** In the previous section, I have argued that observer reactions to the targets and perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility will be influenced by whether observers share the same group membership (e.g., in-group versus out-group) with the targets and perpetrators. In this section, I argue that there are also reasons to expect observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility to be shaped by whether observers see targets’ resistance to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

In earlier sections, I have argued that observers will react differently to workplace ostracism compared to how they will react to workplace incivility and that the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility accounts for the differences in observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. More specifically, because workplace ostracism represents the omission of acts whereas workplace incivility represents the commission of acts, the evolutionary perspective of ostracism predicts that observers of workplace ostracism are more likely to assume stigmas in the targets of workplace ostracism and thus react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility. Moreover, the human being’s omission bias and deontic justice literatures predict that observers are more likely to perceive workplace ostracism as more just and less harmful and thus less likely to punish the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. In this section, I will continue to argue that the conceptual
difference of omission versus commission of acts between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility also explains the differences in how observing target resistance to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility shapes how observers react to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

*Target resistance* to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility refers to behaviors the targets of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility engage in to explicitly express that the ongoing workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are not welcomed. Examples of target resistance to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility range from pointing out that the perpetrators are excluding or ignoring them (in the case of workplace ostracism) or not treating them with respect and civility (in the case of workplace incivility) to expressing that they do not want to be ostracized (in the case of workplace ostracism) or treated with incivility (in the case of workplace incivility), that harm is being done to them, and that the perpetrators are accountable for the ongoing workplace ostracism or workplace incivility. I argue that whether the targets of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility resist will have different effects on observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, again due to the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

Specifically, as workplace ostracism represents the omission of acts, observers of workplace ostracism do not see the perpetrators of workplace ostracism commit any negative acts (or commit any acts) toward the targets of workplace ostracism. Moreover, human beings’ omission bias – the tendency to perceive the omission of acts as less malicious, less harmful, and more acceptable than the commission of negative acts (Baron & Ritov, 1994; Spranca, Minsk, & Baron, 1991) – suggests observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to perceive workplace ostracism as malicious, unjust and harmful because the perpetrators of workplace ostracism do
not commit any acts after all. As such, observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to hold
the perpetrators of workplace ostracism accountable and react less neutrally (or more negatively)
to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism.

However, because observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to think anything bad
has happened or the perpetrators of workplace ostracism have committed anything bad and thus
should be hold accountable, it may seem odd to observers of workplace ostracism if the targets
of workplace ostracism suddenly start telling everyone that they are being excluded or ignored,
that they do not want to be treated in such a manner, that they are hurt, and that the perpetrators
of workplace ostracism should be held accountable and punished. Rather, these resistance
behaviors from the targets of workplace ostracism may be viewed by observers of workplace
ostracism as only reflecting the targets’ tendency to entertain paranoid thoughts about other
colleagues. That is, the targets of workplace ostracism may be seen as having unfounded beliefs
about the malicious intent in others’ behaviors (or even in the omission of behaviors), making
very personalized interpretations out of others’ behaviors (Colby, 1981; Robinson et al., 2013),
and tending to see themselves as victims of these behaviors (Marr, Thau, Aquino, & Barclay,
2012).

This tendency of paranoid thoughts in the targets of workplace ostracism may be viewed
as associated with the targets’ other personal traits including distrust and suspicion, neuroticism,
low self-esteem, and high vigilance toward their social interaction partners in general (Aquino &
Thau, 2009; Einarsen, Raknes, & Matthiesen, 1994; Marr et al., 2012; Zapf, 1999), leading
observers of the targets’ resistance to workplace ostracism to perceive the targets of workplace
ostracism as unpleasant to work or hard to get along with (Ferris et al., 2008; Marr et al., 2012;
Wu, Wei, & Hui, 2011). Taken together, when the targets of workplace ostracism show
resistance compared to when they do not show resistance, they may in fact provoke more negative reactions from observers of workplace ostracism (Marr et al., 2012). In sum, whereas resistance from the targets of workplace ostracism is unlikely to change observers’ neutral reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, it may promote even more negative observer reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism. More formally, I hypothesize that:

_Hypothesis 4a: The target resistance to workplace ostracism will influence observer reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism. More specifically, when the targets of workplace ostracism resist compared to when the targets do not resist, observers of workplace ostracism will react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism._

In contrast, I argue that target resistance to workplace incivility will strengthen observers’ negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility and also motivate observers’ positive reactions to the targets of workplace incivility. In fact, target resistance to workplace incivility stresses and makes it clearer to observers of workplace incivility that workplace incivility is unjust, immoral and harmful, and that the targets of workplace incivility are hurt, motivating observers to punish the perpetrators of workplace incivility and help the targets of workplace incivility (Chui & Dietz, 2014; Skarlicki, O’Reilly, & Kulik, 2015). First, by explicitly pointing out that the perpetrators of workplace incivility are treating them uncivilly, the targets of workplace incivility remove ambiguity of whether a negative event is happening and draw observers’ attention to the negative event. Second, by expressing that they do not want to be treated with incivility, the targets of workplace incivility label the perpetrators’ behaviors as unwelcomed and violating the social norm of respect or people’s fundamental expectation that individuals should be treated with respect at work (Porath & Erez, 2009; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015) and thus label workplace incivility as unjust, immoral and unethical. Finally, by
expressing that harm is being done to them, and that perpetrators of workplace incivility should be held accountable for the caused harm, the targets of workplace incivility call observers of workplace incivility to uphold morality and restore justice by punishing the perpetrators of workplace incivility and helping the targets of workplace incivility (Bowes-Sperry and O’Leary-Kelly 2005; Chui & Dietz, 2014).

On the other hand, in the absence of the targets’ above resistance to workplace incivility, observers of workplace incivility are likely to find themselves less sure about whether the perpetrators of workplace incivility are indeed engaging in negative and unwelcomed acts toward the targets of workplace incivility, whether the perpetrators’ behaviors break the basic moral and just norm and thus are unjust, immoral and unethical, whether the perpetrators’ behaviors are causing harm in the targets of workplace incivility, and thus whether the perpetrators should be held responsible and punished for their immoral and unjust behaviors and the caused harm in the targets of workplace incivility. In sum, observers of workplace incivility seeing target resistance to workplace incivility are more likely to be motivated to restore justice by reacting negatively to the perpetrators of workplace incivility and positively to the targets of workplace incivility.

Thus, I hypothesize that:

*Hypothesis 4b: The target resistance to workplace incivility will influence observer reactions to the targets and perpetrators of workplace incivility. More specifically, when the targets of workplace incivility resist compared to when the targets do not resist, observers of workplace incivility will react more positively to the targets of workplace incivility and more negatively to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.*

In addition, perceiving the perpetrators of workplace incivility as being more unfair explains observers’ more negative reactions the perpetrators of workplace incivility in the
situation of the targets resisting workplace incivility. Target resistance to workplace incivility not only points out that workplace incivility is unjust and unwelcomed but also makes it clearer that the perpetrators of workplace incivility should be held responsible and the targets should be helped. As such, perceiving the perpetrators of workplace incivility as behaving unfairly toward the targets of workplace incivility, observers of workplace incivility will be more obligated to restore justice by reacting more positively to the targets of workplace incivility and more negatively to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. More formally, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 4c: For workplace incivility, the effect of the target resistance on observers’ positive reactions to the targets and negative reactions to the perpetrators will be mediated by observers’ perceptions of injustice.

Observer Reactions to Unrelated Others

So far, I have outlined that observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility will react differently to both the targets and the perpetrators. Yet workplace ostracism and workplace incivility may affect how observers react to not only those who are directly involved (the targets and the perpetrators) but also those who are completely uninvolved: unrelated others, or nonspecific others in the workplace with whom observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility will interact in the future. As I will argue, there are also reasons to expect that workplace ostracism and workplace incivility differentially affects how observers interact with unrelated others subsequently at work.

It has been argued in the workplace incivility literature that observers of workplace incivility will also treat unrelated others (i.e., those who are neither the targets nor the perpetrators of workplace incivility) with incivility in future interactions (e.g., Foulk et al., 2016) - a phenomenon referred to as secondary spirals of workplace incivility by Andersson and
Pearson (1999). For example, a workplace incivility incident involving employee A treating colleague B in an uncivil manner had been observed by employee C, who, in turn, started treating employee D (an unrelated colleague) also in an uncivil manner (Andersson & Pearson’s 1999; Foulk et al., 2016). This secondary spiral effect of workplace incivility follows from social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and social information processing theory (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978), which together suggest that human beings are subject to social influences and that we imitate what we observe. Moreover, we mimic not only positive but also negative behaviors of others (e.g., Lian, Ferris, & Brown, 2012; Liu, Liao, & Loi, 2012; Mawritz, Mayer, Hoobler, Wayne, & Marinova, 2012). For example, individuals are more likely themselves to engage in interpersonal aggression or antisocial behaviors towards their organizations if their coworkers do so (Glomb & Liao, 2003; Robinson & O’Leary-Kelly, 1998).

As such, observers of workplace incivility can learn and acquire the negative behaviors by first observing the negative behaviors of the perpetrators of workplace incivility and then carrying those negative behaviors over to their subsequent interactions with unrelated others (Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009). Additionally, priming frameworks also argue that workplace incivility can be contagious as merely observing workplace incivility automatically primes and activates uncivil thoughts in observers, leading them to be uncivil and less prosocial towards unrelated others in subsequent interactions (Foulk et al., 2016; Porath & Erez, 2009). Empirical studies in the workplace incivility literature support these predictions that observers of workplace incivility will also treat unrelated others at work in an uncivil manner subsequently (e.g., Foulk et al., 2016).

The above argument about workplace incivility’s impact on unrelated others at work suggests that minor negative behaviors such as workplace incivility can be contagious through
observers’ subsequent negative behaviors towards unrelated others (Foulk et al., 2016). Given that workplace ostracism is also a minor negative behavior, we might expect to see a similar contagion effect for workplace ostracism – secondary spirals of workplace ostracism where observers of workplace ostracism also ostracize unrelated others at work subsequently. However, owing again to the conceptual difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, I argue that secondary spirals of workplace ostracism are unlikely to occur. Indeed, observers of workplace ostracism will not try to ignore, exclude or avoid unrelated others but instead attempt connections with them in subsequent interactions at work. In attempting connections with unrelated others, observers of workplace ostracism will try to be more conforming to the opinions of unrelated others and prosocial towards unrelated others.

Unlike workplace incivility which involves engaging in negative interactions with the targets, workplace ostracism aims to ignore and exclude individuals who they believe have stigmas. To ensure that the stigmatized individuals are ignored and excluded, the perpetrators of workplace ostracism refrain from any interactions, positive or negative, with the targets of workplace ostracism. Thus, I argue that compared to observers of workplace incivility, observers of workplace ostracism are more concerned about themselves being potentially ignored or excluded as well. After all, from the evolutionary/stigmatization perspective (Kurzban & Leary, 2001; Goffman, 1963), observers of workplace ostracism could also possess stigmas or characteristics that would be seen as undesirable in the eyes of other colleagues. As a result, observers of workplace ostracism may be concerned that they would be devalued, classified as illegitimate for future social interactions, and ultimately ostracized by their colleagues – which threatens their belongingness and thus primes greater need to belong in them, a need to be interpersonally related with others and included in groups that has long been viewed as one of
the most fundamental human motivations (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). As suggested by prior research, simply observing another individual being excluded and ignored by others could be sufficient to prime greater need to belong in observers (Wesselmann, Bagg, & Williams, 2009).

As greater need to belong is primed and becomes salient, fulfilling the need to belong is important because from an evolutionary framework, belonging or being associated with others and included in groups facilitates human beings’ survival (e.g., getting security and reproduction opportunities; Kurzban & Leary, 2001). More generally, the importance of fulfillment of this innate need is evidenced by its impact on human beings’ well-being: it is affectively pleasant when the need to belong is satisfied; on the other hand, when the need to belong is threatened or thwarted, human beings will be depressed, sad, and feel our self-esteem lowered (Baumeister, Twenge, & Ciarocco, 2002). In line with this, human beings also readily detect signs of ostracism or risk of ostracism so that we can act promptly when the need to belong is threatened or thwarted (Allen & Badcock, 2003; Kerr & Levine, 2008; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Spoor & Williams, 2007; Williams & Sommer, 1997; Williams, Cheung, & Choi, 2000, Williams & Zadro, 2005).

Given the importance of fulfilling the need to belong, an adaptive response to the heightened need to belong is to take prompt actions to seek inclusion from others to fulfill the need (Derfler-Rozin, Pillutla, & Thau, 2010). As observing workplace ostracism primes greater need to belong (Wesselmann et al., 2009), observers of workplace ostracism will try to seek inclusion from unrelated others in subsequent interactions. Thus, contrary to the contagion effect seen in the workplace incivility literature where observers of workplace incivility themselves engage in incivility towards unrelated others at work, observers of workplace ostracism would not ostracize unrelated others because doing so would further deprive observers’ need to belong.
(Ferris et al., 2017). Instead, observers of workplace ostracism are likely to attempt connections with unrelated others\(^2\) in subsequent interactions (Molden, Lucas, Gardner, Dean, & Knowles, 2009; Derfler-Rozin et al., 2010).

As observers of workplace ostracism attempt to build connections with and be included by unrelated others in subsequent interactions, observers of workplace ostracism will want to inhibit their socially undesirable behaviors (Williams & Sommer, 1997) by refraining from uncivil behaviors towards unrelated others because doing so will not help fulfill the threatened need to belong and will even lead observers of workplace ostracism to be ostracized by unrelated others (Ferris et al., 2017). Rather, observers of workplace ostracism would try to present themselves in a more favorable and likable manner in front of unrelated others in subsequent interactions (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Thau, Aquino, & Poortvliet, 2007; Williams & Sommer, 1997). Thus, observers of workplace ostracism would demonstrate their ability and willingness to help, cooperate and accommodate to their fellow colleagues (Baumeister & Tice, 1990). In particular, observers of workplace ostracism are likely to behave more prosocially by engaging in interpersonal helpful behaviors towards unrelated others (Derfler-Rozin et al. 2010). Moreover, being more accommodating, observers of workplace ostracism are also more likely to conform to the opinions of unrelated others (Williams & Sommer, 1997; Williams et al., 2000).

Taken together, the above arguments lead to the below formal hypotheses:

\(^2\) Observers of workplace ostracism are, however, unlikely to fulfill the need to belong by attempting connections with the targets or the perpetrators of workplace ostracism. First, as discussed in the section of observer reaction to the targets of workplace ostracism, observers of workplace ostracism will react negatively toward and avoid associations with the stigmatized targets of workplace ostracism for evolutionary concerns. If observers of workplace ostracism do not distance themselves from the targets of workplace ostracism, they might be viewed as posseting the same stigmas as the targets and become a target of workplace ostracism themselves. Second, observers of workplace ostracism may perceive the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as having the tendency to ostracize others including observers. Thus, the attempt of strengthening their association with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism may give way to the concern of being the next target and having their already threatened need to belong future thwarted (Maner, DeWall, Baumeister, & Schaller, 2007). As a result, observers of workplace ostracism are less likely to attempt connections with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism.
Hypothesis 5: Observers of workplace ostracism, compared to observers of workplace incivility, will (a) conform more to the opinions of unrelated others and (b) behave more prosocially toward unrelated others.

Hypothesis 6: Observers’ need to belong will mediate the effect of observing workplace ostracism on their (a) conformity and (b) prosocial behaviors towards unrelated others. More specifically, observers of workplace ostracism, compared to observers of workplace incivility, will have greater need to belong, and as a result, will conform more to the opinions of unrelated others and behave more prosocially towards unrelated others.
CHAPTER 2: STUDY DESIGN AND RESULTS

I ran experiments in three studies to test the above hypotheses on the differences in observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. As workplace ostracism and workplace incivility are likely to co-occur in organizations (Lim et al., 2008; Lim & Lee, 2011; Martin & Hine, 2005), observers of workplace ostracism may also have the experience of observing workplace incivility. As such, contrasting observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility could be difficult due to the potential problem of multicollinearity. Experiments can separate the condition of workplace ostracism from workplace incivility so that observer reactions can be compared in the two conditions (Ferris et al., 2017). The first study (Study 1) will test observer reactions to the targets and perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, the mediating role of stigma and injustice perceptions, and the moderating role of group membership. In particular, the following hypotheses will be tested in Study 1:

Hypothesis 1a: Observers will react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility.

Hypothesis 1b: Observers’ perceptions of stigma in the targets will mediate their reactions to the targets. More specifically, observers will perceive greater stigma in the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility, and as a result, they will react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism compared to the targets of workplace incivility.

Hypothesis 2a: Observers will react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.

Hypothesis 2b: Observers’ perceptions of injustice will mediate their reactions to the perpetrators. More specifically, observers will perceive that the perpetrators...
of workplace ostracism behave more fairly compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility, and as a result, they will react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.

Hypothesis 3a: For both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, observers’ perceptions of group membership will influence their reactions to the targets. More specifically, when observers perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members compared to when they perceive the targets as out-group members and the perpetrators as in-group members, they will react more positively to the targets and more negatively to the perpetrators.

Hypothesis 3b: For workplace ostracism, the effect of group membership on observers’ reactions to the targets will be mediated by observers’ perceptions of stigma in the targets of workplace ostracism. More specifically, when observers of workplace ostracism perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members compared to otherwise, they will perceive the targets as less stigmatized, and as a result, they will react more positively to the targets of workplace ostracism.

Hypothesis 3c: For both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, the effect of group membership on observers’ reactions to the perpetrators will be mediated by observers’ perception that the perpetrators behave unfairly. More specifically, when observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility perceive the targets as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members compared to otherwise, they will perceive that the perpetrators behave more
unfairly, and as a result, they will react more negatively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

The second study (Study 2) will test the role of target resistance in moderating observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. In particular, the following hypotheses will be tested in Study 2:

Hypothesis 4a: The target resistance to workplace ostracism will influence observer reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism. More specifically, when the targets of workplace ostracism resist compared to when the targets do not resist, observers of workplace ostracism will react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism.

Hypothesis 4b: The target resistance to workplace incivility will influence observer reactions to the targets and perpetrators of workplace incivility. More specifically, when the targets of workplace incivility resist compared to when the targets do not resist, observers of workplace incivility will react more positively to the targets of workplace incivility and more negatively to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.

Hypothesis 4c: For workplace incivility, the effect of the target resistance on observers’ positive reactions to the targets and negative reactions to the perpetrators will be mediated by observers’ perceptions of injustice.

The third study (Study 3) will test whether observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility react differently to unrelated others. In particular, the following hypotheses will be tested in Study 3:

Hypothesis 5: Observers of workplace ostracism, compared to observers of workplace incivility, will (a) conform more to the opinions of unrelated others and (b) behave more prosocially toward unrelated others.
Hypothesis 6: Observers’ need to belong will mediate the effect of observing workplace ostracism on their (a) conformity and (b) prosocial behaviors towards unrelated others.

More specifically, observers of workplace ostracism, compared to observers of workplace incivility, will have greater need to belong, and as a result, will conform more and behave more prosocially towards unrelated others.

STUDY 1: OBSERVER REACTIONS TO THE TARGETS AND PERPETRATORS OF WORKPALCE OSTRACIM AND WORKPALCE INCIVILITY

Participants and Procedure

Participants were undergraduate students recruited from a behavioral lab at a public university in exchange for extra class credit. A total of 256 participants completed Study 1. Participants (55% male) were on average 19.47 years old ($SD = .82$).

Participants were presented with what they were told was a video of a brainstorming conversation among four students that was meant to generate new ideas to improve collaboration across the departments of a business school; in the video, students suggested (and reacted to) ideas to improve collaboration. In reality, the video was pre-recorded with four hired actors and comprised the manipulation of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility (see below). After watching the video, participants were asked to complete the main dependent variable: their willingness to work with each member of the group. I reason that willingness to work with a member of the group would capture the extent to which observers evaluated the target and perpetrators positively or negatively, while also aligning with the evolutionary theoretical

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3 To ensure that the quality of the ideas suggested by the target and the perpetrators did not differ, in a separate undergraduate sample ($N = 174$) I compared the quality of ideas of the target and the perpetrators and found no significant difference. In particular, I asked participants to respond to the following statement on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree): “This idea is of good quality” for each of the ten ideas. The quality of the four ideas proposed by the target ($M = 4.62, SD = .100$) and the six ideas proposed by the perpetrators ($M = 4.72, SD = .90$) did not differ in terms of quality ($r(173) = -1.69, p >.05, 95\% CI = [-.24, .02]$).
framework regarding willingness to associate with (potentially) stigmatized individuals.

**Manipulating workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.** Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions: a workplace ostracism, workplace incivility, or workplace civility condition. I adapted manipulations used by Reich and Hershcovis (2015) such that each condition varies in how the three group members ("Alex", "Tom", and "Mike") interacted with a target group member ("John"). In the workplace ostracism condition, the target was ignored by the other team members: the other team members never interacted with the target, their comments addressed every other member of the group except the target; and they avoided eye contact with the target. In the workplace incivility condition, the target was criticized and insulted by other team members via comments like “That actually sounds very boring.” and “Why do you keep suggesting these?” In the workplace civility condition, all group members commented and responded to each other’s ideas similarly and with a civil tone via comments like “These are all really good ideas. Keep them coming guys!” There were 87 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, 78 participants in the workplace incivility condition, and 91 participants were in the workplace civility condition.

**Manipulating group membership.** To assign group membership, I used the manipulation in Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament (1971): before watching the video, participants were asked to show their preference for paintings by two foreign modern painters, Kandinsky and Klee (referred to as an “aesthetic test”; for an example, see Appendix C). Then, they were told about other group members’ preferences between the two painters; depending on the other members’ painter preferences, participants could be either in the same group as a member (i.e., they

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4 Please note that to make workplace ostracism and workplace incivility more obvious and noticeable for observers, there is one target and three perpetrators in the experiment conditions, making these behaviors collective. However, neither workplace incivility nor workplace ostracism needs to involve collective actions.
expressed preferences for the same painter) or a different group as a member (i.e., they expressed preferences for different painters). For simplicity, participants were always told that they preferred Klee. For simplicity, participants were always told that they preferred Klee. 5 Perpetrators were always presented as being in agreement with each other regarding their preference for either Kandinsky or Klee (i.e., there were no situations where, for example, one perpetrator preferred Kandinsky and the other two preferred Klee).

I focus on comparing two conditions resulting from this manipulation. The first condition was that participants were assigned to the same group as the target (and a different group than the perpetrators) as participants were told that they preferred the same painter as the target whereas the other members preferred the other painter. There were 59 participants in this condition. The second condition was that participants were assigned to the same group as the perpetrators (and a different group than the target) as participants were told that they preferred the same painter as the perpetrators whereas the target preferred the other painter. There were 58 participants in this condition. 6

Measures

Willingness to work with the target/perpetrators. After watching the video, participants answered the following statement on a 7-point scale (1 = definitely not and 7 = definitely) for each team member: “Would you like to have (a target or a perpetrator name) as your teammate

5 Technically, participants could be told that they preferred Kandinsky. But there was no a priori reason to expect to see differences depending on if participants were in a “Klee” group or a “Kandinsky” group. For example, the combination of having the participant and target be part of a “Klee” group and the perpetrators part of a “Kandinsky” group should be functionally equivalent to having the participant and target be part of a “Kandinsky” group and the perpetrators part of a “Klee” group. Thus, these groups were treated as representing the participant and target being in the same group as each other and as different group than the perpetrators.

6 Combining the painter preference of the participant, target, and perpetrators created four conditions. I focused on two of them and did not report the results for the third and fourth conditions, mainly because the first two conditions were more in alignment with the theoretical argument and proposed hypothesis. The third condition was that participants were assigned to the same group as the target and also as the perpetrators as participants were told that they and the target and the perpetrators preferred the same painter. There were 69 participants in this condition. The fourth condition was that participants were assigned to a different group than the target and the perpetrators as the participants were told that they preferred a different painting than the target and the perpetrators. There were 70 participants in this condition.
and work with him on a future task?”, adapted from Reich and Henschovis (2015). As I did not expect a priori differences in willingness to work with the three group members who were perpetrators in the video, I averaged the ratings for the three perpetrators into a single score representing willingness to work with the perpetrators.

**Perceptions of stigma in the target.** An 8-item measure (see Appendix B) was used to measure participants’ perceptions of stigma in the target (e.g., “To what extent do you think undesirable characteristics exist in (target name)?”) on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree). Five items were developed for this study; three items were adapted from Ruggs, Hebl, and Williams (2015). The Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .94.

**Perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.** A 3-item overall injustice measure (Colquitt, Long, Rodell, & Halvorsen-Ganepola, 2015; see Appendix B) was used to measure participants’ perception of overall injustice of the perpetrators (e.g., “(perpetrator name) acted unfairly?”) on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree). The average Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .98.

**Control variables.** As age (Latane & Darley, 1970), gender (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Latane & Darley, 1970; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), trait moral identity (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Greenbaum, Mawritz, Mayer, & Priesemuth, 2013), trait fear of negative evaluation (Leary, 1983; Maner et al., 2007), trait need to belong (Wesselmann et al., 2009), trait empathic concern (Masten, Eisenberger, Pfeifer, & Dapretto, 2010), and trait negative affectivity (Glomb & Liao, 2003) have been suggested to affect how observers react to situations including mistreatment (e.g., ostracism and incivility), I tested my hypotheses while controlling for these individual differences variables (see Appendix B for measures). Whether or not these variables were controlled for generally did not affect the support found for my
hypotheses (exceptions were noted as footnotes in results sections). For parsimony, I therefore report the results below without these control variables. In addition, participants’ evaluation of the overall quality of the ideas proposed by the target and perpetrators (see Appendix B) was controlled to rule out the alternative explanation that participant’s willingness to work with the target and perpetrators was impacted by participants’ perceptions of the target and perpetrators’ idea quality.

**Results**

*Manipulation checks: Workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.* To avoid the possibility that manipulation check items could raise suspicion regarding the purpose of the experiment, I pretested the manipulation checks in a separate undergraduate sample ($N = 179$). There were 62 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, 52 participants in the workplace incivility condition, and 65 participants were in the workplace civility condition. For the workplace ostracism manipulation check, participants responded on a 9-point scale ($1 = not at all$ and $9 = very much$) to a 4-item measure\(^7\) (adapted from Ferris et al., 2008; see Appendix B for all items) containing items such as “To what extent did other team members avoid eye contact with (target name)?” The Cronbach’s alpha reliability for the workplace ostracism manipulation check was .96. For the workplace incivility manipulation check, participants responded on a 7-point scale ($1 = strongly disagree$ and $7 = strongly agree$) to a 5-item measure (adapted from Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009; see Appendix B for all items) containing items such as “(Target name) was insulted by other team members”. The Cronbach’s alpha reliability for the workplace incivility manipulation check was .94.

\(^7\) In Appendix B, six items measure the manipulation check for workplace ostracism. The manipulation of workplace ostracism was not successful with the 6-item measure. A closer look suggested that the first two items were more subjective and the last 4 were more objective. So I used the 4-item measure for this and subsequent studies.
I used ANOVA to check whether the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility manipulations worked as intended. For the ostracism manipulation check, the overall test was significant ($F(2, 176) = 102.41, \ p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace ostracism condition ($M = 7.44, SD = 1.82$) were more likely to perceive the target to be ostracized by other team members compared to participants in the workplace incivility condition ($M = 6.57, SD = 2.08$) ($t(176) = 2.38, \ p < .05, 95\% \ CI = [.15, 1.58]$) and the workplace civility condition ($M = 2.80, SD = 1.92$) ($t(176) = 13.52, \ p < .001, 95\% \ CI = [3.96, 5.31]$). Participants in the workplace incivility condition were also more likely to perceive the target to be ostracized by other team members compared to in the workplace civility condition ($t(176) = 10.47, \ p < .001, 95\% \ CI = [3.06, 4.48]$). These results indicated that the manipulation of workplace ostracism was successful.

For the workplace incivility manipulation check, the overall test was significant ($F(2, 176) = 137.61, \ p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace incivility condition ($M = 6.06, SD = .95$) were more likely to perceive that the target was treated with incivility by other group members compared to in the workplace ostracism condition ($M = 4.70, SD = 1.41$) ($t(176) = 5.85, \ p < .001, 95\% \ CI = [.90, 1.82]$) and the workplace civility condition ($M = 2.34, SD = 1.25$) ($t(176) = 16.16, \ p < .001, 95\% \ CI = [3.26, 4.17]$). Participants in the workplace ostracism condition were also more likely to perceive that the target was treated with incivility by other group members compared to in the workplace civility condition ($t(176) = 10.77, \ p < .001, 95\% \ CI = [1.93, 2.79]$). These results indicated that the manipulation of workplace incivility was successful.

**Manipulation checks: Group membership.** For the manipulation check of group membership, participants responded to the question: “Who else was (were) in the same group as
you were?” Participants were given a list of the names of four members in the brainstorming task and asked to identify who was (were) in their group (see Appendix B). 79.94% of the participants correctly recalled their group members completely. Thus I concluded that the group membership manipulation worked as intended.

**Hypothesis testing: Participant reactions to targets.** Table 1 provides means, standard deviations, correlations, and coefficient alphas for the Study 1 variables.

I used ANOVA and the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) to examine my hypotheses in Study 1. In particular, I hypothesized that observers would react more negatively to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 1a), and that observers’ perceptions of greater stigma in the target of workplace ostracism would mediate observers’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 1b). Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, the overall test was significant ($F(2, 252) = 9.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .003$) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism ($M = 4.41$) compared to with the target of workplace incivility ($M = 5.05$) ($t(252) = -4.36, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-.92, -.35]$) and marginally less compared to the “target” treated with workplace civility ($M = 4.66$) ($t(252) = -1.76, p = .08, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-.53, .03]$). Participants were more willing to work with the target of workplace incivility compared to with the “target” treated with workplace civility ($t(252) = 2.59, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI} = [.09, .69]$). These results supported Hypothesis 1a.

**Hypothesis testing: Mediating effect of perceptions of stigma in the target.** However, contrary to Hypothesis 1b, participants’ perceptions of greater stigma in the target of workplace ostracism did not mediate participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace
ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility (see Figure 1a). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the target of workplace ostracism was not more likely to be viewed as stigmatized compared to the target of workplace incivility ($a = .01$, $t = .07$, ns) although participants were less willing to work with the more stigmatized target ($b = -.23$, $t = -4.60$, $p < .001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.00$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.09, .08). These results did not support Hypothesis 1b. There was evidence that participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility, independent of the effects of perceptions of the target’s stigma ($c' = -.63$, $t = -4.52$, $p < .001$).

In contrast to the results indicating that perceptions of the target’s stigma did not differ between the target of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, participants perceived greater stigma in the target of workplace ostracism compared to the “target” of workplace civility, and this perception of greater stigma mediated participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the “target” of workplace civility (see Figure 1b). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the target of workplace ostracism was more likely to be perceived as stigmatized compared to the “target” of workplace civility ($a = .53$, $t = 3.09$, $p < .01$), and participants were less willing to work with the more stigmatized target ($b = -.23$, $t = -4.60$, $p < .000$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.12$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (-.25, -.03). There was no evidence that participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to the “target” of workplace civility independent of perceptions of greater stigma ($c' = -.13$, $t = -.91$, ns), suggesting perceptions of stigma fully mediated the effect of negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the “target” of workplace civility.
Similarly, participants’ perceptions of greater stigma in the target of workplace incivility compared to the “target” of workplace civility mediated participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace incivility compared to the “target” of workplace civility (see Figure 1c). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the target of workplace incivility was more likely to be perceived as stigmatized compared to the “target” of workplace civility ($a = .52$, $t = 2.84$, $p < .01$), and participants were less willing to work with the more stigmatized target ($b = -.23$, $t = -4.60$, $p < .000$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.12$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (-.23, -.04). However, there was evidence that participants were more willing to work with the target of workplace incivility compared to with the “target” of workplace civility, independent of the effects of perceptions of the target’s stigmatization ($c’ = .51$, $t = 3.46$, $p < .001$).

**Hypothesis testing: Participant reactions to perpetrators.** I also hypothesized that observers would react more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 2a), and that observers’ perceptions that the perpetrators of workplace incivility behaved more fairly would mediate observers’ more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 2b). Consistent with Hypothesis 2a, the overall test was significant ($F(2, 252) = 40.67$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants were more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism ($M = 3.78$) compared to with the perpetrators of workplace incivility ($M = 3.14$) ($t(252) = 4.46$, $p < .001$, 95% CI = [.36, .92]) but less compared to with the “perpetrators” of workplace civility ($M = 4.43$) ($t(252) = -4.73$, $p < .001$, 95% CI = [-.92, -.38]). Participants were also less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility compared to with the “perpetrators” of workplace
civility ($t(252) = -8.99, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-1.57, -1.01]$). These results supported Hypothesis 2a.

**Hypothesis testing: Mediating effect of perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.** Consistent with Hypothesis 2b, participants perceived that the perpetrators of workplace ostracism behaved more fairly compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility, and this perception of more fairness mediated participants’ more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility (see Figure 2a). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the perpetrators of workplace ostracism were perceived as acting more fairly compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility ($a = -1.23, t = -5.67, p < .001$), and participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators perceived as acting unfairly ($b = -.29, t = -7.74, p < .001$). A 95\% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .35$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero ($(.21, .51$). These results supported Hypothesis 2b. There was evidence that participants were more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility independent of more fairness perception of the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility ($c' = .28, t = 2.08, p < .05$).

Similarly, participants perceived that the perpetrators of workplace ostracism behaved more unfairly compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility, and this perception of unfairness mediated participants’ more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility (see Figure 2b). In particular,

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8 When demographics and individual traits were controlled, $c' = .27, t = 1.96, p = .0514$. Thus, there was marginal evidence that participants were more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility independent of more fairness perceptions of the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.
results of PROCESS indicated that the perpetrators of workplace ostracism were perceived as acting more unfairly compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility ($a = 2.05, t = 9.77, p < .001$), and participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators perceived as acting unfairly ($b = -.29, t = -7.74, p < .001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.59$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (-.84, -.38). There was no evidence that participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility independent of unfair perceptions of the perpetrators ($c' = -.06, t = -.41, ns$), suggesting perceptions of more unfairness fully mediated the effect of more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility.

Participants also perceived that the perpetrators of workplace incivility behaved more unfairly compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility, and this perception of unfairness mediated participants’ more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility (see Figure 2c). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the perpetrators of workplace incivility were perceived as acting more unfairly compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility ($a = 3.29, t = 15.06, p < .001$), and participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators perceived as acting unfairly ($b = -.29, t = -7.74, p < .001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.94$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (-1.23, -.66). There was evidence that participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility marginally independent of more unfair perception of the perpetrators of workplace incivility compared to of the “perpetrators” of workplace civility ($c' = -.34, t = -1.93, p = .0544$).
Hypothesis testing: Effect of group membership. I also hypothesized that observers of both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility would react more positively to the target and more negatively to the perpetrators when observers perceived the target as in-group members and the perpetrators as out-group members, compared to when they perceived the target as an out-group member and the perpetrators as in-group members (Hypothesis 3a), that the effect of group membership on reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism would be mediated by stigma perceptions (Hypothesis 3b), and that the effect of group membership on reactions to the perpetrators of both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility would be mediated by injustice perceptions (Hypothesis 3c).

For Hypothesis 3a regarding observer reactions to workplace ostracism, ANOVA results suggested that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were not more willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism when they perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members ($M = 4.50, N = 15$), compared to when they perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members ($M = 4.25, N = 26$) ($t(38) = .74, ns$). ANOVA results also suggested that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were marginally less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism when they perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members ($M = 3.26, N = 15$), compared to when they perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members ($M = 3.88, N = 26$) ($t(38) = -1.91, p = .063, 95\% CI = [-1.27, .04]$).  

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9 When demographics and individual traits were controlled, this marginally significant difference became close to non-significant. In particular, participants in the workplace ostracism condition were only marginally less willing to
For Hypothesis 3a regarding observer reactions to workplace incivility, ANOVA results suggested that participants in the workplace incivility condition were not more willing to work with the target of workplace incivility when they perceived the target of workplace incivility as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as out-group members \((M = 4.73, N = 24)\), compared to when they perceived the target of workplace incivility as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as in-group members \((M = 4.61, N = 17)\) \((t(38) = .36, ns)\). ANOVA results also suggested that participants in the workplace incivility condition were not less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility when they perceived the target of workplace incivility as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as out-group members \((M = 2.88, N = 24)\), compared to when they perceived the target of workplace incivility as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as in-group members \((M = 3.11, N = 17)\) \((t(38) = -.79, ns)\). Thus, Hypothesis 3a was largely not supported.

_Hypothesis testing: Mediating effect of perceptions of stigma in the target._ For Hypothesis 3b regarding the role of stigmatization of the target in mediating observer reactions to the target of workplace ostracism: when participants in the workplace ostracism condition perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members, perceptions of less stigma in the target of workplace ostracism marginally mediated participants’ more positive reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, compared to when they perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members \((M = 3.27, N = 15)\) \((t(31) = -1.68, p = .1045)\).
member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members (see Figure 3a).\textsuperscript{10}

In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the target of workplace ostracism was less likely to be viewed as stigmatized ($a = -1.17$, $t = -2.93$, $p < .01$) when the target of workplace ostracism was an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism were out-group members, and participants were less willing to work with the more stigmatized target ($b = -.28$, $t = -2.19$, $p < .05$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .33$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.01, .87). A 90% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (.04, .76). These results marginally supported Hypothesis 3b. There was no evidence that in the workplace ostracism condition when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members, participants were more willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism independent of the effects of perceptions of less stigma in the target of workplace ostracism ($c' = -.09$, $t = -.24$, ns).

\textit{Hypothesis testing: Mediating effect of perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.} For Hypothesis 3c regarding the role of justice perceptions of the perpetrators in mediating observer reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism: in the workplace ostracism condition when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members, perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators of workplace ostracism did not mediate participants’ more

\textsuperscript{10} When demographics and individual traits were controlled, the indirect effect of participants’ more positive reactions to the target of workplace ostracism through perceptions of less stigma in the target of workplace ostracism became significant. In particular, when participants in the workplace ostracism condition perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members, the target of workplace ostracism was less likely to be viewed as stigmatized ($a = -1.32$, $t = -2.89$, $p < .01$) compared to when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members, and participants were less willing to work with the more stigmatized target ($b = -.34$, $t = -2.49$, $p < .05$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .45$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (.04, 1.15).
negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, compared to when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members (see Figure 3b).

In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the perpetrators of workplace ostracism were not more likely to be viewed as overall unfair ($a = .08, t = .15, ns$) when the target of workplace ostracism was an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism were out-group members, although participants were less willing to work with perpetrators perceived as overall unfair ($b = -.26, t = -2.72, p = .01$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.02$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero ($-.23, .33$). These results did not support Hypothesis 3c regarding the role of justice perceptions of the perpetrators in mediating observer reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism. There was evidence that in the workplace ostracism condition when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members, participants were marginally less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism independent of the effects of perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators of workplace ostracism ($c' = -.60, t = -2.00, p = .0527$), compared to when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members.11

For Hypothesis 3c regarding the role of injustice perceptions of the perpetrators in mediating observer reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility: in the workplace

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11 When demographics and individual differences were controlled, the direct effect became non-significant. In particular, in the workplace ostracism condition when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as out-group members, participants were not less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism independent of the effects of perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators of workplace ostracism ($c' = -.48, t = -1.42, ns$), compared to when participants perceived the target of workplace ostracism as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism as in-group members.
incivility condition when participants perceived the target of workplace incivility as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as out-group members, perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators of workplace incivility did not mediate participants’ more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility, compared to when participants perceived the target of workplace incivility as an out-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as in-group members (see Figure 3c).

In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the perpetrators of workplace incivility were not more likely to be viewed as overall unfair ($a = .20, t = .53, ns$) when participants perceived the target of workplace incivility as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as out-group members, although participants were less willing to work with perpetrators perceived as overall unfair ($b = -.41, t = -3.90, p < .001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.08$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero ($-.41, .23$). These results did not support Hypothesis 3c regarding the role of injustice perceptions of the perpetrators in mediating observer reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. There was no evidence that in the workplace incivility condition when participants perceived the target of workplace incivility as an in-group member and the perpetrators of workplace incivility as out-group members, participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility independent of the effects of perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators of workplace incivility ($c' = -.14, t = -.59, ns$). Taken together, Hypothesis 3c was not supported.

**Summary of Study 1**

In Study 1, I hypothesized about observers’ more negative reactions to the targets of workplace ostracism (Hypothesis 1a) and the mediating role of more stigmatization of the target
of workplace ostracism (Hypothesis 1b). Hypothesis 1a was supported as participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to with the target of workplace incivility (and marginally less compared to the “target” treated with workplace civility). Participants were more willing to work with the target of workplace incivility compared to with the “target” treated with workplace civility. However, Hypothesis 1b was not supported: although perceptions of stigmatization were negatively related to willingness to work with the target, the target of workplace ostracism was not more likely to be viewed as stigmatized compared to the target of workplace incivility (as the target of workplace ostracism and the target of workplace incivility were similarly viewed as more stigmatized compared to the “target” of workplace civility).

I also hypothesized about observers’ more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism (Hypothesis 2a) and the mediating role of more justice perception of the perpetrators of workplace ostracism (Hypothesis 2b). Hypothesis 2a was supported as participants were more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to with the perpetrators of workplace incivility (and less compared to with the “perpetrators” of workplace civility). Participants were also less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility compared to with the “perpetrators” of workplace civility. Hypothesis 2b was also supported: participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators perceived as acting unfairly, and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism were perceived as acting more fairly compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility (and the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and the perpetrators of workplace incivility were both viewed as more unfair compared to the “perpetrators” of workplace civility).

In addition, I hypothesized, for both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, about
the effects of sharing group membership with the target on observers’ more positive reactions to
the target and more negative reactions to the perpetrators (Hypothesis 3a), the mediating role of
less stigmatization of the target of workplace ostracism in explaining the more positive reactions
to the target of workplace ostracism (Hypothesis 3b), and the mediating role of more justice
perception of the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in explaining the
more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility
(Hypothesis 3c). Hypothesis 3a was largely not supported: when the target was an in-group
member and the perpetrators were out-group members, participants were not more (or less)
willing to work with the target of either workplace ostracism or workplace incivility; not less (or
more) willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility; but were marginally less
willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism. Hypothesis 3b was marginally
supported: when the target of workplace ostracism was an in-group member and the perpetrators
of workplace ostracism were out-group members, perceptions of less stigma in the target of
workplace ostracism marginally mediated participants’ greater willingness to work with the
target of workplace ostracism. Hypothesis 3c was not supported: when the target was an in-group
member and the perpetrators were out-group members, although participants were less willing to
work with perpetrators perceived as overall unfair, the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and
workplace incivility were not more likely to be viewed as overall unfair.

**STUDY 2: TARGET RESISTANCE’S ROLE IN INFLUENCING OBSERVER
REACTIONS TO WORKPLACE OSTRACISM AND INCIVILITY**

**Participants and Procedure**

Participants were undergraduate students recruited from a behavioral lab at a public
university in exchange for extra class credit. A total of 99 participants completed Study 2.
Participants (51% male) were on average 19.34 years old ($SD = .69$). The procedure used in Study 2 was the same as Study 1 except with the target resistance manipulation described below.

**Manipulating workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.** The manipulations used in Study 2 were the same as Study 1, except that participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (instead of three conditions): a workplace ostracism or a workplace incivility condition. There was no civility condition in Study 2 because it was designed to test the moderating role of a target resistance to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, and target ‘resistance’ in a civility condition would not be appropriate. There were 48 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, and 51 participants in the workplace incivility condition.

**Manipulating target resistance.** Videos of the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility conditions varied with respect to whether the target showed resistance to the workplace ostracism (or incivility) toward the end of the conversation. In the target resistance condition, the target of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility pointed out that other members were ignoring him (in the case of workplace ostracism) or not treating him with respect (in the case of workplace incivility) throughout the whole meeting and expressed that he felt hurt by that treatment. In the target non-resistance condition, the target did not show any resistance. There were 51 participants in the target resistance condition and 48 participants in the target non-resistance condition.

**Measures**

**Willingness to work with the target/perpetrators.** After watching the video, participants answered the following statement on a 7-point scale (1 = definitely not and 7 = definitely) for each team member: “Would you like to have (a target or a perpetrator name) as your teammate and work with him on a future task?”, adapted from Reich and Hershcovis (2015). As I did not
expect a priori differences in willingness to work with the three group members who were perpetrators in the video, I averaged the ratings for the three perpetrators into a single score representing willingness to work with the perpetrators.

*Perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.* A 3-item overall injustice measure (Colquitt et al., 2015; see Appendix B) was used to measure participants’ perception of overall injustice of the perpetrators (e.g., “*(perpetrator name)* acted unfairly?”) on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*). The average Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .98.

*Control variables.* As age (Latane & Darley, 1970), gender (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Latane & Darley, 1970; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), trait moral identity (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Greenbaum et al., 2013), trait fear of negative evaluation (Leary, 1983; Maner et al., 2007), trait need to belong (Wesselmann et al., 2009), trait empathic concern (Masten et al., 2010), and trait negative affectivity (Glomb & Liao, 2003) have been suggested to affect how observers react to situations including mistreatment (e.g., ostracism and incivility), I tested my hypotheses while controlling for these individual differences variables (see Appendix B for measures). Whether or not these variables were controlled for generally did not affect the support found for my hypotheses (exceptions were noted as footnotes in results sections). For parsimony, I therefore report the results below without these control variables. In addition, participants’ evaluation of the overall quality of the ideas proposed by the target and perpetrators (see Appendix B) was controlled to rule out the alternative explanation that participant’s willingness to work with the target and perpetrators was impacted by participants’ perceptions of the target and perpetrators’ idea quality.

**Results**
Manipulation checks: Workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. To avoid the possibility that manipulation check items could raise suspicion regarding the purpose of the experiment, I pretested the manipulation checks in a separate undergraduate sample (N = 182). There were 92 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, and 90 participants in the workplace incivility condition. The workplace ostracism and workplace incivility manipulation checks were measured using the same items as in Study 1; the Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .94 for the workplace ostracism manipulation check, and .90 for the workplace incivility manipulation check. I used ANOVA to check whether the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility manipulations worked as intended. For the workplace ostracism manipulation check, participants in the workplace ostracism condition (M = 7.55, SD = 2.07) were marginally more likely to perceive the target to be ostracized by other team members compared to in the workplace incivility condition (M = 7.00, SD = 1.96) (t(180) = 1.84, p = .067, 95% CI = [-.04, 1.14]). For the workplace incivility manipulation check, participants in the workplace incivility condition (M = 5.94, SD = 1.22) were more likely to perceive that the target was treated with incivility by other group members compared to in the workplace ostracism condition (M = 5.03, SD = 1.52) (t(180) = 4.42, p < .001, 95% CI = [.50, 1.30]). These results indicated that the manipulation of workplace ostracism was marginally successful, and the manipulation of workplace incivility was successful. The marginal success of the manipulation of workplace ostracism should be kept in mind when interpreting any results.

Manipulation checks: Target resistance. There were 89 participants in the target resistance condition and 93 participants in the target non-resistance condition. For the manipulation check of target resistance, a 1-item measure was used to measure participants’ perception of target resistance (i.e., “(target name) pointed out that other members were
mistreating him and expressed his resistance to the mistreatment”) on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*). ANOVA results showed that participants assigned to the target resistance condition ($M = 6.80$, $SD = .87$) were more likely to agree that the target expressed resistance in the group conversation compared to participants assigned to the non-resistance condition ($M = 2.65$, $SD = 1.95$) ($t(180) = 18.38, p < .001, 95\% CI = [3.71, 4.60]$). Thus, the target resistance manipulation worked as intended.

**Hypothesis testing: Effect of target resistance.** Table 2 provides the means, standard deviations, correlations, and reliability estimates for the Study 2 variables.

I used ANOVA and the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) to examine my hypotheses regarding the effect of target resistance on observer reactions. In particular, I hypothesized that when the targets of workplace ostracism resisted, observers of workplace ostracism would react more negatively to the targets of workplace ostracism, compared to when the targets of workplace ostracism did not resist (Hypothesis 4a), that when the targets of workplace incivility resist, observers of workplace incivility will react more positively to the targets of workplace incivility and more negatively to the perpetrators of workplace incivility, compared to when the targets of workplace incivility do not resist (Hypothesis 4b), and that for workplace incivility, the effect of the target resistance on observers’ more positive reactions to the targets of workplace incivility and more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility will be mediated by observers’ perceptions of more injustice of the perpetrators of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 4c).

Contrary to Hypothesis 4a, ANOVA results suggested that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were not less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism when the target showed resistance ($M = 4.44, N = 25$) compared to when the target did not show...
resistance ($M = 4.78, N = 23$) ($t(45) = -0.46, ns$). In addition, they were not less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism when the target showed resistance ($M = 3.23, N = 25$) compared to when the target did not show resistance ($M = 3.62, N = 23$) ($t(45) = -1.16, ns$). Thus, Hypothesis 4a was not supported.

Contrary to Hypothesis 4b, ANOVA results suggested that participants in the workplace incivility condition were not more willing to work with the target of workplace incivility when the target showed resistance ($M = 4.53, N = 26$) compared to when the target did not show resistance ($M = 4.81, N = 25$) ($t(48) = -0.80, ns$). In addition, they were not less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility when the target showed resistance ($M = 2.93, N = 26$) compared to when the target did not show resistance ($M = 3.18, N = 25$) ($t(48) = -0.79, ns$). Thus, Hypothesis 4b was not supported.

**Hypothesis testing: Mediating effect of perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.** Contrary to Hypothesis 4c, in the workplace incivility condition when the target showed resistance, perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators did not mediate participants’ more positive reactions to the target, compared to when the target did not show resistance (see Figure 4a). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that when the target showed resistance, the perpetrators of workplace incivility were not more likely to be viewed as overall more unfair, compared to when the target did not show resistance ($a = .41, t = 1.11, ns$), although participants were marginally more willing to work with target of workplace incivility when they perceived the perpetrators of workplace incivility as more overall unfair ($b = .23, t = 1.77, p = .0831$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .10$) based

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12 With demographics and individual differences controlled, participants were not more willing to work with target of workplace incivility when they perceived the perpetrators of workplace incivility as overall more unfair ($b = .19, t = 1.33, ns$).
on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.07, .34). These results did not support Hypothesis 4c regarding the role of perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators of workplace incivility in mediating the reactions to the target of workplace incivility. There was no evidence that in the workplace incivility condition when the target showed resistance, participants were more willing to work with the target independent of the effects of perceptions of more overall fairness in the perpetrators, compared to when the target did not show resistance ($c' = -.37, t = -1.09, ns$).

In the workplace incivility condition, when the target showed resistance, perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators of workplace incivility did not mediate participants’ more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility, compared to when the target did not show resistance (see Figure 4b). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that when the target showed resistance, the perpetrators of workplace incivility were not more likely to be viewed as overall unfair ($a = .44, t = 1.08, ns$), although participants were less willing to work with perpetrators perceived as overall unfair, compared to when the target did not show resistance ($b = -.59, t = -8.70, p < .0001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.26$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.74, .23). These results did not support Hypothesis 4c regarding the role of perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators of workplace incivility in mediating the reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. There was no evidence that in the workplace incivility condition when the target showed resistance, participants were less willing to work with the perpetrators independent of the effects of perceptions of more overall unfairness in the perpetrators, compared to when the target did not show resistance ($c' = .02, t = .10, ns$). Thus taken together, Hypothesis 4c was not supported.
STUDY 3: OBSERVER REACTIONS TO UNRELATED OTHERS

Participants and Procedure

Participants were undergraduate students recruited from a behavioral lab at a public university in exchange for extra class credit. A total of 71 participants completed Study 3. Participants (51% male) were on average 19.47 years old ($SD = .77$). The procedure in Study 3 was the same as Study 1.

*Manipulating workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.* The manipulation used in Study 3 was the same as Study 1. There were 22 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, 25 participants in the workplace incivility condition, and 24 participants were in the workplace civility condition.

Measures

*Conformity.* After watching the video of the group brainstorming conversation, participants were asked to complete a short trivia test consisting of three questions (Williams et al., 2000; see Appendix B). Each question was followed by four possible responses. In order to communicate to participants what the most popular answer was, the percent of study participants who chose each response option so far was indicated in light gray next to each option; unbeknownst to the participants, the information regarding the percent of participants who chose each response was false and had been set up so that one response option (which was also an incorrect option) stood out as having been chosen by an extremely high number of study participants. An example of how the questions appeared to participants is as follows:

What scientist was inspired to create his laws on nature by watching an apple fall to the ground?
- Albert Einstein (92% student participants chose this answer)
- Galileo Galilei (3% student participants chose this answer)
- Charles Darwin (3% student participants chose this answer)
- Isaac Newton (2% student participants chose this answer)
Participants were then asked to indicate their own response to the question; participant responses were scored as “1” if they chose the response selected by what they thought was the majority of students (in the example above, “Albert Einstein”), and “0” otherwise. Conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others was calculated as the average of participants’ responses to three questions (whether participants chose the most popular option that the majority of the participants were listed as having chosen). The Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .50.

**Prosocial behaviors.** After the trivia test, participants were instructed to work on a group typing task and to divide the task workload between themselves and another student partner (adapted from Reich and Hershcovis, 2015). Participants were first asked to complete typing three strings of alphanumeric keys (e.g., “4bor2P8V0hqM7GD1Xa5MOh6Y”) to gain familiarity with the typing task. After typing the three alphanumeric strings – which were in reality designed to be intentionally frustrating – participants were asked the extent to which they enjoyed the task using a 7-point scale (1 = *disliked very much* and 7 = *liked very much*).

Participants were then told that there were ten more such strings to type, and were asked to divide the 10 typing tasks between another student and themselves (to control for potential effects of liking/disliking the task, participants were also informed that the other student partner liked or disliked the task the same amount as they did). Participants’ allocation of the number of the alphanumeric typing strings to themselves measured their prosocial intent, with more prosocial intent being represented by allocating more of the task to themselves.

**Need to belong.** A 4-item measure (adapted form Williams, 2009; see Appendix B) was used to ask participants how they felt when they were watching the video (e.g., “I felt disconnected”) on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; the Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .65).
**Control variables.** As age (Latane & Darley, 1970), gender (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Latane & Darley, 1970; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), trait moral identity (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Greenbaum et al., 2013), trait fear of negative evaluation (Leary, 1983; Maner et al., 2007), trait need to belong (Wesselmann et al., 2009), trait empathic concern (Masten et al., 2010), and trait negative affectivity (Glomb & Liao, 2003) have been suggested to affect how observers react to situations including mistreatment (e.g., ostracism and incivility), I tested my hypotheses while controlling for these individual differences variables (see Appendix B for measures). Whether or not these variables were controlled for generally did not affect the support found for my hypotheses (exceptions were noted as footnotes in results sections). For parsimony, I therefore report the results below without these control variables.

In addition, when the dependent variable was participant’s prosocial intent towards unrelated others, I also controlled for the extent to which participants perceived the typing task as enjoyable. Adding this control would help exclude the alternative explanation that participants divided the rest of the typing task between another student and themselves based on how much they or the other student enjoyed the task, as the participants were informed that the other student partner liked or disliked the task the same amount as they did. Second, as the dependent variables in Study 3 were observer reactions towards unrelated others rather than toward the target and perpetrators as in Study 1, I did not control for participants’ perceptions of idea quality of the target and perpetrators in Study 3.

**Results**

*Hypothesis testing: Conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others.* Table 3 provides means, standard deviations, correlations, and reliability estimates for the Study 3 variables. I used ANOVA and the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) to examine my hypotheses.
In particular, I hypothesized that observers of workplace ostracism, compared to observers of workplace incivility, would be more likely to conform to the opinions of unrelated others (Hypothesis 5a). Contrary to Hypothesis 5a, the overall test was not significant ($F(2, 68) = .58, ns$) indicating that there were no differences in participants’ conformity across conditions. In particular, observers of workplace ostracism ($M = .29, SD = .31$) were not more likely to conform compared to observers of workplace incivility ($M = .23, SD = .30$) ($t(68) = .70, ns$) and observers of workplace civility ($M = .19, SD = .28$) ($t(68) = 1.06, ns$). Observers of workplace incivility were not more likely to conform compared to observers of workplace civility ($t(68) = .38, ns$).

**Hypothesis testing: Mediating effect of need to belong on conformity.** I also hypothesized that observers’ greater need to belong would mediate the effect of observing workplace ostracism on their conformity (Hypothesis 6a). Contrary to Hypothesis 6a, participants’ need to belong did not mediate participants’ conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others after observing workplace ostracism compared to observing workplace incivility (see Figure 5). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were not more likely to have a greater need to belong compared to participants in the workplace incivility condition ($a = .10, t = .28, ns$), and participants’ need to belong did not relate to conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others ($b = .02, t = .58, ns$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .00$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.03, .03). These results did not support Hypothesis 6a. There was no evidence that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were more likely to conform toward unrelated others compared to participants in the workplace incivility condition independent of their need to belong ($c' = .06, t = .68, ns$).
Participants’ need to belong also did not mediate participants’ conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others after observing workplace ostracism compared to observing workplace civility (see Figure 5b). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were not more likely to have a greater need to belong compared to participants in the workplace civility condition ($a = .47, t = 1.29, ns$), and participants’ need to belong did not relate to conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others ($b = .02, t = .58, ns$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .01$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.03, .05). There was no evidence that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were more likely to conform toward unrelated others compared to participants in the workplace civility condition independent of their need to belong ($c' = .09, t = .96, ns$).

Participants’ need to belong also did not mediate participants’ conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others after observing workplace incivility compared to observing workplace civility (see Figure 5c). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants in the workplace incivility condition were not more likely to have a greater need to belong compared to participants in the workplace civility condition ($a = .37, t = 1.05, ns$), and participants’ need to belong did not relate to conformity toward the opinions of unrelated others ($b = .02, t = .58, ns$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .01$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.02, .05). There was no evidence that participants in the workplace incivility condition were more likely to conform toward unrelated others compared to participants in the workplace civility condition independent of their need to belong ($c' = .03, t = .30, ns$).

**Hypothesis testing: Prosocial behaviors towards unrelated others.** I used ANOVA and
the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) to examine my hypotheses. In particular, I hypothesized that observers of workplace ostracism, compared to observers of workplace incivility, would be more likely to behave more prosocially towards unrelated others (Hypothesis 5b). Contrary to Hypothesis 5b, the overall test was not significant ($F(2, 59) = .14, ns$) indicating that there were no differences in participants’ prosocial behaviors across conditions. In particular, observers of workplace ostracism ($M = 6.23$) were not more likely to be more prosocial compared to observers of workplace incivility ($M = 6.26$) ($t(59) = -.05, ns$) and observers of workplace civility ($M = 6.50$) ($t(59) = -.48, ns$). Observers of workplace incivility were not more likely to be more prosocial compared to observers of workplace civility ($t(59) = -.39, ns$).

**Hypothesis testing: Mediating effect of need to belong on prosocial behaviors.** I also hypothesized that observers’ greater need to belong would mediate the effect of observing workplace ostracism on their prosocial behaviors (Hypothesis 6b) toward unrelated others. Contrary to Hypothesis 6b, participants’ need to belong did not mediate participants’ prosocial behaviors toward unrelated others after observing workplace ostracism compared to observing workplace incivility (see Figure 6a). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were not more likely to have a greater need to belong compared to participants in the workplace incivility condition ($a = .10, t = .23, ns$), and participants’ need to belong did not relate to prosocial behaviors toward unrelated others ($b = .16, t = .79, ns$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .02$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.24, .25). These results did not support Hypothesis 6a. There was no evidence that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were more prosocial toward unrelated others compared to participants in the workplace incivility condition independent of their need to belong ($c' = -.05, t = -.07, ns$).
Participants’ need to belong also did not mediate participants’ prosocial behaviors toward unrelated others after observing workplace ostracism compared to observing workplace civility (see Figure 6b). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were not more likely to have a greater need to belong compared to participants in the workplace civility condition \((a = .41, t = 1.14, ns)\), and participants’ need to belong did not relate to prosocial behavior toward unrelated others \((b = .16, t = .79, ns)\). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect \((ab = .07)\) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero \((- .16, .41)\). There was no evidence that participants in the workplace ostracism condition were more prosocial toward unrelated others compared to participants in the workplace civility condition independent of their need to belong \((c' = -.34, t = -.59, ns)\).

Participants’ need to belong also did not mediate participants’ prosocial behaviors toward unrelated others after observing workplace incivility compared to observing workplace civility (see Figure 6c). In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants in the workplace incivility condition were not more likely to have a greater need to belong compared to participants in the workplace civility condition \((a = .32, t = .80, ns)\), and participants’ need to belong did not relate to prosocial behavior toward unrelated others \((b = .16, t = .79, ns)\). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect \((ab = .05)\) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero \((- .14, .42)\). There was no evidence that participants in the workplace incivility condition were more prosocial toward unrelated others compared to participants in the workplace civility condition independent of their need to belong \((c' = -.29, t = -.47, ns)\).

**SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES**

**Observer Reactions to Unrelated Others: Conformity**

In Study 3, the dependent variable of observers’ conformity toward the opinions of
unrelated others was calculated as the average of participants’ responses to three questions. Because the Cronbach’s alpha reliability of .50 was low for the measure of conformity in Study 3, suggesting that responses to each question differed, and because prior research in the conformity literature suggests participants tend to conform the least to initial questions but conform more to subsequent questions once participants become continuously exposed to majority influence, I also ran supplementary analyses for each of the three questions to determine whether observers of workplace ostracism, compared to observers of workplace incivility, were more likely to conform towards unrelated others (Hypothesis 5a). When examining conformity towards the first question, the overall test was significant ($F(2, 68) = 3.31, p < .05, \eta^2 = .08$) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace ostracism condition ($M = .27, SD = .46$) were more likely to conform towards the opinion of unrelated others compared to the workplace incivility condition ($M = .08, SD = .28$) ($t(68) = 2.03, p < .05, 95\% CI = [.00, .38]$) and the workplace civility condition ($M = .04, SD = .20$) ($t(68) = 2.41, p < .05, 95\% CI = [.04, .42]$). Participants in the workplace incivility condition were not more likely to conform to the opinions of unrelated others compared to the workplace civility condition ($t(68) = .41, ns$). Thus, Hypothesis 5a was supported when conformity was assessed solely with
the first question. However, Hypothesis 5a was not supported when conformity was examining the second or the third question: the overall test was not significant (when conformity was represented by the second item: $F(2, 68) = .25, \text{ns}$; when conformity was represented by the third item: $F(2, 68) = .87, \text{ns}$).

**Observer Reactions to Target: Mediating Effect of Empathic Concern toward Target**

It also has been suggested that observers could show empathic concern toward the target of mistreatment (e.g., Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017), so I also tested the mediating role of observers’ empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in the samples in Study 1, 2, and 3. A full outline of the results can be found in Appendix D, but in general participants experienced less empathy towards the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility across Study 1, 2, and 3; less empathy mediated participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility in Study 1, although this indirect effect was only marginally supported in Study 2. Study 1 (but not Study 2) also showed a direct effect of more negative reactions to the

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13 When demographics and individual traits were controlled, Hypothesis 5a was only marginally supported when conformity was assessed solely with the first question. The overall test was only marginally significant ($F(2, 61) = 2.50, p = .09, \eta^2 = .05$). I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace ostracism condition ($N = 22, M = .25$) were marginally more likely to conform towards the opinion of unrelated others compared to the workplace civility condition ($N = 24, M = .05$) ($t(61) = 2.11, p < .05, 95\% \text{CI} = [.01, .40]$) and the workplace incivility condition ($N = 25, M = .09$) ($t(61) = 1.78, p = .08, 95\% \text{CI} = [-.02, .35]$). Participants in the workplace incivility conditions were not more likely to conform to the opinions of unrelated others ($t(61) = .46, \text{ns}$).

14 Logistic regression tests on the indirect effect of need to belong did not support the role of need to belong in mediating the effects of conformity across conditions.

15 Logistic regression tests on the indirect effect of need to belong did not support the role of need to belong in mediating the effects of conformity across conditions.

16 When conformity was measured by the second or the third question, logistic regressions did not support Hypothesis 5a or the role of need to belong in mediating the effects of conformity across conditions.
target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility independent of less empathy. Study 3 did not support the indirect effect of empathy.

**Observer Reactions to Target and Perpetrators: Effect of Target Deservedness**

It is possible that observers’ perceptions of the target of workplace ostracism and incivility as deserving the mistreatment will influence their reactions to the target and perpetrators, so I also tested the role of target deservedness in influencing observer reactions to the target and perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in Study 4 with a separate undergraduate sample. A full outline of the results can be found in Appendix E, but in general, when the target of workplace ostracism showed up late for the brainstorming task, participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism, not more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, and not less willing to work with the target of workplace incivility or more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility.

Moreover, when the target of workplace ostracism showed up late for the brainstorming task, more stigmatization of the target of workplace ostracism did not mediate more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, as the target of workplace ostracism was not more likely to be viewed as stigmatized when showing up late, and participants were not less willing to work with target when they perceived the target as more stigmatized. In addition, when the target of workplace incivility showed up late for the brainstorming task, more fair perception of the perpetrators of workplace incivility did not mediate observers’ more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility: although participants were more willing to work with perpetrators perceived as overall fair, perpetrators of workplace incivility were not more likely to be viewed as overall fairer.

**Manipulation Checks of Workplace Ostracism and Workplace Incivility across Studies**
Finally, given the pre-tests of the manipulation checks of workplace ostracism varied in the extent to which they were supported (i.e., the manipulation check were supported in Study 1, marginally supported in Study 2, but not supported in the study on target deservedness reported in Appendix E), I decided to analyze the manipulation checks of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility using the combined undergraduate samples used as pre-tests in the aforementioned studies (N = 542). There were 199 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, 188 participants in the workplace incivility condition, and 155 participants were in the workplace civility condition. Across all samples, the Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .95 for the workplace ostracism manipulation check, and .95 for the workplace incivility manipulation check.

I used ANOVA to check whether the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility manipulations worked as intended. For the workplace ostracism manipulation check, the overall test was significant ($F(2, 539) = 271.84, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace ostracism condition ($M = 7.51, SD = 1.88$) were more likely to perceive the target of workplace ostracism to be ostracized by other team members compared to the workplace incivility condition ($M = 6.70, SD = 2.08$) ($t(539) = 4.04, p < .001, 95\% CI = [.41, 1.20]$) and the workplace civility condition ($M = 2.83, SD = 1.93$) ($t(539) = 22.29, p < .001, 95\% CI = [4.27, 5.09]$). Participants in the workplace incivility condition were also more likely to perceive the target of workplace incivility to be ostracized by other team members compared to the “target” of the workplace civility condition ($t(539) = 18.19, p < .001, 95\% CI = [3.45, 4.29]$). These results indicated that the manipulation of workplace ostracism was successful across studies.

For the workplace incivility manipulation check, the overall test was significant ($F(2,
539) = 370.21, \( p < .001, \eta^2 = .09 \) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace incivility condition (\( M = 5.98, SD = 1.18 \)) were more likely to perceive that the target of workplace incivility was treated with incivility by other group members compared to the workplace ostracism condition (\( M = 4.94, SD = 1.45 \)) (\( t(539) = 7.97, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [.78, 1.29] \)) and the workplace civility condition (\( M = 2.29, SD = 1.15 \)) (\( t(539) = 26.58, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [3.42, 3.97] \)). Participants in the workplace ostracism condition were also more likely to perceive that the target of workplace ostracism was treated with incivility by other group members compared to the “target” of the workplace civility condition (\( t(539) = 19.40, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [2.39, 2.93] \)). These results indicated that the manipulation of workplace incivility was successful across studies.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Overview of Results

Across three studies, I compared workplace ostracism and workplace incivility through the perspective of observer reactions. I proposed that observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility would react differently to the targets and perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, as well as unrelated others. I compared workplace ostracism and workplace incivility by looking at observer reactions to the target and perpetrators in Study 1 and 2. I also examined the potential mediating effects of stigmatization of the target and perception of injustice of the perpetrators, and the effects of group membership and target resistance on observer relations in Study 1 and 2.

In particular, in Study 1 I found support for observers’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 1a); however, I did not find support for more stigmatization of the target of workplace ostracism.
compared to the target of workplace incivility in explaining this effect (Hypothesis 1b). Also in Study 1, I found support for observers’ more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 2a), and support for more justice perception of the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility in explaining the effect (Hypothesis 2b).

In Study 1, I also hypothesized group membership’s effect on observer reactions: when observers perceived the target as an in-group member and the perpetrators as out-group members, observers would react more positively to the target and more negatively to the perpetrators for both workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. However, when observers shared the same group membership with the target and a different group membership than the perpetrators, except for a marginal effect of observers of workplace ostracism being less willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, group membership’s effect on observer reactions was largely not supported (Hypothesis 3a). Despite the largely non-supported main effect of group membership on observer reactions, less stigmatization of the target of workplace ostracism marginally mediated the more positive reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, when the target was an in-group member and the perpetrators were out-group members (Hypothesis 3b). However, I did not find support for more injustice perception of the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in explaining the more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, when the target was an in-group member and the perpetrators were out-group members (Hypothesis 3c).

I also examined the effect of target resistance on observer reactions to the target and perpetrators. Contrary to my hypotheses, target resistance was not negatively related to observers’ greater willingness to work with the target of workplace ostracism (Hypothesis 4a),
not positively related to observers’ greater willingness to work with the target of workplace incivility, and not negatively related to willingness to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 4b). Moreover, I did not find support for the more justice perception of the perpetrators of workplace incivility in explaining the more positive reactions to the target of workplace incivility and more negative reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility, when the target resisted compared to when the target did not resist (Hypothesis 4c).

In Study 3, I compared workplace ostracism and workplace incivility by looking at observer reactions to unrelated others. In particular, I was interested in observers’ tendency to conform and behave prosocially toward unrelated others. I found that observers of workplace ostracism were more likely to conform to the first question but not the second or third question measuring conformity, compared to observers of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 5a). Contrary to my prediction, it was not supported that observers of workplace ostracism were more prosocial, compared to observers of workplace incivility (Hypothesis 5b). I also expected greater need to belong to mediate workplace ostracism observers’ more conformity (Hypothesis 6a) or prosocial behaviors (Hypothesis 6b), compared to workplace incivility observers. However, I did not find support for these hypotheses.

In supplemental analyses, I tested the mediating role of empathic concern toward the target in explaining observer reactions and the effects of target deservedness on observer reactions. In particular, I found that less empathic concern toward the target mediated observers’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, compared to the target of workplace incivility. This mediation effect was significant in Study 1, marginally significant in Study 2, but not supported in Study 3. I also found target deservedness was negatively associated with willingness to work with the target of workplace ostracism, but not positively associated
with willingness to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, not negatively associated
with willingness to work with the target of workplace incivility, and not positively associated
with willingness to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility. When the target was late,
more stigmatization of the target did not mediate observers’ more negative reactions to the target
of workplace ostracism, and more fair perception did not mediate observers’ more positive
reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility.

To generally summarize the results across studies, my research suggests that observers
reacted more negatively to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace
incivility; that observers reacted more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism
compared to the perpetrators of workplace incivility; and that there were times that observers of
workplace ostracism were more likely to conform but not behave more prosocially to unrelated
others, compared to observers of workplace incivility. Thus, I conclude that overall, observers of
workplace ostracism and workplace incivility reacted differently towards the target and
perpetrators observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, and towards unrelated
others – although the evidence for different reactions towards unrelated others was generally
weak.

In terms of mediators explaining these effects, more stigmatization of the target did not
explain the more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target
of workplace incivility (although supplemental analyses provided provisional support for the
idea that empathic concern may play a mediating role). Justice perceptions explained the more
positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism compared to the perpetrators of
workplace incivility while need to belong did not mediate workplace ostracism observers’ more
conformity and prosocial behaviors toward unrelated others. Thus, findings were mixed in terms
of the mechanisms explaining observers’ different reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. Similarly, moderators (e.g., group membership, target resistance, and target deservedness) generally were not supported.

**Implications for Workplace Ostracism, Workplace Incivility, and Workplace Mistreatment**

This dissertation extends the literatures of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility in important ways. In particular, it helps to establish that workplace ostracism is different from workplace incivility in meaningful ways: One of the goals of my research was to address the question of whether workplace ostracism and workplace incivility – two forms of workplace mistreatment which overlap considerably – should be treated as unique constructs. In exploring the differences in observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, this work provides a new perspective on both why workplace ostracism is different from workplace incivility and where the differences between the two constructs manifest.

Demonstrating such differences in observer reactions to workplace ostracism and workplace incivility is important because, as noted at the outset of the paper, workplace ostracism is often considered as interchangeable with other forms of workplace incivility. In particular, measures of workplace incivility typically incorporate items representing the commission of acts – what has been referred to as the “interactive” forms of workplace incivility – with items representing the omission of acts – what has been referred to as the “noninteractive” form of workplace incivility (Ferris et al., 2017). Although other efforts at comparing workplace ostracism and workplace incivility generally found similarities, not differences, between the two constructs (e.g., Ferris et al., 2008; Ferris et al., 2017; Martin & Hine, 2005; O’Reilly et al., 2015; Sulea et al., 2012; Zadro et al., 2005), this past research has mainly focused on the consequences of being the target of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. It is possible
that past efforts to distinguish between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility did not find differences between the two constructs owing to focusing on the perspective of the target; by focusing on the perspective of observers, differences between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility become more readily apparent.

To be clear, my intent here is not to suggest that workplace ostracism is completely separate from workplace incivility: the literature on the two constructs suggests many more similarities than differences, as would be expected given their shared features. However, my work does provide caveats to treating the interactive and noninteractive forms of workplace incivility as interchangeable, suggesting both workplace ostracism and (interactive) workplace incivility have unique elements which deserve more attention (as well as that workplace incivility measures should be cautious in combining ostracism items with interactive incivility items).

Finally, my work also contributes to the broader literature of workplace mistreatment, in at least two ways. First, much research on workplace mistreatment has focused more on how experiencing workplace mistreatment impacts the target, and less on how observers can be affected by observing workplace mistreatment. The lack of studies from observers’ perspective has prevented us from deepening our understanding of the constructs in the literature of workplace mistreatment. In examining observer reactions to workplace ostracism, I thus contribute to this emerging literature. Moreover, to my knowledge, this work is the first to examine observer reactions to workplace ostracism, which helps to suggest new directions for workplace ostracism research.

Yet the larger contribution lies in how my work informs a larger conversation regarding the state of the workplace mistreatment literature as a whole. In particular, workplace
mistreatment research is beginning to move beyond identifying examples of workplace mistreatment and towards trying to distinguish between or reconcile different forms of workplace mistreatment (e.g., Ferris et al., 2016; Hershcovis, 2011; Tepper & Henle, 2011). To achieve this, it is essential to investigate whether constructs in the field of workplace mistreatment are overlapping and largely the same or are different. My work directly speaks to this conversation, illustrating that workplace ostracism and workplace incivility have fundamental differences: observer reactions to the target, perpetrators, and unrelated others in subsequent interactions differ between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. While other work has identified differences between workplace ostracism and other mistreatment constructs (e.g., Ferris et al., 2017; O’Reilly et al., 2015), my work takes a unique perspective – the observer perspective – that has not previously been adopted in this literature of workplace ostracism. My work suggests that the observer perspective may prove fruitful as a complement to other ways of differentiating the various workplace mistreatment constructs.

However, not all of my hypotheses were supported. First, effects of workplace ostracism on conformity (Hypothesis 5a) did not emerge in Study 3, but did in supplementary analysis where conformity was measured differently. In Study 3, conformity was measured as the average of the responses to three trivia questions whereas in supplementary analysis, conformity was measured as the response to the first question. Observers of workplace ostracism were more likely than observers of workplace incivility to conform to the first question, but did not differ from observers of workplace incivility in their conformity to responses for the second or third question. As observers on average were more likely to conform over time (the percent of the sample that chose the incorrect but popular answer was 13%, 21%, and 38% for questions 1-3, respectively), this seems to suggest that over repeated trials, observers of workplace incivility
become as likely to conform as observers of workplace ostracism.

This temporal tendency of increasing conformity over trials has been noted in the literature of conformity (Asch, 1955, 1956). More specially, for the first trial (e.g., the first conformity question in my study) participants were unprepared and less likely to conform to others as they did not perceive disagreeing as unusual or unacceptable and did not expect exposure to majority influence to continue. With continuous exposure to majority influence (e.g., the second or third question in my study) and stress, participants were more to conform. As such, I found in supplementary analysis that in the situation when observers on average were least likely to conform – i.e., in responding to the first question – observers of workplace ostracism were more likely to conform to unrelated others. Although the effect did not hold for the second and third question, it was still meaningful as it showed a difference between workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

Second, contrary to my expectation, Hypothesis 5b was not supported: observers of workplace ostracism were not more prosocial toward unrelated others, compared to observers of workplace incivility. Social learning theory, social information processing theory, or the priming perspective all suggest that observers of workplace incivility will be less prosocial in subsequent interactions with unrelated others, whereas observers of workplace ostracism shall be more prosocial as they attempt connections with others. Together this suggests that we should see more prosocial behaviors of observers of workplace ostracism compared to observers of workplace incivility.

One possible reason why I did not see what I expected might be that as observers of workplace incivility perceived the perpetrators engaging in injustice, at the same time observers of workplace incivility may hesitate to mimic the negative behaviors and resist to the uncivil
influence. As compared to observers of workplace ostracism, observers of workplace incivility viewed what they witnessed as more unjust, they were less likely to adopt similar behaviors and be less prosocial immediately. I am not to suggest that negative or unjust behaviors cannot be socially learned because both positive and negative behaviors can be socially learned (Foulk et al., 2016), but social learning can be an emerging process that happens over time (Liu et al., 2012). Observations of unjust behaviors can mount to a tipping point where they are seen not as unjust as before, are more appropriate, or the norm (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Tucker, Turner, Barling, & McEvoy, 2010). Thus it is likely that observers of workplace incivility were not less prosocial compared to observers of workplace ostracism after one observation of unjust incident. Another possible reason why hypotheses in Study 3 were not supported is that the sample sizes of the conditions in were small (N = 22 workplace ostracism; N = 25 for workplace incivility; N = 24 for workplace civility). Small sample sizes may have led to low power, if the effect size was small.

Third, I also hypothesized that observer reactions would be shaped by observers’ group membership perceptions (Hypotheses 3a-3c) and target resistance (Hypotheses 4a-4c). However, these hypotheses were largely not supported, possibly due to small sample sizes. In particular, in Study 1, there were 15 participants in the same group as the target of workplace ostracism and 26 participants in a different group than the target of workplace ostracism (and the numbers were 24 and 17 respectively for workplace incivility). Similarly, in Study 2, there were 25 participants having observed target resistance and 23 participants having not observed target resistance (and the numbers were 26 and 25 for workplace incivility). It is possible low power caused by small sample sizes failed to detect the effects of group membership and target resistance.

There are several possible reasons why some hypotheses were not supported in my
dissertation. First, a possible reason why Hypothesis 2b regarding the mediating role of more stigmatization of the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility was not supported is that the current manipulation of workplace ostracism may not have sent a strong enough signal of stigmas in the target of workplace ostracism. In particular, in the workplace ostracism condition, participants had observed the target of workplace ostracism proposing brainstorming ideas which were essentially ignored by other members in the meeting. It might be worth trying different manipulations of workplace ostracism which can use different example behaviors other than the target’s ideas or opinions being ignored in a meeting. For example, workplace ostracism can consist of the target of workplace ostracism being left out in a lunch room or other colleagues starting to remove themselves from the same room once the target of workplace ostracism entered. These examples presenting workplace ostracism through physical avoidance or isolation may send stronger signals of the target’s stigmas and lead participants to perceive the target of workplace ostracism as possessing potential stigmas. Another possibility is that theoretically stigmatization is not going to be different for the target of workplace ostracism and the target of workplace incivility. Rather, as suggested by the dissertation, differences in injustice perceptions of the perpetrators and empathic concern toward the target may better explain observers’ different reactions to workplace ostracism and incivility than a stigma perspective.

Second, it is possible that other hypotheses including group membership and target resistance’s influence on observer reactions (Hypotheses 3a, 3b, 3c and Hypotheses 4a, 4b, and 4c) and differences in observers’ conformity and prosocial behaviors (Hypotheses 5a, 5b, 6a, and 6b) were not supported is a result of small sample sizes. Specifically, in Study 1, there were 15 participants in the same group as the target of workplace ostracism and 26 participants in a
different group than the target of workplace ostracism (and the numbers were 24 and 17 respectively for workplace incivility). In Study 2, there were 25 participants having observed target resistance and 23 participants having not observed target resistance (and the numbers were 26 and 25 for workplace incivility). In Study 3, there were 22 participants in the workplace ostracism condition and 25 participants in the workplace incivility condition. It is possible that low power caused by the small sample sizes failed to detect the effects hypothesized.

Practical Implications, Limitations and Future Directions

By showing that observers react more negatively to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility, my work highlights that workplace ostracism is far from harmless for the target. This is noteworthy, given people typically view ostracism as acceptable and preferable to other forms of workplace mistreatment and (incorrectly) believe it is less harmful (O’Reilly et al., 2015). Perhaps particularly troubling for organizations is that the results of the studies indicate that compared to perpetrators of workplace incivility, the perpetrators of workplace ostracism will not necessarily evoke the same negative reactions from observers. Thus, whereas workplace incivility may be condemned by observers, workplace ostracism may be condoned by observers: the lack of negative observer reactions towards perpetrators of workplace ostracism may lead to the promotion of such behaviors. Organization leaders therefore should keep an eye on this less intense form of workplace mistreatment, as the target of workplace ostracism can be harmed from both the perpetrators and observers.

One limitation of my study is that some aspects of the study design might be causing less satisfying results. First, some variables in Study 3 had low reliabilities. The dependent variable of conformity which was a 3-item had Cronbach’s alpha reliability of .50, which might have negatively affected the results of hypotheses involving conformity. A better measure (e.g.,
maybe with more trails of trivia questions to control for whether some questions were harder than others) might improve the results. The 4-item mediator variable of need to belong had Cronbach’s alpha reliability of .65, which also might have negatively affected the results of the mediating role of greater need to belong in explaining observers’ conformity and prosocial behaviors. A better measure of need to belong might help improve results.

Second, I used the same manipulations of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility across three studies. In particular, I manipulated in the videos shown to participants whether one group member of the brainstorming task was either ostracized, treated with incivility, or civility. In the workplace ostracism condition, participants had observed the target of workplace ostracism proposing brainstorming ideas which were essentially ignored by other members in the meeting. It might be worth trying different manipulations of workplace ostracism which can use different example behaviors other than the targets’ ideas or opinions being ignored in a meeting. For example, workplace ostracism can be a colleague being left out in a lunch room or other colleagues removing themselves from the same room once a colleague entered. Manipulating workplace ostracism (and workplace incivility) differently can help validate the current findings and increase generalizability. In addition, given the non-significant indirect effect of workplace ostracism (compared to workplace incivility) through the current measure of stigmatization, another reason why I suggest trying other manipulations is because different examples used to realize manipulations of workplace ostracism may lead participants to vary in the extent to which they perceive the targets of workplace ostracism as possessing potential stigmas. For example, compared to the current manipulation of workplace ostracism in my dissertation, the above examples of manipulations of workplace ostracism (i.e., a colleague being left out in a lunch room or other colleagues removing themselves from the same room once a colleague entered)
may be more likely to lead observers to perceive the targets of workplace ostracism as possessing stigmas and as a result negatively react to the target of workplace ostracism.

Aside from considering different manipulations of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility, an interesting future direction would be to examine whether observers of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility can play a more active and involved role in influencing workplace ostracism and workplace incivility via their reactions. That is, given that compared to observers of workplace incivility, observers of workplace ostracism react more negatively to the target and more positively to the perpetrators of workplace ostracism, a future question will be to what extent these different reactions of observers affect differently the intention and efforts of the perpetrators to continue engaging in workplace ostracism or workplace incivility, and the intention of the target to stand up for himself/herself. Or to what extent observers’ reactions motivate the target and the perpetrators to proactively approach and influence observers. For example, the target of workplace ostracism may need to be more proactive than the target of workplace incivility to make observers more empathic toward them.

Finally, another future direction is to consider under what situations observers of workplace ostracism are themselves considered perpetrators. The extent to which observers of workplace ostracism are also considered perpetrators may depend on the extent to which observers of workplace ostracism are expected to include the target of workplace ostracism. That is, when observers of workplace ostracism are not expected to include or even socially interact with the target of workplace ostracism, they may be less likely to be considered as perpetrators of workplace ostracism when they do not attempt to include the target upon observing workplace ostracism. On the other hand, when observers of workplace ostracism are expected to include the target of workplace ostracism, they may be more likely to be considered as the perpetrators of
workplace ostracism. These expectations or social norms are thought to play a role in
determining whether observers’ subsequent behaviors are considered as appropriate or as
workplace ostracism (Robinson et al., 2013). While I decided to focus on the reactions of
observers of workplace ostracism in this study, examining how observers themselves may
become part of the ostracism represents an interesting future direction that also highlights how
such observations can themselves cascade out to influence others in the organization.
Figure 1a. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace incivility) on willingness to work with the target via stigmatization of the target.

**p < .01, *p < .05.
Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Incivility = 0

Figure 1b. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace civility) on willingness to work with the target via stigmatization of the target.

**p < .01, *p < .05.
Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Civility = 0
Figure 1c. Mediation of the effect of workplace incivility (vs. workplace civility) on willingness to work with the target via stigmatization of the target.

\[ a = .52^{**} \]
\[ b = -.23^{**} \]
\[ ab = -.12^{**} \]

**p < .01, *p < .05.**

Note: Workplace Incivility = 1; Workplace Civility = 0
Figure 2a. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace incivility) on willingness to work with the perpetrators via perceptions of overall justice of the perpetrators.

![Diagram](image)

**p < .01, *p < .05.
Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Incivility = 0

Figure 2b. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace civility) on willingness to work with the perpetrators via perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.

![Diagram](image)

**p < .01, *p < .05.
Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Civility = 0
Figure 2c. Mediation of the effect of workplace incivility (vs. workplace civility) on willingness to work with the perpetrators via perceptions of overall justice of the perpetrators.

**p < .01, *p < .05, + p < .1.
Note: Workplace Incivility = 1; Workplace Civility = 0
Figure 3a. Mediation of the effect of perceiving the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group (vs. out-group) member on observers’ willingness to work with the target via stigmatization of the target.

![Diagram](image1)

- $a = -1.17^{**}$
- $b = -0.28^{*}$
- $ab = .33^{+}$

Note: In-group with the Target of Workplace Ostracism = 1; Out-group with the Target of Workplace Ostracism = 0

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .1$.

Figure 3b. Mediation of the effect of perceiving the target of workplace ostracism as an in-group (vs. out-group) member on observers’ willingness to work with the perpetrators via perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.

![Diagram](image2)

- $a = .08$ ns
- $b = -0.26^{**}$
- $ab = -.02$ ns

Note: In-group with the Target of Workplace Ostracism = 1; Out-group with the Target of Workplace Ostracism = 0

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .1$. 
Figure 3c. Mediation of the effect of perceiving the target of workplace incivility as an in-group (vs. out-group) member on observers’ willingness to work with the perpetrators via perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.

** p < .01, * p < .05, + p < .1.

Note: In-group with the Target of Workplace Incivility = 1; Out-group with the Target of Workplace Incivility = 0
Figure 4a. Mediation of the effect of target resistance to workplace incivility on observers’ willingness to work with the target via perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.

\[
a = .41 \ ns \quad (p < .01) \\
\text{Justice Perceptions of the Perpetrators} \\
\text{Target Resistance to Workplace Incivility} \\
\text{Willingness to Work with the Target}
\]

\[
ab = .10 \ ns \\
c' = -.37 \ ns \\
c = -.28 \ ns
\]

**p < .01, *p < .05, + p < .1.
Note: Target Resistance to Workplace Incivility = 1; No Target Resistance to Workplace Incivility = 0

Figure 4b. Mediation of the effect of target resistance to workplace incivility on observers’ willingness to work with the perpetrators via perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.

\[
a = .44 \ ns \quad (p < .01) \\
\text{Justice Perceptions of the Perpetrators} \\
\text{Target Resistance to Workplace Incivility} \\
\text{Willingness to Work with the Perpetrators}
\]

\[
b = -.59 \quad ** \\
ab = -.26 \ ns \\
c' = .02 \ ns \\
c = -.25 \ ns
\]

**p < .01, *p < .05, + p < .1.
Note: Target Resistance to Workplace Incivility = 1; No Target Resistance to Workplace Incivility = 0
Figure 5a. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace incivility) on observers’ conformity to unrelated others via need to belong.

![Diagram](image)

\[ a = .10 \text{ ns} \]
\[ b = .02 \text{ ns} \]
\[ ab = .00 \text{ ns} \]
\[ c' = .06 \text{ ns} \]
\[ c = .06 \text{ ns} \]

\[ \text{Workplace Ostracism (vs. Workplace Incivility)} \rightarrow \text{Need to Belong} \rightarrow \text{Conformity} \]

** \( p < .01 \), * \( p < .05 \), + \( p < .1 \).

Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Incivility = 0

Figure 5b. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace civility) on observers’ conformity to unrelated others via need to belong.

![Diagram](image)

\[ a = .47 \text{ ns} \]
\[ b = .02 \text{ ns} \]
\[ ab = .01 \text{ ns} \]
\[ c' = .09 \text{ ns} \]
\[ c = .10 \text{ ns} \]

\[ \text{Workplace Ostracism (vs. Workplace Civility)} \rightarrow \text{Need to Belong} \rightarrow \text{Conformity} \]

** \( p < .01 \), * \( p < .05 \), + \( p < .1 \).

Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Civility = 0
Figure 5c. Mediation of the effect of workplace incivility (vs. workplace civility) on observers’ conformity to unrelated others via need to belong.

** p < .01, * p < .05, + p < .1.
Note: Workplace Incivility = 1; Workplace Civility = 0
Figure 6a. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace incivility) on observers’ prosocial behaviors to unrelated others via need to belong.

\[ a = .10 \text{ ns} \]

\[ b = .16 \text{ ns} \]

\[ ab = .02 \text{ ns} \]

\[ c' = -.05 \text{ ns} \]

\[ c = -.03 \text{ ns} \]

** \( p < .01 \), * \( p < .05 \), + \( p < .1 \).  
Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Incivility = 0

Figure 6b. Mediation of the effect of workplace ostracism (vs. workplace civility) on observers’ prosocial behaviors to unrelated others via need to belong.

\[ a = .41 \text{ ns} \]

\[ b = .16 \text{ ns} \]

\[ ab = .07 \text{ ns} \]

\[ c' = -.34 \text{ ns} \]

\[ c = -.27 \text{ ns} \]

** \( p < .01 \), * \( p < .05 \), + \( p < .1 \).  
Note: Workplace Ostracism = 1; Workplace Civility = 0
Figure 6c. Mediation of the effect of workplace incivility (vs. workplace civility) on observers’ prosocial behaviors to unrelated others via need to belong.

\[ a = .32 \text{ ns} \]
\[ b = .16 \text{ ns} \]
\[ ab = .05 \text{ ns} \]

Note: Workplace Incivility = 1; Workplace Civility = 0

**p < .01, *p < .05, +p < .1.**
### TABLE 1
Study 1 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

| Variables                                      | M    | SD   | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    | 7    | 8    | 9    | 10   | 11   | 12   | 13   | 14   | 15   |
|------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1. Civility<sup>a</sup>                         | .36  | .48  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 2. Ostracism<sup>a</sup>                        | .34  | .47  | -53**|      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 3. Incivility<sup>a</sup>                       | .30  | .46  | -.49**|-.47**|      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 4. Stigmatization                              | 2.96 | 1.38 | -.32**|.12**|.22** (.94) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 5. Overall injustice perception                | 3.52 | 2.00 | -.66**|.13**|.55**|.36** (.98) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 6. Empathic concern                            | 4.25 | 1.65 | -.52**|.08**|.46**|1.11**|1.66** (.92) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 7. In-group with the target<sup>b</sup>        | .50  | .50  | .09**|-.20**|.12**|-28**|1.02**| .04**|      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 8. Overall idea quality of the target          | 4.73 | 1.63 | .28**|-.03**|-.26**|-.55**|-19**|1.00**| .08**|      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 9. Overall idea quality of the                 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| perpetrators                                   | 4.70 | 1.20 | .16**|-.03**|-.14**|-.24**|-.27**| -.07**|-.11**|21** |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 10. Willingness to work with the               | 4.70 | 1.52 | .21**|-.16**|-.05**|-.57**|-.03**|1.16**|1.17**|.78**|1.14**|      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| target                                         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 11. Willingness to work with the               | 3.82 | 1.32 | .43**|-.03**|-.41**|-.24**|-.63**|-.40**|-.21**|15** |.62** | .06**|      |      |      |      |      |      |
| perpetrators                                   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 12. Job recommendation for the                 | 4.75 | 1.59 | .22**|-.11**|-.12**|-.57**|-.10**|1.10**|1.17**|.81**|1.16**| .89**| .09**|      |      |      |      |      |
| target                                         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 13. Job recommendation for the                 | 4.02 | 1.33 | .36**|-.04**|-.42**|-.26**|-.56**|-.30**|-.14**|20** |.71** | .08**| .86**|1.15**|      |      |      |      |
| perpetrators                                   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 14. Reactions to the target                    | 4.73 | 1.49 | .25**|-.11**|-.15**|-.60**|-.11**|-.09**|1.15**|92** |.18** | .94**| .11**| .96**|1.15**| (.93)|      |      |
| 15. Reactions to the perpetrators              | 4.18 | 1.16 | .35**|-.01**|-.36**|-.27**|-.55**|-.29**|-.17**|21** |.85** | .10**| .92**|1.15**| .95**|1.16**| (.89)|      |

Note. N = 265 (N = 117 involving group membership; N = 255 empathic concern toward the target). Reliabilities are in parentheses.

<sup>a</sup> Civility (1 = civility, 0 = others), Ostracism (1 = ostracism, 0 = others), and Incivility (1 = incivility, 0 = others).

<sup>b</sup> 1 = in-group with the target and out-group with the perpetrators, 0 = out-group with the target and in-group with the perpetrators.

* p < .05, ** p < .01.
## Table 2
### Study 2 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
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<td>1. Ostracism(a)</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Incivility(a)</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>-1.00**</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Overall injustice perception</td>
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<td>1.78</td>
<td>-24*</td>
<td>24*</td>
<td>(.98)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Empathic concern</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>-25*</td>
<td>25*</td>
<td>.74*</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Target resistance(b)</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.01*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>.16*</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Overall idea quality of the target</td>
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<td>1.80</td>
<td>.13*</td>
<td>-13*</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.44**</td>
<td>-10*</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Overall idea quality of the perpetrators</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
<td>.06*</td>
<td>-06*</td>
<td>-02*</td>
<td>.06*</td>
<td>.12*</td>
<td>-06*</td>
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<td>8. Willingness to work with the target</td>
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<td>1.64</td>
<td>-02*</td>
<td>.02*</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.47**</td>
<td>-09*</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.04*</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Willingness to work with the perpetrators</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>1.24</td>
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<td>-74**</td>
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<td>10. Job recommendation for the target</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>.04*</td>
<td>-04*</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.45**</td>
<td>-04**</td>
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<td>11. Job recommendation for the perpetrators</td>
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<td>-.35**</td>
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<td>-.28**</td>
<td>.47**</td>
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<td>.63**</td>
<td>-24*</td>
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<td>12. Reactions to the target</td>
<td>4.67</td>
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<td>-06*</td>
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<td>.49**</td>
<td>-08**</td>
<td>.92**</td>
<td>.92**</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Reactions to the perpetrators</td>
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<td>.89</td>
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<td>.80**</td>
<td>-.27**</td>
<td>.89**</td>
<td>-.29**</td>
<td>(.69)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. N = 99. Reliabilities are in parentheses.*

\(a\) Ostracism (1 = ostracism, 0 = others), and Incivility (1 = incivility, 0 = others).

\(b\) 1 = the target showed resistance, 0 = the target did not show resistance.

\(* p < .05\), \(** p < .01\).
| Variables                        | M    | SD   | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    | 7    | 8    | 9    |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|      |
| 1. Civility<sup>a</sup>         | .33  | .47  | —    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 2. Ostracism<sup>a</sup>        | .32  | .47  | -.48**| —    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 3. Incivility<sup>a</sup>       | .35  | .48  | -.52**| -.50**| —    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 4. Need to belong               | 3.90 | 1.21 | -.16**| .10* | .06**| (.65)|      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 5. Conformity                   | .23  | .29  | -.10**| .12**| -.02**| .09**| (.50)|      |      |      |      |      |
| 6. Conformity (the first question)| .13  | .34  | -.18**| .29**| -.10**| .22**| .56**| —    |      |      |      |      |
| 7. Conformity (the second question)| .21  | .41  | .06**| .02* | -.08**| -.08**| .72**| .11* | —    |      |      |      |
| 8. Conformity (the third question)| .38  | .49  | -.13**| -.02*| .15**| .08**| .82**| .23* | .39**| —    |      |      |
| 9. Prosocial behaviors          | 6.33 | 2.31 | .00**| -.21*| .21**| .02**| -.16*| .06* | -.19*| -.14*| —    |      |

*Note. N = 72 (N = 71 involving conformity; N = 63 involving prosocial behaviors). Reliabilities are in parentheses.

<sup>a</sup> Civility (1 = civility, 0 = others), Ostracism (1 = ostracism, 0 = others), and Incivility (1 = incivility, 0 = others).

* p < .05, ** p < .01.
TABLE 4
Study 4 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civility&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ostracism&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>-.49*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Incivility&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>-.52**</td>
<td>-.50**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Overall injustice perception</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>-.62**</td>
<td>.15**</td>
<td>.47**</td>
<td>(.99)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Target deservedness&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.00**</td>
<td>.00**</td>
<td>.00**</td>
<td>.16**</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Overall idea quality of the target</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>.02**</td>
<td>.10**</td>
<td>-.11**</td>
<td>.15**</td>
<td>-.05**</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Overall idea quality of the perpetrators</td>
<td>4.91</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>.00**</td>
<td>-.02**</td>
<td>.01**</td>
<td>-.08**</td>
<td>.01**</td>
<td>.08**</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Willingness to work with the target</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>-.07**</td>
<td>-.08**</td>
<td>.14**</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>-.16**</td>
<td>.74**</td>
<td>-.07**</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Willingness to work with the perpetrators</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>.42**</td>
<td>-.05**</td>
<td>-.37**</td>
<td>-.71**</td>
<td>-.01**</td>
<td>-.14**</td>
<td>.36**</td>
<td>-.26**</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Job recommendation for the target</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>-.01**</td>
<td>.02**</td>
<td>-.01**</td>
<td>.19**</td>
<td>-.08**</td>
<td>.81**</td>
<td>.03**</td>
<td>.85**</td>
<td>-.14**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Job recommendation for the perpetrators</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>-.03**</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
<td>-.57**</td>
<td>-.01**</td>
<td>-.03**</td>
<td>.51**</td>
<td>-.17**</td>
<td>.86**</td>
<td>-.01**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Reactions to the target</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>-.02**</td>
<td>.01**</td>
<td>.01**</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>-.10**</td>
<td>.92**</td>
<td>.01**</td>
<td>.93**</td>
<td>-.19**</td>
<td>.95**</td>
<td>-.07**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(.92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Reactions to the perpetrators</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td>-.04**</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>-.56**</td>
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<td>.70**</td>
<td>-.21**</td>
<td>.90**</td>
<td>-.05**</td>
<td>.94**</td>
<td>-.11**</td>
<td>(.81)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N = 150. Reliabilities are in parentheses.

<sup>a</sup> Civility (1 = civility, 0 = others), Ostracism (1 = ostracism, 0 = others), and Incivility (1 = incivility, 0 = others).

<sup>b</sup> 1 = the target showed up late, 0 = the target did not show up late

<sup>*</sup> p < .05,  **p < .01.
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APPENDIX A

VIDEOS OF THE WORKPLACE OSTRACISM, INCIVILITY, AND CIVILITY CONDITIONS

Workplace ostracism condition
https://www.youtube.com/embed/ysWzv5NgW8Y?rel=0&showinfo=0

Workplace incivility condition
https://www.youtube.com/embed/E30TPPPWAX8?rel=0&showinfo=0

Workplace civility condition
https://www.youtube.com/embed/iShjt3cJQxg?rel=0&showinfo=0
APPENDIX B

MEASUREMENTS

Observer reactions to the targets and perpetrators
Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements about (target or perpetrator name):

1. (Target or perpetrator name) generated ideas of good quality
2. Based on his performance, I would recommend (target or perpetrator name) to be hired for a job (e.g., as a research assistant).

If there is a future task, please indicate your willingness to have (target or perpetrator name) as your teammate and work with him on the task.

3. Would you like to have (target or perpetrator name) as your teammate and work with him on a future task?

Perceptions of stigma in the target
To what extent do you think _____?

2. Undesirable characteristics exist in John.
3. John seems tainted.
4. John seems flawed.
5. John seems disgraceful.
6. John is undependable.
7. John does not seem to have good judgement.
8. John seems less competent.

Items 1-5 were developed for this study; item 6-8 were adapted from Ruggs, Hebl, and Williams (2015).

Perceptions of injustice of the perpetrators

1. (Perpetrator name) acted unfairly.
2. (Perpetrator name) did things that were unfair.
3. (Perpetrator name) behaved like an unfair person would.
4. (Perpetrator name) acted in a rude manner.
5. (Perpetrator name) treated other members in a derogatory manner.
6. (Perpetrator name) treated others with disregard.
7. (Perpetrator name) used insulting remarks or comments.

Item 1-3 measured overall (un)fairness; item 4-7 measured interpersonal (in)justice; all seven items were adapted from Colquitt et al., (2015)

Empathic concern toward the target
When I was watching the video, …

1. I felt kind of protective toward John.
2. I didn’t feel very much pity for John. (R)
3. I had tender, concerned feelings for John.
4. I was pretty soft-hearted toward John.
5. I didn’t feel sorry for John. (R)
6. John’s misfortune didn’t disturb me a great deal. (R)

Adapted from the Empathic Concern Scale (Davis, 1980)

**Threatened need to belong**
When you were watching the video, how did you feel?
1. I felt “disconnected”.
2. I felt rejected.
3. I felt like an outsider.
4. I felt I belonged to the group.

Adapted from Williams (2009)

**Conformity**
What scientist was inspired to create his laws on nature by watching an apple fall to the ground?
- Albert Einstein (92% student participants chose this answer)
- Galileo Galilei (3% student participants chose this answer)
- Charles Darwin (3% student participants chose this answer)
- Isaac Newton (2% student participants chose this answer)

Which of the following is correct?
Discount coupons will be available from tomorrow, they can be collected during office hours.
- NO CHANGE (1% student participants chose this answer)
- , you can collect them during office hours. (1% student participants chose this answer)
- ; they can be collected during office hours. (2% student participants chose this answer)
- , these coupons will be collected during office hours. (96% student participants chose this answer)

Which of the following is correct?
Oliver and Jack have lived on they’re parents’ farm for 4 years.
- NO CHANGE (1% student participants chose this answer)
- they’re parents (3% student participants chose this answer)
- their parents’ (3% student participants chose this answer)
- their parent’s (93% student participants chose this answer)

**Trait negative affectivity**
The items below are a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then choose the appropriate answer on 1 to 5 scale (1 = very slightly or not at all and 5 = extremely). Indicate to what extent you feel this way in general, that is, on the average.
1. Irritable
2. Upset
3. Angry
4. Guilty
5. Nervous
6. Hostile
7. Jittery
8. Ashamed
9. Scared
10. Distressed

**Trait fear of negative evaluation**
Please indicate in general, how characteristic each of the following statements are of you.
1. I worry about what other people will think of me even when I know it doesn't make any difference.
2. I am unconcerned even if I know people are forming an unfavorable impression of me. (R)
3. I am frequently afraid of other people noticing my shortcomings.
4. I rarely worry about what kind of impression I am making on someone. (R)
5. I am afraid that others will not approve of me.
6. I am afraid that people will find fault with me.
7. Other people's opinions of me do not bother me. (R)
8. When I am talking to someone, I worry about what they may be thinking about me.
9. I am usually worried about what kind of impression I make.
10. If I know someone is judging me, it has little effect on me. (R)
11. Sometimes I think I am too concerned with what other people think of me.
12. I often worry that I will say or do the wrong things.

**Trait moral identity**
Listed below are some characteristics that may describe a person.

- Caring
- Compassionate
- Fair
- Friendly
- Generous
- Hardworking
- Helpful
- Honest
- Kind

The person with these characteristics could be you or someone else. For a moment, visualize in your mind the kind of person who has these characteristics. Imagine how that person would think, feel, and act. When you have a clear image of what this person would be like, please indicate in general, to what extent you agree with each of the following statements. (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree)

1. It would make me feel good to be a person who has these characteristics.
2. Being someone who has these characteristics is an important part of who I am.
3. I would be ashamed to be a person who has these characteristics. (R)
4. Having these characteristics is not really important to me. (R)
5. I strongly desire to have these characteristics.
6. I often wear clothes that identify me as having these characteristics.
7. The types of things I do in my spare time (e.g., hobbies) clearly identify me as having these characteristics.
8. The kinds of books and magazines that I read identify me as having these characteristics.
9. The fact that I have these characteristics is communicated to others by my membership in certain organizations.
10. I am actively involved in activities that communicate to others that I have these characteristics.

Trait empathic concern
Please indicate in general, to what extent you agree with each of the following statements. (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strong agree)
1. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them. (R)
2. When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.
3. I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.
4. I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.
5. Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems. (R)
6. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal. (R)
7. I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.

The Empathic Concern Scale; Davis, 1980

Trait need to belong
Please indicate in general, to what extent you agree with each of the following statements. (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strong agree)
1. If other people don’t seem to accept me, I don’t let it bother me. (R)
2. I try hard not to do things that will make other people avoid or reject me.
3. I seldom worry about whether other people care about me. (R)
4. I need to feel that there are people I can turn to in times of need.
5. I want other people to accept me.
6. I do not like being alone.
7. Being apart from my friends for long periods of time does not bother me. (R)
8. I have a strong “need to belong.”
9. It bothers me a great deal when I am not included in other people’s plans.
10. My feelings are easily hurt when I feel that others do not accept me.

The Need to Belong Scale; Leary et al., (2013)

Workplace ostracism manipulation check
We would like to ask about your perceptions of this group you have observed. To what extent …?
1. John was ignored by the other members
2. John was excluded by the other members
3. Other members avoided eye contact with John
4. John was not spoken to by other members
5. John was shut out of the conversation by other members
6. John was treated as if he was not there by other members

**Workplace incivility manipulation check**
To what extent do you agree that …?
1. Other members treated John in a polite manner. (R)
2. Other members treated John with dignity. (R)
3. John was insulted by other members.
4. Other members were offensive to John.
5. Other members intended to offend John.

**In-group versus out-group membership manipulation check**
1. Which group were you in according to the aesthetic test?
   o I belong to the group which prefers Klee’s paintings
   o I belong to the group which prefers Kandinsky’s paintings
   o I am not sure/ I don’t recall
2. Who else was (were) in the same group as you were?
   ▪ Alex
   ▪ John
   ▪ Tom
   ▪ Mike
   ▪ None of them; I am the only one in my group

**Target resistance manipulation check**
Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statement.
   John pointed out that other members were mistreating him and expresses his resistance to the mistreatment.

**Target deservedness manipulation check**
Was anyone late for the group brainstorming task in the video?
   o Yes, Alex was late.
   o Yes, John was late.
   o Yes, Tom was late.
   o Yes, Mike was late.
   o Nobody was late.
APPENDIX C

MANIPULATING GROUP MEMBERSHIP: AN “AESTHETIC TEST”

Part of this study is to examine how people with different creative styles interact with each other. In particular, research has shown that people’s preferences for different visual stimuli reliably indicates how people see and interact with the world.

Building on this research, we are examining how people who differ in their preference for two foreign modern painters, Klee and Kandinsky, interact with each other. To get an idea for how this visual preference works, you will rate your own preference for paintings by Klee and Kandinsky.

One painting of Klee and one painting of Kandinsky will be shown as a pair at a time (listed as painting A and B). You will NOT be informed which of them (A or B) are reproductions of Klee and which of Kandinsky. For each pair of paintings, you will be requested to tick your preference either for the first of the pair which is always called A, or the second, B.

At the end of the task, your preferences will be calculated. We will let you know your aesthetic preferences expressed in this task.

When you are ready, please click "NEXT".

A

![Klee painting]

B

![Kandinsky painting]

Which painting do you prefer?
APPENDIX D

OBSERVER REACTIONS TO TARGET: RESULTS OF THE MEDIATING EFFECT OF EMPATHIC CONCERN TOWARD THE TARGET

Measuring empathic concern toward the target. A 6-item measure adapted from the Empathic Concern Scale (Davis, 1980; see Appendix B) was used to measure participants’ empathic concern toward the target (e.g., “I had tender, concerned feelings for (target name)”) on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree). The Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .92 in Study 1, .91 in Study 2, and .91 in Study 3.

Study 1. Participants were less empathic towards the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility, and empathy mediated participants’ reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants were less likely to feel empathy toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility ($a = -1.09, t = -5.22, p < .001$), and participants were more willing to work with the target toward whom they felt empathy ($b = .16, t = 3.72, p < .001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.17$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (-.30, -.07). These results supported the role of less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism in mediating participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, compared to the target of workplace incivility. There was evidence that participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility independent of less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility ($c' = -.46, t = -3.08, p < .01$).

Participants were also more empathic toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to the “target” of workplace civility, and empathy mediated participants’ reactions to the target
of workplace ostracism compared to the “target” of workplace civility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants were more likely to have empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($a = 1.48$, $t = 7.31$, $p < .001$), and participants were more willing to work with the target toward whom they had empathic concern ($b = .16$, $t = 3.72$, $p < .001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .24$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (.11, .39).

Importantly, there was evidence that participants were nevertheless less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to with the “target” of workplace civility independent of more empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($c' = -.49$, $t = -3.19$, $p < .01$).

Participants’ more empathic concern toward the target of workplace incivility compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility also mediated participants’ more positive reactions to the target of workplace incivility compared to the “target” of workplace civility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants were more likely to have empathic concern toward the target of workplace incivility compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($a = 2.57$, $t = 11.93$, $p < .001$). Participants were more willing to work with the target toward whom they had empathic concern ($b = .16$, $t = 3.72$, $p < .001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .41$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples did not contain zero (.20, .64).

There was no evidence that participants were more willing to work with the target of workplace incivility compared to with the “target” of workplace civility independent of more empathic concern toward the target of workplace incivility compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($c' = -.02$, $t = -.13$, ns).

**Study 2.** Participants’ less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism
compared to toward the target of workplace incivility marginally mediated participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants were less likely to have empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility \( (a = -0.87, t = -3.61, p < .001) \), and participants were marginally more willing to work with the target toward whom they had empathic concern \( (b = 0.18, t = 1.93, p = .06) \). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect \( (ab = -0.15) \) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero \((-0.35, 0.024)\). A 90% bootstrap confidence interval did not contain zero \((-0.31, -0.02)\). These results marginally supported the role of less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism in mediating participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, compared to the target of workplace incivility. There was no evidence that participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to with the target of workplace incivility independent of less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility \( (c' = -0.23, t = -1.01, ns) \), suggesting less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism marginally fully mediated the effect of more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility.\(^{17}\)

**Study 3.** Participants’ less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism

\(^{17}\) However, the marginally significant mediating effect did not hold when demographics and individual traits were controlled. That is, analyses results did not support that participants’ less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility mediated participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility \( (a = -1.03, t = -4.76, p < .001) \). However, participants were not more willing to work with the target toward whom they had empathic concern \( (b = 0.17, t = 1.59, ns) \). A 90% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect \( (ab = -0.18) \) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero \((-0.41, 0.08)\). There was no evidence that participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to with the target of workplace incivility independent of less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility \( (c' = -0.23, t = -0.92, ns) \).
compared to toward the target of workplace incivility did not mediate participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the target of workplace incivility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants were less likely to have empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility ($a = -1.15, t = -3.08, p < .01$). However, participants were not more willing to work with the target toward whom they had empathic concern ($b = .01, t = .16, ns$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.01$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.23, .15). These results did not support the role of less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism in mediating participants’ more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, compared to the target of workplace incivility. Importantly, there was evidence that participants were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to with the target of workplace incivility independent of less empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the target of workplace incivility ($c' = - .63, t = -2.72, p < .01$).

Participants’ more empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility mediated participants’ reactions to the target of workplace ostracism compared to the “target” of workplace civility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants were more likely to have empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($a = 1.34, t = 3.66, p < .001$). However, participants were not more willing to work with the target toward whom they had empathic concern ($b = .01, t = .16, ns$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .01$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.19, .22). These results did not support the role of more empathic concern toward the target of workplace...
ostracism in mediating participants’ reactions to the target of workplace ostracism, compared to the “target” of workplace civility. There was no evidence that participants were not more willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism compared to with the “target” of workplace civility independent of more empathic concern toward the target of workplace ostracism compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($c' = -.02, t = -.10, \text{ns}$).

Participants’ more empathic concern toward the target of workplace incivility compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility mediated participants’ more positive reactions to the target of workplace incivility compared to the “target” of workplace civility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that participants were more likely to have empathic concern toward the target of workplace incivility compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($a = 2.50, t = 6.75, p < .001$). However, participants were not more willing to work with the target toward whom they had empathic concern ($b = .01, t = .16, \text{ns}$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = .03$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero ($-.33, .42$). These results did not support the role of more empathic concern toward the target of workplace incivility in mediating participants’ more positive reactions to the target of workplace incivility, compared to the target of workplace civility. There was evidence that participants were more willing to work with the target of workplace incivility compared to with the “target” of workplace civility independent of more empathic concern toward the target of workplace incivility compared to toward the “target” of workplace civility ($c' = .60, t = 2.19, p < .05$).
APPENDIX E

OBSERVER REACTIONS TO TARGET AND PERPETRATORS: EFFECT OF TARGET DESERVEDNESS (RESULTS OF STUDY 4)

Participants and Procedure

Participants were undergraduate students recruited from a behavioral lab at a public university in exchange for extra class credit. A total of 150 participants completed this study. Participants (56% male) were on average 19.44 years old ($SD = .77$). The procedure Study 3 used was the same as Study 1.

*Manipulating workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.* The manipulation used in Study 4 was the same as Study 1. There were 48 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, 52 participants in the workplace incivility condition, and 50 participants were in the workplace civility condition.

*Manipulating target deservedness.* Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions. In the condition where participants who would perceive the target as deserving the workplace mistreatment, the target was five minutes late for the brainstorming task; in the other condition where participants who would not perceive the target as deserving the workplace mistreatment, the target was not late. There were 78 participants in the target deservedness condition and 72 participants in the target not deserving condition.

Measures

*Willingness to work with the target/perpetrators.* After watching the video, participants answered the following statement on a 7-point scale (1 = *definitely not* and 7 = *definitely*) for each team member: “Would you like to have *(a target or a perpetrator name)* as your teammate and work with him on a future task?”, adapted from Reich and Hershcovis (2015). As I did not
expect a priori differences in willingness to work with the three group members who were perpetrators in the video, I averaged the ratings for the three perpetrators into a single score representing willingness to work with the perpetrators.

**Perceptions of overall injustice of the perpetrators.** A 3-item overall injustice measure (Colquitt et al., 2015; see Appendix B) was used to measure participants’ perception of overall injustice of the perpetrators (e.g., “(perpetrator name) acted unfairly?”) on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*). The average Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .99.

**Control variables.** As age (Latane & Darley, 1970), gender (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Latane & Darley, 1970; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), trait moral identity (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Greenbaum et al., 2013), trait fear of negative evaluation (Leary, 1983; Maner et al., 2007), trait need to belong (Wesselmann et al., 2009), trait empathic concern (Masten et al., 2010), and trait negative affectivity (Glomb & Liao, 2003) have been suggested to affect how observers react to situations including mistreatment (e.g., ostracism and incivility), I tested my hypotheses while controlling for these individual differences variables (see Appendix B for measures). Whether or not these variables were controlled for generally did not affect the support found for my hypotheses (exceptions were noted as footnotes in results sections). For parsimony, I therefore report the results below without the control variables. In addition, participants’ evaluation of the overall quality of the ideas proposed by the target and perpetrators (see Appendix B) was controlled to rule out the alternative explanation that participant’s willingness to work with the target and perpetrators was impacted by participants’ perceptions of the target and perpetrators’ idea quality.

**Results**
Manipulation checks: Workplace ostracism and workplace incivility. To avoid the possibility that manipulation check items could raise suspicion regarding the purpose of the experiment, I pretested manipulation checks in a separate undergraduate sample (N = 274). There were 92 participants in the workplace ostracism condition, 92 participants in the workplace incivility condition, and 90 participants were in the workplace civility condition. Workplace ostracism and workplace incivility manipulation checks were measured using the same items as in Study 1. The Cronbach’s alpha reliability was .97 for the workplace ostracism manipulation check, and .96 for the workplace incivility manipulation check.

I used ANOVA to check whether the workplace ostracism and workplace incivility manipulations worked as intended. For the workplace ostracism manipulation check, the overall test was significant ($F(2, 271) = 136.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace ostracism condition ($M = 7.26, SD = 2.10$) were more likely to perceive the target to be ostracized by other team members compared to the workplace civility condition ($M = 2.79, SD = 1.93$) ($t(271) = 14.91, p < .001, 95\% CI = [3.88, 5.06]$). Participants in the workplace incivility condition ($M = 6.88, SD = 2.02$) were also more likely to perceive the target to be ostracized by other team members compared to in the workplace civility condition ($t(271) = 13.65, p < .001, 95\% CI = [3.50, 4.68]$). However, participants in the workplace ostracism condition were not more likely to perceive the target to be ostracized by other team members compared to the workplace incivility condition ($t(271) = 1.27, ns$). These results indicated that the manipulation of workplace ostracism was not successful. The failure of the manipulation check of workplace ostracism should be kept in mind when interpreting any results.
For the workplace incivility manipulation check, the overall test was significant \(F(2, 271) = 186.87, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10\) and I proceeded to compare the means of the conditions. Participants in the workplace incivility condition \((M = 5.95, SD = 1.32)\) were more likely to perceive that the target was treated with incivility by other group members compared to the workplace ostracism condition \((M = 4.86, SD = 1.53)\) \((t(271) = 5.56, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [.70, 1.47])\) and the workplace civility condition \((M = 2.25, SD = 1.08)\) \((t(271) = 18.87, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [3.31, 4.09])\). Participants in the workplace ostracism condition were also more likely to perceive that the target was treated with incivility by other group members compared to in the workplace civility condition \((t(271) = 13.34, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [2.23, 3.00])\). These results indicated that the manipulation of workplace incivility was successful.

**Manipulation checks: Target deservedness.** There were 136 participants in the target deservedness condition and 138 participants in the target not deserving condition. For the manipulation check of target deservedness, participants responded to the question: “Was anyone late for the group brainstorming task in the video?” Participants were then give a list of the names of four members in the brainstorming task and asked to identify who was (were) late for the brainstorming task (see Appendix B). 93.80\% of the participants correctly recalled whether the target was late for the brainstorming task. Thus I concluded that the manipulation check of target deservedness worked as intended.

**Effect of target deservedness.** Table 4 provides means, standard deviations, correlations, and reliability estimates. I used ANOVA and the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) to examine the effect of target deservedness on observer reactions to the target and perpetrators of workplace ostracism and workplace incivility.

In particular, ANOVA results suggested that participants in the workplace ostracism
condition were less willing to work with the target of workplace ostracism when the target was late ($M = 4.13, N = 25$) compared to when the target was not late ($M = 4.64, N = 23$) ($t(45) = -2.43, p < .05$). Participants were not more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism when the target was late ($M = 3.60, N = 25$) compared to when the target was not late ($M = 3.63, N = 23$) ($t(45) = .08, ns$). Thus, these results suggested target deservedness was negatively associated with willingness to work with the target of workplace ostracism but not positively associated with willingness to work with the perpetrators of workplace ostracism.

ANOVA results suggested that participants in the workplace incivility condition were not less willing to work with the target of workplace incivility when the target was late ($M = 4.71, N = 27$) compared to when the target was not late ($M = 4.95, N = 25$) ($t(49) = -.89, ns$). Participants were also not more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility when the target was late ($M = 2.98, N = 27$) compared to when the target was not late ($M = 3.17, N = 25$) ($t(49) = -.69, ns$). Thus, these results did not suggest that target deservedness was negatively associated with willingness to work with the target of workplace incivility or positively associated with willingness to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility.

In the workplace ostracism condition, when the target was late compared to when the target was not late, perceptions of more stigma in the target did not mediate participants’ more negative reactions to the target. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the target was not more likely to be viewed as stigmatized ($a = .46, t = 1.49, ns$)$^{18}$, and participants were not less willing to work with target when they perceived the target as more stigmatized ($b = -.13, t = -1.25, ns$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.06$) based on 5,000

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$^{18}$ When demographics and individual differences were controlled, the target was marginally more likely to be viewed as stigmatized ($a = .65, t = 2.00, p = .0529$). However, this change would not lead to a different conclusion about the insignificant indirect effect.
bootstrap samples contained zero (-.21, .03). These results did not supported stigmatization’s role in mediating more negative reactions to the target of workplace ostracism. There was evidence that in the workplace ostracism condition when the target was late compared to when the target was not late, participants were less willing to work with the target independent of the effects of perceptions of more stigma in the target ($c^\prime = -.46, t = -2.11, p < .05$).

In the workplace incivility condition when the target was late compared to when the target was not late, perceptions of less overall unfairness in the perpetrators did not mediate participants’ more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. In particular, results of PROCESS indicated that the perpetrators of workplace incivility were not less likely to be viewed as overall unfair ($a = .27, t = .63, ns$), although participants were less willing to work with perpetrators perceived as overall unfair ($b = -.50, t = -8.10, p < .0001$). A 95% bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($ab = -.13$) based on 5,000 bootstrap samples contained zero (-.59, .27). These results did not support perceptions of less overall unfairness’s role in mediating more positive reactions to the perpetrators of workplace incivility. There was no evidence that in the workplace incivility condition, when the target was late compared to when the target was not late, participants were more willing to work with the perpetrators of workplace incivility independent of the effects of perceptions of less overall unfairness in the perpetrators of workplace incivility ($c^\prime = -.06, t = -.32, ns$).
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CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS


Kim, T-Y., Lee, Y., & Chen, M. (2017, August). *Does fitting at one dimension enhance or replace the effect of other types of fit? A longitudinal study.* Presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management, Atlanta, GA.

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