

UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE

The Dark Side of Emotional Labour: Machiavellianism and emotion management strategies within a cultural context

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ABSTRACT

The current literature presents inconsistencies with regard to the ‘Bright’ and ‘Dark Sides’ of emotional labour and related emotion management strategies: it indicates that the negative effect of emotional labour cannot be explained on the basis of emotion management strategies alone and additional factors should be considered.

The aim of this research was to investigate the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour in greater depth by: a) analysing constructs (emotion management strategies, cultural orientation and personality influences) which might be responsible for the discrepancies in emotional labour which result in positive and negative effects; b) verifying Machiavellian responses and investigating the social desirability effect in self-report measures; and c) examining sources of Machiavellian amoral values and behaviour. Emotional labour was examined from the perspective of intra-organisational relationships. The focus was upon Machiavellianism as the main construct of this research, it being in the forefront of each of the three studies conducted.

Study one investigated the relationship between the elements of an ego-centric triad (Individualistic Cultural Orientation, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) and the impact of that triad upon employees’ states at work (well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intentions). This study asked the following research questions: *‘RQ1 - Is there a positive relationship between the elements (Individualistic Culture, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) of an ego-centric triad?’* and *‘RQ2 - How does the triad impact upon employees’ well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intentions?’* It was hypothesised that: (H1) there would be a positive relationship between the elements of the ego-centric triad; (H2) the ego-centric triad elements will have negative impact on employee well-being, (H3) Machiavellian personality traits will be more prevalent in males than females; (H4) Machiavellianism leads to greater career success; (H5) Machiavellians experience lower job

satisfaction; and (H6) Machiavellians will demonstrate higher turnover intentions than their counterparts.

The sample consisted of 319 UK-based working professionals who were recruited via the social media site *LinkedIn*. Participants completed an online questionnaire comprised of amended validated tools measuring levels of Surface Acting, Idiocentrism, Machiavellianism, participants' well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intentions. The analysis focused on Independent Sample T-Test and Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) - model fit testing. SEM revealed a positive correlation between the elements of the ego-centric triad. Nevertheless, the elements did not have a unified effect upon employees' states at work, as only Machiavellianism demonstrated a negative impact upon employees' well-being. Individualistic cultural orientation (Idiocentrism) was linked to decreased job satisfaction and increased turnover intentions, while Surface Acting had the opposite effect of decreasing turnover intentions. The main variable of interest - Machiavellianism - demonstrated a negative impact upon employees' well-being, career success and job satisfaction factors, all of which served as the mediating variables for increased turnover intentions. Furthermore, the independent sample T-Test showed that gender does not serve as an antecedent to Machiavellianism. The research contributes to existing theoretical knowledge by introducing the ego-centric triad and demonstrating that the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour cannot be attributed to emotion management strategies alone but includes additional factors such as cultural orientation (Idiocentrism) and personality traits (Machiavellianism). The research also has practical implications, demonstrating that recruitment and selection strategies should pay attention to these undesirable characteristics; as they have negative implications for individuals and organisations alike. Furthermore, organisations need to invest more efforts in management of employee well-being as emotional labour contributes to impaired well-being in high Machiavellians, who may not necessarily exhibit obvious signs.

Study two aimed to establish the validity of Machiavellian responses and to ascertain the level of confidence that can be placed on the findings deriving from Study one. It asked the following question: *'RQ3 - Does the social attractiveness effect take place in anonymous self-reports when ego-centric qualities are of concern?'* and hypothesised (H7) that Machiavellianism is positively related to self-rating bias, and therefore high Machiavellians will under-report their true level of amoral values and behavioural practices to a much greater extent than will low Machiavellians. Participant sample consisted of 16 UK-based working professionals who were asked to complete an online MACH IV test and to provide an e-mail sample of their workplace correspondence. One-way Anova was used to compare the scores from the MACH IV test against the scores deriving from Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) analysis assessing Machiavellian attributes (use of personal pronoun 'I', negative emotions, analytic and clout dimension, power and rewards drives) evident within the workplace correspondence (e-mails). Therefore, the focus was upon reported versus observed levels of Machiavellianism. The results showed that individuals exhibited minor self-report bias at all levels of Machiavellianism (low, medium and high). Self-reported low Machiavellians demonstrated the lowest level of Machiavellianism (despite minor under-reporting), while self-reported medium Machiavellians demonstrated the highest level of Machiavellianism. Surprisingly, self-reported high Machiavellians demonstrated a medium level of Machiavellianism. Therefore, low and high Machiavellians under-reported, while medium Machiavellians over-reported their levels of amoral values and practice. The research findings support the notion of self-report bias and demonstrate that manipulative behaviour becomes acceptable in a workplace environment; as a result, high Machiavellians freely admit to their amoral values and behaviours. The research has also shown that self-reporting bias are evident across all levels of Machiavellianism. Therefore, whenever possible, objective measures should be included when investigating undesirable traits, values and behaviours.

Study three investigated the sources of Machiavellian tendencies, their amoral values and behaviours by asking the following research question: *'RQ4 - Where do Machiavellian tendencies stem from? Are upbringing practices or organisational cultures responsible for employees' personal values and subsequent behaviour within an intra-organisational setting?'* Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 participants (UK-based working professionals). The Mach IV test was employed to segment participants into high and low Machiavellians, while Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis was utilised to investigate the sources of amoral values between the two groups. The results showed that the amoral values of both groups derived from upbringing practices and have a tendency to mirror parental values. Additionally, such values are relatively stable over time and unaffected by the institutional values deriving from organisational culture. Therefore, organisational culture and institutional values do not possess the power to override morality related values. However, workplaces that allow the presence of organisational politics provide positive stimuli for Machiavellianism, enabling high Machiavellians to flourish while alienating low Machiavellians. Despite the control measure (continuous employment in an organisation for three years or more), the cross-sectional design served as a limitation and further research is required to validate these findings.

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OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS:

Chapter 1 – *Introduction* provides a rationale for the research, a brief overview of related literature and an explanation of the theoretical framework guiding this research. This chapter presents the problem statement deriving from contradictory findings and subsequently outlines the research aim, questions, hypotheses and benefits of the research.

Chapter 2 – *Literature Review* consists of two sections. The first section explains the systematic literature review approach, while the second section provides a detailed evaluation of the literature relevant to the three studies undertaken. Study one, ‘Machiavellianism as the key element of the ego-centric triad impacting employees’ states at work’; Study two, ‘Truthfulness of Machiavellians’ responses and the validity of self-report measures’; and Study three, ‘Sources of Machiavellian values: the influence of upbringing practices and institutional requirements upon the formation of personal values’.

Chapter 3 – *Methodology* discusses research philosophies and related research paradigms guiding the research framework and elaborates upon the principles of research ethics. The discussion moves towards the outcomes and implication of the Pilot Study followed by conventional methodology sections outlining sample, procedure, measures and analysis for each study conducted. Justification for and consideration of alternative methodology techniques are also provided.

Chapter 4 – *Analysis and Results* describes the results from each study. Study one analysis and results section provides high-level descriptive statistics and the superior model fit deriving from Structural Equation Modelling using AMOS. Study two analysis uses Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count Technique combined with One-Way Anova and the Tuckey post-hoc test. Study three was based on Interpretative Phenomenological analysis offering accounts of richness and depth.

Chapter 5 – Discussion revisits research aims and hypotheses and provides a detailed discussion of results linked to previous researches elaborated in the Literature Review section. This chapter further discusses the similarities and differences from previous research and offers a rationale for the findings.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion provides a summary of findings and revisits and answers the initially proposed research questions and hypotheses. This chapter also provides a summary of the most important findings and emphasises the benefits of this research. This is followed by discussion of the research limitations, and recommendations for future research. The ‘Final thoughts’ subsection summarises the findings and provides concluding remarks.

1 CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL
FRAMEWORK

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the rationale used in the choice of topic and presents a theoretical explanation of the main constructs. This is followed by discussion of the research problem, and an overview of the research aims, hypothesis and research questions.

1.1.1 Starting point of the research

Emotions and the ways in which humans handle them has always been a topic of interest to me. Some individuals seem to be permanently happy, while others easily succumb to anger. There are also individuals who manage to mask their emotions completely, creating the illusion that they are unaffected by their surroundings or events. It seems that we are expected to manage our emotions from early childhood by being told not to cry, not to be sad or angry. Once we enter the workplace environment, our emotion management techniques are fully developed, yet the battle with emotions continues.

Throughout the years I have spent in the workplace, I have noticed that the ability to manage emotions is expected of us and even rewarded. It has also become apparent to me that certain personalities - Machiavellians - seem to excel in the management of their emotions and tend to secure senior workplace positions despite a lack of work ethics or technical expertise. The Machiavellian ability to display unfeigned emotions is fascinating. Some of the individuals I have observed were capable of giving praise to people who did not deserve any, and to socialise with co-workers whom they despised. They seemed to be capable of switching their emotions on and off and to adapt easily to environmental conditions, people and situations. Machiavellians are social chameleons, charming their way through the layers of organisational hierarchy to further their careers. Their characteristics seem to be well suited for emotional labour.

Interest in human emotions in the workplace (emotional labour) and Machiavellians led to the formation of my initial concepts and raised further questions, which aimed to:

- a) Assess the suitability of Machiavellians in the emotional labour context and the implications of Machiavellian manipulative techniques (Surface Acting) and self-centred values (Idiocentrism) for employees' states at work;
- b) Investigate the extent to which Machiavellians manipulate their responses in self-report measures, impairing the validity of research studies;
- c) Explore the sources and factors responsible for the formation of Machiavellian amoral values and manipulative behaviour.

1.1.2 Emotions at work

Emotions dictate the way we feel, perceive external stimuli and behave in a given situation. Ultimately, they impact on our well-being, decision making and overall performance. The workplace brings out a wide range of emotions in all of us, many of them deeply felt. When they are positive, they bring some of the most gratifying experiences; however, when negative, they evoke the most hurtful experiences deeply engraved in employees' memories (Muchinsky, 2000).

Understanding the causes, characteristics, and consequences of emotions in the workplace is one of the most important, though neglected, areas of organisational psychology (Lazarus, 1991; Muchinsky, 2000); such neglect is puzzling considering that we spend most of our lives engaged in work than in any other activity (Muchinsky, 2000). Lack of interest in acknowledgment of emotions is associated with the negative connotations emotions initially received. They have been described as unwanted influences which deflect us from the path of objectivity; forces to be controlled if not sublimated and, as Whyte (1956) argues, they have no place in business where logic, reasoning and rational decision-making prevails. In line with Whyte's (1956) negative connotation of emotions, the following three decades (1960-1990) were described as 'the dark ages' for emotions (Muchinsky, 2000). However, this all changed

as a result of Hochschild's (1983) publication on emotional labour: '*The Managed Heart*', where the focus is placed on the expression and regulation of emotions within an organisational setting.

Due to the way our brains have developed, humans have very little, if any, control over when we will be swept by emotion or what the emotion may be; yet what we do have is control over how long the emotion will last and how subsequent thoughts will be interpreted (Mayer & Salovey, 1993). Nevertheless, management of emotions extends beyond the interpretation and management of feelings, as it reaches to the external expression of one's emotions. Emotions and their regulation are aspects that one has to learn in order to acquire the appropriate techniques and to express the desired state of emotion. There is now a considerable body of evidence suggesting that organisations regulate the expression of emotions by employees through formal and informal expectations (Diefendorf & Greguras, 2009). Conforming to such rules creates conflict between felt and expressed emotions, which contributes to emotional labour (Diefendorf & Gosserand, 2003; Grandey, 2000; Cropanzano, Weiss & Elias, 2004). Ashforth and Humphrey (2012) argue that emotional labour extends beyond customer interaction and spills into our day-to-day interactions with co-workers. Yet one has little choice but to conform, as salary and actual jobs are at stake (Hochschild, 1983). Management of emotions takes place in every organisational setting and continues even within intra-organisational relationships (Kramer & Hess, 2002; Mann, 1999; Waldron, 1994). Co-worker (intra-organisational) relationships are of great importance as they impact on the way employees feel, act and perform. However, there is a significant difference between these two settings in terms of the motivations accompanying emotional labour. Within the customer interaction scenario, the focus is upon complying with organisational rules on the display of emotions (Brotheridge & Grandley, 2002), while co-worker interaction is driven by organisational politics (Pratt & Dutton, 2000), belongingness needs (Baumeister & Leary,

1995), and personalities (Kelly & Barsade, 2001). In addition, intra-organisational relationships and interactions are charged with emotional labour tactics (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Mann, 1997) in order to secure scarce resources (i.e. promotion, salary increase).

1.1.3 Problem statement

As management of emotions in the workplace continues to increase in importance (MacDonald & Sirianni, 1996; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Pugliesi, 1999), so does the necessity of emotional labour and the conflict of felt versus expressed emotions. Perhaps not surprisingly, emotional labour has attracted large interest from researchers. However, the results are inconclusive, as contradicting views are present in the form of the ‘Bright’ and ‘Dark Sides’ of emotional labour. The supporters of the ‘Bright Side’ of emotional labour advocate the effectiveness of emotional labour and suggest a correlation with job satisfaction (e.g. Adelman, 1995; Becker & Cropanzano, 2015; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Wharton, 1993; Wong, Wong & Law, 2005), stability and achievement (Lubinski, 2000; Spokane, Meir & Catalano, 2000), and the enhancement of organisational outcomes (Cropanzano et al., 2004; Grandey, 2003). Additional benefits of emotional labour include service delivery (Grandey, 2003) and enhanced employee-customer rapport (Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul & Gremler, 2006). Some researchers even suggest that emotional labour makes us more attractive and healthier (Gutman, 2011). Nevertheless, there are many others stating the opposite effect of emotional labour and calling for the abolishment of this practice (Grandey, Rupp & Brice, 2015). Opponents of emotional labour associate this practice with a lack of authenticity and feelings of dissonance (Wharton, 1993), impaired well-being (Grandey, 2000), depersonalisation (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993)

and even emotional burnout (e.g. Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Diefendorff, Erickson, Grandey & Dahling, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013).

Initially, these two waves of emotional labour tried to attribute discrepancies in the use of emotion management strategies to the use of Deep and Surface Acting. Deep Acting is defined as a strategy focusing on the management of internal feeling and the external display of emotions, while Surface Acting is concerned only with the modification of the external display of emotion (Hochschild, 1983).

Supporters of the 'Bright Side' of emotional labour advocate the use of Deep Acting. They state that Deep Acting leads to largely positive outcomes, namely decreased emotional exhaustion (Becker and Cropanzano, 2015; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013), increased job satisfaction (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013), increased personal and professional accomplishments (Cropanzano et al., 2004; Grandey, 2003; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Scott & Barnes, 2011; Wang, Seibert & Boles, 2011) and even improved effectiveness of service delivery (Grandey, 2003; Hennig-Thurau et al., 2006). The 'Dark Side' of emotional labour is largely attributable to the use of Surface Acting, which leads to emotional exhaustion (Bono & Vey, 2005; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Diestel & Schmidt, 2012; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Hülshager & Shewe, 2011; Totterdell & Holman, 2003; Zapf & Holz, 2006), decreased quality of service (Grandey, 2003; Grandey, Fisk, Matilla, Jansen & Sideman, 2005), and impaired performance (Barger & Grandey, 2006; Grandey, 2003; Tsai, 2001).

However, the Surface versus Deep Acting debate is not as clean cut as was initially assumed. Although Deep Acting seems less stressful, it might lead to stress due to over-commitment deriving from the good intention to match internal emotions to external display (Humphrey, 2012). A constant focus on the expression of positive emotions is also linked to emotional exhaustion (Montgomery, Panagopolou, DeWilds & Meenk, 2006) and emotional dissonance

(Zapf & Holz, 2006), which contradicts the views of Deep Acting supporters and the ‘Bright Side’ of emotional labour.

These contradictions demonstrate that emotion management strategies alone cannot explain the positive and negative implications of emotional labour, and other factors need to be considered to account fully for these discrepancies.

The overarching conceptual framework that guided this research was based on the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour due to researchers calling for the abolishment of this practice, as documented by Grandey et al.’s (2015) research. The ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour was accredited to the use of Surface Acting, which did not provide a full picture of the implications. As a result, a search began for additional constructs supporting the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour. Surface Acting was accredited to personality traits with an external attribution of stressors (Grandey, Dickter & Sin, 2004; Totterdell & Holman, 2003; Tschan, Messerli & Semmer, 2009), such as neuroticism, negative affectivity and self-monitoring (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; 2003; Diefendorff, Croyle & Gosserand, 2005). This strategy is also evident within a work environment typically with a high level of organisational politics. These findings point towards Machiavellianism. Machiavellians are defined as individuals who manipulate others for personal gain and who engage in disingenuous emotional display if it is deemed beneficial (Christie & Geis, 1970). Machiavellians’ disingenuous behaviour suggests a potential link with Surface Acting, and consequently serves as the starting point of the hypothesised model.

Taking into account Parkinson’s (1996) conceptualisation of emotions as social phenomena, it is evident that cultural differences should also be considered when investigating emotion management strategies. Cross-cultural differences cannot be explored without considering Triandis’ (1995) and Hofstede’s (2001) concepts of Individualism (placing emphasis upon personal values and desires) and Collectivism (placing emphasis upon the needs of the group).

However, more recent studies such as Oyserman, Coon and Kimmelmeier (2002) meta-analyses, criticise the simple accreditation of Individualism to Western countries and Collectivism to Eastern countries, as cultures have evolved and developed. As a result, the interest in cross-cultural differences remained; however, they were viewed and measured at individual rather than cultural level and referred to as Idiocentrism and Allocentrism (Triandis, Leung, Villareal & Clack, 1985).

1.1.4 **Research process**

The research followed a standard research process with the following stages: selection of research area; formulation of research questions, aims, objectives and hypothesis; evaluation and selection of data collection methods; collection of primary data; data analysis; evaluation of findings and formulation of conclusion, recognising research limitation and outlining areas for future research.

Identification of a research problem (namely, discrepancies in research findings attributing the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour to the use of a specific emotion management strategy) led to the undertaking of a systematic literature review. The literature review clarified the problem and led to the discovery that additional factors (cultural orientation and personality traits) should be considered in order to fully explain the implications of emotional labour. The literature review also enabled the definition of the relevant research constructs: narrow target sample population and formulation of hypothesis. The research outline - including the research aim, objectives, research questions and hypothesis - was followed by evaluation and selection of a research design and data collection methods and analysis for each study. The next step involved the design of a Research Plan that encompassed these elements. An additional literature review was followed by a primary data collection, and analysis of findings. The final steps of the process were research writing, discussion of findings and conclusions.

1.2 RESEARCH AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this research was to investigate the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour in greater depth by: a) analysing additional constructs, such as emotion management strategies, cultural orientation and personality influence, which might be responsible for the discrepancies in emotional labour which result in positive and negative effects; b) verifying Machiavellian responses and investigating the social desirability effect in self-report measures; and c) examining sources of Machiavellian amoral values and behaviour. Emotional labour was investigated from the perspective of interpersonal relationships (i.e. relationships amongst colleagues). As a result, the target population consisted of UK-based working professionals from corporate organisations where organisational politics are likely to be present and emotion management is likely to advance an employee’s career progress.

The research consists of three studies, paying particular attention to Machiavellianism as the main construct of the research, linked to the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour.

Study one investigates the impact of the ego-centric triad (i.e. Individualistic Culture, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) upon employees’ states at work (well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intentions). Study two recognises the implications of Machiavellians’ manipulative natures and aims to verify the truthfulness of their responses provided within self-report measures. Study two is essentially an extension of Study one, aiming to establish the validity of Machiavellian responses and ultimately to ascertain the level of confidence that can be placed on the findings deriving from Study one. The final study, Study three, investigates the sources of Machiavellian amoral values and their amoral practice by analysing the influence of upbringing practices (i.e. parental values, schooling and cultural influences) and the impact of organisational culture. The construct of Machiavellianism features heavily in all three studies; Study one investigates the implications of Machiavellianism and related constructs

(Idiocentrism and Surface Acting); Study two validates the truthfulness of their responses; and Study three analyses the environmental pre-conditions that lead to the formation of Machiavellian amoral values.

Ultimately, this research paper aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ1 - Is there a positive relationship between the elements (Individualistic Culture, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) of an ego-centric triad?

RQ2 - How does the triad impact upon employees' well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intentions?

RQ3 - Does the social attractiveness effect take place in anonymous self-reports when ego-centric qualities are of concern?

RQ4 - Where do Machiavellian tendencies stem from? Are upbringing practices or organisational cultures responsible for employees' personal values and subsequent behaviour within an intra-organisational setting?

In order to answer the research questions, a systematic literature review was conducted, on the basis of which it was possible to establish the following hypothesis for the research questions (namely RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3).

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive relationship between the elements of an ego-centric triad.

H1a) Individualistic Cultures encourage the expression of Machiavellian traits.

H1b) Machiavellians employ Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy.

H1c) Surface Acting is the preferred emotion management strategy within Individualistic Cultures.

Hypothesis 2: The ego-centric triad will have a negative impact upon employees' well-being within the emotional labour facet.

H2a) Individualistic Cultures will exhibit a negative effect upon employees' well-being, due to their emphasis upon self-centred values and free expression of emotions, which contradict the concept of emotional labour.

H2b) Use of Surface Acting as the primary emotion management strategy will have a negative impact upon employees' well-being, as a result of emotional dissonance.

H2c) Machiavellianism will have a negative effect upon employees' well-being due to the extensive presence of negative emotions.

Hypothesis 3: The Machiavellian personality is more prevalent in males than in females; therefore, gender serves as an antecedent to Machiavellianism.

Hypothesis 4: High Machiavellians are better equipped to cope with emotional labour demands, as a result of which they will achieve greater career success than low Machiavellians.

Hypothesis 5: High Machiavellians experience lower job satisfaction in comparison to their counterparts, due to their predisposition for negative affect.

Hypothesis 6: High Machiavellians will demonstrate increased turnover intentions deriving from low job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 7: Machiavellianism will be related positively to self-rating bias, as a result high Machiavellians will under-report their true level of amoral values and practice to a greater extent than their counterparts.

The research relied on the use of a mixed methodology approach consisting of standard methods such as questionnaires and semi-structured interviews; and on an innovative data collection methodology, such as e-mail samples, to collect a wide range of rich data for analysis. The quantitative data analysis used Structural Equation Modelling to test the hypothetical model and provide directions of causal relationships between variables of interest, while SPSS tests (independent sample T-Test and One-way Anova) supported comparisons between groups. The qualitative data employed Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis to identify relevant themes and subthemes.

1.2.1 **Research benefits and beneficiaries**

The main benefit of this research lies in its contribution to the research knowledge. The research had introduced the ego-centric triad (Machiavellianism, Idiocentrism and Surface Acting) and its implication upon employees' states at work. This knowledge provides direction for future research and offers a more comprehensible overview of the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour and factors contributing to its negative connotations. Consequently, the research suggests that additional factors, such as cultural orientation (Idiocentrism) and personality differences (Machiavellianism) need to be considered to explain fully the discrepancies between positive and negative implications of emotional labour.

The research has demonstrated that self-report measures are filled with reporting bias, regardless of the level of Machiavellianism. This suggests that future research should focus on the development of more objective measures of amoral values and Machiavellian tendencies. The research also shows that amoral values are rooted in early upbringing practices and persist into later life. This suggests that individuals with amoral values will continue to exercise their

views within the organisational setting, which might have a negative effect upon emotional labour and lead to counterproductive behaviour.

On a more practical level, this knowledge could be used within recruitment and selection processes. Consequently, the selection process could include screening of candidates for undesirable characteristics and traits which possess negative implications for intra-personal relationships and employee's states, and which ultimately result in a negative outcome of Emotional Labour. In addition, greater attention should be given to employee well-being throughout the process of emotional labour as, despite their composed and contented facade, Machiavellians experience emotional burnout and their well-being suffers.

2 CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Study one: ‘Machiavellianism as the key element of the ego-centric triad impacting employees’ states at work.’

Study two: ‘Truthfulness of Machiavellians’ responses and the validity of self-report measures.’

Study three: ‘Sources of Machiavellian values: influence of upbringing practice and institutional requirements upon the formation of personal values.’

2.1 SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW - APPROACH

The overall approach incorporated an initial scoping review of literature. Systematic approaches to literature review, such as AMSTAR and PRISMA, were examined, and their suitability for this research was assessed. However, these approaches were not suitable for this literature review as: a) their protocols (checklists) are too rigid, b) they focus on quantitative and qualitative summaries, and c) are more suited for secondary research and evidence reviews. Therefore, this Literature Review utilised a more generic approach, utilising inclusion criteria which closely matched the requirements and constraints of this research. The quality of studies taken forward for review was assessed by focusing on representativeness of the sample, research design, objectivity of data collection methods, validity of findings, and robustness of study. The systematic approach used in this review consisted of several steps, which are elaborated further in the following sub-sections.

2.1.1 Development of Research Questions

An initial set of research questions was developed based on the Literature Review, forming part of the Research Proposal. Relevant constructs and topics were identified, and their relationships were hypothesised. The Research Questions were adjusted and reformulated throughout the literature review process. Upon agreeing the final set of research questions (stated within a previous section), attention was focused on the process which would guide the Systematic Literature Review namely, search protocol, types of searches, portfolio and weight of evidence, and synthesis of findings.

2.1.2 Search protocol

A Search Protocol, outlining inclusion and exclusion criteria, was developed prior to the search for relevant peer reviewed articles. The search resulted in more than 1000 articles, which were

then screened using inclusion/exclusion criteria, outlined below. The inclusion criteria consisted of:

- *Direct or indirect relevance to the research question*, encompassing topic and scope;
- *Definition and conceptualisation* of research constructs, such as Machiavellianism, emotional labour, Surface Acting, well-being, etc.;
- *Measures of key variables*, focusing mainly on self-reports as a mainstream measure to assess individual values and psychological states at work;
- *Research design* encompassing quantitative and qualitative studies relevant to the research questions and related concepts;
- *Participants* - the main focus was on studies with an adult workforce population, criteria which were relevant to research questions one, two and three. Child participants were not excluded as they were of relevance to research question four, investigating the formation of amoral values in early childhood.
- *Time frame* - the initial assumption was that the studies should be recent (i.e. published within the past 10-15 years). However, considering the main constructs of the research - Machiavellianism and cultural differences - this timeframe proved not to be feasible as it would:
 - a) exclude key references to the core constructs and seminal work, such as Niccolo Machiavelli's work (1513); Triandis (1994, 1995) and Hofstede (1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 2001) cultural models; Christie and Geis (1970) MACH IV test;
 - b) exclude key theories, e.g. *Cognitive Dissonance Theory* (Festinger, 1957); *Face Management Theory* (Goffman, 1967); *Social Interaction Theory of Emotions* (Kemper, 1978); *Equity Theory* (Adams, 1965); *Theory of Planned Behavior* (Ajzen 1985, 1991); etc.;

- c) offer limited background to a literature review due to the limited amount of research exploring this topic (e.g. examining Machiavellian values in children, where vast amount of research was conducted in the 1970s-1990s);
 - d) exclude valuable findings deriving from empirical studies and systematic reviews;
 - e) prevent inclusion of pioneering studies, such as social desirability responses (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960, 1964).
- *Quality of sources* - only peer reviewed sources, such as journals or books, were included in the literature scoping.
 - Articles/sources not fulfilling the above criteria were excluded from the systematic review.

Following the screening criteria, 687 articles were retained to inform this research.

2.1.3 Exploratory search

A range of search terms was applied, using *Boolean connectors* where appropriate, to the following six sources:

- EBSCO (PsycINFO and PsychARTICLES);
- Science Direct;
- Wiley Online Library;
- Research Gate;
- Google;
- Google Scholar.

Returned items were screened for inclusion based on Title and Abstract, followed by detailed review in later stages.

2.1.4 Purposive searching - key authors

Specific, tailored searches were conducted based on the findings from the exploratory search. Prominent authors such as Hofstede, Triandis, Furnham, Hochschild, Christie and Geis, Grandey, Gross, Cropanzano, and Dieffendorf (amongst others) identified in the initial search stages were subjected to targeted searching for additional publications.

2.1.5 Snowball searching

Where relevant items had been identified and recorded, their reference list was reviewed to identify any additional literature which may be of use to the review but which had not been previously identified.

2.1.6 Portfolio of evidence

All returned items which appeared to be of relevance to one or more research questions were recorded in a MS-Excel workbook, termed a *Portfolio of Evidence*. Each identified item was subjected to a thorough review with information recorded against each relevant research question. Information was recorded within the Portfolio of Evidence workbook for each returned item using the following headings: Title of Publication; Full Reference; Source of the Information; Search Terms Used (if applicable); Research Question Relevance; and Additional Information.

Each item was rated with regard to its relevance to the research questions, against the following criteria:

- HIGH – Item relevant to Emotional Labour, research constructs and research questions, of good quality and from a reliable source (e.g. peer reviewed journals).

- MEDIUM – Item related to research constructs, or inferences can be drawn to one or more research questions, of good quality and from a reliable source.
- LOW – Item related to constructs but not research questions, and/or of lower quality and reliability of source.
- NONE – Item not relevant to either research constructs or research questions, or of questionable quality and reliability of source.
- N/A – Item not available for review.

2.1.7 Synthesis of findings, quality and extent of evidence

Although the systematic Literature Review yielded a vast amount of literature, there were several items which were excluded either due to the unavailability of a full-text article, because of a lack of relevance to the research questions, or where more recent literature was available which documented similar findings. The quality of research was assessed on the basis of robustness and representativeness of the sample, participant/condition selection methods, control of confounding variables, appropriate use of statistics and quality of reporting. The focus rested on selection of empirical studies and systematic reviews. Once items had been reviewed and identified as relevant to the research questions, the findings were synthesised, and a qualitative response was produced.

Qualitative research synthesis was produced because the research studies were methodologically diverse, so the use of meta-analytical aggregation would have been impractical. Furthermore, conceptual and methodological approaches to research have changed over time, and therefore there was benefit in reviewing (comparing and contrasting) researchers even though they were outside of the initially indicated cut-off date. The cited items included a range of studies from peer reviewed sources, starting with general commentaries used to

describe the research constructs, followed by empirical researches (outlining evidences of experimental and observable research) and systematic reviews (summarising all empirical evidences which fit predefined criteria).

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The previous section focused on the process applied to the search for relevant literature, i.e. the inclusion and exclusion criteria and database sources searched. The inclusion criteria focused on: a) relevance to the research construct and topics; b) relevance to the research design and participants sample (working professionals and children); c) use of theories and models; d) high quality sources; and e) time frame (the past 10-15 years). The Literature Review used sources older than the initially proposed cut-off date of 10-15 years if they referred to pioneering research, seminal work, important theories and models, or where more recent literature was not available. This section reviews the literature sources that were selected and discusses how prior research was used to formulate the research questions and hypothesis. The Literature Review section is divided into three sub-sections, which discuss research findings in relation to the three studies forming part of this research.

2.3 STUDY ONE: ‘MACHIAVELLIANISM AS THE KEY ELEMENT OF THE EGO-CENTRIC TRIAD IMPACTING EMPLOYEES’ STATES AT WORK.’

2.3.1 Emotional labour

Emotional labour is characterised as a process by which employees regulate their feelings and emotions in order to comply with organisational rules (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labour is also termed as a regulation of emotions towards desired states (Adelmann, 1995, Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000), or even as a management of emotions for wage (Hochschild, 1983). It requires all the conscious and unconscious efforts available to

increase, maintain, or decrease one or more components of emotions (Gross, 1999); in other words, it involves exaggerating, suppressing or faking emotions in order to modify emotions according to the organisational rule context (Hochschild, 1983). These rules of emotional expression may be more or less explicitly stated in welcome packages and employee handbooks, or simply be observed from co-workers' behaviour. However, many workplaces have clearly set out rules about how an employee should express their emotions in public (Best, Downey & Jones, 1997; Hochschild, 1983). Consequently, employees may express more than they feel, or suppress completely what they actually feel, in order to keep their jobs intact (Grandey, 1998; Hochschild, 1983). Employees could simply ignore the organisational rule display, yet this would lead to severe implications such as customer dissatisfaction and complaints, and managers' reprimands. Therefore, the option to deviate from the organisational rules remains mostly unexplored.

2.3.1.1 Emotional labour framework

Emotional labour has been conceptualised into two dimensions: *job focused emotional labour* and *employee focused emotional labour*.

Job focused emotional labour is concerned with the emotional demands of an occupation, suggesting that certain occupational titles such as health care and the social sector, teaching and other 'caring' professions (Cherniss, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Schaufeli, Maslach & Marek, 1993) will lead to increased stress and negative consequences. The notion that interpersonal work demands will increase the level of emotional labour has been shown by some researchers (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Wharton & Erickson, 1995) to be an ineffective predictor of stress and burnout, while others (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996) have acknowledged the impact of specific job conditions but have disputed that the nature of a job is a singular predictor of burnout. There

have also been some studies which have shown no significant correlation between interpersonal work demand and stress levels (Bulan, Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Cordes, Dougherty & Blum, 1997; Morris & Feldman, 1997). Consequently, the focus was shifted to the frequency of customer interaction (Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997) and job expectations to manage emotions (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000), which proved to be a slightly more accurate predictor of rising stress levels. However, even including additional variables did not provide the sought after answers. The emphasis therefore shifted again, this time to *employee focused emotional labour*, which analyses the way in which individuals manage their emotions, and which was termed emotional dissonance (Morris & Feldman, 1997) and the emotion regulation process (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983; Pugliesi, 1999). Ultimately, both types of labour contribute to increased stress levels in individuals, the latter to a significantly greater degree (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Emotional exhaustion was initially accredited to the frequency of interaction with clients/customers (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993); however, later research also recognises the importance of quality within social interaction as an influencing factor (Frone, 1999).

Employee focused emotional labour places emphasis on the strategies that individuals use to manage their emotions within the workplace, as documented by Hochschild's research (1983). Hochschild (1983) defined emotional labour as "*the management of feelings to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display*" (p.7), consisting of two broad emotion management strategies termed Surface and Deep Acting. Surface Acting refers to the management of emotional expressions, while Deep Acting involves the conscious modification of feelings in order to express the desired emotion. Both regulatory techniques require conscious effort (Hochschild, 1979); in addition, the regulation of emotions becomes a commodity within the organisational setting and forms a compulsory element of the labour. This conscious effort and organisational power over employee's emotions leads to burnout and

stress (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Nevertheless, Hochschild's (1983) view that organisational control over emotions is stressful has received mixed support from other researchers (Best et al., 1997; Leidner, 1999; Tolich, 1993).

2.3.1.2 Emotion management strategies: Deep and Surface Acting

'Display rules' represent collective expectations for emotional expression during the performance of one's work; therefore, emotional labour refers to the method employees utilise to comply with these rules. 'Display rules' represent demands, and emotional labour represents the behaviour necessary to fulfil these demands (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011). Gross (1998a) proposed a simple two-level strategy to categorize *Emotion Regulation Theory*, which makes the distinction between antecedent focused and response focused strategies.

Regulatory efforts aimed at influencing emotional response were termed as 'antecedent focused regulation', where the focus rests upon changing the emotions experienced. Examples of such strategies would involve exposure to a situation, selective attention to events, and cognitive reappraisal. Regulatory efforts, trying to influence one's expressed emotions, were termed 'response focused regulation', which is concerned with responses as opposed to inner feelings. Examples would include the suppression of emotions. Of the range of strategies identified, Gross (1998a) focused primarily on reappraisal and suppression. Numerous research studies (Gross, 1998a, 1998b; Gross & John, 2003; Gross & Levenson, 1997; Richards & Gross, 2000) concluded that reappraisal is more effective than suppression. Consequently, they also found that individuals who habitually use reappraisal will experience more positive emotions than those who use suppression (Gross & John, 2003).

Due to the ongoing debate structured around positive and negative effects of emotional labour, research has conceptualised emotional labour into two subcategories as the 'Bright' and the

‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour. The ‘Bright Side’ of emotional labour champions reappraisal/Deep Acting, while the ‘Dark Side’ focuses on the use of suppression/Surface Acting.

2.3.2 The ‘Bright Side’ of emotional labour

Hochschild’s (1983) view of emotional labour as the management of feelings, which is psychologically taxing and possesses numerous negative side effects, was not supported by everyone. Among the main opponents were Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) who were more concerned with emotional labour as observable behaviour rather than the management of feelings. They dismissed the notion of emotional labour requiring conscious effort and claimed that Deep and Surface Acting might become a routine and therefore an effortless activity for employees, as opposed to being a source of stress.

Further research suggested that emotional labour can even be enjoyable if there is a match between workers’ interests and the actual job (Holland, 1985), resulting in greater job satisfaction (Adelmann, 1995; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Wharton, 1993; Wong et al., 2005), stability, and achievement (Lubinski, 2000; Spokane et al., 2000). As such, Adelmann (1995, p. 378–79) observed that: “... *workers see a number of good reasons for performing emotional labour.*”. Whatever the reasons may be - salary, career or social interaction - they are important enough to offer a rational explanation for emotional labour and therefore shift the focus towards these rewards, as opposed to an internal dispute of emotions.

Further research (Guthrie et al., 1998; Zellars, Hochwarter, Perrewe, Hoffman & Ford, 2004) supports this positive view by adding that, even if there are some negative emotions experienced during emotional labour, they may still have a positive effect by enabling individuals to build up resources and strategies to cope with them, or to develop habituation (Beehr & McGrath, 1996; Semmer, McGrath & Beehr, 2005).

As evidenced by the earlier studies, there was some disagreement with regard to the positive versus negative effects of emotional labour. Consequently, these discrepancies were accredited to a specific emotion management strategy.

2.3.2.1 Implications of Deep Acting

Hochschild's (1983) definition of Deep Acting involves an individual's efforts to align their inner feelings with desired emotional expressions. Deep Acting refers to the process of controlling our internal feelings to match them to the external display of emotions; therefore, it is concerned with the expression of truly felt emotions, which minimises the possibility of dissonance (Hochschild, 1979, 1983) and leads to feelings of accomplishment, if the performance is effective. Deep Acting is perceived to enhance organisational and individual outcomes (Grandey, 2003; Cropanzano et al., 2004). The positive effects of Deep Acting are also evident at group level, where Deep Acting relates to lower emotional exhaustion (Becker & Cropanzano, 2015), which is consistent with Grandey's (2000) earlier findings.

Even the opponents of emotional labour (e.g. Muraven & Baumeister, 2000), who see emotion regulation as an effortful process competing for cognitive resources, agree with the notion that Deep Acting requires fewer cognitive resources and therefore is a more beneficial strategy (Gross, 1998b; Gross & Levenson, 1997; Richards & Gross, 2000). Rather than wasting cognitive resources on the monitoring of expressions, Deep Acting changes the outset of emotions (Gross, 1998b; Gross & John, 2003), bringing positive emotional experience and ultimately enabling the employee to focus upon the task in hand. The most common goal of emotion management is to experience more positive emotions and fewer - or as little as possible - negative emotions (Larsen, 2000; Tice & Bratslavsky, 2000). Consequently, strategies aimed at hiding negative emotions are associated positively with burnout (Best et al., 1997). Similarly, adding the expression of positive emotions to the hiding of negative ones also demonstrates a

positive correlation with burnout (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Therefore, it could be inferred that any effort involving negative emotions will have negative implications for an individual's well-being, even if combined with the expression of positive emotions. On the other hand, positive display rules and the expression of positive emotions lead to positive outcomes, such as a lower level of cynicism (Kim, 2008) and greater job satisfaction (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013).

Nevertheless, not everyone agrees with this one-sided view of positive emotions; some researchers have linked positive display rules to emotional exhaustion (Montgomery et al., 2006) and emotional dissonance (Zapf & Holz, 2006), which suggests that the 'Bright Side' of emotional labour has its flaws. Furthermore, Bulan et al. (1997) argue that the requirements for positive/friendly emotions are unrelated to feelings about work. Despite the opposition from a few studies, it could be generally agreed that it is more effective to focus on the management/expression of positive emotions, as opposed to the management/suppression of negative ones (Larsen, 2000). Negative display rules which focus on the suppression of negative emotions were accredited with lower job satisfaction (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013) and emotional exhaustion (Montgomery et al., 2006). The emphasis upon manipulation and the hiding of a negative display of emotions, evident within the Surface Acting strategy, is perceived as more controlling and encourages suppression which ultimately leads to cognitive (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven & Tice, 1998; Richards & Cross, 1999, 2000), physiological (Gross, 1998b) and social impairment (Butler et al., 2003). Taking into account the robust negative implications of Surface Acting, it is fully comprehensible why researchers are advocating the use of Deep Acting.

The Emotional Labour literature has documented that Deep Acting leads to positive customer outcomes, such as effective service delivery (Grandey, 2003) and employee-customer rapport (Hennig-Thurau et al., 2006), which is due to the expression of authentic emotions. Authentic

emotions are perceived more positively by the followers of Deep Acting than fake ones (Gardner, Fischer & Hunt, 2009), and therefore they create a more favourable perception of the users and evoke trust in their followers. Deep Acting is a complex strategy; when used correctly, the emotional display is perceived as authentic and creates a higher probability of positive feedback. On the other hand, it requires a great deal of cognitive effort in the initial stages of the process. Additionally, if Deep Acting fails to evoke the desired emotion, this will lead to emotional exhaustion (Greco & Stenner, 2013). It is therefore important to note that the use of Deep Acting alone is not sufficient to guarantee a positive experience and a positive outcome of emotional labour. Ultimately, the success depends upon the 'appropriate use' of Deep Acting, expressing authentic - as opposed to forced - emotions. Additionally, these efforts to change the onset of emotions will cause extra demands upon cognition, which should be minimised with use, as a result of automatization of emotional expressions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

More recent studies (e.g. Barsade, 2002; Barsade & O'Neil, 2014; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Hatfield, Cacioppo & Rapson, 1994) present novel findings by linking Deep Acting to emotional contagion. Emotional contagion is more likely to originate from the emotions of influential and charismatic individuals, from formal or informal leaders (Bono & Ilies, 2006; Collins, Lawrence, Troth & Jordan, 2013.). In general, Deep Acting is associated with more favourable affective, social, and professional outcomes than is Surface Acting (Scott & Barnes, 2011). Hülshager and Schewe's (2011) research demonstrated that Deep Acting improves employees' performance and positively correlates with a sense of personal accomplishment, which was further supported by Wang et al.'s (2011) meta-analyses. A similar effect was demonstrated by Kammeyer-Mueller's et al.'s (2013) study, which further states that Deep Acting is unrelated to stress and emotional exhaustion, yet it is positively related to job satisfaction and performance. Deep Acting is not associated with emotional dissonance because

the individual has re-worked the actual emotion to express the expected emotion, while the opposite effect is evident within Surface Acting, which ultimately reduces personal accomplishment (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). On the other hand, due to the extensive re-work of emotions, it could be argued that Deep Acting is associated with fatigue, at least in the short run, and perhaps even burnout in the long run (Ashforth, Kulik & Tomiuk, 2008).

In summary, Deep Acting is deemed the more viable emotion management strategy within the emotional labour concept, as individuals who regularly use Deep Acting experience more positive and fewer negative emotions (Gross & John, 2003; Gross & Levenson, 1997; John & Gross, 2007; Larsen, 2000; Richards & Gross, 2000). Deep Acting is accredited with positive outcomes such as personal accomplishment, enhancement of job satisfaction and performance (Becker & Cropanzano, 2015; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2000; Grandey, 2003; Grandey et al., 2005; Totterdell & Holman, 2003); and positive customer perceptions deriving from the genuine expression of emotions (Grandey, 2003; Hennig-Thurau et al., 2006).

Emotional labour can be positive and, in fact, beneficial to employees, organisations and customers. Meta-analytical studies (e.g. Wang et al., 2011) have shown that Deep Acting has generally positive outcomes upon employees' well-being, job satisfaction, organisational commitment, job performance and customer satisfaction. Additionally, Deep Acting leads to 'better' felt emotions, less physiological reactivity, improved social functioning and memory (Gross, 1998a, 1998b). Emotional labour may have more positive outcomes when organisations grant more autonomy and adopt positive display rules that call for the expression of positive emotions (Humphrey, Ashforth & Diefendorff, 2015), which suggests that under certain organisational conditions and with the use of specific emotion management strategies, such as Deep Acting, emotional labour does bring the desired benefits. However, not everyone shares this highly positive view. In fact, a significantly larger proportion of researchers argue

against the use of emotional labour, regardless of the emotion management strategy used, because the negative outcomes significantly outweigh the benefits (Grandey, Rupp & Brice, 2015).

2.3.3 The 'Dark Side' of emotional labour

There was an initial assumption amongst researchers that all this modification of emotions would come at a cost to an individual's psychological well-being. Emotional labour removes an individual's autonomy over their emotions, leads to a lack of authenticity and a feeling of dissonance (Wharton, 1993). Additionally, well-being is impaired due to increased stress levels, which rise proportionately with increased emotion management demands (Grandey, 2000).

Grandey et al. (2015) pinpoint the negative effect of emotional labour by calling to review the few benefits associated with its execution, and by recognising the vast cost. They argue that display rules/regulations/requirements limit self-determination by threatening the autonomy, competence and belonging needs of employees.

Additionally, they are strongly convinced that emotional labour is an unfair labour practice which causes employees to be under-valued by the organisation, disrespected by customers and undermined by organisational policies. Within emotional labour-laden jobs, emotional display is a matter of survival, not a personal choice (Hochschild, 1983), because job security and pay are dependent upon them; this further supports the lack of fairness and/or choice in the given conditions. Hochschild (1983) used the term '*feeling rules*' to describe organisational norms and stresses that are put in place to control employees.

Emotional labour is not simply about being polite and respectful; it is about suppressing an individual's true feelings and generating unfeelt ones. On the one side we have claims that emotional labour, such as the expression of positive emotions (e.g. smiling), makes us more

attractive and healthier (Gutman, 2011). On the other hand, there are shortcomings in the form of job dissatisfaction, health costs and emotional burnout (Grandey, Diefendorf & Rupp, 2013; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Mallory & Rupp, 2015), deriving from the discrepancies between felt and expressed emotions.

The authentic expression of emotions in the form of Deep Acting can bring a number of benefits for an individual (Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Mesmer-Magnum, DeChurch & Wax, 2012), but it is not easy to maintain in interaction with all people at all times. In addition, environmental conditions such as monotonous jobs, low pay and long working hours, can contribute to employee distress (Dorman & Zapf, 2004; Goolsby, 1992), and lead to the decline and disappearance of positive emotions (Larsen, 2000; John & Gross, 2007) which are needed in order to sustain the positive experience of emotional labour.

Consequently, this contradicting factor/requirement for positive emotions and negative working conditions will have a negative effect upon an employee's well-being, from the perspective of *emotional dissonance* (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002) and *depletion* of emotional resources (Beal, Weiss, Barros & MacDermid, 2005; Zyphur, Warren, Landis & Thoresen, 2007). Emotional dissonance occurs when there is a mismatch between actually felt and expressed emotions, which creates a state of tension (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). There are two types of emotional dissonance. The first refers to *emotion display dissonance* evident within Surface Acting, when feelings do not match the display. The second refers to *emotion rule dissonance*, occurring when feelings do not match display requirements, as evident within the expression of inauthentic emotions (Grandey et al., 2013; Holman, Martinex-Inigo & Totterdell, 2008; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Rubin, Tardino, Daus & Munz, 2005; Rubin, Munz & Bommer, 2015).

Hülshager & Schewe's (2011) meta-analyses confirmed the effect of emotional dissonance. Their research revealed relationships between emotional rule dissonance and Surface Acting,

with indicators of impaired well-being (correlations between .39 and .48), job attitudes (correlations between -.24 and -.40) and small regulative relationships with performance outcomes (correlations between -.20 and -.05).

Emotional dissonance reduces well-being due to two different factors: firstly, it creates a perception of inauthenticity; and secondly, faking is cognitively taxing as it requires additional resources and the monitoring of display rules. Actors need to check if their words, facial expressions and vocal tones match the expression they are trying to portray. Surface Acting requires more monitoring than Deep Acting, as employees have constantly to monitor their behaviour through interaction with others. Dissonance consequently leads to somatic symptoms (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000), decreased job satisfaction, and burnout (Abraham, 1999; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Diefendorf et al., 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013; Morris & Feldman, 1997) and ultimately transfers into employees' personal lives at home (Judge, Woolf & Hurst, 2009; Krannitz, Grandey, Liu & Almeida, 2015; Wagner, Barmnes & Scott, 2014).

In addition, emotional labour-induced burnout is associated with decreased performance and increased turnover (Wright & Cropanzano, 1998), emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment (Cordes & Dogherty, 1993). Emotion dissonance is psychologically taxing (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996), and many researchers (Fisk & Steiner, 2005; Zapf, Vogth, Seifer, Mertiny & Isic, 1999) have concluded that emotional labour produces dissatisfied employees.

The state of depletion occurs when emotional labour rules require more self-control than an individual has accumulated, which ultimately leads to a cost to the self and the performance. In other words, energy depletion is comparable to muscle mass activity, where overused energy is decreased, and the individual is working on low reserves (Muraven & Baumeister, 2000; Vohs, Baumeister & Ciarocco, 2005). Consequently, the lack of energy will have a negative

effect upon additional tasks and decision-making, and will cause physical exertion (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Zyphur et al., 2007). A depleted self-regulatory state consequently leads to anti-social behaviour and deviance (Vohs et al., 2005). Grandey et al. (2015) question the ethical aspect of putting a burden such as emotional labour upon employees. They label it as an ‘*unethical and unfair violation for universal standards for decent work*’, as indicated by the International Labour Organisation, 2015. Researchers argue that emotional labour threatens basic human needs, namely competence, autonomy and relationships (Gagné & Decy, 2005), and violates the justice principle (distributive, procedural and interpersonal aspects). Perhaps emotional labour benefits do not outweigh the cost after all, as documented by research suggesting that maintaining positive emotions with customers is unrelated to purchase (Tsai, 2001).

The greater the extent to which an employee engages in faking emotions, the greater the depletion of their resources; therefore, there is very little left to focus on their job and performance (Troughakos, Beal, Cheng, Hideg & Zweig, 2015). If this situation continues, the individual will experience chronic depletion, which ultimately increases turnover intentions and actual quit rates (Chau, Dahling, Levy & Diefendorff, 2009; Goodwin, Groth & Frenkel, 2011). Consequently, the job performance of an employee suffers, which translates into organisational losses in profitability. Continuous regulation is distressing (Diefendorff, Richard & Croyle, 2006; Troughakos, Jackson & Beal, 2011) and certainly reduces employees’ well-being (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013; Wagner et al., 2014).

In order to maintain the acting/performance within emotional labour, two conditions have to be fulfilled. Firstly, an individual should possess the ability to engage in effective emotion management; and secondly, the individual needs to have sufficient motivational/regulatory resources to meet those emotional demands (Dahling & Johnson, 2013). However, the market does not value such regulation as there is no correlation between emotional regulation and

salary unless they co-occur with cognitive demands linked to legal and management positions (Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller & Rotundo, 2004). This is an unfair practice, considering that wage correlates with physical and cognitive demands and yet excludes the most taxing aspect - the emotional demands.

Additional unfairness of emotional labour arises from the fact that it denies employees the right to express their true feelings, and yet it permits the consumer to express theirs (Grandey et al., 2015). This obviously raises further questions with regard to the usefulness of emotional labour. The lack of benefits associated with emotional labour compared to human cost and the violation of fair compensation and dignified treatment, calls for a review of organisational demands that are linked to employees' management of emotion. Perhaps the time is right to eradicate emotional labour requirements and instead focus on creating a climate that authentically generates employees' health and happiness via the expression of truly felt emotions.

As can be observed, the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour is mostly attributed to a specific emotion management strategy - Surface Acting - which refers to an individual's efforts to exercise control over his/her emotional display.

2.3.3.1 Implications of Surface Acting

Surface Acting consists of two components: faking positive emotions and suppressing negative ones (Glomb & Tews, 2004). Despite the fact that the faking of positive emotions constitutes emotional dissonance (Hochschild, 1983), it was demonstrated that the display of positive emotions (Deep or Surface Acting) enhances the experience of positivity (Fredrickson, 2009; Larsen, Kasimatis & Frey, 1992) and promotes upward spirals within an organisation (Heskett, Sasser & Schlesinger, 1997). On the other hand, the second facet of Surface Acting - where the individual is suppressing negative emotions - was found to be associated with physiological

effort and psychological strain (Gross, 1998b) and the subsequent experience of negative affect (Wegner, 1994).

Surface Acting relates to an employee's modification of their emotional expressions without changing the felt emotions (Hochschild, 1983). An example of this would include expression of friendly emotions, such as a smile, while inside experiencing a great deal of anger. Surface Acting implies a low level of psychological effort; nevertheless, prolonged use of this emotion management strategy is psychologically taxing, and causes emotional exhaustion (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Surface Acting is also perceived as highly inauthentic, which can lead to work strain (Coté, 2005) and a decreased quality of service (Grandey, 2003; Grandey et al., 2005). The suppression of truly felt emotions creates a state of the inauthentic-self (Hochschild, 1983). In fact, individuals using suppression are aware of their inauthentic states (Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne & Ilaardi, 1997) which results in negative emotional experiences (Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Heuven, Bakker, Shaufeli & Huisman, 2006). Ultimately, the negative experiences will spill into the suppressor's daily life (Gross & John, 2003) and cause negative moods (Judge et al., 2009). Therefore, negative emotions and moods would be on the rise, while positive emotions would be diminishing (Gross & Levenson, 1997; Stepper & Strack, 1993).

Furthermore, inauthentic displays of emotions (phony emotions) are associated with less favourable outcomes regarding the person's honesty, pleasantness and likability (Frank, Ekman & Friesen, 1993; Surakka & Hietanen, 1998), as well as trust and cooperation (Krumhuber et al., 2007) and increased stress levels (Abraham, 1998; Brotheridge, 1999; Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Gross & Levenson, 1997; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Pugliesi, 1999). Further research suggests that distancing oneself from true feelings might lead to detachment from other people's feelings, which in return creates depersonalisation (Hochschild, 1983) and diminished

personal accomplishment (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge, 1999), not to mention that the suppression of negative emotions - anger, specifically - is costly as it negatively impacts physiological and immune system functioning (Gross & Levenson, 1997). Nevertheless, the accumulation of negative emotions and the constant monitoring between felt and expressed emotions will be manifested via emotional burnout (Diestel & Schmidt, 2012; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Zapf & Holz, 2006; Zapf et al., 1999, 2001), which refers to the feeling of being over-extended and depleted of one's emotional and physical resources (Maslach & Leiter, 2008). Burnout is linked to a negative impact upon employees' physical and psychological states (Burke & Greenglass, 1995; Cherniss, 1992; Lee & Ashforth, 1993; Maslach & Leiter, 1998), and is also accredited with negative organisational consequences, such as increased intentions to leave, negative attitudes, reduced performance and, ultimately, high staff turnover (Cameron, Horsburgh & Armstrong-Stassen, 1994; Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Wright & Bonett, 1997; Wright & Cropanzano, 1998).

In summary, the negative effect of emotional labour is clearly evident in the use of Surface Acting, which creates an aversive psychological state (Hochschild, 1983; Sheldon et al., 1997). Surface Acting leads to the experience of negative emotions and negative moods (Gross & John, 2003; Judge et al., 2009), depersonalization, burnout and dissatisfaction (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Gosserand, 2003; Grandey, 2003; Grandey et al., 2005; Grandey, Fisk & Steiner, 2005; Totterdell & Holman, 2003), and even intentions to quit (Chau et al., 2009; Grandey, 2000). Furthermore, Surface Acting also causes a negative impact upon interpersonal outcomes such as lower rapport (Butler et al., 2003), and poorer quality of relationships (Srivastava, Tamir, McGonigal, John & Gros, 2009).

2.3.3.2 Negative emotions

Such adverse outcomes of Surface Acting, as discussed in the previous section, are linked to the intense presence of negative emotions (Lazarus, 1991; Smith, Haynes, Lazarus & Pope, 1993; Parkinson, 1995). Research (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000) has demonstrated that experiencing negative emotions at work can have adverse consequences for the individual and the organisation alike. They negatively affect an individual's psychological health, attitudes and even behaviour. The high voltage of negativity can consume physical and mental resources as individuals attempt to inhibit and/or regulate these emotions (Gross & Levenson, 1997); this activity can place stress on individuals and detract from their psychological health (Guthrie et al., 1998; Zellars, Hochwarter, Perrewe, Hoffman & Ford, 2004). Keifer & Barclay (2012) support this notion, by stating that negative emotions can have adverse consequences because they become toxic, in the sense that they consume psychological resources, reduce an individual's capacity to respond to job demands and ultimately diminish their ability to conduct their job to required standards. The core difference is that negative emotions are short lived, focus attention and prepare the individual for action, whereas toxic emotional experiences represent more sustained affective states. Furthermore, Kiefer and Barclay (2012) propose three dimensions in which individuals experience negative emotions (i.e. anger), and which can have disparate implications for individual and organisational outcomes. The first, *psychologically recurring* dimension refers to an experience that weighs upon the individual, feels psychologically unresolved and causes them to expect reoccurrence. This state occurs for various reasons: firstly, because the negative emotions have failed to dissipate due to the individual's failure to habituate or develop strategies to cope with the situation; secondly, it could be due to the fact that the individual had failed repeatedly to make sense of the experience. Consequently, the individual will increase/engage extra cognitive resources in order to resolve the ambiguities and ultimately to make sense of the situation (Pennebaker,

1997; Roberson & Stevens, 2006). The second, *disconnection* dimension refers to the individual's disengagement from their social network/from their colleagues, which ultimately diminishes the individual's sense of belonging and increases a sense of isolation. Furthermore, if the individual feels that their negative emotions have not been acknowledged or addressed, they will withdraw from the group and others might not know how to approach them (Forgas, 1998; Parkinson, 1995; Schwarz & Bless, 1991). The final *draining dimension* refers to the diminished physical and psychological energy associated with these experiences (Frost, 2003, 2004), which results in an unpleasant experience where individual wishes to suppress their emotions completely (Pennebaker, 1997). Ultimately, these three dimensions are considered as toxic because they place a psychological and emotional burden upon the individual, diminish the individual's sense of belonging and require additional resources in order to resolve the situation (Kiefer & Barclay, 2012). Many researchers (Beehr & McGrath, 1996; Guthrie et al., 1998; Semmer et al., 2005; Zellars et al., 2004, amongst them) have opposed the view that negative emotions lead to negative outcomes: they put forward the argument of individuals building resistance, and developing coping strategies and habituation, which serves as a protecting buffer against the negative side effect of emotional labour.

Despite the negativity attributed to Surface Acting, it is still a popular strategy. Employees could use an alternative emotional management strategy in the form of Deep Acting; however, that requires greater cognitive effort and might be more difficult to implement at short notice, within an instant interaction (Grego et al., 2013).

As per Lazarus's (1993) *Stress Model and Attribution Theory*, individuals who identify/attribute their stressors to external sources are more likely to engage in Surface Acting. These findings are supported by others (Grandey, Martinez-Inigo & Tschan, 2004; Totterdell & Holman, 2003; Tschan et al., 2009), who state that Surface Acting is an expected response for coping with an emotionally dissonant situation that involves another's accountability.

Therefore, it is used when an individual perceives that the events are outside of his/her control and attributes the sources of stress to others (Grego et al., 2013). Similar findings derive from other research, which recognizes the impact of external attribution and personality traits upon the use of Surface Acting. Consequently, studies have shown that external attribution possesses a positive correlation with neuroticism, negative affectivity and self-monitoring; and a negative correlation with extraversion, consciousness, agreeableness and positive affectivity (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002, 2003; Gosserand & Diefendorf, 2005).

Further suggestions to why individuals choose Surface Acting as an emotion management strategy are linked to low identification with the job role (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003), a low level of commitment (Gosserand & Diefendorf, 2005), and high pressure at work (Larson & Yao, 2005; Tschan et al., 2009). In addition, Surface Acting is only used when employees' affective traits and personal goals are less congruent with the work environment.

2.3.4 Surface Acting within the intra-organisational setting

Although most of the research has focused on the use of Surface Acting within an inter-organisational setting and customer interaction, newer evidence is emerging to support the notion that Surface Acting exists within intra-organisational relationships, across a range of occupations (Kramer & Hess, 2002; Mann, 1999; Waldron, 1994) as opposed to just customer interaction professions, as stated by Hochschild (1983). In intra-organisational relationships, Surface Acting is used to influence co-worker relationships (Ozcelik, 2013), which tend to be inherently political (Pratt & Dutton, 2000). Employees will engage in Surface Acting in intra-organisational relationships due to their motive to maintain interpersonal acceptance and belonging in work relationships and to obtain and secure valued resources and outcomes (Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Leary, Tambor, Terdal & Downs, 1995). Therefore, employees are

motivated to control their impressions, especially if they believe that the influence they have upon members of staff will lead towards social approval, promotion and material reward (Schlenker & Pontari, 2000), which will result in strategic interactions.

When interactions with customers take place, the employees try to align their emotions to the emotional rule display dictated by the organisation (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), while the emotion management within co-worker's interaction is aimed at the management of co-worker's relationships: the desired expressions will therefore be more subtle and the strategies will be inherently political (Pratt & Dutton, 2000). Intra-organisational relationships will result in two motives of emotion management: the first is to maintain interpersonal acceptance and belonging, while the second is about securing valuable resources and outcomes (Ozcelik, 2013). These motives derive from a *Self-Presentation Theory* where individuals modify their behaviour by hiding or disclosing certain information consistent with the expectations of another team member. In other words, they are trying to adjust their behaviour to the audience's expectations. Some research has proposed that this engagement in self-presentation will decrease an employee's capacity to engage in other activities requiring cognitive effort, attention and self-regulation (Baumeister et al., 1998; Muraven, Tice & Baumeister, 1998). The employee will be distracted by masking his/her true emotions and consequently will lose control of other activities, ultimately affecting their performance (Barger & Grandey, 2006; Grandey, 2003; Tsai, 2001). Similar findings were obtained from research investigating performance during business meetings. The use of Surface Acting resulted in ineffective performance (Shanock et al., 2013) and poor perception of a meeting's effectiveness. Surface Acting impairs performance because individuals are not able to focus fully on the task in hand, as they need to direct their cognitive resources on emotion management (Beal et al., 2005). Moreover, the effort used in faking emotions will pull resources away from the task and lead to a decrease in performance. Based on the discussion above, it becomes evident that emotional

labour requires the use of cognitive and emotional resources (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), and an increased demand upon one resource will negatively affect the other one.

Environmental factors, such as the level of organisational politics, will also influence an employee's behaviour and level of emotion management. This is especially true when an employee believes that such behaviour will lead to social approval, promotion and material rewards (Schlenker & Pontari, 2000). As a result, the employee will express an increased use of self-presentation behaviour, such as smiles, when seeking approval or requiring help from others (DePaulo, 1992), despite not meaning it. Perceived organisational politics and Surface Acting are therefore positively related (Ozcelik, 2013). Perceived self-value within an organisational setting will also determine an employee's engagement in Surface Acting. Employees will activate self-presentation tactics if they feel that they are not being perceived the way they had hoped, believing their value within the organisational setting is not being recognised (Leary & Kowalsky, 1990; Rosenfeld, Giacalone & Riordan, 1995; Ozcelik, 2013). Empirical research (Bono & Vey, 2005; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) has supported the notion that Surface Acting is particularly stressful as it is comprised of the greatest amount of emotional dissonance. However, Deep Acting is not without its flaws. It might be less stressful as it results in low dissonance; however, it might lead to stress due to over-commitment (Humphrey, 2012) and due to the depletion of physical and emotional resources, which, if not supported by team members, are being taxed during Deep and Surface Acting (Burke & Greenglass, 1995).

The incorrect choice of emotion management strategy, in the form of Surface Acting, often has negative consequences for employees' stress levels and well-being (Bono & Vey, 2005; Grandey et al., 2015; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2011).

Research has shown empirically that the distinction between Surface (response modulation) and Deep Acting (cognitive change) may help to explain how emotional labour can result in both positive and negative outcomes (Chau et al., 2009). Furthermore, research also provides an explanation with regard to why Deep Acting is more effective than Surface Acting (Butler et al., 2003; Gross, 1998a, 1998b).

2.3.4.1 Deep Acting versus Surface Acting

The one-sided categorization that labels Surface Acting as a ‘bad’ strategy and Deep Acting as a ‘good’ strategy has been questioned by some researchers.

Firstly, within the workplace Surface Acting is easily managed and even rewarded, as proposed by Hochschild’s (1983) emotional labour literature; as a result, the negative consequences are easily overshadowed and rationalized, which is consistent with the cognitive dissonance literature (Festinger, 1957). *Cognitive Dissonance Theory* states that people tend to rationalize their behaviour in order to minimize their internal conflict of emotions. Therefore, employees might not perceive their emotional labour as a source of stress and loss of authenticity but as a means to obtain valuable resources. This strategy is similar to job crafting techniques within which individuals make physical and cognitive changes to their work to make it more enjoyable. Secondly, there is also the possibility that habitual expression (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) will reduce the degree to which emotions are being experienced (Liu, Prati, Perrewe & Brymer, 2010). In other words, employees will become accustomed to the process of emotional labour and start perceiving it as a part of their job role rather than as a controlling element. The habitual expression is closely linked to the cultural context (Mesquita & Albert, 2007; Grandey et al., 2005). Certain cultures encourage the management of emotions, and even enforce particular emotion management strategies from early childhood, which ultimately increases the automatization of emotion management and makes the whole process of

emotional labour less traumatic.

2.3.5 Cultural differences

Brian Parkinson (1996) expanded the research of emotions by arguing that emotions are not individual reactions but social phenomena. His study demonstrated that the causes of emotions are interpersonally, institutionally and culturally defined, and usually have consequences for other people. The *Social Interaction Theory* of emotions states that vast amounts of emotions derive from social interaction and relationships (Kemper, 1978) which reflect the cultural value system. Consequently, emotions also depend on culturally supplied aims, such as wealth, freedom and self-esteem. Individuals from different cultures are socialised into accrediting these concepts with different relative values, as evidenced by Individualistic Cultures within Western societies that place greater emphasis on self-assertive emotions than in collectivist-based Eastern societies (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In Collectivism, an individual makes decisions which are in the best interest of the group, with the groups' goal prevailing over individual needs and desires. Therefore, while Individualism fosters ego-centric behaviour such as competition and self-promotion, Collectivism fosters cooperation and loyalty aimed at benefiting the social entity (Triandis, 1994). Collectivism forces employees to be integrated into a tight social system where participation and collaboration are expected (Hofstede, 2001). Emotions are not just private meanings that indirectly surface in the social world but are something that emerge directly via the medium of interaction; they are social through and through (Parkinson, 1996).

Parkinson (1996) further states that there are at least three ways in which society and institutions interfere with emotions. Firstly, people are explicitly trained in how to appraise emotional experiences in institutionally appropriate ways; for example, flight attendants who are trained to regard difficult passengers as 'naughty children' (Hochschild, 1983). The cabin

crew is trained to treat such passengers in the way one would a child, and not to get angry if the 'child'/passenger misbehaves but to ask them in a playful manner to correct their behaviour without resorting to reprimands. Secondly, institutions and cultures devise rules with regard to appropriate forms and expression of emotions. Finally, our institutional and cultural worlds actually place boundaries on what we can and cannot do emotionally, an example of which would be the rule of Collectivistic Culture where self-promoting behaviour is frowned upon and deemed unacceptable (Eid & Diener, 2001).

Since Hofstede's work (1980, 2001), the dimensions of Collectivism and Individualism have become the most researched constructs to explain cultural differences in values, attitudes, perception and behaviour. The cultural dimensions of Collectivism and Individualism are explained as the extent to which a culture focuses on the needs, desires and preferences unique to the individual or acceptable by the group (Matsumoto & Juang, 2004). Members of Collectivistic Cultures feel strongly connected to their inner group, while individualistic members prefer their independence amongst people (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Collectivistic behaviour is guided by norms, rules and values, whereas individualists emphasise personal needs, rights and liberties (Triandis, 1995). The Individualism versus Collectivism construct represents the distinction between Western and Eastern societies and explains the differences in social behaviour (Dien, 1999; Green, Deschamps & Paez, 2005). In a nutshell, Western societies (North America and Europe) are classified as individualistic, while Eastern/Asian cultures are viewed as collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980; Keller et al., 2004). However, other researchers (Oyserman et al., 2002) have criticised this simple distinction. Firstly, cultures have evolved and changed - westernised, in a sense. Secondly, the Individualism versus Collectivism concept is not as clearly cut as initially thought - they are interconnected entities and societies might exhibit traits of both of them. Oyserman et al.'s (2002) meta-analyses demonstrated a degree of heterogeneity in Asian regions, where the results were similar to those of North

America in regard to Collectivism. Further support can be found in Heinke & Louis' (2009) research, which showed that Asian, European and Australian participants were equally individualistic, in addition to which Individualism and Collectivism were positively correlated. Ultimately, these findings support the notion that Individualism and Collectivism can no longer be conceptualised within geographic locations under the premise of Western versus Eastern cultures (Oyserman et al., 2002; Sawang, Oei & Goh, 2006).

2.3.5.1 Cultural function of emotions

Emotions are essentially a reflection of social norms dictated by cultures, and individuals tend to adopt the particular roles prescribed by their societies. In Western cultures, assertiveness is associated with strength and the ability to defend one's views, which contradicts the principles of non-aggression practices in Eastern cultures; in other words, people are conforming to cultural scripts when making claims about their identity. To summarise, there are instances where the emotional roles supplied by a culture are acted out deliberately, but this is not an all or nothing scenario because emotions evolve from interaction with others and from an individual's intentions (Parkinson, 1996).

Cultural management of emotion varies to the degree to which a given culture is collectivistic versus individualistic (Hofstede, 1980; Uchida, Kitayama, Mesquita, Reyes & Morling, 2008) and the extent to which culture promotes emotion moderation or expression (Eid & Diener, 2001). Individualistic Cultures value individuals over groups and promote autonomy and uniqueness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991); they perceive emotions as an individual's rights and therefore their expression is highly encouraged (Safdar et al., 2009). In contrast, Collectivistic Cultures value groups over individuals (Hofstede, 1980); these cultures tend to focus upon the cooperation and harmony of the whole group, and individualistic behaviour is therefore discouraged (Eid & Diener 2001; Mesquita & Frijda 1992; Mesquita & Walker, 2003). Their

emphasis is on control of emotions (Mesquita, 2000; Safdar et al., 2009), suggesting that employees in Collectivistic Cultures engage in greater emotion management than employees in Individualistic Cultures (Matsumoto, Yoo & Nakagawa, 2008).

As is observable, Individualistic Cultures value an individual's emotions and their expression; individuals within these cultures will therefore be more comfortable in expressing their natural/true emotions, and consequently find control or restriction of emotions within the workplace as intrusive and psychologically taxing (Eid & Diener, 2001). In contrast, within a Collectivistic Culture where emotion control is part of the social norm and is therefore carried out without conscious thought, the suppression of felt emotions may be experienced as less effortful and may result in a significantly lower degree of dissonance (Allen, Diefendorff & Ma, 2013).

2.3.5.2 Cultures and emotion management strategies

Differences are also evident within Surface Acting, which tends to be included in display rules within Individualistic rather than Collectivistic Cultures (Allen et al., 2013). Employees from Individualistic Cultures will lack the habitual expression related to emotion management; they will be more likely to engage in Surface Acting, as it requires less effort. Faking of emotions is perceived as more disingenuous in a Collectivistic Culture than strategies such as suppressing or hiding feelings (Eid & Diener, 2001). At the same time, Surface Acting in the US was found to be more strongly related to burnout dimensions than in China (Allen et al., 2013). Therefore, the damaging effects of Surface Acting on well-being outcomes may be more significant in individualistic rather than in collectivistic cultural contexts (Mesquita & Delvaux, 2013). Consequently, the intensive use of negative emotions within Surface Acting tends to deviate from positive emotions (Tschann, Rochat & Zapf, 2005), and is linked to lower levels of well-being. In addition, this toxic emotional experience consumes a significant amount of

energy and burdens one's psychological resources (Kiefer & Barclay, 2012), negatively impacting upon physical and psychological health (Pennebaker, 1997).

This pattern of results is consistent with the notion that individuals in a Collectivistic Culture find Surface Acting to be less strenuous than do individuals in an Individualistic Culture, perhaps due to prevailing cultural norms that place high value on emotional control (Leu et al., 2010).

Sometimes emotions just seem to appear out of nowhere, unexpectedly, yet as individuals we always exercise a great deal of control in coping with them by using conscious or unconscious monitoring. Emotion regulation is a pervasive phenomenon within which individuals make choices with regard to the experience and expression of felt emotions (Gross, 1999). The manipulation of emotions is linked to situational factors such as demands placed by the workplace (Erber, Wegner & Therriault, 1996) and also by individual differences (Gross & John, 2003; John & Gross, 2004, 2007).

Nevertheless, individual differences have been largely ignored within research. Only a few studies investigated individual differences in emotion regulation, and their focus is upon short-term consequences (Gross, 1998a; Gross & Levenson, 1997).

John and Gross (2004, 2007) were pioneers in this aspect, and their research concluded that "*individual differences are substantial and meaningful*" (p. 360). Individuals will differ in the use of such strategies, the selection of which will be influenced to a great extent by personality traits (Cooper, Shaver & Collins, 1998; Friedman & Mille-Herringe, 1991; John & Gross, 2007). Similarly, Leu et al. (2010) were concerned with how these individual differences in emotional regulation are associated with emotional experiences at work and work-related outcomes such as job satisfaction and performance.

As the main focus of this research remains on the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour associated with Surface Acting, the emphasis has shifted towards personality, looking for traits which

would be suitable to cope with the demands of the constant regulation of emotions and emotional dissonance.

In terms of a suitable personality type for emotional labour, Machiavellians are of particular interest within this research as they are well known for their manipulative tendencies (Cherulnik et al., 1981; Wilson, Near & Miller., 1998), their cool-headed attitude, and emotional detachment (Jain & Bearden, 2011), all of which should enable them to cope well with emotional labour demands.

2.3.6 Machiavellianism

2.3.6.1 Niccolo Machiavelli and the concept of Machiavellianism

The term '*Machiavellianism*' derives from reference to the infamous Niccolo Machiavelli, an Italian diplomat and philosopher of medieval Florence. Machiavelli (1958, 2008) is perhaps best known for his book '*The Prince*', which advocates the view that strong rulers should be harsh with their subjects and use any form of deception for their personal gain. Machiavelli proposed an extreme formula for success in a competitive environment and status-orientated society. His recommendations state that a ruler should perceive others as vicious, lazy and untrustworthy. Personal acceptance or rejection of such values is dependent upon personality (Christie & Geis, 1970; Cooper & Peterson, 1980).

He further endorsed the use of amoral, manipulative and analytical behaviour in order to acquire and maintain power. It is important to note that, while Machiavelli advocates the use of manipulative, harsh and deceitful behaviour, he only calls for the use of this behaviour if absolutely necessary. Therefore, and whenever possible, the ruler should manage his followers with kinder means, which demonstrates that the definition of Machiavellianism is multifaceted

and incorporates additional attitudes and behaviour beyond deceit and manipulation (Christie & Geis, 1970; Kessler et al., 2010).

In summary, Machiavelli's book discusses a "*pragmatic approach to maintaining power*" (Wilson, Near & Miller, 1996, p. 285), with the primary theme being the degree to which people can and should be manipulated. In addition, the manipulative tactics and their effectiveness are elaborated.

Despite the fact that Machiavelli wrote his book in 1513, it still possesses relevance for present day executives and managers in large corporations, and perhaps even more so within the concept of emotional labour. Consequently, the concept of Machiavellianism is not only applicable to senior positions within an organisational hierarchy but also to most employees, as the ability to influence others is an important skill set at all levels (Kessler et al., 2010).

2.3.6.2 Contemporary depiction of Machiavellianism

By the 16th century, the word '*Machiavellianism*' became widely used as a popular expression to describe deceptive, manipulative and win-orientated behaviour. Nevertheless, it was not a psychological term until the 1970s, when Christie and Geis focused their attention on this construct and conducted studies to discover whether the principles are practised in today's society. They defined the Machiavellian personality type as someone who manipulates others for their own benefits with the intention of reaching personal goals (Christie & Geis, 1970). Consequently, Christie and Geis (1970) proposed a Machiavellianism model comprising of four elements (i.e., lack of affect in personal relationships, lack of concern with conventional morality, lack of gross psychopathology, and low ideological commitment), describing the effective manipulation and control of others. In addition, they developed an instrument, the *Machiavellian Scale*, to measure Machiavellians' deceptive tendencies. The tool/scale is still being used today in the form of the MACH IV test.

The two most commonly observable characteristics of Machiavellians comprise of cynicism and the manipulation of others for personal gain (Furnham, Richard & Paulhus, 2013), and the complete disregard for social expectations (Christie & Geis, 1970). However, unlike the other facets of the dark triad (i.e. narcissists and psychopaths), Machiavellians are socially skilful and capable of exhibiting behaviour which seems to benefit others, while their true motive is one of manipulation and deceit (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004; Kessler et al., 2010; O'Boyle, Forsyth, Banks & McDaniel, 2012). Due to their focus upon themselves and their own needs, they have little regard for reciprocity (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005).

Machiavellians violate the social exchange process, which negatively impacts their relationships with others (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Spain, Harms & LeBreton, 2014). In addition, they are not motivated by traditional organisational rewards; instead, they crave the opportunity to manipulate others and gain power. Machiavellians possess a greater degree of mistrust towards others, as a result of which they engage in deceitful and manipulative behaviour themselves. Furthermore, they possess the ability to stay emotionally disconnected from any guilt or regret in hurting others (Christie & Geis, 1970). Despite this negative definition of Machiavellians, today's businesses are based upon the manipulation of information and the regulation of expressed emotions, so this trait actually could be a 'good fit' for emotional labour.

Machiavellianism is also described as a motivation of cold selfishness and pure instrumentality (Fehr, Samsom, & Paulhus, 1992). Depending on the level of these manipulative traits, individuals are categorized into high/HM and low/LM Machiavellians. High Machiavellians give great priority to money, power and competition (Stewart & Stewart, 2006), yet they pay little attention to human factors like self-love, community building and family (McHoskey, 1999).

Machiavellians belong to the dark triad (Paulhus & Williams, 2002) of personality

(i.e. Machiavellianism, Narcissism and Psychopathy), representing a domain outside of normal personality traits (Jakobwitz & Egan, 2006) and forming a dominant paradigm for the ‘Dark Side’ (Furnham et al., 2013), accredited with undesirable tendencies and dispositions leading to amoral behaviour and motives (Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

In terms of impact, the dark elements have been shown to result in counterproductive behaviour (Wu & Lebreton, 2011) and unethical decisions (Greenbaum, Hill, Mawritz & Quade, 2014; Kish-Gephart, Harrison & Trevino, 2010). In addition, the dark triad is negatively correlated with organisational citizenship behaviour (Becker & O’Hair, 2007; Kessler et al., 2010), job satisfaction (Bruk-Lee, Khoury, Nixon, Goh & Spector, 2009) and even job performance (O’Boyle et al., 2012; Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

2.3.6.3 Machiavellian traits

Machiavellian behaviour has been classed as bi-strategic, exercising cooperation and coercion (Hawley, 2006) depending on personal gain, and employing a variety of manipulative techniques such as deceit, persuasion, ingratiation and friendliness (Fehr et al., 1992; Kumar & Beyerlein, 1991; McIlwain, 2003). However, as Reimers and Barbuto (2002) argued, Machiavellian personalities first seek to influence by charm, friendliness and tact, and only if those positive techniques fail do they resort to the use of unethical and forceful tactics. High Machiavellians cheat if they have a rational explanation for it, and if detection is low; however, low Machiavellians cheat, too, but only if they are coaxed into it by someone else (Cooper & Peterson, 1980; Exline, Thibaut, Hickey & Gumpert, 1970). In summary, high Machiavellians are more manipulative (Cherulnik et al., 1981; Wilson et al., 1998), more exploitative (Exline et al., 1970; Geis & Moon, 1981), and take advantage of extended trust (Harrell & Hartnagel, 1976). High Machiavellians are also more context flexible and tend to analyse clues related to the behaviour of others. This enables them to evaluate their opponents and adjust their

behaviour accordingly (Czibor & Bereczkei, 2012) and as a result, they are capable of gaining larger profits than low Machiavellians. Machiavellians are very adaptive. They often violate social norms, but do follow them when being observed, or when following the norm leads to certain benefits. As documented in research, when observed, Machiavellians exhibit a significantly larger proportion of positive behaviour than when not observed (Bereczkei, Birkas & Kerekes, 2007, 2010).

Christie and Geis (1970) concluded that high Machiavellians “*manipulate more, win more, are persuaded less, persuade others more*” (p.312). Based upon their manipulative predisposition and an ability to stay emotionally detached, they should use Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy. Additionally, as the use of Surface Acting is linked to Individualistic Cultures (Allen et al., 2013), there is also the possibility that individuals within those cultures will score higher on the Machiavellian scale than individuals from Collectivistic Cultures. This is because Individualistic Cultures encourage self-centric and self-promotion orientated competitive behaviour (Triandis, 1994), which is in alignment with Machiavellian traits (Czibor & Bereczkei, 2012; Furnham et al., 2013).

Consequently, this research expects to find a positive correlation between Individualistic Culture, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism.

2.3.7 The rise of the ego-centric triad

2.3.7.1 Idiocentrism - The main feature of the ego-centric triad

The focus of this research is to demonstrate a triangular relationship between elements linked to the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour, namely Individualistic Cultures, Surface Acting and

Machiavellianism. The initial assumption is that these elements all possess ego-centric tendencies, focusing upon an individual's needs, self-centred values and self-presentation. Emotions are not individual reactions to events but to social phenomena (Parkinson, 1996) dictated by cultural values. Consequently, emotions depend upon culturally supplied aims such as wealth, freedom and self-esteem; individuals are socialised to accredit different values to these concepts. The first element of the triad, *Individualistic Culture*, fosters self-assertiveness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and ego-centric tendencies such as competition and self-promotion (Triandis, 1994), and places the focus upon personal need, rights and liberties (Triandis, 1995); this is in strong contrast to their Collectivistic Culture counterparts who focus on cooperation, loyalty and the needs of the larger society (Triandis, 1994). As is observable, Individualistic Cultures value an individual's emotions and their expression, and therefore individuals from this culture will find the whole concept of emotional labour extremely restrictive and oppressive, intrusive and even emotionally taxing (Eid & Diener, 2001). Employees from Individualistic Cultures lack the habitual management and expression of emotions evident in Collectivistic Cultures, which consider such emotional control as a part of their social norm and therefore a part of life (Allen et al., 2013). Due to the lack of exposure and the requirements of social rules to control and manage emotions, employees from an Individualistic Culture will rely on the use of Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy as it requires less effort (Allen et al., 2013) and less time to execute. The second element of the triad, *Machiavellianism*, does not require an extensive explanation with regard to self-centred values. Machiavellians' ego-centric attributions are linked to the description of their main characteristics as naturally selfish individuals with a detached, opportunistic stance towards social norms (Bereczkei, Birkas & Kerekes, 2007, 2010; Christie & Geis, 1970; Mudrack & Mason, 1995). Machiavellians lie to others and manipulate them for their personal gain (Czibor & Bereczkei, 2012; Furnham et al., 2013) and act without

compunction when injuring them (Christie & Geis, 1970). This focus upon self-centred goals and an idiocentric existence demonstrates a possible correlation with Individualistic Cultures, which encourage individualistic - perhaps even slightly selfish - behaviour. In addition, Machiavellians use Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy because this relies on the expression of inauthentic emotions, is easy to execute (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) and focuses upon the protection of the 'self'. The final element of the triad, the *Surface Acting* strategy, is associated with ego-centric tendencies as it is used in conjunction with self-presentation tactics (Leary & Kowalsky, 1990; Ozcelik, 2013; Rosenfeld et al., 1995) where an individual is trying to create a positive image by executing minimal effort. Surface Acting is a strategy aimed at changing only the external display of emotions, while the internal feelings remain untouched (Hochschild, 1983). Therefore, it implies low psychological effort (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Totterdell & Holman, 2003) while the positive display of emotion promotes an upward spiral within the organisation (Heskett et al., 1997), which demonstrates the low effort, large gain notion (Ozcelik, 2013). Furthermore, Surface Acting can be linked back to the first element of our triad, Individualistic Cultures, which use Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy because this strategy requires relatively little effort and prior exposure to emotion management. In addition, Individualistic Cultures perceive faking of emotions as acceptable behaviour (Eid & Diener, 2001), which could further suggest that they encourage the use of Surface Acting and the existence of Machiavellianism.

2.3.7.2 Self-promotion

Continuing with the ego-centric triad, there is another aspect which is evident across elements, namely self-promotion. As stated earlier, Surface Acting is used as a tool to create a positive image of oneself and therefore is an important element within self-presentation tactics (Leary

& Kowalsky, 1990; Ozcelik, 2013; Rosenfeld et al., 1995), which in turn are also popular with Machiavellians who engage in constant self-promotion behaviour (Christie & Geis, 1970; O'Boyle et al., 2012). This is highly valued and even encouraged within Individualistic Cultures (Triandis, 1994). The emphasis upon self-promotion further supports the notion that triadic elements are interrelated. It further suggests that Individualistic Cultures encourage the use of Surface Acting and Machiavellian behaviour.

To summarize, Individualistic Cultures emphasize the focus upon personal needs and liberties (Triandis, 1995) and encourage self-centred and self-promotion-orientated behaviour (Triandis, 1994). This is a typical trait of Machiavellians (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013), who use Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy because it requires less effort and leads to maximum gain (Leary & Kowalsky, 1990; Rosenfeld et al., 1995; Ozcelik, 2013). In addition, Individualistic Cultures support the use of Surface Acting (Allen et al., 2013), as this strategy is in alignment with the self-centric values (Triandis, 1994) upon which they place emphasis.

Consequently, the following hypotheses, depicting the relationship between the elements of the ego-centric triad, are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive relationship between the elements of the ego-centric triad.

H1a) Individualistic Cultures encourage the expression of Machiavellian traits.

H1b) Machiavellians employ Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy.

H1c) Surface Acting is a preferred method of emotion management strategy within Individualistic Cultures.

2.3.8 Well-being

2.3.8.1 Conceptualization of well-being

The construct of well-being is often discussed in relation to individual happiness and individual wellness. Ashkanasy (2011) is one of the supporters who used the two terms interchangeably and suggested that employee well-being is related to a number of work-related outcomes including job performance, employee retention, workplace accidents, absenteeism and even cardiovascular diseases (Rath & Harter, 2010; Wright, Cropanzano, Bonnet & Diamond, 2009). Over time, well-being has been considered from different perspectives, such as positive and negative affect, mental health, emotional exhaustion, life satisfaction, psychological and emotional well-being (Wright & Doherty, 1998). All of those facets of well-being resulted in a complex definition of well-being as a construct comprising “*all the things that are important to how we think about and experience our lives*” (Rath & Harter, 2010; p.137). Diener (1994) states that well-being should be perceived from three different angles. Firstly, well-being is a subjective perception, meaning that the true form/state of well-being is accessible only to the individual in question. Secondly, well-being involves how individuals feel, experience and process various emotions; therefore, ‘well individuals’ are more likely to experience positive emotions and are less prone to the negative ones. And finally, well-being refers to one’s life in aggregate, as a whole. The three constructs make a clear distinction between happiness and well-being. Irrespective of the variations in definitions, researchers and organisations have realized the extensive cost associated with dysfunctional work well-being in the form of lowered self-esteem, hypertension, alcoholism and drug abuse (Quick, Wright, Adkins, Nelson & Quick, 2013).

Employee well-being is critical to the survival and development of organisations around the world (Spreitzer & Porath, 2012). Ryan and Deci (2001) conclude that there are two different

perspectives of well-being. The first perspective, *hedonism*, is happiness-orientated and ultimately corresponds to the subjective definition of well-being. The second, *eudonism*, is linked to realizing human potential, and corresponds to well-being deriving from personal achievement, self-actualization and self-positioning. According to Diener (2000), subjective well-being refers to an individual's assessment of their life quality based on their own personal standards. Ultimately, subjective well-being consists of two elements, *life satisfaction* and *emotional experience*. One important feature of subjective well-being is that it is subjective; therefore, it is based around the individual's own standards as opposed to other people's standards (Diener, 2000). However, in Collectivistic Cultures, individuals need to pursue the well-being of others rather than focusing primarily upon their own needs (Gao, Ballantyne & Knight, 2010). In other words, within Collectivistic Cultures, individuals are more willing to sacrifice their own desires for the greater good of their community (Markus, Kitayama & Heiman, 1996). Ryff (1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995) proposed a six-dimensional model of psychological well-being, comprising of self-acceptance, personal growth, purpose in life, positive relations with others, environment mastery, and autonomy. There is a difference in how different cultures embrace these six elements. Western/Individualistic Cultures embrace environment mastery and autonomy, while the Eastern/Collectivistic cultures focus upon positive relationships with others and purpose in life (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). As per the cultural orientation, subjective well-being is dependent upon emotions in Individualistic Cultures, whereas norms and emotions are equally strong in Collectivistic Cultures (Suh, Diener, Oishi & Triandis, 1998). Although subjective and psychological well-being seem to be separate entities, they are actually interrelated constructs and should be considered in relation to each other (Ilies, Schwind & Heller, 2007).

2.3.8.2 Well-being and the ego-centric triad

Another important factor linked to the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour is the presence of negative emotions, associated with each element of the triad. Employees from Individualistic Cultures believe in their right to express their feelings (Markus & Kitayma, 1991), and the right for autonomy and self-respect (Hofstede, 1991). Furthermore, their behaviour is organized primarily around their own thoughts, feelings and actions as opposed to the thoughts of others (Triandis, 1995). Therefore, the emotional labour demands for restriction, control and manipulation of emotion will be psychologically taxing (Eid & Diener, 2001) because they evoke the notion of suppression and the loss of one's uniqueness and individuality, not to mention the loss of cultural values which are taught from early childhood (Bilsky et al., 2013; Döring, Blauensteiner, Aryus, Drögekamp & Bilsky, 2010; Knafo & Spinath, 2011). This dissonance between learned cultural values and pressure to conform (evidenced by the suppression of emotion), will lead to the experience of negative emotions and associated negative side effects, which will consequently impact on an individual's well-being (Wright & Huang, 2012). Surface Acting is composed of two components, namely the exaggeration of positive and the suppression of negative emotions (Glomb & Tews, 2004). The first component has shown to enhance positivity (Fredrickson, 2000; Larsen et al., 1992), while the second is associated with the experience of negative affect (Wegner, 1994). In addition, any effort to manage emotions and their display, which is aimed at the regulation of negative emotions, will lead to the experience of negative affective states (Best et al., 1997; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). The final element of the triad is Machiavellianism. Machiavellians are famous for their manipulative strategies and lack of empathy with other individuals' feelings (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013). Therefore, it could be assumed that they will be unaffected by the negative experience deriving from emotional labour. However, due to their extensive manipulation, they will experience a great degree of cynicism (Christie & Geis, 1970),

believing that they themselves are being manipulated, and this will negatively impact upon their social relationships (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Spain et al., 2014).

Due to the extensive monitoring of felt versus expressed emotions, users of Surface Acting will experience emotional dissonance (Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Zapf & Holz, 2006; Zapf et al., 1999, 2001), burnout and depersonalisation (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). All of these are negative emotional states. Machiavellians will be similarly affected due to their constant manipulation and ultimate mistrust of others, which is manifested by cynicism (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013; Kessler et al., 2010). In addition, Individualistic Cultures will increase the presence of negative emotions due to the contradictions and discrepancies deriving from cultural values which place emphasis upon autonomy and the free expression of emotions (Hofstede, 1991; Triandis et al., 1985; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai & Lucca, 1988); this is in strong contradiction to emotional labour requirements which expects adjustment of expressed emotions. Consequently, it can be assumed that the ego-centric triad will have a negative effect upon employees' well-being, and the following hypothesis will be tested:

Hypothesis 2: The ego-centric triad will have a negative impact upon employees' well-being within the emotional labour facet.

H2a) Individualistic Cultures will exhibit a negative effect upon employees' well-being, due to their emphasis upon self-centered values and free expression of emotions, which contradict the concept of emotional labour.

H2b) Use of Surface Acting as a primary emotion management strategy will have a negative impact upon employees' well-being, as a result of emotional dissonance.

H2c) Machiavellianism will have a negative effect upon employees' well-being due to the extensive presence of negative emotions.

2.3.9 Machiavellianism and Gender differences

2.3.9.1 Niccolo Machiavelli and Noblemen

Niccolo Machiavelli's (1958, 2008) book '*The Prince*' analysed successful noblemen in Florence. Based on his observations of success, he concluded that the success of a man is dependent upon his ability to manipulate his subjects (Wilson, Near & Miller, 1996). As evidenced within the Machiavelli book and subsequent literature (Christie and Geis, 1970; Longest, Hitlin & Vaisay, 2013; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005), success and manipulation are traits which are attributed to men, which consequently draws attention to gender differences in Machiavellian traits.

2.3.9.2 Socio - Analytic Theory and value differences

Machiavellianism is accredited to power and control, usually associated with individuals within top rank positions which are typically filled by young males (Christie & Geis, 1970); this implies that men are more likely to be high Machiavellians than women (McHoskey, 2001; Machiavelli & Viroli, 2008). This statement is further supported by the *Socio-Analytic Theory* (Hogan, Jones & Cheek, 1985), which recognizes three innate biological drives in the form of *belonging and approval drive*/ 'getting along', *status and control drive*/ 'getting ahead'; and *order and predictability drive*/ 'make sense of'. In association, research has suggested that men's drives are focused upon status and control, while women's drives are linked to belonging and approval (Timmers, Fischer & Manstead, 1998). Furthermore, there is evidence demonstrating the link between individual characteristics and values. Schwarz & Rubel's

(2005) study analysing gender differences in values confirmed that women rank higher on self-transcendence values than men, while men ranked higher on self-enhancement values. The gender value differences were fairly consistent across countries and cultures (Longest et al., 2013; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005; Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz, 2009). Similarly, the same pattern of values was evident in children (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002). Gender differences in Machiavellianism are consistent with other findings, which suggest that boys hold more Machiavellian beliefs than girls (Allsopp, Eysenck & Eysenck, 1991; Andreou, 2000, 2004; Sutton & Keogh, 2000). Gender differences were further evident in adulthood, as demonstrated by Archer's (2004) meta-analytical studies. However, this one-sided view accrediting Machiavellianism to the male gender was disputed by Rim (1992), who argues that both genders engage in manipulative techniques, and what varies is the technique itself. High Machiavellian males tend to suppress and avoid their problems, whereas high Machiavellian females tend to seek support. This suggests that men exhibit more aggressive/threatening manipulative behaviour while women use more subtle manipulative techniques. Support for these findings is evident in Abell and Brewer's (2014) research. Their research investigated the level of honesty in social interaction, focusing on gender differences and self-presentation tactics by Machiavellians on social sites, such as Facebook. Consequently, they concluded that women who scored high on Machiavellianism demonstrated more dishonest self-promotion and relational aggression towards a friend on Facebook, than did men, who focus primarily upon the self-promotion facet.

As evidenced within empirical studies, both genders use manipulative techniques and possess Machiavellian traits. Nevertheless, based upon characteristics of Machiavellian competitive behaviour (Gurtman, 1992; Stewart & Stewart, 2006) and the desire for control and success (Christie & Geis, 1970; Dahling, Whitaker & Levy, 2009), men exhibit this trait to a greater extent than women, as documented by McHoskey's (2001) research.

2.3.9.3 Gender preference for organisational cultures

The differences in values between genders are further linked to a preference for a particular organisational culture, which is associated with higher-ranked positions. Van Vianen and Fisher's (2002) study related to the differences in preference for organisational cultures and concluded that women exhibited a lower preference for masculine culture than men. In relation to Hofstede's (1989) dimension of masculinity and femininity, the masculine dimensions are perceived as independence, autonomy, competition and authority, while the feminine dimensions are accredited with descriptors such as participation and collaboration (Maier, 1999). The preferences for an organisational culture are of crucial importance as they are shown to be linked to ambition (Van Vianen & Fisher, 2002).

Overall, women have been shown to be less ambitious than men, and even the more driven females perceived work-home conflict as a significant barrier within their careers. This lack of ambition on women's part is associated with a low preference for a masculine culture which is evident within the top level of hierarchies and ultimately causes the 'glass ceiling' phenomenon (e.g. Cassell & Walsh, 1997; Gherardi, 1994; Maddock, 1999; Marshall, 1993; Mills, 1992). The masculine organisational culture consists of norms and practices which promote stereotypically masculine values (Maier, 1999; Marshall, 1993; Powell, 1999) which might not be of interest to females, who would prefer organisational values which are in alignment with their own gender-related preferences. Cultural preferences correspond to the fundamental values of an individual and represent the conscious desires held by a person (Edwards, 1996). In addition, cultural preferences are partially based on early experiences and personality characteristics. People who consider themselves very ambitious will favour a competitive environment, as opposed to less ambitious individuals. Men and women are socialised in different roles (Eagly & Wood, 1991), and consequently develop different gender identities and preferences for organisational cultures; this is further supported by *Socio-Analytic Theory*.

In addition, cultural preference remains relatively stable over time, even when people have changed jobs, which suggests the influence of personalities (Van Vianen & Prins, 1997); therefore, Machiavellian personalities should be a suitable match for a masculine culture.

In summary, the lack of females in leadership positions is accredited to gender-defined roles in society, where women are encouraged to embrace the values of belonging and self-love, whereas male audience values are power and control centred, as stated by *Socio-Analytic Theory* supporters (Timmers et al., 1998). Individual gender preferences for a particular organisational culture, namely a masculine culture associated with leadership positions (Van Vianen and Fisher, 2002), contribute to the gender differences in senior roles as they seem to be built for males. This suggests that males will exhibit Machiavellian traits to a greater extent than women, as they have been trained to do so from early childhood. In addition, the workplace creates a significant advantage for men to excel by offering an organisational culture whose values are in alignment with their personal values of competition, power and control of others.

Considering the *Socio-Analytic Theory* and gender preferences for particular organisational cultures (Maddock, 1999; Marshall, 1993; Mills, 1992; Van Vianen & Fisher, 2002), it can be assumed that males will exhibit Machiavellian traits to a greater extent than women, which will be tested in the following antecedent hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: Machiavellian personality is more prevalent in males than in females; therefore, gender serves as antecedent to Machiavellianism.

2.3.10 Machiavellians and Career Success

2.3.10.1 Career Success conceptualization

Career success refers to the positive work and psychological outcomes deriving from one's work experiences (Judge, Cable, Boudreau & Bretz, 1995). It is one of the most critical goals in everyone's life (Abele, Spurk & Volmer, 2011) and is a crucial element in an employees' perception of their career development within an organisation. The importance of career success for individuals and organisations alike has been recognised and documented within research (Gunz & Heslin, 2005; Pan & Zhou, 2015; Verbruggen, 2012; Zacher, 2014). Researchers distinguish between two types of career success, objective and subjective. The objective career success is easily observable, measurable and verifiable by factors such as salary and hierarchical status, while subjective career success refers to an individual's reaction to and their perception of unfolding career experiences (Judge, Higgins, Thoresen & Barrick, 1999) and their judgement of a career in terms of personal goal attainment (Schwartz, 1999). In addition, an individual's perception of and satisfaction with career success can induce a series of positive outcomes linked to well-being, job performance and organisational citizenship behaviour (Abele et al., 2011). It is important to note that subjective career success is distinct from career or job satisfaction (Heslin, 2005) as it possesses a broader time frame than satisfaction (Greenhaus, Callanan & Godshalk, 2000). In other words, job satisfaction is an immediate reaction to a current status, while success is an evaluation of ongoing career development. Subjective career success is a multidimensional construct (Nigel & Wendy, 2005; Zhou, Sun, Guan, Li & Pan, 2013), comprising of performance, advancement, self-development, creativity, security, satisfaction, recognition, cooperation and contribution (Dries, Pepermans & Carlier, 2008).

In generic terms, career success was defined as a combination of psychological and work-

related outcomes, accumulated as a result of one's work experiences (Judge et al., 1995; Seibert, Crant & Kraimer, 1999), and is linked with extrinsic and intrinsic measures (Judge et al., 1999; Ng, Eby, Sorensen & Feldman, 2005).

There is a common belief in the corporate world that personality is of great importance in determining an individual's career attainment. A recurrent theme in such attainment is linked to being a shrewd manipulator in possession of power over others (Babiak, 2000), which suggests that Machiavellians should do well in this type of environment.

Research indicates that career attainment is composed of ability, personality (Ng et al., 2005) and opportunity (Cokley, Dreher & Stokdale, 2004; Dreher & Ash, 1990), which implies that in order to succeed, individuals should possess relevant intellect, skills, attributes, a suitable personality type and the ability to seize relevant opportunities once they arise. Career success is dependent upon an ambitious personality, the ability to react to opportunity and a set of skills to maintain the acquired position: therefore, Machiavellians should occupy the top rank within organisational hierarchies, as they possess all of the relevant attributes to do well - namely, an opportunistic stance and the competitive drive to succeed at any cost (Stewart & Stewart, 2006). The initial assumption that general mental ability is one of the strongest predictors of job performance and success was disputed by researchers calling for the inclusion of emotional intelligence (Mayer & Salovey, 1997), personality (Judge et al., 1999) and impression management (Ferris, Harrell-Cook & Dulebohn, 2000) into the equation. The focus of this study - Machiavellians - seem to be well equipped in all three areas. In terms of emotional intelligence, their scores are generally low; however, they compensate for their low scores in emotional intelligence with high scores in emotional manipulation (Austin, Farrelly, Black & Moore, 2007), which could be perceived as a supplementary strategy. In terms of further personality frameworks, Big Five traits, namely conscientiousness, openness to experience, extraversion, and emotional stability, are positively associated with extrinsic (salary,

promotion) and intrinsic (career satisfaction) measures (Judge et al., 1999; Ng et al., 2005). Extraversion is perhaps of greatest interest in this study as extraverts are usually more actively engaged in social activities, which enables networking and access to new opportunities, and ultimately gives Machiavellians an initial head start. On the other hand, highly agreeable individuals - low Machiavellians and individuals from Collectivistic Cultures - might not perform well on the job because they are too compliant and lack the assertiveness required to get noticed (Judge et al., 1999). Furthermore, there is evidence suggesting a strong relationship between a proactive personality and salary (Ng et al., 2005; Seibert, Kraimer & Crant, 2001) and career satisfaction (Seibert et al., 1999). Proactive individuals are capable of planning and acting more effectively (Crant & Bateman, 2000) and adapt more quickly to new situations (Chan & Smith, 2000; Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). These characteristics mirror Machiavellians who are described as social chameleons (Furnham et al., 2013) due to their ability to fit easily into any scenario and consequently create a positive perception of their personas. Rode et al. (2008) support the view that a proactive personality leads to work-related success. Furthermore, they added that agreeable traits exhibit the opposite effect, by having a negative impact upon career success and a negative correlation with salary. Based on these findings, we can assume that job success is related to measures of proactive personality and an ability to manage emotions. Therefore, individuals scoring high on these traits should have a significant advantage in the workplace. Nevertheless, O'Boyle et al. (2012) dispute the notion, by demonstrating that Machiavellians, despite their proactive personalities, perform poorly in tasks and exhibit fewer helping behaviours, and are generally not the star performers in the organisation. However, Smith, Wallace and Jordan (2016) failed to replicate O'Boyle et al.'s (2012) results. This could be further accredited to the skilfulness of Machiavellians in manipulating supervisor ratings, as they are skilled within the impression management domain (Jones & Paulhus, 2009). Machiavellians excel not because of their special talents, but because

of their ability to charm their environment and ultimately to create a perception of their self-importance (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004).

2.3.10.2 Impression Management

As employees confront scarce resources, and an extremely competitive work environment, they must find ways to position themselves as powerful individuals within the organisation. One of the key components of receiving a favourable performance rating within a workplace environment is impression management. This involves engaging tactics which would convince others to view the employee as influential and vital to the success of the company (Zivnuska, Kacmar, Witt, Carlson & Bratton, 2004). Impression management is positively related to an employee's perception of organisational politics (Ferris et al., 2000; Valle, 1997), which is perhaps more clearly explained via *Expectancy Theory*. The *Expectancy Theory* states that people make behavioural choices that are calculated to allow them to achieve their desired outcomes (Vroom, 1964). However, they only engage in impression management if they believe that such behaviour would lead to favourable reward. Organisations, which reward impression management, are characteristic with organisational politics and deception. In the short term, impression management is advantageous, as the intra-organisational relationships are based on diplomacy and tact. In the long term, the organisation will suffer from loss of trust, once the deceptions are detected (Curtis, 2003).

If the employee believes that the organisational rating system is fair and objective, then engagement in impression management is highly unlikely, as employees will perceive organisational politics as irrelevant and will exclude themselves from them (Bolino, 1999; Crant, 1996; Eastman, 1994; Ferris, Bhawuk, Fedor & Judge, 1995).

Involvement in organisational politics and political behaviour are conceptualised in terms of rationality and emotionality (Sheard, Kakabadse & Kakabadse, 2011). Whilst the engagement

in organisational politics is largely benefit driven, emotional stakes and the ability to manage emotions in such situations will play a significant role in the outcome of this engagement.

Employees who engage in impression management endeavour to regulate how others perceive them (Rosenfeld et al., 1995). Impression management might take many forms. Jones and Pittman (1982) identified five main categories: intimidation, ingratiation, self-promotion, exemplification, and supplication. These categories closely mirror Machiavellian manipulative behaviour and indicate that high Machiavellians engage in impression management to a greater degree than low Machiavellians. Organisational politics are not clearly stated in an employee handbook, and therefore individual employees have to make a judgement on whether or not they occur. This will have a negative influence upon job anxiety (Cropanzano, Howes, Grandey & Toth, 1997; Kacmar, Bozeman, Carlson & Anthony, 1999; Valle & Perrewe, 2000), job involvement (Cropanzano et al., 1997), job satisfaction (Ferris & Kacmar, 1992; Nye & Witt, 1993), turnover intentions (Cropanzano et al., 1997; Kacmar et al., 1999; Maslyn & Fedor, 1998), actual turnover (Witt, 1998) and employee performance (Kacmar et al., 1999; Witt, 1998). A similar view was maintained by Curtis (2003) arguing that politically charged organisations lead to undesirable outcomes for employees and the organisation, evident in decreased job satisfaction, increased anxiety, increased turnover and reduced performance.

When organisational politics are high, individuals who engage in impression management are more likely to receive a higher performance rating than individuals who did not engage in impression management. On the other hand, when organisational politics are low, impression management does not affect the rating (Zivnuska et al., 2004). Therefore, it can be assumed that workplaces high in organisational politics will encourage Machiavellians to exhibit their impression management behaviour, which is a strong part of their traits and ultimately serves as a self-enhancement tool (Jain & Bearden, 2011).

2.3.10.3 Machiavellianism and Economic Opportunism

Machiavellians are very competitive (Gurtman, 1992) and have a tendency to win due to demonstrating more rational behaviour than low Machiavellians (Czibor & Bereczkei, 2012; Geis, 1978; Geis & Christie, 1970). Their winning is based upon cool-headedness, detachment from concern, exaggerated confidence (Jain & Bearden, 2011) and a high degree of focus upon cognitive analyses of a situation. Their cool-headed attitude is manifested as a detached, opportunistic stance towards social norms (Mudrack & Mason, 1995). This disregard for social norms and lack of emotional involvement enables them to be realistic and rational, at the same time capable of identifying the optimal strategy in each situation (Christie & Geis, 1970). Machiavellians also possess deeply rooted motivation to engage in influence tactics (Grams & Rogers, 1990).

Machiavellians' hypercompetitive traits, associated with calculating rationality and overriding self-interest, enables them to progress within an organisational hierarchy. Furthermore, as they perceive gain at the expense of others as completely acceptable (Mudrack, Bloodgood & Turnley, 2012), it could be assumed that they will sail through emotional labour without any difficulties. Evidently, the level of competitiveness is a stable trait (Harris & Houston, 2010) and varies amongst individuals (Fletcher & Nusbaum, 2008; Hibbard & Buhrmester, 2010; Karatepe & Olugbade, 2009); with high Machiavellians demonstrating competitiveness at a hyper-competitive level while low Machiavellians exhibit competitiveness at a personal/development level (Mudrack et al., 2012). Ultimately, employees have no choice but to engage in competitive behaviour as inter-personal competition is expected, encouraged and even praised within the workplace environment (Pfeffer & Sutton, 2006); therefore, individuals with hyper-competitive traits should be receiving rewards for their effort, evidenced by highly ranked positions.

2.3.10.4 Impact of emotion management strategies upon work performance and success

Continuing with the theme of the ego-centric triad, it is important to evaluate the impact of emotion management strategies upon an individual's success. However, the research so far is not consistent. On the one hand, it is argued that positive emotions facilitate creativity and interpersonal functioning (Fredrickson, 1998); on the other hand, positive emotions are associated with a lowered motivation for creativity (George & Zhou, 2002) and lowered analytical ability (Mackie & Worth, 1991; Schwartz & Bless, 1991). Similar controversy is evident within negative emotions. There are findings claiming that negative emotions restrain the focus of attention, which limits creativity, while others claim the opposite effect, in the form of improved performance (George & Zhou, 2002). There are significant inconsistencies within meta-analyses evaluating the impact of Deep Acting upon performance. Jessica Mesmer-Magnus et al. (2012) found that Deep Acting is positively related to work, task and emotion performance, while Hülshager & Schewe (2011) took the opposite stance with claims that Deep Acting is positively related to customer satisfaction, but not to task or emotion performance, while Surface Acting has the opposite effect and leads to decreased popularity, yet improved performance.

Therefore, the answer may lie in the nature of the task. In tasks requiring attention and accuracy for decision making, positive emotions might be of little value. However, tasks which call for interpersonal relationships will benefit from Deep Acting (Liu et al., 2010; Pough, 2001; Tsai, 2001). Nevertheless, Frost (2003) argues that all the negative emotions that individuals experience will actually reduce an individual's desire to perform and their ability to respond competently to job demands. The opposing view derives from Kiefer and Barclay's (2012) research which puts forward an argument that emotional draining is not linked to decreased performance because individuals are constrained by the situation and consequently may be reluctant to decrease performance for fear of personal repercussions, such as a decreased

performance rating. In addition, individuals experiencing draining might learn how to conserve energy; the most common strategy is to decrease in-role performance, such as helping others, while saving energy for their own tasks (Kiefer & Barclays, 2012).

Consequently, positive emotions promote sociability, benevolence and a sense of connectedness (Fredrickson, 1998), which will enable individuals to build positive relationships at work (Staw, Sutton & Pelled, 1994). Deep Acting is associated with popularity and likability within workplace, but not productivity. A similar impairment in performance is accredited to Surface Acting, despite it being on the opposite spectrum of emotion management strategies and is associated with the presence of negative emotions (Barger & Grandey, 2006; Beal et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, the relationship between emotion and performance must be examined within a specific context (George & Zhou, 2002), which is evident in Liu et al.'s (2010) study demonstrating that negative emotions, such as shame due to poor performance, can be a motivational factor as it forces an individual into action and initiates future improvements. Based on the discrepancies related to the positive versus negative effect of emotion management strategies upon job performance, it is evident that emotion management strategies cannot be used as a performance indicator in isolation from other variables.

Nevertheless, what researchers agree upon is that traits of charm and charisma leading to admiration and mimicking by others have direct benefits for the individuals who are mimicked, such as increased liking and social support (Van Baaren, Holland, Kawakamim & Van Knippenberg, 2004); this will be of significant advantage to Machiavellians, enabling them the likability advantage, which is needed to reach leadership positions.

Despite the 'old school' negative connotation surrounding Machiavellians, they seem to secure superior status/outcomes which are favourable to themselves and are judged high on charisma, performance (Deluga, 2001) and likeability (Wilson et al., 1998). In addition, they are even

perceived as desirable business partners (Jakobwitz & Egan, 2006). Perhaps not surprisingly, high Machiavellians thrive in an environment which enables them to exercise face-to-face interactions, improvisation and emotional detachment (Christie & Geis, 1970; Schultz, 1993; Sparks, 1994). Therefore, the emotional labour context is the perfect scenario for them in which to display their skills, as they focus purely on their personal gain.

Taking into account Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour as "*something being sold for wage and therefore has exchange value*" (p. 7), it suggests that individuals should be receiving specific benefits in exchange, be it an increased wage or superior status. Therefore, high Machiavellians' efforts should be earning them the top ranks in the job hierarchy, and guaranteed success within the workplace environment. Add their ability to create a positive self-image, and consequently to engage in impression management, and Machiavellians should be catapulted into the top positions within the organisational hierarchy.

Considering Machiavellians' manipulative tendencies and their ability to manipulate a supervisor's perception and the consequent rating of their performance, it is evident that high Machiavellians are keen to be associated with socially desirable behaviour (Jones & Paulhus, 2009). As per Hogan's (2007) statement, the dark triad does not help people to '*get along*', yet it helps them to '*get ahead*', as evidenced by Machiavellians who are experts at gaining political favours and portraying themselves in the best light (Kessler et al., 2010). In many corporate contexts, emotionless and aggressive individuals are viewed as ideal candidates (Wilson, 2010). Machiavellians possess the tendency to coerce peers and subordinates in the workplace via the use of hard and soft tactics (Jonason, Slomski & Partyka, 2012). However, others disagree and state that these 'snakes in suits' do not last and tend to be derailed down the line (Babiak & Hare, 2006; Furnham, 2010). Similar views were expressed by Corzine et al. (1988), stating that Machiavellian careers tend to plateau, after a certain point: while a Machiavellian personality might help an individual to get ahead, it is not a viable long-term

strategy. Humphrey et al. (2015) agree with Grandey et al.'s (2015) view that emotional labour has a 'Dark Side', yet they attribute the 'Dark Side' to an inappropriate use of emotion management strategies, to Surface Acting. Surface Acting does not harm overall job performance (Humphrey et al., 2015); therefore, it should not prevent Machiavellians from focusing on their work and ultimately progressing in their chosen career. It is also important to note that career success is not directly linked to job performance, as additional attributes such as impression management (Zivnuska et al., 2004), a proactive personality (Ng et al., 2005; Seibert et al., 2001) and ambition are of relevance. Consequently, as Machiavellians possess an abundance of these characteristics, it can be hypothesised that high Machiavellians will occupy higher positions in an organisational hierarchy than will low Machiavellians. Considering the concept of emotional labour, and given an atmosphere where there is interaction, latitude for improvisation and opportunity to exhibit inauthentic emotions, high Machiavellians will manipulate social interaction to get what they want (Christie & Geis, 1970). Therefore, Machiavellianism is related to social and economic advancement in the real world.

Hypothesis 4: High Machiavellians are better equipped to cope with emotional labour demands, as a result of which they will achieve greater career success than low Machiavellians.

2.3.11 Impact of Machiavellianism upon Job Satisfaction

2.3.11.1 Job Satisfaction models

Job satisfaction is defined as the degree to which employees have a positive affective orientation towards their jobs. Job satisfaction is associated with important outcomes such as

organisational citizenship behaviour (LePine, Erez & Johnson, 2002), absenteeism (Tharenou, 1993), life satisfaction (Tai, Bame & Robinson, 1998) and job performance (Judge, Parker, Colbert, Heller & Ilies, 2001). Job satisfaction is also dependent upon well-being (Sparks, Corcoran, Nabors & Hovanitz, 2005; Warr, 1999). Researchers (Muchinsky, 1993) have proposed three distinct categories describing relationships between job and life satisfaction. Firstly, there is the *spillover model* category, which supports the view that job satisfaction influences life satisfaction and vice versa (Judge & Watanabe, 1993). Secondly, there is the *segmentation* category, where job experience and life experience have little influence upon one another. The third category corresponds to *compensation*, where individuals try to compensate dissatisfaction in one sphere for satisfaction in another; for example, individuals dissatisfied with their work will pursue satisfaction and gratification in non-work life. Nevertheless, the support from research is inclined towards the spillover model category (Judge & Watanabe, 1993; Tai et al., 1998) indicating that personal life and work are closely interconnected. Therefore, an individual's satisfaction will be dependent upon their perception of both facets. The 1990s noted significant interest of research into this construct. Researchers debated whether job satisfaction derives from working conditions, or whether it is influenced by certain personality types. Job satisfaction inspired an intensive debate linked to the nature of influence (Arvey, Bouchard, Segal & Abraham, 1989; Arvey, McCall, Bouchard, Taubman & Cavanaugh, 1994; Bouchard, Lykken, McGue, Segal & Tellegen, 1990; Bouchard, Arvey, Keller & Segal, 1992; Judge & Hulin, 1993; Newton & Keenan, 1991; Watson & Slack, 1993). More recent research suggests that job satisfaction should be perceived in relation to the emotional dimension (Weiss, 2002), as the frequency of positive emotions is positively related to job satisfaction (Fisher, 2000). Pleasant moods are a predictor of job satisfaction, while negative moods (including attempts to suppress negative moods) throughout the day at work will decrease an individual's job satisfaction (Judge, Scott & Ilies, 2006; Weiss, Nicholas &

Daus, 1999). Therefore, Deep Acting users should score higher on positive job satisfaction - as their primary emotion management strategy revolves around more positive emotions - than Surface Acting users/Machiavellians, who will be negatively impacted (Grandey, 2000) due to their focus upon/suppression of negative emotions. This notion was further supported by Kammeyer-Mueller et al.'s (2013) meta-analysis, which showed that Surface Acting demonstrated a negative correlation with job outcomes, such as job satisfaction and stress, while Deep Acting exhibited the opposite effect. However, other research findings (Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Mesmer-Magnus et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2011) did not find conclusive support that Deep Acting actually leads to increased satisfaction, yet the negative impact of Surface Acting was firmly established. As a result, it can be assumed that high Machiavellians will possess lower job satisfaction than low Machiavellians.

2.3.11.2 Affective states and Job Satisfaction

The *Top-Down Dispositional Model* states that, apart from basic differences in personality, it is equally important to investigate affectivity as a natural predisposition of people to be differentially satisfied with their personal and professional lives (Brief, Butcher, George & Link, 1993). In this regard, Watson et al. (1985, 1988) identified two basic distinctions in affective experience, in the forms of positive and negative affect. Individuals with high positive affect possess characteristics of high energy, enthusiasm and pleasurable experience, and will be more satisfied with their job and life overall (Diener, 1999; Watson, 2000). Individuals with high negative affect typically exhibit distress, nervousness and unpleasant experiences, and will express a higher level of distress, anxiety and dissatisfaction, as they have the tendency to focus upon unpleasant aspects of themselves, others and the world around them (Agho, Mueller & Price, 1993; Larsen & Ketelaar, 1991; Watson & Slack, 1993).

Similarly, affect will be also evident within the emotional labour context, where positive versus negative affect traits will be the key factors in determining employees' satisfaction with their work environment (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). Individuals high on negative-affect traits, high Machiavellians, tend to find a wide variety of jobs unpleasant and unsatisfying. Consequently, they will perceive an emotional labour requirement for positive emotions as challenging because their natural predisposition is to focus upon negative experiences in life. Wang et al.'s (2011) and Kammeyer-Muller et al.'s (2013) meta-analyses confirmed the *Negative Affect Theory* and added that individuals high in negative traits affect were more likely to use Surface Acting. Furthermore, the link with emotional intelligence was also documented. Individuals high in emotional intelligence are more likely to use Deep Acting, while individuals low in emotional intelligence are more likely to use Surface Acting. Taking into account the results from the above research (Kammeyer-Muller et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2011), it is evident that high Machiavellians possess lower job satisfaction than low Machiavellians: they possess the high negative affective trait, which is linked to low emotional intelligence (Austin et al., 2007) and to the use of Surface Acting (Lazarus, 1991; Parkinson, 1995; Smith & Lazarus, 1993).

Despite their success, high Machiavellians' satisfaction with emotional labour and work declines over time; their role stress increases, while their job commitment declines. Machiavellians' job satisfaction becomes low (Moore, Ward & Katz, 1996; Sparks, 1994), which may be due to their need for stimulation, proneness to boredom (Marušić, Bratko & Zarevski, 1995) and desire to achieve greater rewards and control over others (Dahling et al., 2009). High Machiavellians are more likely to feel unappreciated, believing that they have plateaued in their careers (Baker, Buntzman & Busch, 1999) and consequently will leave their positions (Becker & O'Hair, 2007) for a more advantageous role elsewhere (Jenkins, 1993).

As documented, research and the *Top-Down Dispositional Model* accredit personality and affectivity to job satisfaction (Brief et al., 1993; Diener, 1999; Watson, 2000). Taking into consideration that Machiavellians' main characteristics comprise of manipulation, mistrust and cynicism (Furnham et al., 2013), plus their preference for Surface Acting, it is evident that they are predisposed towards negative affect. Consequently, the negative affect leads to a focus upon unpleasant experiences (Agho et al., 1993; Fisher, 2000; Larsen & Ketelaar, 1991; Watson & Slack, 1993) and ultimately creates a feeling of dissatisfaction (Judge et al., 2006; Weiss et al., 1999) regardless of the external conditions. Therefore, Machiavellians will experience a great degree of dissatisfaction despite the successful career carved out by their deceitful and manipulative techniques, as hypothesized in a previous section (H4).

Hypothesis 5: High Machiavellians experience lower job satisfaction in comparison to their counterparts, due to their predisposition to negative affect.

2.3.12 Impact of Machiavellianism upon Turnover Intentions

2.3.12.1 Relationship between Job Satisfaction and Turnover

The relationship between turnover and job satisfaction is one of the most investigated topics in turnover literature. Most of the studies report a consistent and negative relationship between turnover and job satisfaction (Aryee, Wyatt & Min, 1991; Khatri, Fern & Budhwar, 2001; Koh & Goh, 1995; Lam, Foong & Moo, 1995). Wright and Bonett (1992) found that employees low in job satisfaction and well-being are far less likely to stay in their job position. Ultimately, they are likely to change not only their actual job but also their occupation, due to the extensive impairment of their emotional states. The explanation is simple - dissatisfied employees are

more inclined to leave their workplace, perceived as a source of stress, as opposed to satisfied employees.

Job satisfaction and turnover intentions are linked to *Equity Theory* (Adams, 1965), which emphasizes that feelings about job satisfaction are related to expectations about work conditions and rewards. Consequently, if these expectations are not met, job satisfaction declines (and individuals aim to remove themselves from the environment which caused the negative emotions) deriving from the discrepancy between expectations and reality.

Theory of Reasoned Action and *Theory of Planned Behavior* (Ajzen, 1985, 1991; Fishbein, 1967; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) support the notion that self-reported intentions are an accurate predictor of an individual's behaviour; therefore, turnover intentions should accurately predict employee's turnover behaviour.

These theories recognize three predictors of behavioural intentions, namely attitude towards the act, the subjective norm, and the perceived behavioural control. Further studies conclude that job satisfaction and organisational commitment have an indirect effect on turnover, via turnover intentions (Lum, Kervin, Clark, Reid & Sirola, 1998; Tett & Meyers, 1993). Opponents of the *Theory of Planned Behaviour* intentions argue that withdrawal cognition in the form of thinking about leaving and thinking about alternatives should be also considered. Nevertheless, intentions to leave have proved to be a better predictor of leaving than thinking about leaving (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), and in fact seem to be the most accurate predictor overall (Hom, Caranikas-Walker, Prussia & Griffeth, 1992; Van Breukelen, Van Der Vlist & Steensma, 2004). In addition, turnover intentions are more likely to translate into turnover actions for high self-monitors (Allen, Weeks & Moffitt, 2005). Considering that Machiavellians are correlated with the self-monitoring personality type (Corral & Calvete, 2000), we can speculate that they will have a higher predisposition for turnover intentions and turnover behaviour.

Koh and Goh (1995) looked at how various types of job satisfaction-related factors, such as supervision, physical conditions and rewards, influence an individual's decisions about leaving. Researchers confirmed the correlational relationship between the above-named factors and job satisfaction. For example, Lum et al.'s (1998) study with nursing staff demonstrated a correlation between pay and job satisfaction in the form of a path model which showed that the relationship between job satisfaction and turnover intentions are mediated by an employee's commitment. These findings suggest that individuals low on job satisfaction possess high turnover intentions.

As a result, Machiavellians should possess high turnover intentions, despite occupying top positions within an organisational hierarchy (Christie & Geis, 1970) and relishing the benefits deriving from their status. Nevertheless, this contradicts the notion that managerial workers are less likely to quit their work than non-managerial workers (Tai & Robinson, 1998), whose satisfaction is linked to the salary - a sufficient motivator on its own. Khatri and his colleagues (2001) disputed the correlation between turnover intention and low salary and demonstrated the opposite pattern where managerial employees were more likely to leave as opposed to non-managerial. These findings call for the inclusion of additional variables to justify turnover intentions. As a result, it is important to seek answers within cultural orientation and emotion management strategies.

2.3.12.2 Impact of cultural orientation upon Turnover Intentions

The fundamental distinction between Collectivistic and Individualistic Cultures is that there is the construal-self. In Individualistic Cultures, the self is construed as an independent and unique entity focusing upon an individual's thoughts and feelings rather than on society expectations, while Collectivistic Cultures view 'the self' as interdependent and are based on

the recognition that one's feelings and thoughts are structured around the expectations of others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In Individualistic Cultures, attitudes predict behavioural intentions to a greater degree rather than the norm (Bontempo & Rivero, 1992), as opposed to collectivistic orientation where norms are the guiding forces of behavioural intentions. In summary, Individualism and Collectivism are manifested in the degree to which an individual perceives independence versus interdependence of their needs. When cultural orientation is being measured at individual levels, terms such as Idiocentrism and Allocentrism are used (Triandis et al., 1985). Idiocentric commitment to an organisation is characterized by an employer-employee business relationship within which the employee is committed to the organisation only to the extent to which he/she believes it is to his/her advantage (Redding, Norman & Schlander, 1994). On the other hand, in Allocentrism the relationship is perceived from a normative commitment perspective designed to protect harmony and loyalty amongst the in-group members (Hofstede, 2001). Nevertheless, the notion that Individualism and Collectivism are polar opposites was disputed by Kagitcibasi (2005), who argued that individuals and groups have access to both types of cognition and will activate them depending on the situation.

Wasti's (2003) research findings proposed that the employment relationship might have a normative implication for allocentric individuals, yet the norms will have little if any influence upon idiocentric individuals who focus upon their own personal goals and preferences. Therefore, we can assume that employees from individualistically orientated cultures/high Machiavellians will be more inclined to look for a better position elsewhere as they do not possess high organisational commitment. The lack of regard for others is also typical of Machiavellians (Furnham et al., 2013). In addition, the long-term effect of Surface Acting on their physical and psychological states may become evident (Tice, Braslavsky & Baumeister, 2001). Several researchers have suggested that emotional labour might cause a withdrawal state

(Abraham, 1999; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Cote & Morgan, 2002; Grandey, 2000; Rubin et al., 2005) where individuals distance themselves from the work, start looking for another opportunity and eventually quit their job. Prolonged use of Surface Acting will result in emotional dissonance, which is an uncomfortable state that occurs when felt emotions are inconsistent with expressed emotions (Grandey, 2000). The efforts that are invested in faking emotions will lead to a higher level of emotional exhaustion, characterized by depleted emotional states (Wright & Cropanzano, 1998), which further demonstrates a strong correlation with turnover intentions (Chau et al., 2009). Surface Acting has been shown to correlate with emotional exhaustion (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Morris & Feldman, 1997), which ultimately leads to turnover intention (Cropanzano, Rupp & Byrne, 2003; Westman & Eden, 1997), not to mention the overflow of negative emotions that one will truly experience. There is also a strong correlation between emotions and organisational perception; therefore, emotions impact an individual's evaluation and innate attitudes towards their workplace (Edwards, 1990; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Consistent with this rationale, researchers (e.g. Kiefer, 2005; Kiefer & Barclay, 2012) argue that negative emotions can erode an individual's attitudes towards the organisation by compelling them to re-evaluate the organisation: they believe that they are not receiving the support they require and therefore lose trust in the organisation.

In order to decrease turnover intentions, positive emotions are needed (George and Jones, 1996; Hom & Kinicki, 2001), which are not evident if employees rely upon the use of Surface Acting. Due to the uncomfortable nature of this process, individuals try to remove themselves from situations in which emotional dissonance occurs, which in a workplace scenario will lead to increased turnover intentions (Abraham, 1999; Allen & Griffeth, 2001; Zerbe, 2000) and consequently support the conceptual relationship between the triadic elements.

High Machiavellians should possess higher turnover intentions than low Machiavellians, as their personality and the use of Surface Acting are characteristic with negative traits affect (Paulhus & Williams, 2002), which manifests itself in low job satisfaction (Dahling et al., 2009; Moore et al., 1996; Sparks, 1994) and correlates with turnover intentions (Lum et al., 1998; Tett & Meyers, 1993). Their idiocentric commitment to the organisation suggests that they are committed to the organisation only to the extent to which they believe it is advantageous to their own needs (Redding et al., 1994); therefore, they possess no emotional ties to the organisation and will leave whenever the opportunity presents itself. As a result of this, the following hypothesis is of interest.

Hypothesis 6: High Machiavellians will demonstrate increased turnover intentions deriving from low job satisfaction.

2.3.13 Description of Study one

As evident within the discussion above, the initial part of the above proposed research/Study one focuses upon the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour, aiming to demonstrate a correlational effect between elements comprising the ego-centric triad (i.e. Individualistic Cultures, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism), while maintaining an emphasis upon Machiavellians and their manipulative tendencies as the key element of the triad. Consequently, the impact of the ego-centric triad upon employees’ states, namely well-being (WB), career success (CS), job satisfaction (JS) and turnover intention (TI) also will be investigated. In addition, the study will consider gender as an antecedent to Machiavellian values.

In this association, the following research questions are of relevance:

RQ1 - Is there a positive relationship between the elements (Individualistic Culture, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) of the ego-centric triad?

RQ2 - How does the triad impact upon employees' well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intentions?

In relation to the research questions and above stated hypothesis, the following model (Figure 1) was proposed:

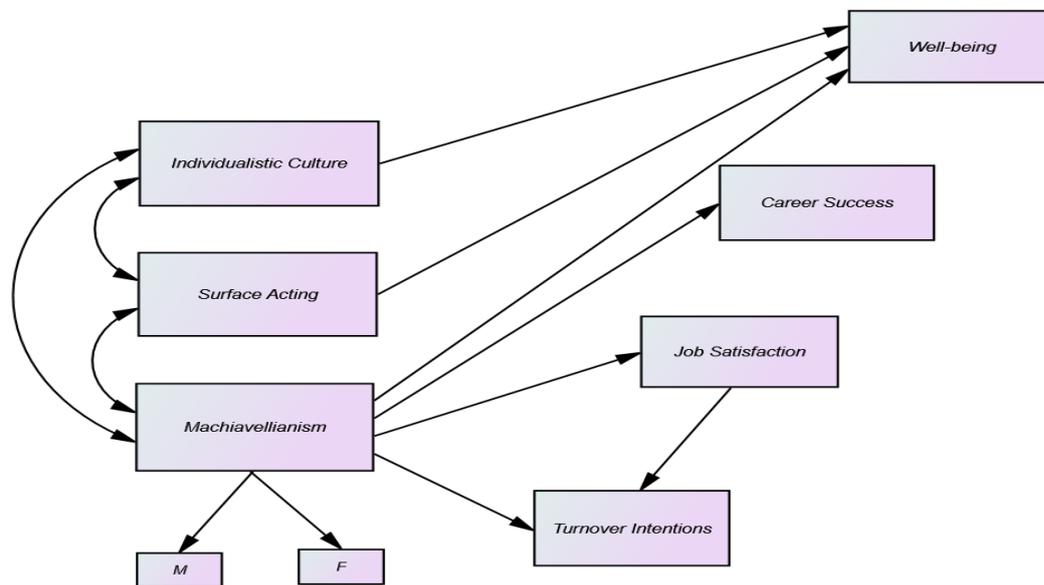


Figure 1: Study one - hypothesised model depicting proposed hypotheses (H1, H2, H3, H4, H5 and H6).

2.4 STUDY TWO: 'TRUTHFULNESS OF MACHIAVELLIANS' RESPONSES, AND THE VALIDITY OF SELF-REPORT MEASURES.'

2.4.1 Confidence in Machiavellians' responses

As evident from the previous section, the proposed model in Study one focuses upon the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour, by analysing the impact of the ego-centric triad upon employee states at work, paying particular attention to Machiavellianism.

Taking into account Machiavellians' association with the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour, and acknowledging their deceitful tactics (Christie & Geis, 1970), it raises further issues regarding the validity of their responses.

In addition, it is of great importance to consider the influence of two variables, namely Machiavellianism and cultural orientation, which can skew participants' responses. The first concern is linked to the honesty of Machiavellians' responses and raises the following question: '*Can we really trust Machiavellians' responses?*' considering their manipulative natures (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004; Christie and Geis, 1970; Kessler et al., 2010; O'Boyle et al., 2012) and impression management tendencies (Jones & Paulhus, 2009). Secondly, there is the danger of cultural orientation leading participants to manipulate their responses in order to create an alignment with culturally induced values (Middleton & Jones, 2000; Shaw, 1990).

Consequently, the second part of this research aims to analyse the social desirability effect and response bias evident within self-report measures.

2.4.2 Social desirability effect

As the triad is concerned with ego-centric values, participants' self-reporting scores might have been swayed to socially acceptable responses, as opposed to honest reports of their emotion management strategies, cultural orientation or level of Machiavellianism. The issue of concern is that self-reports are susceptible to faking (Conte, 2005), which significantly distorts the validity of non-cognitive measures (Douglas, McDaniel & Snell, 1996; Griffin, Hesketh & Grayson, 2004; Lueke, Snell & Illingworth, 2002; McFarland & Ryan, 2000; Mueller-Hanson, Heggstad & Thornton, 2003; Stark, Chernyshenko, Chan, Lee & Drasgow, 2001). In order to decrease the distortion of measures, Study one ensured full anonymity of participants' responses. Nevertheless, as Van Iddekinge et al. (2005) argue, the possibility of participants

portraying more favourable responses with regard to their values and behaviour is always there. In addition, numerous researchers (Bradley, O'Shea & Hauenstein, 2002; Burnkrant, 2001; Ellingson, Sackett & Hough, 1999; Griffin et al., 2004; Lueke et al., 2002; McFarland & Ryan, 2000; Van Iddekinge et al., 2005; Vasilopoulos, McFarland, Cucina & Ingerick, 2002; Viswesvaran & Ones, 1999; Zickar & Robie, 1999) have demonstrated that people can and, indeed, do distort their responses to appear more attractive. The desire to appear more socially attractive leads to defensiveness (Murphy & Cleveland, 1995), which is accredited to certain personality traits such as high self-esteem and social astuteness, and which could consequently be linked to Machiavellianism. Self-reports assessing Machiavellian tendencies might be misleading as, despite full anonymity, individuals might not feel comfortable admitting to the true extent of their Machiavellianism and their ego-centric tendencies. Therefore, it is of interest to further investigate this issue and research the validity of self-report measures. In addition, cultural orientation (e.g. Hofstede, 2001; Xie, Roy & Chen, 2006) will influence the degree to which individuals distort their reports in order to provide socially desirable responses. The focus will remain upon the triadic elements with the exception of Surface Acting (which can only rely on self-report measures), as one is dealing with individuals' emotions which are only experienced by the individuals themselves (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

2.4.2.1 Cultural dimensions and their impact upon social desirability effect

Initial ground-breaking work on social approval surfaced from Crowne and Marlowe's research (1960, 1964), which identified two general types of responses. The first type is a *response style*, which means that the individual consistently uses the extreme ends of response scales regardless of the content of the question (Cronbach, 1949, 1950). The second type is a *response set* and corresponds to an individual's preference to portray himself in a socially desirable

manner (Crowe & Marlowe, 1960, 1964; O'Neil, 1967). Consequently, individuals will deny socially undesirable traits by using impression management in order to project a positive view of themselves (Zerbe & Paulhus, 1987). Crowne and Marlowe (1960, 1964) maintain that the extent to which individuals deny socially unacceptable traits is culturally driven.

In support of this, sociologists argue that socially shared meanings may be culture specific (Hofstede, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Russell, 1991) as they are rooted in the language and the history of the people living in them (Triandis, 1990). In addition, the values are relatively stable and not susceptible to rapid change (Brewster & Tyson, 1991). Therefore, it can be concluded that culture influences the appraisal of events and behaviour expectations (Frijda, 1999).

Particularly strong national differences are evident between Western and Eastern cultures, as documented by Hofstede's typology (1984, 1991) which focused on five cultural dimensions, consisting of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity - femininity, Individualism - Collectivism, and long-term time orientation. Hofstede hypothesised that cultures differ in terms of mental programmes, which are instilled in children through the socio-educational process. Consequently, these programmes will affect the goals, beliefs and behaviour of individuals on both fronts, inside and outside of the work setting.

The work dimensions of these programmes are as follows:

- 1) Power distance - the extent to which there exists an unequal distribution of power.
- 2) Uncertainty avoidance - the extent to which the culture tolerates ambiguity.
- 3) Individualism - the extent to which the culture values individuals and believes they are capable of taking care of themselves, as opposed to relying on the group (Collectivism).
- 4) Masculinity - the extent to which the culture gives preference to masculine traits (assertiveness and strength), as opposed to feminine traits (nurturing and quality of life).

- 5) Long term orientation - the extent to which culture focuses upon long-term versus short-term goals.

Each of these elements is highly likely to possess some degree of influence upon an individual's need for social approval (Geletkanycz, 1997). The power distance dimension is stronger in Eastern cultures, therefore individuals from those cultures will be more likely to respond in a socially desirable way (Shipper, Hoffman & Rotondo, 2007), as opposed to Western cultures where the power distance is low and individuals perceive they have the freedom to express themselves freely (Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Gudykunst, 1997; Vitell, Nwachukwu & Barnes, 1993). In terms of uncertainty avoidance, which is high in Eastern cultures, individuals will be forced to provide socially acceptable responses which are condoned by the majority of the population. With regard to feminine/masculinity cultures, individuals from a feminine culture will be more likely to provide socially desirable responses, as opposed to masculine cultures, which value materialistic success and assertiveness and therefore might seek to respond in a way which reflects their true feelings. The fourth dimension, comprising of Individualism and Collectivism, is of the highest interest in this research, as Individualism is a construct of the proposed ego-centric triad. Individuals from Collectivistic Cultures placing emphasis on cooperation and loyalty towards groups will be more likely to experience greater pressure to respond as expected, in comparison with Individualistic/Western cultures, which exhibit strong propensities towards idiocentric behaviour. Consequently, participants from Individualistic Cultures should remain unaffected by the social desirability bias. The final dimension in the form of a long-term orientation is also of relevance. Eastern societies place significance on values of thrift, persistence and long-term alliances, and assume the need to comply with the socially expected set of rules in order not to offend others; individuals from Western cultures might express more forthright and direct responses (Middleton & Jones, 2000). Middleton and Jones' (2000) study indicated significant differences in social desirability response bias across

cultures. Similar views derive from Shaw's study (1990), which stated that individuals from Eastern and Western cultures store, respond and use information differently from each other, which further implies that response differences are linked to cultural values.

Self-report measures are dangerous tools, as out of the multisource feedback systems, self-rating leads to the highest positive scores (Becker & Klimosky, 1989; Conway & Huffcutt, 1997), which indicates skewness of responses. Consequently, individuals tend to overestimate their contribution and inflate their scores (London, 2004). Both statements were strongly contradicted by Varela and Premeaux (2008), who stated that this is not the case apart from people-orientated behaviour deriving from Collectivistic Cultures. Employees tend to overestimate their degree of concern for others, which is in alignment with collectivistic values where individuals are interwoven into one tight unit.

Social Identity Theory assumes that people attempt to maintain favourable self-concepts deriving from their own experience and their experiences in group memberships. This view would support the notion that individuals from Collectivistic Cultures misrepresent their responses due to solidarity towards the group, rather than a self-presentation act.

In summary, the need for social approval differs across cultures and the cultural dimensions embedded in the society (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964), which results in Eastern societies denying socially unacceptable behaviour and exaggerating socially desirable ones (Middleton & Jones, 2000).

Ronen & Shenkar (1985) suggested that countries that exhibit similar cultural values might cluster on comparable dimensions. Hofstede (1980) treated perceived Individualism and Collectivism as opposite poles of bipolar construct. However, Xie et al. (2006) perceived Individualism and Collectivism as bi-dimensional, rather than as opposite poles of bipolar construct.

Individualism is defined by emphasis on the 'self', as separate from others. Individuals from this spectrum focus on individual initiative, achievement and autonomy, self-reliance, and self-respect (Hofstede, 1991). Their behaviour is organised primarily in relation to their own thoughts, feelings and actions, as opposed to the thoughts of others (Triandis, 1995). Therefore, individuals with idiocentric values should be unaffected by self-report bias, assessing moral aspects of behaviour (Balzer, Greguras & Raymark, 2004), as they believe that idiocentric behaviour should be rewarded.

Collectivism, on the other hand, places emphasis on belonging to one or more groups and possessing collective cognition, and priority is given to collective goals, group achievements and rewards (Earley, 1994). Furthermore, individuals are discouraged to boast about their individual achievements (Farh, Dobbins & Cheng, 1991) and are expected to demonstrate modesty in terms of their performance. Consequently, Collectivistic Cultures exercise more control and a greater degree of pressure deriving from social norms (Triandis, 1995), while Individualism provides relative freedom in terms of individual attributes and emotional expression (Oyserman et al., 2002).

Nevertheless, the assumption that Collectivistic Cultures exhibit higher social desirability bias has been disputed by other researches, which pointed out the link between Individualism and self-enhancement propensity (Brown, 2003), defined as a tendency to maintain and exhibit a positive view of self and to exhibit stronger self-rating bias (Xie et al., 2006). The self-enhancement propensity consists of two sub-attributes, superiority and exhibitionism - also evident in Machiavellian personalities (Furnham et al., 2013). Leniency bias is defined as a tendency to provide self-rating that is more favourable than ratings provided by others (Nilsen & Campbell, 1993). This is evident mostly in Western cultures, across occupations, types of ratings, and time (Nilsen & Campbell, 1993). Farh et al. (1991) argue that employees in Individualistic Cultures exhibit greater leniency (overrating) than individuals from

Collectivistic Cultures (underrating), which suggests that Individualistic Cultures will provide a more favourable view of themselves as opposed to Collectivistic Cultures.

However, others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yammarino & Atwater, 1997) disagree with this concept and call for the investigation of individual differences when analysing the effect of culture upon individual attitudes and behaviour; which brings us to the second variable of interest, Machiavellianism.

2.4.3 Truthfulness of Machiavellians' responses

Machiavellianism is synonymous with the use of guile and deceit. Although Machiavelli did not advocate lying as such, he suggested it as a necessity within an imperfect world. The first study investigating lying was conducted in the 1970s. Exline et al. (1970) demonstrated that high Machiavellians' responses deviate further from the truth and sound less anxious than low Machiavellians' accounts. Similar views were obtained with follow-up studies (Oksenberg, 1971; Geis & Moon, 1981; DePaulo & Rosenthal, 1979), which demonstrated the effectiveness of Machiavellians' deception of others, adding that lying high Machiavellians were more believed than lying low Machiavellians. Furthermore, high Machiavellians increased their negotiating advantage when others could not check the veracity of their claims. These findings clearly demonstrate the ability of Machiavellians to engage successfully in deceitful behaviour for personal gain, while at the same time maintaining a socially acceptable image.

2.4.3.1 Response bias and Face Management Theory

Social desirability is widely recognised as a problematic response bias, evident within self-report measures of various natures such as personality traits (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960, Edwards, 1953; Mick, 1996); attitudes (Arkin & Lake, 1983; Fisher, 1993); and self-reported behaviour (Mensch & Kandel, 1988). Consequently, measures in these areas are flawed by

inaccuracies, as some individuals have a tendency to portray themselves in a more positive light, as opposed to providing accurate responses reflecting their true self. Individuals have a tendency to over-report socially desirable behaviour (Hadaway, Marler & Chaves, 1993) and under-report socially undesirable behaviour (Mensch & Kandel, 1988). As this tendency to manipulate responses is fairly common, researchers have developed numerous strategies to minimise it. Some researchers suggested the use of longer worded questions using familiar lexical items, as opposed to shorter versions with unfamiliar items (Blair, Sudman, Bradburn & Stocking, 1977); while others (e.g. Holtgraves, 1989; Peer & Gamliel, 2011) proposed the inclusion of a clause linked to justification of socially unacceptable behaviour in order to reduce respondents' discomfort (Krumpal, 2013). Additional tips suggest that the context of the questions should be varied as individuals interpret questions in the context of previous questions (Grice, 1975), even if this was not the aim of the researcher (Schwarz et al., 1991). One of the more recent suggestions derives from Peer and Gamliel's research (2011), stating that response bias is higher if individuals can see the whole set of questions on an individual page. Seeing a large number of questions leads to checking of responses. Therefore, their suggestion is that questionnaires should be designed in such a way that the participant is able to see only a small number of questions at any one time.

Despite these strategies to eliminate or at least suppress the social desirability effect and response bias, the results were inconsistent (Presser, 1990), which further suggests that even methodologically sound questionnaires cannot guarantee objective responses.

Social desirability should be considered from the perspective of *Face Management Theory* (Goffman, 1967), according to which "*face is a positive social value that an individual is trying to claim for himself*" (p. 5). The 'face value' is associated with a desire to present a favourable image to others. Therefore, self-report questions are potentially face threatening, such that if a question is asking the respondent to report upon their values or behaviours, which are deemed

to be damaging to their image, they will feel uneasy and try to manipulate their responses in order to comply with the politically correct expectations associated with a 'good' person.

Holtgraves, Eck and Lasky's (1997) research confirmed that face-support wording reduces socially undesirable responding for the reporting of socially desirable behaviour. They also issued a caution, that face-supporting wording might not be effective for everyone as there will be discrepancies in an individual's perception of socially desirable behaviour which will vary across different cultures. However, when individuals were reporting upon socially observable behaviour their responses were unaffected by face-support manipulation which, as the authors explained, is due to the individuals' perception that socially acceptable behaviour is objective and observable, and therefore should be answered honestly. People also vary in the degree to which they are bothered about the social desirability of their responses (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Paulhus, 1984). Consequently, individuals who have little concern about presenting themselves in a socially acceptable manner will not be inclined to manipulate their responses.

2.4.3.2 Self-presentation and Impression management

Paulhus (1984, Paulhus and Bruce, 1992) identified two measures of social desirability. The first factor is *self-deceptive positivity*, which reflects honest but overly favourable self-presentation, and is linked to personality constructs such as self-esteem and optimism (Winters & Neale, 1985). The second measure is *impression management* and is associated with the desire to present oneself in a socially expected manner (Paulhus & Reid, 1991). Individuals scoring high on impression management are more socially responsive. In addition, they prefer low profile behaviour, which avoids evaluation by others. Successful impression management requires that individuals identify the society norms and form their responses in relation to those norms (Leary, 1996).

Fisher and Katz's (2000) study confirmed the previously stated findings by supporting the notion that respondents adjust positive values because they expect positive social feedback.

Individualistic Cultures tend to emphasise values that relate to personal achievement, independence and self-interest (Triandis et al., 1988). Nevertheless, Fisher and Katz's (2000) study contradicts the findings by adding that Western/Individualistic Cultures/American scores demonstrated emphasis upon warm relationships which means that, despite the emphasis on 'doing one's own thing', individuals still value the support of others. These findings clearly dispute Hofstede's (1980) theory and further support the notion that Individualistic Cultures might be equally likely to misconstrue their responses in order to demonstrate solidarity and present themselves in a more positive light, in a way similar to what Collectivistic Cultures would do.

Research findings agree on the idea that social desirability has the effect of lowering construct and predictive validity of personality scores and self-reported measures of behaviour (Mueller-Hanson et al., 2003; Murphy & Dzieweczynsky, 2005), which makes the validity of this data collection tool questionable. Similarly, other research has confirmed the notion that when individuals respond to a personality questionnaire - more specifically, to questions which ask them to report upon their undesirable characteristics - they may not be entirely honest (Alliger, Lilienfeld & Mitchel, 1996; Barrick & Mount, 1996). Taking into account that Study one is concerned with Machiavellian traits, which have a negative connotation deriving from their tendency to manipulate information (Christie & Geis, 1970), it could be assumed that high Machiavellians' responses might have been altered. However, it is not only high Machiavellians who have a tendency to manipulate information, as research showed that people from all walks of life tell lies (Kashy & DePaulo, 1996).

Based on the literature findings, it is reasonable to make assumptions that Machiavellians will exhibit self-rating bias. Nevertheless, the culturally associated values are not clearly defined,

as there are several discrepancies stemming from research. There is some evidence suggesting that Collectivistic Cultures will demonstrate a greater degree of social desirability effect due to their values related to group solidarity and the pressure of social norms to conform (e.g. Farh et al., 1991; Middleton & Jones, 2000; Triandis, 1995). Other authors present the opposing view, stating that employees from Individualistic Cultures will be more likely to misconstrue their responses as they express stronger self-rating bias, and have a tendency to inflate their abilities (Xie et al., 2006).

Consequently, this research assumes that employees from both cultures may misconstrue their responses; however, the level of deception will vary. Combining Machiavellianism with this self-rating bias deriving from Individualistic Cultures, the study predicts that these two constructs will result in greater discrepancies in responses than from their counterparts (low Machiavellians from Collectivistic Cultures).

Hypothesis 7: Machiavellianism will be positively related to self-rating bias; as a result, high Machiavellians will under-report their true level of amoral values and practise to a greater extent than their counterparts.

2.4.4 Study two description

Study two focuses upon the social desirability effect evident within self-report measures and calls for further investigation of the truthfulness of Machiavellians' responses. Consequently, it proposes discrepancies between the reported and observed levels of Machiavellianism, suggesting that individuals scoring high on the MACH IV test will under-report their amoral values and practice to a greater extent than individuals scoring low (lower) on the same scale. In addition, this study accredits the self-report bias to two factors: Machiavellianism and cultural orientation, and aims to answer the following research question:

RQ3 - Does social attractiveness effect take place in anonymous self-reports when ego-centric qualities are of concern?

2.5 STUDY THREE: ‘SOURCES OF MACHIAVELLIAN VALUES: INFLUENCE OF UPBRINGING PRACTICE AND INSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS UPON THE FORMATION OF PERSONAL VALUES’.

2.5.1 Value systems

Values are defined as abstract goals serving to guide an individual’s behaviour and to evaluate actions, people and self (Schwartz, 1992). They form core components of culture (Hofstede, 2001) and ultimately guide behaviour and attitudes towards the world and society (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Knafo, Daniel & Khoury-Kassabri, 2008). Personal values play a significant role in the choice of careers, in an individual’s perception of ethical behaviour in the workplace (Finegan, 1994), and even influence employee job satisfaction and commitment (Oliver, 1990). This suggests that personal values are linked to organisational values in the sense of individuals choosing workplaces which match their own beliefs. Nevertheless, this luxury is not always available as job positions in the preferred field might be scarce. Conformity with the values of an institution will lead to positive outcomes in the form of gaining support and access to resources, and therefore can be essential for survival (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990). Nevertheless, it is not an easy and straightforward process as the institutionalised values might differ from the personal values held by the individual. Consequently, an individual will be faced with the choice to adapt, to leave the workplace, or to stay and suffer emotional dissonance and further negative implications upon their well-being.

Schwartz (1992; Schwartz & Bilsky 1987) identified three ‘*universal human requirements*’ that form the basis for all values: the need for biological survival; the demand for social interaction; and social and institutional demands for group welfare. Schwartz (1992) further

developed a comprehensible and widely-used value model comprising of 10 values, which are arranged across two axes, resulting in two dimensions: self-enhancement (power and achievement values) versus self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence), and openness to change (stimulation and self-direction) versus conservatism (tradition, security and conformity values). Notably, individuals differ in the priorities they assign to each value. Some studies have proposed that differences in values are accredited to aspects such as gender differences (Bilsky et al., 2013; Knafo & Spinath, 2011; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005), socio-economic status (Longest et al., 2013; Wray-Lake, Flanagan Benavides & Shubert, 2014) and religiousness (Saroglou, 2012; Saroglou, Delpierre & Dernelle, 2004; Schwartz & Huisman, 1995), while others argue that environmental factors such as experience, life events and exposure to stimuli should also be considered (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Therefore, it is important to consider the source of values from the socio-analytic perspective, as emotions are not just private meanings which indirectly surface through the social world but are aspects that emerge directly through the medium of interaction.

2.5.2 Genetic and environmental influences upon values

Emotions are social through and through; they are a form of communication (Parkinson, 1996). Recent theories state that values are to a large extent passed on by parents (Knafo & Spinath, 2011), which further suggests that emotion management strategies and values are developed from an early age, when individuals learn when and how to express or suppress their emotions (Saarni, 1993). This was not always the case, as early theories claimed that children are unable to hold or express values about the social world surrounding them (Marini & Case, 1994). Nevertheless, this view is strongly disputed by recent developments in research, stating that children do understand social norms and behaviour earlier than initially presumed (Thompson, Meyer & McGinley, 2006). Studies measuring values in children (age 9-11) have demonstrated

that the value structure in children is similar to that of an adult, even if less defined (Bilsky et al., 2013; Döring et al., 2010; Knafo & Spinath, 2011). This suggests that both genetic and environmental influences are evident early on in human life stages (Knafo & Schwartz, 2009; Ranieri & Barni, 2012; Schönplflug, 2012). Values are not only influenced by parental guidance but also by the larger society; therefore, they develop via socialisation (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Knafo & Schwarz, 2009). Similarly, Uzefovsky et al. (2015) demonstrated that children at the age of seven already possess knowledge of gender associated roles and values, and they internalised these values in a similar way to adults. From an early age, girls and boys are exposed to gender stereotypes, in the family and childcare setting, and consequently learn the different expectations with regard to their prosocial and aggressive behaviour (Chick, Heilman-Houser & Hunter, 2002). In this context, physical aggression seems to be higher in boys (Zimmer-Gembeck, Geiger & Crick, 2005) and is linked to the self-enhancement value of power (Knafo et al., 2008), while pro-social behaviour seems to be higher in girls (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2005) and is associated with the self-transcendence value of benevolence (Schwartz, 2010). The differences in values between girls and boys suggest the existence of a gender divide with regard to acceptable behaviour which should prevail until adulthood. Therefore, the values that employees possess are impacted by genetics and also by environmental factors (Uzefovsky et al., 2015).

The initial introductory point of values are parents, who transmit their values, rules and standards with regard to thinking and behaviour through which children learn how to interpret the world around them (McGillicuddy - De Lisi & Sigel, 1995; Super & Harkness, 2002). Ultimately, parental rules and norms reflect their cultural values (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Keller, 2003). In addition, cultural orientations (Individualism and Collectivism) will influence the specific selection of values. Social scientists have portrayed parents in Western cultures as individuals promoting autonomy and developmental goals, while parents in Eastern cultures

are represented as promoting relationship-orientated values (Harwood, Schoelmerich, Schultze & Gonzales, 1999; Hofstede, 1980; Lieber, Yang & Lin, 2000). Nevertheless, this framework is perceived as simplistic, considering the current aspect of globalisation and westernisation of countries (Rothbaum & Trommsdorf, 2007) and therefore cannot explain the culture-specific parental influence upon children's values (Harkness, Super & Van Tijen, 2000).

Parents from Individualistic Cultures encourage their children to be independent, autonomous individuals with limited ties to the larger groups of society. Consequently, these upbringing practices are characterised with four cultural values, namely personal choice, intrinsic motivation and persistence, self-esteem, and self-maximisation (Bridges, 2003; Harwood et al., 1999; Hofstede, 1980; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007). In contrast to these self-centred values promoted within Individualistic Cultures, parents from Collectivistic Cultures promote relatedness and interdependence in their children (Grotevant, 1998). This relatedness to others is manifested via the values of connection to the family, orientation to the larger group, respect, and obedience (Triandis, 1995). Therefore, it is possible that employees from a collectivistic background will be more likely to follow the values instilled by their parents as opposed to employees from Individualistic Cultures. Despite this clear difference in values, Triandis (1995) argues that these cultures should not be perceived in isolation of each other and should be seen as probabilistic as opposed to deterministic. Furthermore, he identifies a number of variables - including social affluence and educational level - which will influence the cultural values. Similarly, Smetana (2002) notes that although European-American children assert autonomy earlier than Mexican children, in fact all children irrespective of culture value autonomy. John and Beatrix Whiting (1974, 1978) were amongst the first to demonstrate the coexistence of collectivistic and individualistic goals within Kenyan families, where parents wished their children to be obedient, respectful, and connected to the family, while at the same time developing skills of independence. This was later supported by Tamis-Le Monda et al.

(2008), demonstrating the coexistence between Individualism and Collectivism, and proving that autonomy and relatedness should be perceived as a continuum rather than opposite constructs.

2.5.2.1 Machiavellianism in children's values

As evident within the previous section, values are aspects that develop in early childhood from interaction with the external environment (Ranieri & Barni, 2012) and are to a large extent transmitted by parents (Knafo & Spinath, 2011). Nevertheless, there is surprisingly little empirical research using child samples focusing on when and how Machiavellian traits develop. Considering the implication of Machiavellianism upon childhood empathy (Barnett & Thomson, 1985) and manipulative interpersonal behavior (Braginsky, 1970), it is not surprising that in recent years there has been a significant rise in this topic. Presently, there are three main paradigms which attempt to explain the emergence of Machiavellian tendencies. The first one is Bandura's (1977) *Social Learning Theory*, followed by *Life - History Theory* (Kaplan & Gangestad, 2005) and Belsky's *Evolutionary Theory of Socialisation* (Del Giudice & Belsky, 2011). The common ground of these theories is that they recognise the impact of the greater social environment upon Machiavellianism, as opposed to relying solely upon genetic predispositions and parental influence.

The initial research studies were concerned with parental influence upon the rise of Machiavellianism and hypothesised that children take on the roles in parent-child interaction that are complementary to their parents. Therefore, high Machiavellian parents will have moral children, while low Machiavellian parents will have amoral children (Braginsky, 1970; Christie & Geis, 1970). Nevertheless, this view encountered strong opposition arguing that children would develop similar attitudes to their parents (Kraut & Price, 1976, Ojha, 2007; Rai & Gupta,

1989). Despite this dispute with regard to children having similar or dissimilar values to their parents, it was established that young children do possess Machiavellian traits.

Braginsky's research (1970) found that children of high Machiavellians use more manipulative strategies than children of low Machiavellians and exercised greater control over impressions they made upon other people. The notion that Machiavellianism is firmly evident within children was further supported by other studies (Barnett & Thompson, 1985; Braginsky, 1970; Nachamie, 1970), demonstrating the effect of children's manipulative tendencies. More recent studies are concerned with the actual sources or causes of Machiavellian tendencies in children. Lang's (2015) research with adolescents, comparing early maladaptive schemata with Machiavellian tendencies, demonstrated that emotional deprivation, mistrust/abuse, entitlement/grandiosity and approval seeking/recognition seeking were positively related to Machiavellianism. The early development of Machiavellian traits was supported by findings where adolescents' realisation that their emotional support needs will not be met, derive from early experience with neglecting and rejecting caregivers (Lang & Lenard, 2015). This early emotional experience, coupled with a dismissing attachment style (Jonason, Lyons & Bethell, 2014), may cause the activation of emotional deprivation and ultimately evoke maladaptive avoidance coping response (Young, Klosko & Weishaar, 2003).

Early Maladaptive Schemas (EMSs) are "*self-defeating emotional and cognitive patterns that begin early in our development and repeat throughout life*" (Young et al., 2003, p.7). EMSs are influenced by temperamental predisposition, cultural influences and toxic childhood experiences (Lang, 2015). In addition, Young et al. (2003) claimed that the early maladaptive schemas develop in a typical dysfunctional family, where core developmental needs are not met. This was further supported by Lang and Lenar's study (2015) demonstrating a correlation between neglect and Machiavellianism in general, and Machiavellians' tactics and Machiavellians' world view. Furthermore, the negative implications of dysfunctional

upbringing lead to psychoticism, neuroticism and extensive lies, as demonstrated by Sutton and Keogh's research (2001) using a Junior Eysenk personality questionnaire. Their Kiddie Mach scale revealed three main traits evident in children scoring high on Machiavellianism, namely lack of faith in human nature, dishonesty and distrust.

As is evident, values develop from interaction with others, and primarily derive from the caregiver's influence (Knafo & Schwartz, 2009; Ranieri & Barni, 2012; Schönplflug, 2001). In addition, Machiavellianism as a personality trait and its value system is firmly established in childhood (Lang, 2015; Lang & Lenar, 2015; Young et al., 2003). Nevertheless, once individuals leave the safety net of the family home and enter the workplace, they are exposed to other values that might not necessarily match their original ones. Therefore, it is important to analyse the power and influence of institutional values embedded within organisational culture.

2.5.3 Institutional influence upon personal values

Farh, Earley and Lin's (1997) research has indicated that there is a link between demographic culture and organisational citizenship behaviour. Hofstede (2001) argues that national culture is relatively stable over time, yet even he recognises cultural changes. Hofstede collected most of his data in late 1960 and 1970, therefore his findings have attracted a pool of opponents, amongst them Peterson (2003), taking a stance against the validity of the data and collection method, while others (Schwarz 1990; Inglehart, 1997) attempted to cross-validate Hofstede's results. Despite the criticism, Hofstede's model remains the most influential model on cultural dimensions (Peterson, 2003; Peterson, 2004; Smith, 2006) and Individualistic Culture is the most popular dimension of studies. Individualistic Culture is defined as the degree to which people in a particular culture prefer to act as individuals rather than members of a group, focusing on personal goals, personal uniqueness, and personal control (Oyserman et al., 2002).

In Collectivistic Cultures, individuals possess the tendency to define their own needs in relation to their groups, and ultimately sacrifice their needs for 'the greater good of others'. Due to these predispositions, it is evident that individuals from Collectivistic Cultures tend to have a stronger attachment to their organisation and frequently suppress their individual goals at the expense of organisational ones; this is clearly not the case of Individualistic Cultures (Jung & Avolio, 1999; Triandis, 1995). Consequently, there is an emphasis on cooperative team processes in Collectivistic Cultures, which makes them more likely to express organisational citizenship behaviour (Moorman & Blakey, 1995; Paine and Organ, 2000). These findings propose that employees from Collectivistic Cultures will be more likely to change their personal values in order to fit into the organisation than employees from Individualistic Cultures.

Social Identity Theory suggests that social identities reflect an individual's efforts to situate themselves in their societies in relation to social representation of their in-group memberships. It is important to note that cultures do change as a result of historical and political evolution; thus, a change in values might become evident due to organisational phenomena (Meyer, Becker & Van Dick, 2006), within which individuals will build an attachment in the form of identity and organisational commitment. Commitment is defined as the force that binds an individual to a target and the course of actions relevant to the target. This suggests that individuals might become psychologically connected to entities such as organisations, work groups and even supervisors (Becker, Billings, Eveleth & Gilbert, 1996; Bishop & Scott, 2000; Siders, George & Dharwadkar, 2001), as well as jobs, goals and organisational programmes (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002; Klein, Wesson, Hollenbeck, Wright & DeShon, 2001; Morrow, 1993). As a result, employees adopt institutional values, ideas and practices (Becker & Kernan, 2003; Meyer, Becker & Vandenberghe, 2004; Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001). There are several reasons why an employee adopts organisational values. Employees will form an attachment

because they want to (affective commitment), because they should (normative commitment) or because they have too much to lose (continuance commitment), which is perhaps most applicable to this research, which is analysing the sources of values within the emotional labour concept, where salary and actual jobs are at stake (Hochschild, 1983). In order to form a social identity, the employee is required to form a group membership, which is not strictly defined by one particular entity but can be structured around several aspects; as a result, it is possible to form multiple social identities (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Van Dick, Wagner, Stellmacher & Christ, 2004; Van Dick, Wagner, Stellmacher, Christ & Tissington 2005). Nevertheless, others argue that the social identities that employees construe at work are short lived; they therefore have a temporary nature as they are bound by situational cues such as uniform or contract. Nevertheless, there is also a possibility that these identities can become long-lasting, deep-structure identities resulting in shared values and mutual respect (Bourne & Jenkins, 2013).

2.5.4 Parental versus institutional influence upon personal values and Machiavellianism

Researchers agree with the *Social Learning Theory* and the *Evolutionary Theory of Socialisation* by attributing personal values to social interactions; the focus therefore remains upon the nurture debate. Deriving from their findings, it is evident that there are two major influences relating to personal values. The first one is parental influence and upbringing practices (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Keller, 2003; McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel, 1995; Super & Harkness, 2002; Uzefovsky et al., 2015), while the second derives from the institutional environment, from workplace values (Becker et al., 1996; Bishop & Scott, 2000; Moorman & Blakely, 1995; Paine and Organ, 2000; Siders et al., 2001). However, the power of these two influences upon the formation of personal values is largely unexplored.

2.5.5 Description of Study three

Study three links the formation of personal values to two main variables - upbringing practices and organisational/institutional culture. The focus remains upon the main element of ego-centric triad-Machiavellianism, and related amoral values and practice. Ultimately, the research aims to investigate the sources of Machiavellian values and the power of organisational cultures to override personal values instilled by parents and their related demographic culture. In association, the following research question is of interest:

RQ4 - Where do Machiavellian tendencies stem from? Are upbringing practices or organisational cultures responsible for employees' personal values and subsequent behaviour within an intra-organisational setting?

2.6 LITERATURE REVIEW SUMMARY: STUDY ONE, STUDY TWO AND STUDY THREE

Since Hochschild's (1983) review of emotion management strategies and the consequent publication of her book, *The Managed Heart*, interest in emotion management and emotional labour went into overdrive. Perhaps not surprisingly, the emotion literature featured heavily in journals and publications, presenting an ongoing debate related to the positive (e.g. Adelman, 1995; Becker & Cropanzano, 2015; Cropanzano et al., 2004; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Gutman, 2011; Lubinski, 2000; Spokane et al., 2000; Wharton, 1993; Wong et al., 2005) and negative outcomes (e.g. Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Cordes & Doherty, 1993; Diefendorff et al., 2011; Grandey, 2000; Grandey et al., 2015; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013; Wharton, 1993) of the commercialised management of emotions. Consequently, researchers conceptualised emotional labour into 'Bright Side' and 'Dark Side' categories, dependent upon the use of emotion management strategies. The 'Bright Side' of emotional labour is linked to the use of Deep Acting and the 'Dark Side' is associated with the use of Surface Acting.

However, the aim of this research is to focus upon the '**Dark Side**' of emotional labour, which removes an individual's autonomy over their emotions, leads to a lack of authenticity and a feeling of dissonance (Wharton, 1993), which ultimately translates into emotional burnout (Grandey et al., 2013; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Mallory & Rupp, 2015).

Initial research agreed that the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour is associated with the use of Surface Acting (Coté, 2005; Gross, 1998a; Grandey, 2003; Grandey et al., 2005; Wegner, 1994), impairing employees' states at work. However, considering the contradicting views related to the '*good*' effects (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Liu et al., 2010) versus the '*bad*' effects (Bono & Vey, 2005; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) of the use of this emotion management strategy, it becomes apparent that additional variables might need to be considered in order to fully account for the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour. As a result, this research posed additional elements in the form of individualistic cultural orientation and Machiavellianism to explain fully the negative connotation of emotional labour.

Consequently, this research proposes a correlation/triangular relationship between the three elements comprising the ego-centric triad (Individualism (Idiocentrism), Surface Acting and Machiavellianism), as they all possess ego-centric tendencies focusing upon individual needs, self-centred values and self-presentation.

The triadic relationship between the elements of interest can be explained as follows. Individualistic Cultures foster self-assertiveness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and ego-centric tendencies, such as competition and self-promotion, place focus upon personal needs, rights and liberties (Triandis, 1995). In addition, the expression of fake emotions is perceived as an acceptable form of behaviour (Eid & Diener, 2001), as a result of which individuals from these cultures engage in the use of Surface Acting. The choice of Surface Acting is also enforced by the fact that employees from Individualistic Cultures lack exposure to the emotion management

required for the use of Deep Acting (Allen et al., 2013). Considering that Surface Acting is based upon the use of inauthentic emotions, it is perhaps not surprising that Machiavellians favour this strategy as it is in alignment with their manipulative and deceitful tactics (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013; Mudrack & Mason, 1995).

In addition, the self-centred goals of Machiavellians are in alignment with individualistic/idiocentric values (Triandis, 1994).

Therefore, Individualistic Cultures encourage the use of Surface Acting and the expression of Machiavellian traits, while Machiavellians use Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy, enabling the display of disingenuous emotions. It is important to note that, while this research uses the concept of Individualistic vs. Collectivistic Cultures, the focus is on internalisation of cultural values, such as Idiocentrism (supported by Individualistic Cultures) and Allocentrism (supported by Collectivistic Cultures), rather than on national cultures and geographic boundaries.

Taking into account the negative connotations deriving from research focusing upon the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour (Gagné & Decy, 2005; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Trougakos et al., 2015), it can be assumed that elements comprising the ego-centric triad will possess a negative effect upon employees' states at work. Prior research has demonstrated that the requirements for emotion management within the workplace leads to impaired well-being (Grandey, 2000; Grandey et al., 2015; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000) and decreased job satisfaction (Abraham, 1999; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Diefendorf, et al., 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). The greater the requirements of emotional labour, the greater the extent to which an employee engages in the expression of inauthentic emotions, which ultimately causes a depletion of their resources. Consequently, there are few resources left to focus upon the task in hand, which will lead to impaired performance (Trougakos et al., 2015). In the case of prolonged emotional labour, employees will experience a chronic depletion of resources and the consequent

realisation that their workplace is affecting their well-being. As a result, they will try to remove themselves from the situation causing the distress, which is evidenced by increased turnover intentions and actual voluntary turnover rates (Chau et al., 2009; Goodwin, et al., 2011; Grandey, 2000; Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). Considering the main construct of this research is Machiavellianism, it can be assumed that the Machiavellian trait will have a negative impact upon employees' states at work. Machiavellians' well-being will be impacted due to their high negative affect stemming from their manipulative tendencies and mistrust towards others (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013; Kessler et al., 2010), and the use of Surface Acting, which focuses upon the management of negative emotions (Lazarus, 1991; Parkinson, 1995; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Smith, et al., 1993). In addition, high negative affect creates a feeling of dissatisfaction (Judge, et al., 2006; Weiss et al., 1999) and leads to decreased job satisfaction, which ultimately increases turnover intentions (Lum et al., 1998; Tett & Meyers, 1993). Even so, emotional labour does not possess only negative results for Machiavellians. Taking into account their manipulative tendencies, enabling them to 'get ahead' (Hogan, 2007) and consequently gain political favours (Kessler et al., 2010), combined with institutional interest in emotionless and aggressive individuals (Wilson, 2010), it would be plausible to assume that their skills and abilities should catapult them into leadership positions and consequently guarantee them career success. Considering that men usually occupy top spots within an organisational hierarchy, it could be assumed that men are more Machiavellian than women (McHoskey, 2001). This notion is further supported by *Socio-Analytic Theory* explaining the variation due to differences in values where men's drive is focused upon 'status and control', while women's drive revolves around 'belonging and approval' (Timmers et al., 1998). Therefore, the gender differences in upbringing practices might be responsible for the level of Machiavellianism evident in adults. The support for gender differences is evident not just within Niccolo Machiavelli's work (Machiavelli & Viroli, 2008) (within which he refers

to noblemen and their ability to manipulate their subjects), but also within *Socio-Analytic Theory* and the research literature discussed above. Gender differences were purposefully selected for this research to: a) review the relevance of Machiavelli's concept, and b) examine the validity of *Socio-Analytic Theory* within the present era.

Considering that this research, and Study one in particular, is concerned with the ego-centric triad, focusing upon self-interest and the acceptance of disingenuous emotions, further questions are raised with regard to the truthfulness of participants' responses. The doubts are associated with Machiavellians' deceitful and manipulative natures (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004; Christie and Geis, 1970; Kessler et al., 2010; O'Boyle et al., 2012), and their ability to excel in impression management (Jones & Paulhus, 2009). As a result, it could be expected that their responses are not entirely in line with the objective reflection of their amoral views and behaviour. However, Machiavellianism is not the only cause of concern, as cultural orientation and their related value systems have a tendency to influence an individual's responses (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Middleton & Jones, 2000; Shaw, 1990) when socially acceptable behaviour is of concern. Considering that individualistic values are associated with a propensity to self-enhancement (Brown, 2003), the tendency to maintain and exhibit a positive view of self and to exhibit stronger self-rating bias (Xie et al., 2006), it could be argued that employees from Individualistic Cultures exhibit a greater lenience bias within self-report measures than individuals from Collectivistic Cultures (Farh et al., 1991). Therefore, both elements - Machiavellianism and the individualistic cultural orientation/internalisation of idiocentric values - will lead to an increased social desirability bias evident within self-report measures. As a result, high Machiavellians with idiocentric values will be more likely to manipulate their responses than low (lower level) Machiavellians with allocentric values.

Study two is therefore concerned with the validity of Machiavellian responses, and social desirability bias deriving from cultural orientation. As is evident from the Literature Review,

research had demonstrated that high Machiavellians will be more likely to misconstrue their responses and are better at lying overall, than are low Machiavellians (Geis & Moon, 1981; Oksenberg, 1971; DePaulo & Rosenthal, 1979). Nevertheless, the findings were inconclusive with regard to the impact of cultural orientation and self-rating bias, or impression management. Some researchers have argued that individualistically orientated employees will exhibit a greater propensity towards self-rating behaviour (Brown, 2003; Farh et al., 1991; Xie et al., 2006) while others attribute a similar effect to collectivistic cultural orientation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yammarino & Atwater, 1997). Ultimately, it is equally plausible that individuals from both cultures might exhibit a propensity to manipulate their responses in line with the cultural value systems.

Continuing with the prime element - Machiavellianism - it is of greatest importance to investigate the sources of Machiavellian amoral values and behaviour, linked to manipulation and deceit for personal gain (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004; Kessler et al., 2010; O'Boyle et al., 2012), personal power and the control of others (Christie & Geis, 1970; Stewart & Stewart, 2006), and self-serving behaviour (Fehr et al., 1992). Amoral values are embedded within an individual's personal values and develop from social interaction (Schwartz, 1992). This notion is further supported by the *Social Learning Theory* and the *Evolutionary Theory of Socialisation*, which argue that emotions are social phenomena. Consequently, research has identified two main contenders as sources of values. The first one comprises of early upbringing practices, featuring parental values (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Keller, 2003; McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel, 1995; Super & Harkness, 2002; Uzevovsky et al., 2015), and the second derives from the institutional values evident within workplace value systems (Becker et al., 1996; Bishop & Scott, 2000; Moorman & Blakey, 1995; Paine and Organ, 2000; Siders et al., 2001). Research further suggests that personal values derive from the primary caregiver's influence (Knafo & Schwartz, 2009; Ranieri & Barni, 2012; Schönplflug, 2012) and

are firmly established in childhood (Lang, 2015; Lang & Lenard, 2015; Young et al., 2003). Nevertheless, others argue that organisational values will initiate changes within the personal value system (Becker & Kernan, 2003; Meyer et al., 2006; Meyer et al., 2004; Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001), which will be mediated via organisational commitment reflected by attachment to the organisation, work groups and even supervisors (Becker et al., 1996; Bishop & Scott, 2000; Siders et al., 2001). Consequently, the final study will investigate whether these organisational identities become long lasting, deep-structure identities resulting in shared values and mutual respect (Bourne & Jenkins, 2013), or are just short-lived fads.

3 CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter (Literature Review) outlined the literature background to the three studies forming part of this research. Study one focuses on the impact of the ego-centric triad (Individualism/Idiocentrism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) upon employee states at work (well-being, job satisfaction, career success and turnover intentions). Study two is an extension of Study one and aims to validate the truthfulness of Machiavellian responses, while Study three investigates the sources of Machiavellian values.

This chapter explains the various research philosophies and paradigms which were considered when making choices about the research methodology (design and data collection techniques) used in this research. The following section elaborates upon the principles of research ethics and discusses the participant sample, procedure, measures and analysis used in each study.

3.1.1 Research philosophies

Research design was carefully considered prior to commencing the research in order to ensure the attainment of aim and objectives set out in Chapter 1.

The discussion of research design and methodology served as a guiding principle for a research plan encompassing research design and evaluating the validity of results.

The theoretical framework of the research is there to guide the research (Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler, 2011). Social sciences perceive theory as a tool to describe and explain human behaviour, and the factors which affect their behaviour. Theory provides a general explanation for social phenomena and defines non-observable phenomena, which are inherent from observable behaviour (Best & Khan, 2006). Furthermore, theory points towards missing links and data, which are required to understand fully the phenomena of interest (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004).

Understanding research philosophies is paramount for effective research design. The starting point is a research paradigm, defined as a system of thinking (Neuman, 2011) or philosophical framework, as stated by Collis and Hussey (2009). In other words, a research paradigm is a set of assumptions and beliefs related to the perception of the world serving as a guiding principle of the research.

Researchers describe paradigm as a composition of theories, traditions, approaches, models, frame of reference, body of research and methodologies (e.g. Babbie, 2010; Creswell, 2007; Rubin & Babbie, 2010).

3.1.1.1 Fundamental philosophical beliefs

The main philosophical dimensions of research paradigms are **ontology** and **epistemology** (Kalof, Dan and Dietz, 2008). Ontology represents the view of how reality is perceived.

Ontology perceives that reality is external and independent of social actors and their interpretations (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009), which is classed as objectivism or realism (Neuman, 2011). Subjectivists and nominalists present a contradicting view. They believe that reality is dependent on social actors who actively contribute to the construction of reality.

Epistemology, on the other hand, is aiming to understand and use the knowledge that is deemed valid and acceptable. Epistemology is a philosophical paradigm which refers to 'how we know' and elaborates upon the relationship between the knower and the known (Soini, Kronqvist & Huber, 2011). Christine Sleeter described epistemology as a paradigm examining *"how people know what they know, including assumptions about the nature of knowledge and reality"* (2001, p. 213).

Epistemology is different from ontology, which focuses on 'what exists' and explains the nature of reality. Similarly, epistemology also differs from **axiology** and **methodology**. While

axiology is concerned with ethics (namely, values and researcher's attitude towards the subjects), methodology refers to a model used to undertake the research process.

Researchers do not all share the same epistemological assumptions, therefore distinct categories labelled as post-positivists, constructivist and postmodern, were proposed.

Researchers (Creswell, 2009; Gratton & Jones, 2010; Henning et al., 2004; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Rubin & Babbie, 2010 amongst them) agreed that quantitative and qualitative approaches to research are rooted in research paradigms, namely in positivism and post-positivism.

Ontologically, these two paradigms share the view that social reality is external and objective. Axiologically, they advocate that the researcher should take on the role of an outsider in the research, which fulfils the ethical approach. Epistemologically, they advocate the use of a scientific approach, incorporating the testing of hypothesis and the use of statistical tests. Nevertheless, they use different philosophical assumptions.

Positivism believes in generalisation, within which the researcher will generate similar results using statistical tests (Creswell, 2009), which corresponds to naïve realism. Post-positivists challenge the notion of 'absolute truth'. Although they acknowledge generalisation, they argue that knowledge is subject to social conditioning. This stance is classed as a critical realism.

On the far extreme of post-positivism is interpretivism, supporters of which believe that reality is constructed by social actors and people's perception of reality. They also recognise the subjective nature of people's experiences which results in multiple perspectives of social reality (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). Interpretivism disagrees with post-positivism and consequently rejects the notion of objectivity and 'single truth'. Interpretivism advocates belief in an active role of the researcher and supports the use of qualitative data to generate a rich source of information exploring individual's experiences (Neuman, 2011).

Pragmatism offers a slightly different view by removing itself from the positivism versus interpretivism conflict. Instead, pragmatism starts with a research question and devotes attention to the research framework. Pragmatists recognise the importance of the multi-paradigm approach and view them as complementary disciplines used to better understand the social phenomena. Pragmatists prefer to use quantitative and qualitative data jointly, not in isolation from each other.

Considering the beliefs of different paradigms, it is also important to make a distinction between methodology and methods. A methodology refers to a model used to conduct a research within the bounds of a particular research paradigm. Therefore, methodology evolves from research paradigms, despite many researchers preferring to state the use of qualitative research instead of interpretivist research (Sarantakos, 2005). Research method, on the other hand, consists of specific tools, procedures and techniques used to gather and analyse data. A method corresponds to a practical application of undertaking research, while methodology corresponds to the theoretical foundation of the method. Both of these were given thorough attention within the scoping process of this research.

The research paradigms considered prior to the design of the research methodology are further explored below.

3.1.1.2 Research paradigms

3.1.1.2.1 Positivism

Positivism is composed of a belief based on the assumption that patterns, generalisation, methods, procedures, cause and effect issues are all applicable to the social sciences (Denscombe, 2010; Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011).

The model of positivism strives to formulate a law which would be applicable to populations. Furthermore, this approach believes that the law explains the causes of observable and measurable behaviour.

Positivism is associated with the belief that an objective reality exists outside of personal experiences, with its own cause-and-effect relationships (Riege, 2003). It is assumed that the researcher should maintain a detached position, which enables him/her to remain an independent analyst in the collection of objective data. Therefore, the positivist approach relies on quantifiable data (Druckman, 2005). Validity of data is accredited to data that can be either directly observed through observation, or indirectly observed via the use of instruments. Only empirical evidence is accepted as valid evidence. Consequently, constructs which cannot be seen, such as thoughts and attitudes, do not count as valid evidence. It is viewed that scientific knowledge is arrived at by accumulating facts. Positivism also supports the creation of hypotheses.

In summary, positivism is concerned with the creation of law applicable to all people at all times. Positivists' beliefs were not supported by everyone and some of their views were challenged, due to questionable assumptions. Authors Babbie (2010) and Henning et al., (2004) amongst others, stressed that early positivism is based on the assumption that social reality can be explained in rational terms because people always behave rationally. However, this is not always the case, and positivism disregards individual subjectivity. Despite Babbie's (2010) concerns with positivism, he also states that each paradigm compensates for each other's weakness and neither should be disregarded.

The two main principles of positivism include the understanding of human behaviour, and objectivity. The positivist approach advocates methodology, which would enable replication and quantifiable observations for statistical analysis (Gratton & Jones, 2010). Therefore, the research is limited to what can be observed and measured objectively. The advantages of the

positivism approach lie in precision, control and objectivity and simplicity of research planning, enabling collection of data at a single point in time. Study one and Study two were based upon positivism assumptions, such as advocated use of quantitative data, cross-sectional study design, hypothesis testing, generalisation and the researcher's independent stance. However, it was not possible to apply all principles of positivism as the collection of data could not rely upon observations, because the measured constructs derive from the individual's values and belief, and therefore require the use of self-report measures. Nevertheless, the quantitative data enabled the researcher to test a model and make generalisations and allowed for replication in future researches.

3.1.1.2.2 Post-positivism

Post-positivism arises as a result of positivism limitations (Gratton & Jones, 2010). Gratton and Jones (2010) further argue that it is not possible to gain an understanding of phenomena purely by measurements. Therefore, there is the need for inclusion of qualitative data in addition to the positivism-advocated quantitative data. Creswell (2007) calls for inclusion of multiple perspectives rather than focusing upon a single reality. As a result, the focus of the research shifted from quantitative data, replicability and model testing (Study one) to qualitative data (Study three). It became apparent that qualitative data are needed to provide a comprehensible overview of the research's main construct (Machiavellianism) and to explain the sources and implications of Machiavellian values.

The main difference between these two paradigms is that positivism advocates that there is a single objective reality to be studied and understood, while post-positivism researchers argue that reality cannot ever be fully understood, only approximated (De Vos, Delpont, Fouché & Strydom, 2011). Post-positivism researchers place emphasis upon confidence in the findings, not on absolute truth. The starting point of their research involves the formulation of research

questions and hypothesis and advocates the use of creative methods examining the subjective element of people's experiences. Therefore, Study three aimed to examine individuals' subjective experiences and explore the impact of these early experiences upon formation of values.

Post-positivism consists of interpretivist (constructivism) and critical theory (critical post-modernism), while realism represents a bridge between positivism and post-positivism.

The limitations of positivism resulted in new waves of research paradigms, namely interpretivism and pragmatism.

3.1.1.2.3 Interpretivism

Babbie and Mouton (2008) view the interpretative paradigm as a phenomenological approach. Interpretivism aims to explore the complexity, and gain comprehension, of social phenomena. Interpretivism is focusing on the understanding and interpretation of everyday experiences, events and social structures and the values people assign to these (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). Consequently, interpretivists believe in a certain degree of subjectivity hidden in an individual's perception.

Interpretative researchers contradict the notion that social research should adopt methodology from natural sciences due to fundamental differences between the two disciplines. Reality should be interpreted via the meanings people assign to their life experiences.

The three basic principles of interpretivism can be summarised as follows:

- The social world is constructed on the basis of subjective meanings assigned by people;
- The researcher is part of what is being observed;
- Research is driven by interests (Blumberg et al., 2011).

This paradigm argues that fundamental laws cannot explain the complexity of social phenomena, and the objective observation of the social world is not possible, because the social is construed by the meanings individuals assign to their experiences. Livesey (2006) states that the meaning of truth changes and interpretations vary across societies. In addition, the researcher's role is to discover and interpret subjective realities meaningful to the participants. This approach was applied in Study three, which set out to investigate the meanings individuals assign to their early experiences and the consequent formation of morality values.

Henning et al. (2004) and Livesey (2006) suggest that interpretivism should use observation and interpretation because the main objective of the researcher is to discover how people experience and interpret the world around them. De Vos et al. (2011) further expand upon this notion and propose the use of observations and field research techniques involving direct contact with the participants and analysis of transcribed statements.

In summary, the idea of subjectivity is accepted by interpretivism, which also calls for the use of qualitative methodology. Gephart (1999) suggests inclusion of comparative analysis (such as the inclusion of different categories and a variety of incidents) as a valuable element within interpretivism. Gephart's (1999) stance was implemented within this research, namely in Studies two and three, both of which included categorical variables and aimed to explain differences in Machiavellians' values and behaviour.

3.1.1.2.4 Realism

Realism is a research philosophy possessing certain qualities that are similar to positivism and interpretivism (Blumberg et al., 2011). This paradigm acknowledges the existence of reality beyond human behaviour, yet also recognises that in order fully to understand human behaviour subjectivity is required.

Saunders et al. (2009) argue that human beliefs and behaviours are affected by social processes. These forces operate at a macro level. Realists also acknowledge the forces operating at a micro level, namely subjective individual interpretation. However, these subjective interpretations are not unique, but are shared amongst people.

The social world can be explained on the basis of three different assumptions (paradigms), consisting of: a) ontology (what is believed); b) epistemology (the science of knowing); and, c) methodology (the science of finding out) (Livesey, 2006).

The focus of realism is not only to describe the relationships but also to explain their formation and existence. The social world needs to be understood in totality, as one part of the world is affected by another. Livesey (2006) suggests the use of focus groups and in-depth interviews as methods for valid data collection. Livesey's (2006) assumptions increased confidence in the data collection method (semi-structured interviews) in Study three by reinforcing that, despite the subjectivity attached to interviews, they are still a valid form of data collection enabling in-depth understanding of the studied phenomena.

3.1.1.2.5 Critical approach

Critical approaches emphasise historical and social contexts in order to make sense of a social phenomenon (Lincoln et al, 2011). A critical approach supports the criticism deriving from interpretative approaches aimed at positivism, namely as idolization of objectivity. Interpretivism did not escape criticism either, as critical approach supporters find interpretivism too subjective and relativistic due to its emphasis on feelings and interpretations (Neuman, 2011).

The critical approach calls for the inclusion of reasoning within a research paradigm. This approach also recognises that bias is heavily present in human actions, and so the researcher must undertake the research in such a manner that the bias does not affect the findings (Glicken,

2003). The critical approach stance of eliminating bias within research was fully considered within this research design and method selection processes. This was done by ensuring that Study three and related interviews elicit, or at least minimise, bias associated with subjective methodology. The researcher remained independent throughout the interview and refrained from passing any personal judgement. The coding process was subjected to inter-rater reliability process.

Patton (2002) views critical theory as one of the most influential theories, as it not only seeks to study and understand society but also critiques and changes society as a whole. Supporters of the critical theory also view facts as being influenced by social, political and cultural factors. This research was based on a pragmatic stance. The reason for choosing this approach derives from an evaluation of research paradigms. Furthermore, many researchers view the pragmatic stance as a valuable paradigm, offering a middle ground orientation for positivism and interpretivism (e.g. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) while still recognising the weaknesses of each approach.

It is argued that it is possible to combine different paradigms within research, which leads to numerous benefits (Soini et al., 2011). Abbott (2001) supports this view and argues that even contradictory stances can be combined and can result in a deeper understanding of the study's phenomena.

This research relied on the use of realism and constructivism, as advocated by Maxwell (2011), who claimed that realism can enrich constructivism by providing causality, meaning, diversity and validity.

3.1.2 Summary of fundamental beliefs and research paradigms

There are four fundamental beliefs within research philosophy - ontology, epistemology, axiology and research methodology. Ontology focuses on the position and nature of reality,

epistemology represents the view of what constitutes a valid knowledge, axiology focuses on the role of values in research and the researcher's stance, and methodology offers a model within the research process. Consequently, these fundamental beliefs have different representations within research paradigms, namely positivism (naïve realism), post-positivism (critical realism), interpretivism (constructivism) and pragmatism, as documented above.

The proposed research took into consideration a range of philosophical beliefs and research paradigms. However, the research was ultimately guided by the principles of pragmatism, which places emphasis upon a multidisciplinary approach to research, and views quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection as complementary approaches

As a result, the proposed research, encompassing Study one, Study two and Study three, evolved around four research questions and related hypotheses, and provided detailed attention to the research design. Furthermore, the research relied upon the collection of quantitative and qualitative data to provide casualty, meaning and validity, as advocated by Maxwell (2011).

Due to the nature and sensitivity of the studied topic (Machiavellianism), the research aimed at providing some generalisation (as evident in Study one); nevertheless, the emphasis was upon subjective experiences, meanings and their interpretation (as evident in Study three). Study two encompassed the link between the objective and subjective, combining the principles of positivism (collection of objective, observable and measurable data in the form of e-mail samples) and interpretivism (subjective statements-self-reported measures of Machiavellian values and morals). The researcher remained independent throughout the studies and refrained from any personal judgements and subjective inferences, as advocated by positivism and the critical approach.

3.1.3 Ethical consideration of research

Research ethics were followed at every stage of this process, across all three studies. The initial stages involved seeking approval from the University of Hertfordshire Ethics Committee, followed by a second application related to amendments of the research when adjustments were made to the questionnaire and when another data collection tool was added based upon workplace correspondence (addition of Study two). The documentation sent for ethical approval included an application for the *Ethical Review of Research Projects*, the research proposal, copies of questionnaires and interview protocol, participants' information sheets, and participants' consent form.

The above-conducted research (Study one, Study two and Study three) has complied with the ethical considerations applicable to research procedure within the Psychology field, as stated by the *Economics and Social Research Council* and *The British Psychological Society* - guidance on Ethical Principles for conducting research with human participants. The following aspects were considered:

(1) *The research was designed and undertaken to ensure integrity and quality.* When designing this research, there was an awareness that investigating levels of undesirable qualities and amoral values might cause some difficulties, such as informing the participants of the purpose of the study without resorting to deception. Ultimately, participants were made aware that the focus of this research was centred upon Machiavellianism. In addition, they were encouraged to participate in the debate upon this topic in a *LinkedIn* discussion, which enabled them to gain further information related to this construct and the research itself.

(2) *Participants were fully informed about the purpose of the research, use of methods and intended uses of the study.* To be more specific, the purpose of the research was clearly stated within the advertisement recruiting participants and also was reiterated within the briefing section of the questionnaire and again at interview. In addition, participants were informed

about the constructs being measured, and were assured that the data will be used in relation to PhD studies only. The researcher's contact details were also provided, in case of further queries or information requests.

3) *Participants' consent* was obtained prior to the interviews by the signing of an interview consent form. Consent for questionnaires was not sought as this was not practical due to their electronic distribution. The design of the study and pre-qualifying criteria for participation (a university degree and employment in a current organisation for three years or more) ensured that participants were above the parental consent age limit. Voluntary participation in the questionnaires, without a request for data withdrawal, signalled that participants agreed to take part in the research and were comfortable with their data being included in the study.

(4) The *confidentiality of supplied information deriving from participants' responses and the anonymity of respondents* was respected at all times. The anonymity of questionnaire responses (Study one, Study two and Study three) was ensured by the use of Qualtrics. Recruitment advertisements contained a hyperlink, which transferred participants directly into the questionnaire. Participants' responses were identifiable only by the server IP address, which guaranteed their anonymity. Respondents were reminded not to identify themselves or their organisations within their responses, which was perhaps best evidenced within the e-mail data collection study (Study two). Similarly, the confidentiality aspect was followed within the semi-structured interviews where audio-recordings and transcripts were matched to their questionnaire responses via a unique six-digit password. Audio recordings were destroyed post transcription, as agreed prior to conducting the interviews. Participants were provided with a number corresponding to their sequence of participation (e.g. Participant 1, Participant 2, etc.), and were referred to by this number throughout the analysis and in the text of this thesis.

All data were analysed in aggregate and personal data were collected only when absolutely necessary and of direct relevance to the research (e.g. age, gender and country of origin). Data

and transcripts were stored electronically, and password protected; only the researcher was privy to the full set of data, e-mail correspondence examples and interview responses.

(5) *Respondents' participation was voluntary and free from any coercion*, which is evidenced by their right to withdraw at any given point in time, and by the exclusion of incentives. In addition, the use of online data collection contributed to the free participation aspect. This was further emphasised by the briefing and debriefing sections of the questionnaires and interviews, which reminded the participants of their right to withdraw and/or to be excluded from the study.

(6) *The research had ensured that participants were not harmed in any way*. The questions used projective reasoning in order not to evoke any upset in participants when they were prompted to report on the use of amoral values and behaviour. Furthermore, screening questions were also asked prior to an interview, which ensured that individuals felt comfortable to recall their childhood experiences and formation of values.

(7) *The independence of the research was demonstrated* by the design of the research (guided by the philosophy of critical approach) which enabled the researcher to remain independent throughout as the responses were completely anonymous and the researcher did not possess any personal ties to the participants in this study. The researcher did not express personal judgement upon a participant's moral/amoral views and refrained from any discussion involving personal issues.

3.1.4 Research design, choice and justification of research methods

3.1.4.1 Studies' design

Prior to reaching a decision about the design of the research, evaluation of comparative studies was conducted. The benefits, limitations and practicalities of various study designs, namely cross-sectional, longitudinal and cross-cultural, were analysed. The use of longitudinal studies

was not feasible in this context, as repeated measures of Machiavellianism and amoral behaviour would be in breach of ethical considerations.

Investigating Machiavellianism using repeated measures would require keeping records of individual personal data and being privy to their manipulative behaviour within the workplace. This would lead to a breach of the anonymity facet of ethics and also cause difficulties in maintaining the integrity of the research and in gaining a participant's consent. Furthermore, the attrition risks of longitudinal design (i.e. loss of participants throughout the study due to moving job roles, or no longer wishing to take part) was high (Creswell, 2009). There was also the danger that participants would become familiar with the tests and provide more socially desirable responses. Cross-cultural design was also eliminated, as the emphasis was not to provide differences between cultures and the implications of their values but to demonstrate how cultural values are internalised at a more personal level. Instead of making distinctions between individualistic and Collectivistic Cultures, usually accredited to the distinction between West and East geography (Hofstede, 1980, 1991), the focus was on Idiocentrism and Allocentrism, irrespective of geographical location.

Considering the limitations and barriers to the use of longitudinal and cross-cultural studies design, the focus has shifted towards cross-sectional design. The studies were designed to offer between-groups comparisons (e.g. level of Machiavellianism; gender differences). The aim of cross-sectional studies is to compare differences amongst groups at a particular moment in time. The choice of this design was further supported by the benefits associated with this type of design, namely time and cost-effectiveness, test unfamiliarity and a lower social desirability effect (Coolican, 2014). However, cross-sectional design is not without its limitations, the main one being the inability to detect changes over time (Coolican, 2014).

Nevertheless, of the three designs it was the most suitable, enabling answers to the proposed research questions.

3.1.4.2 Choice and justification of research methods

The methods chosen to carry out this research relied upon the use of self-report measures, namely questionnaires (Study one) and interviews (Study three). Questionnaires and interviews were chosen as the main methods to investigate the personal values and beliefs of participants, and their use of emotion management strategies, which could not directly be observed. Therefore, the choice of methodology was influenced by the nature of the constructs measured. It is widely acknowledged that self-report measures might lead to social desirability bias resulting in participants skewing their responses to appear more desirable (Lalwani, Shrum & Chiu, 2009; O'Fallon & Butterfield, 2005; Robson, 2002). Acknowledging the limitations of this data collection method, precaution measures outlined within the Pilot Study section were undertaken to minimise the social desirability effect.

The research also employed more objective assessments (Study two), relying on direct evidences, i.e. personal correspondence to assess Machiavellian traits in a workplace environment, and interaction with colleagues. Using media and e-mails as tools of data collection is supported by the *Actor-Network Theory* and more recent studies (e.g. Brigham & Corbett, 1997), which argue that the context of writing an e-mail in particular can reveal much information about organisational relationships and sender characteristics.

3.1.5 Pilot study

Taking into consideration that Study one forms the main element of this research, encompassing several variables within a single measure (online questionnaire), it was imperative to conduct a Pilot study in order to ensure the validity of the data collection tool.

The initial version of the full questionnaire, consisting of 45 items, was pilot tested for clarity of content and fitness for purpose by 20 participants. Feedback deriving from this initial Pilot

resulted in the adjustment of two items, namely items 40 and 41, which involved adding an additional work position, ‘other’, and lowering the threshold of the lower scale salary by £2,000 in order to encompass the full range of UK graduate salaries at the time of this research. Making the minor amendments in the questionnaire led to another review of the data collection tool, prior to conducting the main Pilot study, aimed at measuring the internal reliability of the scales used within this research. Advertisements posted on social media sites yielded 135 responses, 106 of which were fully completed and used for the data analyses. The internal reliability of measures resulted in satisfactory scores, with each measure possessing a Cronbach’s Alpha of 0.7 or above. The internal reliabilities of scales were as follows: Individualism (0.86), Surface Acting (0.84), Machiavellianism (0.93), employees’ well-being (0.80), job satisfaction (0.96), turnover intention (0.85) and career success (0.72).

Satisfied with the internal reliability of the scale, attention turned towards the reduction of possible bias associated with self-reported measures.

As stated in the literature, individuals utilise two types of response strategies. The first corresponds to a *response style strategy* where individuals consistently use the extreme ends of response scales regardless of the content of the question (Cronbach, 1949, 1950); the second is a *response set strategy*, where individuals present themselves in a socially desirable manner (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Hadaway et al., 1993; O’Neil, 1967). Taking into account that this research is investigating ego-centric elements, which are deemed socially inappropriate, participants are likely to use the response set strategy. However, the response style strategy is also plausible, and was also considered as part of the improvements strategies proposed within the main study.

The social desirability bias is a common effect within self-report measures, and O’Fallon and Butterfield (2005) argued that this bias is a prevalent methodological issue deriving from participants’ assumptions that they should provide the responses they believe the researcher is

seeking (Robson, 2002). This would inadvertently impact on the validity and reliability of studies (Lalwani et al., 2009). Considering the severity of social desirability bias, several strategies were proposed to overcome - or at least minimise - these biases. A general consensus was reached that online questionnaires and their associated anonymity might be the most important element in combating the skewness of responses (Mick, 1996; Flannery & May, 2000; Shulruf, Hattie & Dixon, 2011), which ultimately enhances internal validity (Gattiker & Kelley, 1999). In addition, several authors called for the adjustment of measures in order to tackle further the desirability responses.

On the basis of the literature presented above, the following strategies were applied: firstly, the content of the scales incorporated additional elements by adding 'attention maintaining' questions, as advocated by research (Bradburn, Sudman & Wansink, 2004; Grice, 1975; Schwartz & Hippler, 1991). Secondly, the socially undesirable questions linked to the measurement of Machiavellianism used third person specification, rather than first or second person specification, to provide justification for socially unacceptable behaviour. Therefore, the questionnaire utilised projective reasoning, which should resolve the ethical dilemma faced by participants (Robertson & Anderson, 1993) and decrease the response bias (Fisher, 1993; Holtgraves, 1989; Peer & Gamliel, 2011). However, projective reasoning is not sufficient in isolation, as argued by Flannery and May (2000), and the use of non-threatening language is required to increase the possibility of honest responses.

Finally, the data collection tool utilised longer worded questions with a familiar lexicon, as opposed to shorter questions with unfamiliar vocabulary (Blair et al., 1977), in an attempt to engage the participants with the questions, as opposed to leaving them to struggle with the content of the task.

In summary, in order to eliminate social desirability response bias and increase the validity of responses, the main research/Study one ensured participants' anonymity by the use of an online

questionnaire and Qualtrics software, and included ‘attention maintaining’ questions, employed projective reasoning techniques and used longer sentences composed of familiar wording. In addition, the population sample was enlarged and targeted several groups within a professional social site - *LinkedIn* - rather than relying on participants belonging to a single membership group.

3.1.6 Study one - Main study of the research

3.1.6.1 Sample

The research used probability sampling technique as it specifies the probability that a participant is selected from a representative population and the selection procedure can be replicated by others. This type of sampling (as opposed to non-probability sampling techniques) reduces the potential for sampling bias, which could prevent the research from making generalisations/statistical inferences from the population sample studied. The basic principle of probability sampling is the use of random selection, the purpose of which is to create a sample with similar characteristics to the population it represents: each unit of random sampling has an equal chance of being selected.

Furthermore, probability sampling is considered to be ideal for research that is guided by the paradigms of positivist views, advocating the collection of quantitative data.

Probability sampling was selected because it enables statistical inferences to be made, achieves a representative sample, and minimises bias. As is evident, probability sampling has advantages over non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling is a more convenient way to gather a sample in a short period of time at no extra cost and is used mostly within the pilot stage of a questionnaire or in situations when ethical issues prevent researchers from speaking to the

target population (Fink, 1995). The biggest drawback to this technique is that it is subjective and does not allow for generalisation (Henry, 1990).

A variety of probability sampling techniques was considered, namely simple random, systematic random, cluster and stratified sampling. Simple and systematic random sampling techniques were rejected as they require a list of a target population, which was not feasible in this case. Furthermore, even if the list had been available, the process would be too lengthy and not suitable for the research. Cluster sampling was also excluded as, despite similarities to strata sampling, it requires inclusion of all members of the chosen group, access to which was not possible.

Stratified random sampling is a type of sampling where the population is divided into subgroups/strata and a random sample is selected from each stratum (Fink, 1995). Stratified sampling has been chosen as it attempts to control for sampling error (MacNealy, 1999).

The limitation of this research was the nature of the data collection methods/online questionnaire, which makes random selection more difficult. Control measures, namely linking the online survey to a home page and monitoring the number of responses in each sub-group, were used. This enabled monitoring of the number of responses and ensured that, once a sufficient number per group was reached, the link was deactivated, and a new link was set up for the next strata. Nevertheless, achieving randomness in online data collection methods is problematic as the method relies on volunteer samples rather than full probability sampling (Lefever & Matthiasdottir, 2007).

In order to make the stratified sampling effective, it is imperative to identify and justify the subgroups and ensure that they are fully representative of the population of interest.

The target population was defined as 'UK-based working professionals'. For the purpose of the research, 'working professional' was defined as an individual with a job which either requires professional registration or can be optionally registered with official overseeing

bodies. Examples of the subgroups included in the target population consist of accountants, banking professionals, teachers, psychologists, etc. The expectation was that the subgroups would have certain characteristics in common, namely full-time employment and residency in the UK for the past three years, and an education level of graduate degree or above. Proportionate stratification was employed to ensure the representation of groups deemed to have importance to the research (Henry, 1990). As with any other sampling technique, stratification has its own advantages and disadvantages. The benefits are that it allows subgroup comparison, requires fewer subjects and is more representative of the population than other comparability methods. The limitations are that it requires clear definition and identification of subgroups and knowledge of the distribution in each subgroup.

Each member in the chosen subgroup (e.g. accountants, bankers, teachers) had an equal chance to be selected. Participants in this study were selected via the professional social site *LinkedIn*, as this social site targets working UK-based professionals. The research ensured that the sampling would consist of various strata from working professionals based upon their registration with professional bodies, which resulted in different strata from a variety of job sectors such as accountants, teachers, psychologists, medical professionals, the insurance industry, investment bankers, engineers and others. In total, 361 participants took part in the survey; however, this number was reduced due to incomplete responses or qualifying criteria. Consequently, the final sample consisted of 319 respondents, with a slightly larger proportion of females (192) to males (127), with an average age of 41; ($M=40.96$; $SD=12.04$).

A priori power analysis for a linear multiple regression (fixed model) with three predictors was conducted in G*Power to determine a sufficient sample size. The power calculating tool utilised alpha of 0.05, a power of .95 and a medium effect size ($f^2= 0.15$) (Faul et al., 2008). Based on the aforementioned assumptions, the desired power sample size is 119.

Therefore, the obtained sample size fulfilled the power-based requirements and the sample size was adequate from the perspective of reducing the chances of making a Type II error.

The sample was relatively proportionately distributed within Individualistic and Collectivistic Cultures of origin, as indicated by Hofstede typology (1991, 2001). Consequently, participants' cultural backgrounds varied from highly Collectivistic Cultures such as India, Sri Lanka and Cameroon, to highly Individualistic Cultures such as the UK and USA. Furthermore, there was a wide distribution range of job positions along the organisational hierarchy, ranging from junior roles (administrative posts) to senior management (directors).

3.1.6.2 Procedures

The recruitment methods consisted of an online advertisement/post on *LinkedIn*, placed across numerous groups whose membership was based upon accreditation with various professional bodies. Participants did not receive any incentives to take part in the research, but they had the option of contributing to the discussion on the research topic and to request further information with regard to the research results.

The advertisement contained a direct hyperlink to Qualtrics, which enabled the participants to access the questionnaire and ensured the anonymity of their responses. The advertisement (and the briefing part of the questionnaire) outlined the purpose and aim of the research, which led to informed consent and stated the participant's right to withdraw from the research at any given point in time. In addition, participants had the option of contacting the researcher directly in case of further queries.

Participants completed an online questionnaire (APPENDIX A: Study One - Questionnaire) consisting of 54 items (including four items related to bio-data), divided into eight sections, which measured their cultural orientation (Individualistic vs. Collectivistic Culture), emotion management strategy (Deep vs. Surface Acting), Machiavellianism (High vs. Low

Machiavellians), well-being, job satisfaction, intention to leave their current work place, and career success. Additionally, bio-data, such as current employment status, cultural background/ country of origin, gender and age, were also recorded.

3.1.6.2.1 Use of online platforms as a data collection tool

The social media network offers great possibilities for research and instant access to a large pool of potential participants. Nevertheless, there are several problems attached to this type of data collection, namely unfamiliar methodological and ethical issues (D'Arcy & Young, 2012). Furthermore, internet research offers unexplored limitations and challenges which should be addressed (Hall, Frederick & Johns, 2004). Despite these shortcomings, several researchers have utilised online sources as a tool for data collection and documented the value of web-based resources as a tool of high quality, low cost data with fast collection times, not to mention the accessibility to wide demographics (Buhrmester, Kwang & Gosling, 2011). Consequently, researchers have used online platforms to conduct economic studies (Goodman, Cryder & Cheema, 2013; Horton, Rand & Zeckhauser, 2011), personality measures (Buhrmester et al., 2011), linguistic judgment tasks (Sprouse, 2011) and memory narrative studies (e.g. Bauer, McAdams & Sakaeda, 2005). The high usability of online tools demonstrates that the popularity of online data collection is on the rise, because it enables access to a large pool of candidates and yields a large amount of information within a short time span. As a result, the proposed research utilised this tool by carefully selecting the social site that enabled access to relevant groups of participants. Nevertheless, this medium has to be used with caution as it raises ethical issues, such as appropriateness of sample and anonymity of participants, which were fully addressed within the ethical considerations section of this research.

3.1.6.3 Measures

3.1.6.3.1 Choice of methodology and measures

Research is a systematic process that aims to generate knowledge about a particular phenomenon. The nature of this knowledge corresponds to the study objectives. Some researchers aim for standardisation, generalisation and systematic comparisons, while others aim to explore the phenomena in greater depth. Therefore, the research intentions/objectives dictate the choice of data collection methodology.

In order to make generalisation comparisons, it was necessary to choose a data collection method which would enable the targeting of a large population of working professionals and consequently test the effects and causal relationships between variables of interest. To establish the feasibility of the proposed model, test hypotheses and comply with the aforementioned assumptions, a questionnaire was the most suitable form of data collection method to use. Questionnaires do not only enable the gathering of data from a large population of respondents but also reduce the chances of evaluator bias; they are easy to use and allow for statistical calculation of the results. The most likely limitation of a questionnaire is that, if not planned correctly, it can lead to a low response rate. On the other hand, if used correctly, the resulting data is suitable for generalisation, statistical testing and replication (Coolican, 2014).

The questionnaire was prepared in English as, despite cultural diversity, the participants were working professionals residing in the UK. The majority of the questions were anchored on a five point Likert scale (ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'), or a three point Likert scale (ranging from 'very concerned' to 'not concerned at all'), and with a few exceptions requiring a single 'yes' or 'no' response. The whole questionnaire was presented as a single unit consisting of seven sections, each of which contained brief instructions. Individual indices of Individualistic Culture orientation, Surface Acting tendencies, Machiavellianism,

well-being, job satisfaction, intention to leave and career success, were obtained via the measures discussed below.

3.1.6.3.2 Individualistic vs. Collectivistic cultures

There are a number of approaches, which aim to measure Individualism and Collectivism in available literature, yet only a limited number of these measures can be accredited with sound psychometric properties (Earley & Gibson, 1998). From the many dimensions of culture with which cultural groups can be compared, Individualism and Collectivism are the most frequently researched.

Hofstede's framework had provided the theoretical foundation upon which cross-cultural researches were built (Redding et al., 1994). However, the internal reliability of the scale, including Individualism and Collectivism, is slightly lower (0.67) than is acceptable, while other constructs did not reach acceptable levels; for example, the power distance internal consistency was only 0.30 (Nunnally, 1978; Schimmack, Oishi & Diener, 2005). Furthermore, Hofstede's work (1980, 1991) was also associated with low convergent validity (Oyserman et al., 2002; Voronov & Singer, 2002). Despite basing the literature review upon Hofstede's (1980) cultural orientation, this research did not use his scale due to its low reliability and the omission of vertical and horizontal dimensions.

Instead, this research focused upon Triandis' scales (Triandis et al., 1985, 1988; Triandis, 1990, 1994, 1996), which assess further sub-dimensions of cultural orientations in the form of horizontal and vertical Individualism and horizontal and vertical Collectivism, and are the scales most widely used in research (Cozma, 2011).

To be more specific, Triandis et al.'s (1988) original cultural orientation assessment tool, the Individualism-Collectivism Instrument, was utilised as opposed to the later version of IN-COL (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk & Gelfand, 1995; Triandis, 1996). The Individualism-

Collectivism Instrument provided a more suitable fit for the layout of this questionnaire, being scored on a five point Likert scale as opposed to the later version IN-COL, which is scored on a nine point Likert scale.

Nevertheless, Triandis' scales (Triandis et al., 1985, 1988; Triandis, 1990, 1994, 1996) have attracted criticism as they focus upon measures of individual differences as opposed to cultural differences. This is evident from the composition of sentences within which questions are formulated in a personal way (e.g. 'My musical interests are extremely different from my parents.') not at cultural level (e.g. 'In our society children have different interests from their parents.'). In fact, Triandis himself (1995) defended this criticism by stating that at a cultural level we can speak of Individualism and Collectivism, yet at a more personal level we are assessing an idiocentric versus an allocentric person. However, this criticism is not of concern within this research, as the emphasis of this study is to focus upon individuals' differences, and to assess the level of Individualism exhibited by the participants themselves, rather than cultural levels evident within their environment.

Therefore, the cultural orientation measure used within Study one was adapted from Triandis et al.'s (1988) Individualism-Collectivism Instrument (ICI). The scale was further modified to consist of a 10 item scale, which was represented within questions one and 10 in the questionnaire. Sample items included two types: the first, agreement-based questions, were scored on a five point Likert scale, while the second, concerned based questions, were scored on a three point Likert scale. In order to increase their reliability, several items were reverse scored. The internal reliability expressed via a correlational coefficient was satisfactory (Cronbach's Alpha = .74).

3.1.6.3.3 Surface vs. Deep Acting

Emotion management strategies were measured via the use of Brotheridge and Lee's (1998,

2003) scale on Emotional Labour, because it is one of the most robust scales to date as it comprises all constructs relevant to emotional labour. The questions apply to Surface Acting (which is further separated into hiding feelings and faking emotions) and Deep Acting, which is concerned with the expression of true emotions and conscious effort to feel experienced emotions. In addition, the original scale measures additional elements of emotional labour such as intensity, variety, frequency and duration. However, the role requirements of emotional labour were omitted in this research as the focus rested purely upon emotion management strategies. The choice to utilise this scale was associated with the original assessments of internal reliability demonstrating satisfactory results by Cronbach alpha coefficients, reaching 0.83 for Surface Acting and 0.79 for Deep Acting. The combination of Surface and Deep Acting resulted in a reliable internal consistency of the scale (Cronbach's alpha = 0.81).

As previously stated, the final version of the questionnaire utilised Brotheridge and Lee's (1998, 2003) Emotion Labour scale, adapting a subscale on Deep and Surface Acting. The scale used was composed of 10 items, two of which were 'attention/focus maintaining' items and therefore were not related to the actual scale as their purpose was to maintain participants' attention and to decrease the social desirability response bias. The items appeared as questions 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, while the 'focus maintaining' items were questions 12 and 16. The items were scored on a five point Likert scale with 1 = *'not at all true of me'* and 5 = *'completely true of me'*. Furthermore, 50% of the items were reverse scored.

3.1.6.3.4 Machiavellianism

Christie and Geis' (1970) MACH IV test was used as it is an original measure of Machiavellian tendencies, items of which can be directly linked to Niccolo Machiavelli's work (Dahling et al., 2009). Originally, this scale was comprised of 71 items; however, it was refined and eventually condensed to a 20 items scale (Christie & Geis, 1970). The MACH IV measures

address three areas, namely a cynical view of human nature, interpersonal tactics, and abstract morality. Nevertheless, the MACH IV test was criticised for generating socially desirable responses, as a result of which Christie and Geis (1970) developed the MACH V scale. Unfortunately, the MACH V is not suitable for this research, as it does not allow for structural model testing; it also possesses low reliability with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of below 0.6, as demonstrated by a study conducted by Dahling et al. (2009). Nevertheless, the MACH IV itself does not escape criticism either. Taking into account that this tool was developed prior to factor analysis, researchers adjusted the Machiavellian construct to five factors (Ahmed & Stewart, 1981), four factors (Corral & Calvete, 2000) or even three factors (O'Hair & Cody, 1987). Considering the differences in the MACH IV's test reliability, it is evident that this scale possesses shortcomings. However, using available alternatives such as Dahling et al.'s (2009) Machiavellian Personality Scale would pose its own issues, as Dahling et al. (2009) defined Machiavellianism differently from Christie and Geis (1970), as evidenced by its constructs focusing upon distrust of others, amoral manipulation, desire of control and desire of status. Considering that this research focuses upon interpersonal relationships amongst co-workers, the MACH IV test appears to be a more suitable tool as it measures interpersonal relations constructs explicitly. Despite the criticism of the MACH IV instrument for its low reliability and inconsistent factor structures, several studies have shown acceptable levels of internal consistencies for this scale ranging from 0.7 to 0.76 (Dahling et al., 2009). Finally, support for the MACH IV scale derives from more recent studies on neurological MRI analysis, where high Machiavellians have shown brain activity associated with manipulative tendencies (Verbeke et al., 2001).

As a result, the final measure of Machiavellianism relied upon the use of Christie and Geis' (1970) Original MACH IV test, which was modified to fit the current work environment and to reflect the intra-organisational relationship amongst co-workers. The final format of the scale

consisted of 12 items, which were positioned as questions 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30. Two of the items (questions 23 and 27) were attention maintaining items. Furthermore, the questions utilised projecting techniques and reverse scoring in order to eliminate the social desirability effect. Rating of these items was based upon a five point Likert scale, with 1 = '*strongly disagree*' and 5 = '*strongly agree*'. The internal reliability demonstrated an acceptable level of this scale (Cronbach's alpha = 0.73).

3.1.6.3.5 Employees' well-being

The Occupational Stress Indicator developed by Cooper, Sloan and Williams (1988) is a popular instrument for the diagnosis of stress at work and is extensively used. Statistical findings demonstrated that between 1990 and 1997, there were 38 articles published (PsychLIT Database) using this tool (Evers, Frese & Cooper, 2000). The Occupational Stress Indicator was developed from the notion that stressors do not influence everyone in the same way, perceiving stress as a 'lack of fit' between the individual and their environment (Baglioni, Cooper & Hingley, 1990). Consequently, this tool advocates that personality characteristics and cognitive appraisal of environmental stimuli should be considered when analysing stressors.

The original Occupational Stress Indicator consists of 167 items and 25 subscales. The scale focuses upon constructs such as sources of pressure, Type A behaviour, locus of control, coping styles, job satisfaction, and health (30 items), which are further composed of additional subscales. The adjusted Occupational Stress Indicator used in this research focuses primarily upon the health construct analysing physical and mental ill health, while some of the other dimensions (e.g. job satisfaction) were measured as individual constructs. The original Dutch version (Broers, Evers & Cooper, 1995) was a literal translation of the Occupational Stress Indicator. One of the problems attached to this scale is the low reliability of many of its scales,

which in some instances reach very low alpha scores ranging from 0.10 to 0.20 (Broers et al., 1995; Davis, 1996; Ingledew, Hardy & Cooper, 1992; Robertson, Cooper & Williams, 1990). As a result, many studies used only composite scores for particular subscales to fix this issue. However, it is important to note that the issue with low reliability was relevant to Type-A, locus of control and copying styles (Evers et al., 2000), and therefore is not applicable to the health/well-being scale utilised within this research.

In relation to shortcomings, there was a wave of researchers who investigated the reliability and validity of this scale (Davis, 1996; Kirkcaldy, Cooper, Eysenck & Brown, 1994; Lu, Chen & Hsu, 1994; Swan, Moraes & Cooper, 1993; Williams & Cooper, 1996, 1997). Their results unanimously concluded that the locus of the control scale fails to reach acceptable levels in any of these studies, and the type-A scale is weak; however, the sources of pressure, job satisfaction and physical ill-health scales were consistently reliable. In addition, researchers agreed that all of the outcomes of this scale, measuring stress levels and well-being as job satisfaction, mental ill-health and physical ill-health, resulted in a good construct validity despite the low validity of locus control and type-A scales (Cooper & Williams, 1991; Cunha, Cooper, Moura, Reiss & Fernandes, 1992; Kahn & Cooper, 1991; Robertson et al., 1990).

However, more recent research conducted by Lyne et al. (2000) brought some doubts with regard to the scale overall, by pointing out the ‘dubious validity’ of the scale, including the ill-health subscale. Lyne et al.’s research (2000) does not prove nor disprove the whole Occupational Stress Indicator model, yet they call for revision of the scoring key.

Taking into account the internal reliability of the ill health subscale and suggestions to review the scoring key, the final version scale measuring indices of well-being was composed of eight items, focusing upon mental and physical health assessment. Participants were asked to rate their states with reference to the last three months. The well-being measure was positioned within questions 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, and 38 of the questionnaire. Furthermore, two items

(questions 33 and 35) which were not previously included within the pilot questionnaire, were added in order to ensure the scale is measuring all aspects of this construct, namely psychological, emotional and physical well-being, and personal satisfaction with oneself, as advocated by Wright and Doherty (1998). The scoring key was based upon the use of a Likert scale, where participants were asked to rate the frequencies (within a five point Likert scale where 1 = 'never', 5 = 'always') of their emotional experience and ill health, or to assess their satisfaction with themselves. The internal reliability of the scale had resulted in a reasonably acceptable score of Cronbach's alpha of 0.72.

3.1.6.3.6 Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction is one of the most controversial constructs in Organisational Psychology. The initial debate and disagreements were concerned mostly with discrepancies related to the definition and factors comprising this scale (Arvey et al., 1994; Ben-Porat, 1978, 1981; Bouchard et al., 1990, 1992; Judge & Hulin, 1993; Newton & Keenan, 1991; Scarpello & Campbell, 1983; Watson & Slack, 1993) and the non-normality of score distribution (Watson, Watson & Stowe, 1985). Consequently, researchers presented several suggestions in relation to the actual job satisfaction instrument, ranging from a single question (e.g. Bamundo & Kopelman, 1980) to large and complex questionnaires (Cross, 1973; Warr & Routledge, 1969). The most frequently used tools to measure job satisfaction comprise of the Job Descriptive Index and the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire and, indeed, they received favourable validation. Nevertheless, the difficulty with these two instruments is that they are both lengthy (72 and 100 items respectively), and therefore would not be suitable within this research, as significant adaptation and simplification could lead to loss of validity. The more recently developed Job Satisfaction Survey (Spector, 1997) is also accredited with frequent use by researchers, as is evident within published papers. However, considering the fact that one of

the constructs is concerned with measuring facets of operational procedures, which are not necessarily relevant to the proposed research, and is further associated with low internal reliability (0.33), this option was also excluded.

This research opted for the Worker Opinion Survey, as it is considerably smaller in content (48 items) and at the same time enables the measurement of six subscales, with an equal number of items in each sub-scale (eight) and equal numbers of positive and negative items. The original Worker Opinion Survey is a multifaceted scale measuring employee satisfaction by a three point scale, using a simple classification of 'yes', 'no', 'not sure' mode of response.

In favour of this scale, Cross (1973) demonstrated an acceptable Kuder-Richardson reliability coefficient (0.71-0.86). Similarly, Soutar and Weaver (1982) obtained positive findings supporting the use of this scale. They tested for internal reliability using Cronbach's alpha and used a multi-trait multimethod matrix, which relates the correlation coefficient of the various subscales to each other. Consequently, the matrix enables the examination of convergent and discriminant validity. Convergent validity refers to the degree to which two measures of the same construct correlate with one another, while the discriminant validity is used to demonstrate the ability of the measure to discriminate between two related but distinct constructs (Lutz, 1975). Soutar and Weaver's (1982) results demonstrated a respectable internal validity, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from 0.75 to 0.81. Furthermore, they argued that the Worker Opinion Survey validity is similar to those of other more frequently used tools, such as the Job Descriptive Index, and ultimately advocate the use of this tool with confidence. The Worker Opinion Survey was also extensively reviewed by Bell and Weaver (1987), conducting confirmatory factor analyses. Their study had confirmed the suitability of Cross' (1973) scale and six subscales, however they also expressed some doubts regarding the scoring system. To be more precise, Bell and Weaver (1987) questioned the use of the 'not sure'

response type for several subscales and ultimately suggested that certain factors (subscales) should be replaced with different scoring systems.

Originally, the scoring of 'not sure' was associated with a negative response and dissatisfied employees (Cross, 1973), and the scoring responses were stated as 0, 1 and 3 (0 = no, 1 = not sure, 3 = yes). Nevertheless, there is little evidence suggesting that this is the case, as the 'not sure' response could be interpreted differently in different contexts, as evidenced within the Bell and Weaver study (1987) where 'not sure' was used as a positive response in areas such as pay but was used as a negative response within 'organisation, and supervision' subscales. These findings further suggest that areas which are linked to difficult to obtain satisfaction (such as pay), lead to the interpretation of the 'not sure' response in a positive way. Areas which one should approach with caution and perhaps answer in a politically correct way (such as organisation or supervision ratings), the same 'not sure' responses yielded a negative perception. The best fitting scale for the 'yes'/'no'/'not sure' response is the pay subscale, while the worst fit was evident within the promotion facet. Bell and Weaver's (1987) study has shown that several items had low factor loadings, suggesting low commonalities with the other items within the same scale, which calls for further restructuring of the scale.

Taking into consideration the concerns stated by researchers, the original Cross' (1973) Worker Opinion Survey was modified in line with their suggestions. The final scale consisted of 26 items, grouped into six facets/subscales concerned with *promotion, pay, work, co-workers, organisation and supervision*. The 'Pay' category consisted of a single question and was rated on a three point Likert Scale (1 = 'far too low', 2 = 'just about right', 3 = 'quite highly paid'), while the remaining items were composed of 5x5 matrix style questions being scored on a five point Likert scale with 1 = 'strongly disagree', and 5 = 'strongly agree'. The job satisfaction scale was used in questions 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44 within the final questionnaire. Several items were reverse scored, and the Cronbach's alpha yielded a high internal reliability of 0.90.

3.1.6.3.7 Turnover intention

Employee turnover is a topic of considerable interest within organisations; however, the antecedents of turnover remain elusive and researchers call for inclusion of various factors. There was an ongoing debate about whether turnover intention can be viewed as a valid predictor of turnover. Considering the sampling method used within this research, and the strong emphasis upon the anonymity of participants, it would not be suitable to focus upon actual turnover. The emphasis of this research is upon the ego-centric triad, and not on turnover itself, as a result of which only turnover intentions were measured. This decision is based upon support from several research studies, within which authors agreed that turnover intentions had proved to be a valid and accurate predictor of turnover behaviour (e.g. Ajzen, 1985, 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Hom et al., 1992; Van Breukelen et al., 2004). The turnover measures consist of simple two to three item scales (e.g. Adams & Beehr, 1998; Baillo & Semmer, 1994; Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablinski & Erez, 2001), all of which possess acceptable levels of internal reliability. Ultimately, this research used a two item scale developed by Jenkins (1993), assessing employees' intentions voluntarily to leave the organisation, as it suited the wider context of this study. The turnover intention items were positioned as questions 45 and 46, and comprised of two simple questions: *'How likely are you voluntarily to leave this organisation for reasons like, more money or more prestige in another organisation, or problems with your current leadership, administration, or better working conditions?'* and *'How actively are you currently searching for other job opportunities for reasons like the ones stated in the previous question?'* The first item assesses an individual's willingness to leave the organisation on the basis of certain conditions (such as more money, prestige, better working conditions or simply elimination or improvements upon current areas causing difficulties), which might or might not be viewed as likely to occur. As specified by Jenkins (1993), these conditions are linked to avoidable turnover. The second measure is aimed at

assessing the actual behaviour of the employee in question, which is based upon the notion that the best predictor of future actions is current and past behaviour (Jenkins, 1993).

Both items were scored on a five point Likert scale, ranging from 'not likely' to 'extremely likely' for the first turnover question, and 'not actively' to 'extremely actively' for the second question. Internal reliability of Cronbach's alpha (0.80) demonstrated the suitability of the scale.

3.1.6.3.8 Career success

Historically, career success has been measured from the objective perspective, by focusing upon observable aspects such as salary, rank and number of promotions (e.g. Abele & Wiese, 2008; Arthur, Khapova & Wilderom, 2005; Heslin, 2005). Nevertheless, the changing nature of jobs has led to changes in how career success is perceived, as a result of which the emphasis has shifted towards subjective career success facets, the definition of which are vague and include "*a self-evaluation of career progress*" (cited by Arthur et al., 2005, p. 179, based on Stebbins, 1970). Subjective career success came to attention as a result of Hughes' study (1958); however, there is only a small number of studies which elaborated upon this subject further (Greenhaus, 2003; Heslin, 2003a, 2003b, 2005). This study adopted the subjective career questions from Turban and Dougherty's (1994) measure of Overall Success Perception, and utilised questions linked to personal judgement of career success and comparison of success in relation to peers, while the objective measures were standard measures related to employees' rank and salary, proposed by Heslin (2005).

This research had used career success as a singular measure rather than relying purely on job satisfaction, as despite these two constructs being similar, there is one crucial difference between them (Heslin, 2005). Subjective career success possesses a broader time frame than satisfaction (Greenhaus et al., 2000). In other words, job satisfaction is an immediate reaction

to a current status, while success is an evaluation of ongoing career development. Furthermore, the study measure covers both objective and subjective career satisfaction in order to obtain a view of a current career and also future career advancement (Dries et al., 2008).

Career success was assessed using a four item scale (Cronbach's alpha = .82), focusing upon objective (*status/title and salary*) and subjective career success measures (*personal satisfaction and comparison to peers*), and was evident in questions 47, 48, 49 and 50. Consequently, the items were rated on a three to five point Likert Scale.

Work status/rank was classified on a four point scale, with the following grades: *professional or managerial senior position (4)*, *mid-level to lower-level professional and supervisory position (3)*, *professional and non-supervisory position (2)* and *others (1)*. Salary was classified within a five point scale range as follows: £56,000+ (5), £46,000-£55,000 (4), £36,000-£45,000 (3), £25,000-£35,000 (2) £18,000-£24,000 (1). Personal satisfaction was rated on a five point Likert scale ranging from 'completely satisfied' to 'completely dissatisfied'. The final item, comparable career success, within which the participants had to rate their career success in comparison to their peers, was rated on a three point Likert scale (1 = 'less successful', 2 = 'about the same' and 3 = 'more successful').

3.1.6.3.9 Bio data

The final section (section eight) of the questionnaire (questions 51, 52, 53 and 54) consisted of bio-data related questions concerned with *age, confirmation of full-time employment, gender and country of origin*.

3.1.6.4 Data Analyses

Obtained data were analysed in relation to the initially proposed model, via the use of *AMOS* and employing *Structural Equation Modelling*, which allows the integration of structural

modelling (path analysis). It also involves the development of a theory through inductive adaptation of a model, guided by incomplete earlier theory and statistical considerations. Structural Equation Modelling was chosen as a tool of analysis due to the advantages linked to empirical testing of conceptual distinctions and hypotheses, multiple item measurement, leading to higher reliability, and the built-in attenuation correction in the estimates of the structural coefficients (Byrne, 1994).

In a regression model, variables are either independent or dependent. In a SEM model, variables can also be mediating. Obviously, this comes much closer than a regression model to representing many substantive theories that propose networks of causal relationships between variables, and chains of causation. One of the advantages of SEM over regression is that when some of the independent variables in regression become endogenous variables in SEM, the number of variables for which this assumption is made is reduced. In terms of an analytical approach, there is a fundamental difference where regression models use individual-level data (and hence yield residuals for each and every individual case in the data), while structural equation models use aggregate data in the form of correlations or co-variances (and thus yield residuals for each correlation or co-variance). Therefore, the advantages related to the use of SEM are undeniable.

Consequently, the data analysis relied upon the use of Structural Equation Modelling. The fit of the proposed model was tested against plausible alternatives, acceptability of which was assessed against the following goodness of fit criteria: chi-square, goodness of fit index (GFI), adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI), the norm fit index (NFI), incremental fit index (IFI), comparative fit index (CFI), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). The model with the best fit was further analysed for correlations amongst the elements of the ego-centric triad (H1) and the direct and indirect effect of variables evident within path analysis of the recursive model (H2, H4, H5 and H6). Furthermore, SPSS

analyses, utilising Independent Sample T-Test, was used to assess the antecedent hypothesis (H3).

3.1.7 Study two - extension of Study one

Study two is closely linked to Study one, as it aims to address the social desirability bias evident within self-rating measures that are used within the main study of this research.

3.1.7.1 Sample

Considering that Study two was an extension of Study one, aiming to explore the validity of a used measure, the sampling technique and participant sample were essentially identical. The stratified sampling technique enabled the identification and targeting of a group of full-time working professionals residing in the UK and possessing at least a Bachelor Degree. Once the study had identified the target population, opportunity sampling took place. Participants, who agreed to take part in Study one, were also asked to take part in Study two. In addition, self-standing posts were displayed on *LinkedIn* requesting individuals to participate in the proposed study. The final sample consisted of 16 participants from diverse cultural backgrounds (4 UK, 3 France, 1 Poland, 2 Congo, 1 Germany, 1 Nepal, 1 Canada, 1 Argentina, 1 Lithuania, 1 Slovakia), who fulfilled the criteria for cultural diversity with regard to individualistic versus collectivistic orientation. The whole sample consisted of six women and nine men, whose ages ranged from 24 to 56 ($M=39.13$; $SD=9.24$).

3.1.7.2 Procedures

As in Study one, participants were approached via the social media site *LinkedIn*, by using an advertisement encouraging them to take part in PhD-related research concerned with the impact

of Machiavellianism and cultural orientation upon social desirability bias. Individuals agreeing to take part in the research were asked to use the hyperlink provided within the advertisement. The hyperlink automatically transferred them into Qualtrics and enabled them to proceed with the questionnaire. Once they had completed the questionnaire, they were prompted to insert a copy of their workplace correspondence in the form of an e-mail addressed to their colleagues. Participants were also urged to edit their workplace correspondence by deleting any information which could identify the individuals involved in the communication and/or the organisation in question. Therefore, the anonymity aspect of the research was fully ensured. In addition, information about the aim and purpose of this study was disclosed and the right to withdraw from the research was also emphasised.

3.1.7.3 Measures

Study two focused upon the use of two measures, relying upon responses from the self-report questionnaire (MACH IV Test) and workplace e-mail correspondence. The first measure consisted of an online questionnaire, used in Study one, which was edited and measured only one construct, Machiavellianism (APPENDIX B: Study Two - Mach IV Questionnaire & E-Mail Sampling).

The whole questionnaire was composed of 17 questions, 10 of which were directly measuring Machiavellianism, two of which (questions five and nine) were 'attention maintaining' questions, while the last four items were related to participants' bio-data. The final question (Q17) was essentially a request issued to the participants to copy/paste their workplace correspondence/e-mail samples into the pre-edited box. Participants were also prompted to remove any traces/information which could potentially identify their organisation or individuals involved in the communication exchange. This was done by a simple removal of

the institution name and by replacing the sender and receiver names with their job designation/job role status.

The second measure consisted of observed evidence deriving from participants' e-mails enabling assessment of the 'true' level of Machiavellian tendencies. The focus rested upon characteristics associated with Machiavellian traits evident in their writing style, such as the use of 'I', negative emotions, analytic and clout dimension, and power and rewards drives.

The use of e-mail as a verification tool of interpersonal relationships is supported by the *Actor–Network Theory* which states that social interactions are not located in bodies and bodies alone (Haraway, 1991), and which further insists that power is rooted within communication. According to the *Actor-Network Theory*, power is persuasive. In line with Machiavellian concepts (Machiavelli & Viroli, 2008), power is conceptualised as a relational effect which is characterised by the actions of others. Brigham and Corbett (1997) further argue that e-mail poses a more insidious and far reaching impact of electronic mail on organisational power relations, knowledge and employee behaviour, than was initially assumed. Considering the theoretical suggestions that e-mail reveals the true nature of organisational relationships, Study two had utilised this data collection method to verify/cross-examine the validity of participants' self-reported responses and consequently to analyse the social desirability bias demonstrated by employees possessing different level of Machiavellianism (low, medium and high Machiavellians).

3.1.7.4 Data Analyses

The data analysis relied primarily upon the use of Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), as this tool is easily accessible and contains a wide range of output categories reflecting linguistic and psychological processes. In addition, the extracted categories were easily mapped

against Machiavellianism, as they mirror Machiavellians' ego-centric tendencies and associated characteristics.

LIWC is a tool classed as an efficient and effective method for studying the various emotional and cognitive facets present in individual speech or writing (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan & Blackburn, 2015) and has been used by numerous researchers since it was first developed. The validity and reliability of this tool has been demonstrated by empirical results that confirmed the tool's ability to detect meaning in a wide variety of experimental settings (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). Internal reliability of the LIWC was tested by using corrected alphas, which were computed using the Spearman-Brown prediction formula. Corrected alphas were used in this instance, as corrected methods are more accurate predictors of a word category's 'true' internal consistency. The internal reliability of word categories used in this research, such as 'power' (Cronbach's alpha = .76) and 'reward' (Cronbach's alpha = .69) drives was satisfactory. The validity of LIWC was tested by using LIWC scores from experimental and control groups, independent judges' ratings and Pearson's correlational analysis. The findings suggest that LIWC successfully measures the wide range of proposed word categories (Pennebaker et al., 2015) and satisfies internal reliability and validity requirements.

From a more pragmatic perspective, the programme allows analysis of individual or multiple files quickly and efficiently, and also allows for exploration of word use in multiple ways. Furthermore, LIWC functions are suitable for capturing categorisation of manipulative traits and therefore offer a measure for Machiavellian tendencies expressed in written narratives.

The data analysis consisted of three stages. The first involved computing of the self-reported level of Machiavellianism via SPSS and the observed level of Machiavellianism via Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) software.

The second stage involved the division of Machiavellians' scores obtained from SPSS and LIWC into three categories, low, medium and high Machiavellians. The final stage involved

execution of the One-way Anova and Tuckey's Post-Hoc tests, which enabled comparison of the three groups of interest.

3.1.8 Study three

The final stage of the research, Study three is an extension of the previous two studies, as it continues with the most prominent element of the ego-centric triad, Machiavellianism, and investigates the sources of this personality trait. It aims to establish how this personality trait is influenced by upbringing practices and organisational culture. The previous two studies focused upon Machiavellianism in the workplace, in relation to which Study three aims to establish whether organisations are responsible for the formation of amoral values and the rise of Machiavellianism. This study makes an association between amoral values (Machiavellianism) and hypercompetitive behaviour, the manipulation of information and engagement in organisational politics.

3.1.8.1 Sample

The final study, Study three, used a similar sampling technique to Study one and Study two, starting with probability stratified sampling which managed to identify the relevant target sample in relation to selection criteria and sample characteristics, followed by an opportunist, yet random, sample from the strata. The final sample consisted of 15 participants, eight females and seven males, all working professionals (occupying their current employment for three years or longer), and possessing formal qualifications ranging from BSc to PhD degrees. In addition, the geographic cultural orientation, expressed by country of origin, encompassed Eastern and Western countries (Turkey, Sri Lanka, France, Cameroon, Iraq, Slovakia, Lithuania, Italy, China and the UK), which suggests that the sample represented both individualistic and collectivistic cultural orientation.

3.1.8.2 Procedure

Participants from the original sample in Study one and Study two were recruited via *LinkedIn*, within which they were encouraged to express their interest in participating in a follow up study - Study three. In addition, a self-standing post requesting participants was also pinned up on *LinkedIn*. Individuals who agreed to take part in the study were asked to complete a short version of the original questionnaire, measuring Machiavellian traits, which would assess their level of Machiavellianism. They were also asked to provide a unique six-letter password, which would be used for identification purposes during their interview recording. In addition, this procedure enabled the researcher to match recordings with the questionnaire responses. Therefore, anonymity and informed consent were fully complied with. In addition, the participants' right to withdraw from the research at any given point in time was re-emphasised. The interviews took place via Skype or in a local library, depending upon the participant's location and preferences.

3.1.8.3 Measures

Study three used two different methods of data collection, namely questionnaire and interview. The questionnaire (APPENDIX C: Study Three - Mach IV Questionnaire & Interview) consisted of a shortened version of the original questionnaire used within Study one, focusing on the construct of Machiavellianism. The questionnaire was composed of 16 questions related directly to Machiavellianism, two attention maintaining questions, and an additional four questions related to bio-data, plus one additional item related to the choice of personal password. The second method of data collection consisted of a semi-structured interview, enabling standardisation of the process (by asking a set of predefined questions) and allowing for further exploration of participants' answers. The emphasis rested upon the data collection deriving from the interviews. Qualitative data collection methods are perceived as subjective,

allowing for contextual portrayal. Interviews are semi-structured in nature, offering less control than questionnaires but yielding accounts of richness and depth (Creswell, 2007). As a result, they were the most suitable form of data extraction for this research, considering that the emphasis rested upon individuals' personal accounts of their early experiences and formation of values.

The semi-structured interview investigated the sources of Machiavellian tendencies by analysing the power of upbringing practices and organisational culture to change personal values linked to morality.

The initial stages of the interview involved information related to the interview protocol linked to ethics, such as the right to withdraw, data protection, anonymity and consent, and this was followed by an introduction explaining the purpose of the interview and re-affirming the participant's right to withdraw from the process at any given point in time.

The interview was composed of three parts (APPENDIX D: Study Three - Interview Protocol Form). Part A) was gathering information about the interviewee's background and was composed of six questions focusing mainly on their educational background and current job role status. Part B) was the main part of the interview, consisting of 10 questions investigating the sources of ego-centric tendencies and Machiavellian values. The questions were structured around three main topics - competitiveness, organisational politics and manipulation of information. The final part, Part C) consisted of a de-briefing discussion, allowing the participant to raise any additional issues or to ask questions.

3.1.8.4 Data Analyses

The data obtained from each questionnaire were computed in SPSS and consequently provided results with regard to the level of Machiavellian tendencies, and thereby labelled individuals as high or low Machiavellians. Each interview was analysed via Interpretative

Phenomenological Analyses (IPA), assessing sources of Machiavellian tendencies and amoral values. IPA focused upon participants' recollections of their early experiences/ upbringing linked to the formation of personal values and how those values are influenced by their current workplace/cultural value systems. IPA is an approach to qualitative analysis with a particular interest in how individuals make sense of their experiences. In order to be fully effective, it is required that detailed and first-hand accounts are collected from the research participants. The focus of analysis is on interpretation of the participants' personal accounts. IPA are designed to fulfil two objectives, namely 'give voice' (capture, reflect and highlight participants' concerns) and 'make sense' (offer an interpretation of the accounts) (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006).

IPA is classed as interpretative/hermeneutic phenomenological epistemology. The focus is on comprehension of an individual's relatedness to the world and the things that matter to them most, via the meanings they provide. Although the analysis can rely on the use of various data collection methods (focus groups, or written data), they are best suited for data obtained via semi-structured interviews (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). The researcher should take a neutral stance, providing the participants with the opportunity to tell their story. It is important to capture data which is rich, detailed and reflective of the participant's experiences. IPA requires small samples, as the emphasis is upon quality rather than quantity, while the precise number of participants depends upon the research aims, scope and context (Larkin & Thomson, 2012; Smith et al., 2009).

The analysis consists of two stages. The *first stage* is to identify the patterns of meaning within each participant's data. Interview analyses relied upon the use of a coding system, which was developed from 'line-by-line' commentaries within the transcripts. Once all the data were read, a coding framework was developed consisting of a list of codes enabling the division of material into specific topics. Inductive thematic approach was used (rather than deductive),

enabling additions of new codes during the progression and leading to the development of a new coding framework. Some of the codes were merged, split and re-named. The codes were used to design a set of themes. The codes were grouped in such a way as to represent common, salient and significant themes. The focus was upon underlying patterns and structures, and differences between types of respondents (high and low Machiavellians). The second stage of analysis required the development of narrative accounts of the structure for the report. It was important to provide examples of participants' accounts, assign meanings to their statements and highlight the issues which matter most to them. IPA was used because the research is attempting to comprehend how individuals make sense of their experiences; this data analysis tool is concerned with the meaning of participants' experiences. Furthermore, IPA is phenomenological as it aims to explore an individual's personal perception of an event rather than attempting to produce an objective record of the event itself (Smith, 2015). Additional reasons for choosing IPA analysis are justified by the fact that this tool can be classified as a hermeneutic and an idiographic approach and ultimately enriches the analytical process of qualitative data.

Despite numerous advantages, IPA has been criticised for its many ambiguities and for lacking standardisation (Giorgi, 2010).

The assertion that IPA is concerned with cognition has been also criticised, as some aspects of phenomenology are not compatible with cognition (Willig, 2008). Furthermore, critiques argue that IPA research seeks to understand the lived experiences but does not explain why they occur. They further state that an authentic research inquiry should also seek to explore the conditions that triggered the experiences and investigate past events, historical and socio-cultural domains (Willig, 2008). However, Smith et al. (2009) reject both aspects of criticism and argue that: a) IPA's approach to 'sense making' and 'meaning making' demonstrates a

clear link with cognitive psychology; and b) IPA approach uses hermeneutic, idiographic and contextual analysis to understand the cultural position of an individual's experiences.

The main criticism describes IPA as a subjective approach to analysis and raises questions about whether IPA can accurately capture the experiences and meaning of experiences, rather than just opinions of it (Tuffour, 2017). The subjective nature of the analysis may result in different interpretation of the same set of data between researchers (Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Smith et al., 2009). The criticism is concerned with the theoretical preconceptions researchers bring to the data or their own role in the interpretation.

It is therefore important to take active steps to minimise any researcher's bias and to give active voice to the experiences of the participants and provide sufficient interpretation of their narratives (Tuffour, 2017). Proactive strategies, such as quality assurance and inter-coding reliability checks, were conducted on 15% of a random sample of interviews, to ensure the validity of individual's narratives and their interpretation.

4 CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS & RESULTS

4.1 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1.1 Study one - Structural Equation Modelling and Independent Sample T-Test

Study one focused upon analysis of self-report questionnaires, assessing the impact of the ego-centric triad (Individualism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) upon employees' states at work (employees' well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intentions), and testing the proposed hypotheses (H1, H2, H4, H5 and H6) which described the initial model. The antecedent hypothesis (H3) was assessed via the use of an Independent Sample T-Test. The fit of the model was tested via the use of Structural Equation Modelling (SEM), which resulted in alternative models, the acceptability of which was assessed via the following goodness of fit criteria: chi-square, GFI, AGFI, NFI, IFI, CFI, RMSEA and AIC. The model with the best fit was further analysed for correlations amongst the elements of the ego-centric triad and provided explanation of the path analysis effect.

Prior to the Structural Equation Modelling analysis, standard deviation (SD), means (M) and zero order Pearson correlations of the variables were calculated (see Table 1). Missing observations were handled by list-wise deletion. Furthermore, an Independent Sample T-Test was conducted in order to test the antecedent hypothesis (H3), and covariance matrixes were performed in order to analyse the structural models.

4.1.1.1 Descriptive and Correlational Analysis

Table 1: Descriptive statistics: Means and Standard Deviations in the model and Inter-correlations for individual level variables.

Model Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Individualistic Cultures	2.88	0.43	-						
2. Surface Acting	2.88	0.55	.16**	-					
3. Machiavellianism	2.75	0.43	.38**	.44**	-				
4. Well-being	2.90	0.34	-.10	-.12*	-.34**	-			
5. Career Success	2.68	0.47	-.01	-.20**	-.29**	.42**	-		
6. Job Satisfaction	3.10	0.56	-.23**	-.22**	-.38**	.41**	.34**	-	
7. Turnover Intentions	2.50	1.16	.29**	.05	.27**	-.32**	-.21**	-.50**	-

*p < .05, **p < 0.01 (two tailed)

Means and standard deviations for all the variables included in the model, as well as inter-correlations amongst the variables, are presented in Table 1. The vast majority of the correlations were statistically significant except for the relationships between Individualistic Culture and well-being, Individualistic Culture and career success, and Surface Acting and turnover intentions. The strength range varied from small to moderate considering Cohen's correlational strength classification (1988).

4.1.1.2 Independent Sample T-Test

An Independent Sample T-Test was conducted to compare the Machiavellian scores for males and females and ultimately to test Hypothesis 3. There were no significant differences in the scores between males (M = 2.75, SD = .49, N=192) and females (M = 2.75, SD = .47, N=127); $t(319) = -.01, p > 0.05$ (two tailed). The magnitude of the difference in the means was very small (mean difference = -.001, 95% CI: -0.11 to 0.11). The test results were not statistically significant ($p = 0.065$), demonstrating that the data are not strong enough to reject the null hypothesis; this suggests that gender does not serve as an antecedent to Machiavellianism, and males and females are equally likely to possess Machiavellian traits.

4.1.1.3 Model Fit

The hypothetical structural model is shown in Figure 2 .

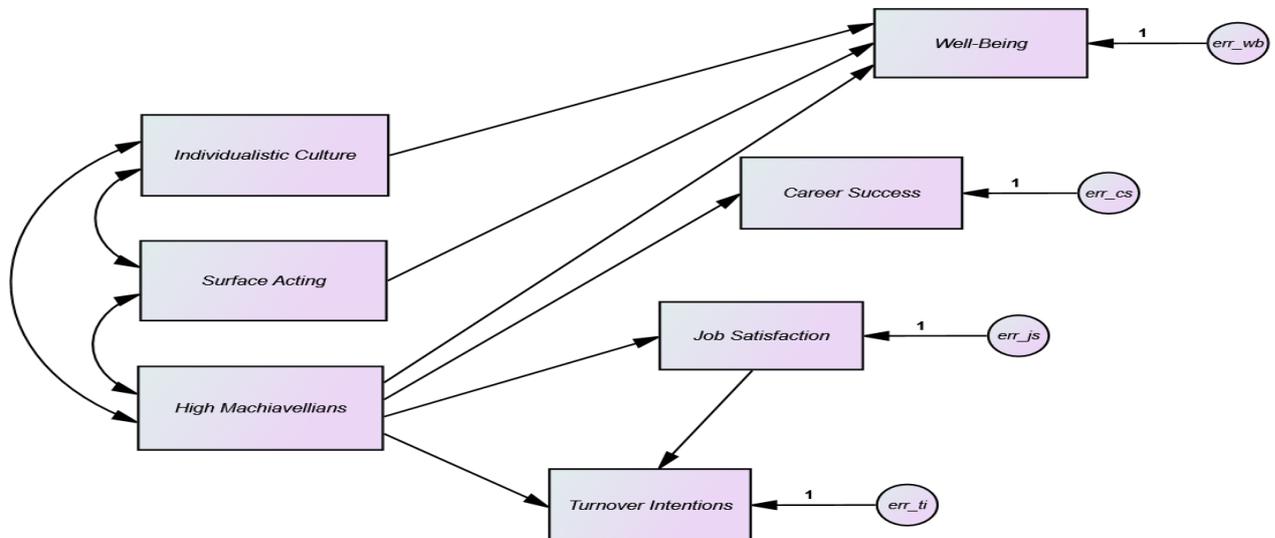


Figure 2: Path Analysis of recursive model, testing the correlation amongst elements of the ego-centric triad: Individualistic Culture, Surface Acting and High Machiavellians, and the impact of these triadic elements upon Well-Being, Career Success, Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intention.

4.1.1.4 Path Analyses: Recursive Model

To test the predictive recursive model, path analyses were conducted (using Amos, Version 22). The outcome of the path analysis is shown in Figure 2, Figure 3 and Figure 4.

To assess the fit of the model, the assessment made use of goodness of fit criteria. More precisely, the analysis used the chi-square value, the goodness of fit index (GFI) (Byrne, 1994) and the adjusted goodness of fit statistics (AGFI) (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2007), the norm fit index (NFI), the incremental fit index (IFI) (Bentler & Bonnett, 1980), the comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) index (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). An acceptable fit for a model corresponds to a non-significant chi-square test

statistic and a value greater than or equal to 0.90 for the GFI, AGFI, NFI, IFI and CFI indices; and a value less than or equal to 0.10 for RMSEA measure (Kenny, 2001).

The following values were obtained for the initially hypothesised model: $\chi^2(11) = 11.14$, $p = 0.000$; GFI = .89, AGFI = .74, NFI = .73, IFI = .75, CFI = .74, RMSEA = .18. In general, these values indicate a poor model fit, as a result of which modification indices suggestions were reviewed and consequently applied. Results of the modification are evident within Model 2 (Figure 3).

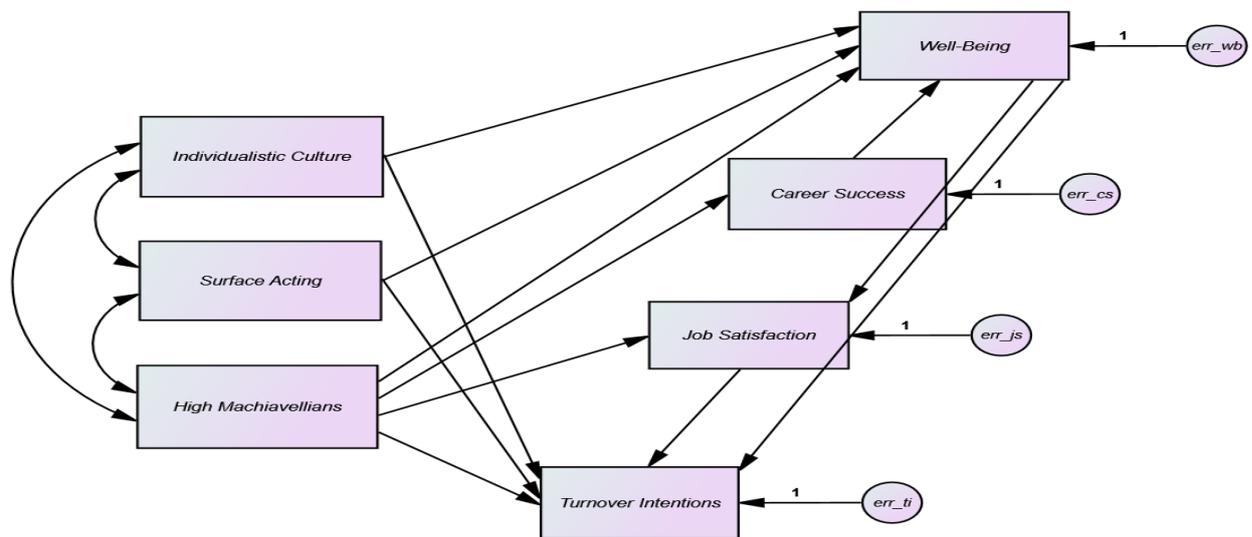


Figure 3: Path Analysis of the alternative model, which uses Model 1 as the base of testing and adding the impact of Individualistic Culture and Surface Acting upon Turnover Intentions, and impact of Well-Being upon Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intention; and the effect of Career Success upon Well-Being.

Model 2 (Figure 3), assumed a direct effect of Individualistic Culture and Surface Acting upon turnover intention. It is a plausible assumption considering that these two elements are part of the ego-centric triad which typically has an increased presence of negative emotions and which ultimately increases the turnover intentions. The second assumption predicted the effect of well-being upon job satisfaction and turnover intention. Considering the interchangeable nature

of well-being and job satisfaction, this assumption is also plausible as well individuals should have greater job satisfaction and lower turnover intentions. The final prediction assumed a positive effect of career success upon well-being. Career success is associated with positive psychological states, such as self-esteem and self-fulfilment, which will ultimately lead to a positive impact upon well-being; this justifies the use of this path diagram.

The following values were obtained for Model 2: $X^2(6) = 3.92$, $p=0.001$; GFI=.98, AGFI=.91, NFI=.95, IFI =.96, CFI =.96, RMSEA=.096. As is evident from the results, the goodness of fit criteria are satisfactory on GFI, AGFI, NFI, CFI indices as they reached values higher than .9, while the RMSEA result is acceptable as the value is less than 0.10. However, the results for the Chi-Square are statistically significant ($p<0.05$) which suggests that the model should be further improved. Analysing the modification indices and reviewing plausible theories, additional path diagrams were proposed and implemented within Model 3.

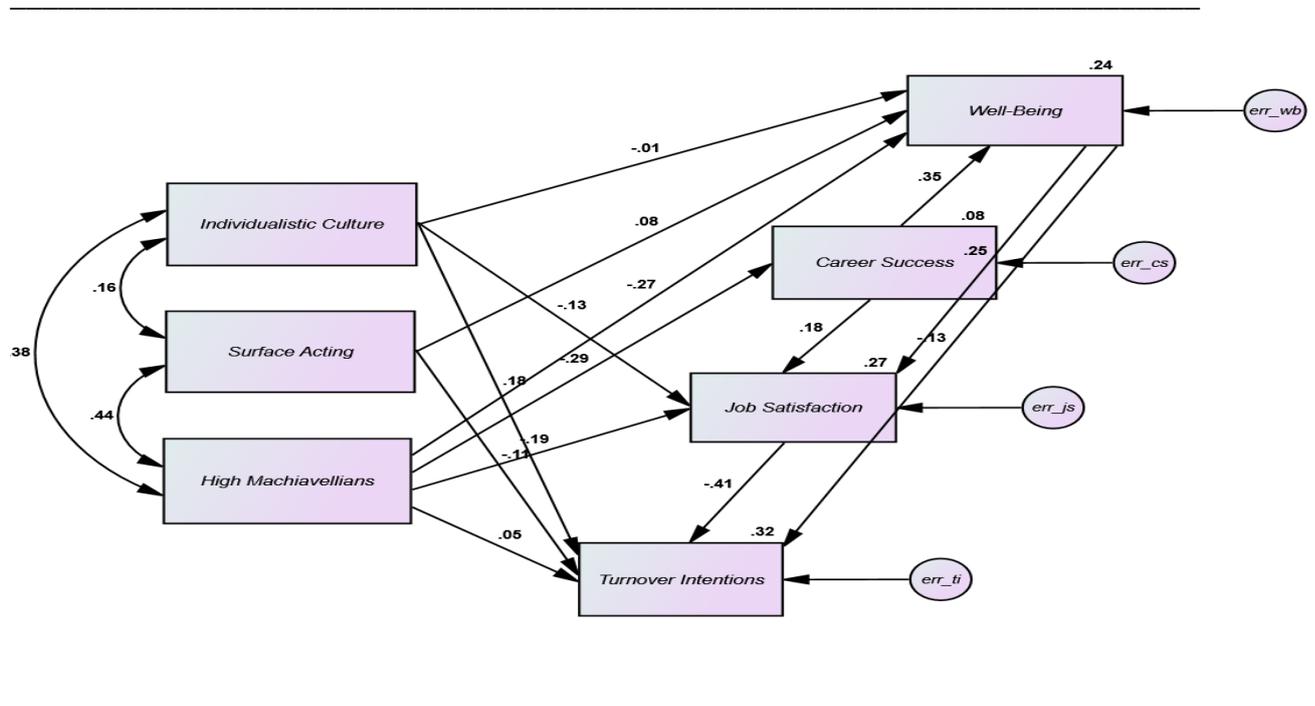


Figure 4: Path Analysis of the alternative model building upon Model 1 and Model 2, considering the effect of Career Success and Individualistic Cultures upon Job Satisfaction.

Model 3 (Figure 4) assumed the further impact of the ego-centric triad elements upon

dependent variables by predicting that an individualistic cultural orientation will have a negative impact upon job satisfaction, due to the increased use of negative emotions and the contradiction between 'self-centric' values and organisational rules exercised within emotional labour. Furthermore, career success was predicted to have a positive effect upon job satisfaction, which is a plausible assumption considering that higher posts within an organisational hierarchy are associated with an individual's self-actualisation and organisational recognition of an employee's efforts, which ultimately creates a positive perception of the workplace.

The outcomes of the path analysis in Figure 4 resulted in the following values: $X^2(4) = 1.97$, $p = 0.096$; GFI=.99, AGFI=.95, NFI=.98, IFI=.99, CFI=.99, RMSEA=.06. The values demonstrated slight improvement from Model 2, as a result of which GFI, AGFI, NFI, IFI and CFI values were increased, while RMSEA was lowered. In addition, the chi-square value is statistically non-significant, which demonstrates a good fit for the model.

The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) provides further information concerning the relative fit of the three models that were tested. AIC is a non-standardised measure; therefore, it is not usable within single model testing. Nevertheless, it is useful when comparing different models from the same data set. The smallest AIC value corresponds to the best model. With regard to the three models compared, the following values were obtained: Model 1 = 156.48, Model 2 = 67.50, and Model 3 = 55.89. These results confirm that Model 3 is superior to the other models (namely Model 1, the initially hypothesised model, and Model 2).

The above discussed models were assessed for goodness of fit in Table 2.

Table 2: Goodness of Fit Indices of Structural Models

Model	Chi-2 (df)	GFI	AGFI	NFI	IFI	CFI	RMSEA	AIC
M1-Initial Model	1.14 ** (11)	0.89	0.74	0.73	0.75	0.74	0.18	156.48
M2- Re-specified	3.92 ** (6)	0.98	0.91	0.95	0.96	0.96	0.09	67.50
M3- Re-specified	1.97 (4)	0.99	0.95	0.98	0.99	0.99	0.06	55.89

Sample size (n=319)

******p≤0.001

As evident from the table above (Table 2), Model 3 provides the best fit according to the goodness of fit assessment criteria. Model 3 demonstrated a positive correlation between the elements of an ego-centric triad at a statistically significant level (p<.001). Using Cohen's (1988) strength of correlations, the results demonstrated a small correlation between Individualistic Culture and Surface Acting (r=.16, N=316, p<.001), suggesting the use of Surface Acting is a primary emotion management strategy within Individualistic Cultures. The findings also demonstrated moderate correlations between Individualistic Culture and Machiavellianism (r=.38, N=316, p<.005), suggesting the existence and encouragement of Machiavellianism in this culture. Similarly, moderate correlation was also demonstrated between Machiavellianism and Surface Acting (r=.44, N=316, p<.001), suggesting that Surface Acting is a primary emotion management strategy used by high Machiavellians. These findings confirmed the initially proposed hypothesis (H1) related to the correlational effect of the elements comprising the ego-centric triad. However, the second hypothesis (H2) was only partially accepted (H2c), as only Machiavellianism had demonstrated a negative effect upon employees' well-being ($\beta=-.27$, p<.001); neither Surface Acting ($\beta=.08$, p>.05) nor Individualistic Culture ($\beta=-.01$, p>.05) yielded significant results. The path analysis further revealed that Machiavellianism had a direct ($\beta=-.27$, p<.001) and indirect effect upon well-being, mediated via 'poor' career success ($\beta=-.29$, p<.001), which impacts upon employees' well-being ($\beta=.35$, p<.001). Therefore, a high Machiavellian's failure to establish a successful career leads to their impaired well-being. As a result, hypothesis 4 (H4) was disputed, as the found effect followed the opposite direction to the initial prediction, suggesting that

Machiavellianism will have a positive impact upon career success. Machiavellianism also showed a negative direct ($\beta = -.19, p < .001$) and indirect effect on job satisfaction mediated via well-being ($\beta = .25, p < .001$), suggesting that Machiavellians' low job satisfaction is related to impaired well-being. Therefore, hypothesis 5 (H5) was confirmed.

Machiavellianism had also demonstrated a very small direct effect upon turnover intentions ($\beta = .05, p > .05$); however, the results were not statistically significant. Nevertheless, the effect of Machiavellianism upon turnover was indirect and mediated via job satisfaction ($\beta = -.41, p > .001$) and also via well-being ($\beta = -.13, p < .05$). In other words, Machiavellians' impaired well-being and low job satisfaction result in increased turnover intentions. Therefore, hypothesis 6 (H6) was accepted, as the indirect effect of Machiavellianism upon turnover intentions, mediated via job satisfaction and well-being, was found. It is important to note that the amount of variance for turnover intention was nearly one third of the overall variance ($R^2 = 0.32$).

The second element of the ego-centric triad, Surface Acting, demonstrated a very weak positive effect upon well-being ($\beta = .08, p > .05$); however, the results were not statistically significant. Nevertheless, the pathways demonstrated that Surface Acting decreases turnover intentions ($\beta = -.11, p < .05$). The final element of the triad, Individualistic Culture, did not demonstrate a significant effect upon an employee's well-being ($\beta = -.01, p > .05$); statistically significant results were evident in the negative influence upon job satisfaction ($\beta = -.13, p < .05$) and the increase in turnover intentions ($\beta = .18, p < .001$).

Based upon the analysis of regression weights, it is apparent that each of the following null hypotheses would be accepted at conventional significance levels:

- Perceived well-being does not depend upon Individualism (CR = -.19)
- Perceived well-being is not dependent upon Surface Acting (CR = 1.44)

- Perceived turnover intentions are not directly dependent upon Machiavellianism (CR=-.87), as they are indirectly mediated via job satisfaction (CR= -.41) and well-being (CR= -.13)

4.1.2 Study two - Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count, and One - Way Anova

Study two aimed to validate the responses deriving from MACH IV questionnaires and to identify social desirability bias evident within self-reports measuring socially undesirable behaviour - Machiavellian traits. The Linguistic Inquiry and Words Count (LIWC) tool was used to calculate the level of Machiavellianism evident within participants' workplace correspondence. The initial analysis involved the scoring of a MACH IV test, on the basis of which participants were classified into three groups as high Machiavellians (scores 3.1 and above), medium Machiavellians (scores 3.0-2.6) and low Machiavellians (scores 2.5 and below). This was followed by LIWC analyses of workplace e-mails to calculate the occurrence of dimensions (personal pronoun 'I', negative emotions, analytic, clout dimensions, power and reward drives) associated with Machiavellianism. The final stage involved the use of one-way Anova to conduct a comparison of Machiavellianism amongst all three groups. The focus rested upon comparison of reported versus observed level of Machiavellianism and identification of the group(s) whose responses deviated most from the self-reported questionnaire.

Results obtained from LIWC and MACH IV test are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3: Participants' Machiavellianism self-reported scores deriving from the Mach IV test and participants' Machiavellianism observed scores (represented by analytic, clout, I, negative emotions, power and reward dimensions) deriving from e-mail LIWC analysis.

	Mach Score	<i>Analytic</i> (78.94) *	<i>Clout**</i> (73.25) *	<i>'I'</i> (2.59) *	<i>Neg. emotions</i> (0.60) *	<i>Power</i> (2.20) *	<i>Reward</i> (1.3) *
HM							
<i>P2</i>	3.8	73.36	91.06	1.12	0.56	3.08	0.84
<i>P5</i>	3.6	48.61	31.08	9.88	1.23	2.47	0.00
<i>P6</i>	3.6	92.21	50.00	6.48	0.31	2.47	1.85
<i>P9</i>	3.4	73.36	57.77	3.92	0.00	1.96	2.94
<i>P12</i>	3.8	64.27	84.75	0.96	0.64	4.81	0.32
<i>P15</i>	3.6	91.82	99.00	1.98	0.00	2.97	0.99
MM							
<i>P4</i>	2.6	78.35	82.96	0.00	1.19	4.76	0.00
<i>P8</i>	2.9	81.79	80.82	2.75	1.38	2.75	1.83
<i>P10</i>	2.8	70.93	89.11	0.00	1.37	2.28	1.37
<i>P11</i>	2.8	66.75	66.56	3.74	3.21	2.67	1.60
<i>P13</i>	2.7	67.68	52.96	5.19	1.48	3.70	2.22
<i>P16</i>	2.6	75.86	80.88	1.94	0.00	1.94	1.94
LM							
<i>P1</i>	2.5	52.06	37.09	7.69	1.10	2.20	0.00
<i>P3</i>	2.3	85.59	51.13	4.51	0.28	2.54	1.41
<i>P7</i>	2.5	34.14	71.98	7.77	0.00	1.94	3.88
<i>P14</i>	2.5	79.48	69.60	3.85	1.28	1.28	0.00

* The values in brackets represent the average expression of the variable within workplace correspondence.

** Clout refers to authoritative writing, exhibiting confidence and strong leadership.

*** The summary variables (Clout and Analytic) have been converted to 100 points scales, where 0 = very low along the dimension and 100 = very high.

**** HM =High Machiavellian, MM=Medium Machiavellian, LM=Low Machiavellian.

***** P = Participant (Each participant was allocated a sequence number, e.g. P1, P2, P3, etc).

As shown in Table 3, the results from the MACH IV test demonstrated that the sample of interest consisted of six high (HM), six medium (MM) and four low (LM) Machiavellians. LIWC analysis resulted in large differences for analytic and clout dimensions in comparison with the other four variables (personal pronoun 'I', negative emotions, power and reward drives), which would consequently skew the results, as scoring highly on the analytic and/or clout dimension would imply a high level of Machiavellianism, despite low scores in the

remaining four variables. Each variable is equally accountable for Machiavellianism; therefore, it was necessary to convert the LIWC scores in order to ensure validity of results. The scores were classed as values one to three, where one corresponds to low Machiavellians, two to medium Machiavellians and three to high Machiavellians.

4.1.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

The next stage of analysis aimed to produce descriptive statistics in the form of means, standard deviation and 95% confidence intervals means for the converted scores of observed Machiavellianism for each group. One-way Anova was used to compare means across all three groups of interest.

Table 4: Descriptive statistics: Means and Standard Deviations and 95% Confidence Interval for mean within each group.

Machiavellianism Reported	Machiavellianism Scored	95% confidence intervals for means	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
High Machiavellians	M=1.97, SD=0.18	1.7332	2.1001
Medium Machiavellians	M=2.36, SD=0.15	2.1269	2.5981
Low Machiavellians	M=1.92, SD=0.17	1.7747	2.1592

Statistically significant differences between the groups ($F(2,13) = 9.06, p < 0.05$) were determined by a One-way Anova. As evident in Table 4, the lowest observed scores of Machiavellianism were found by self-reported low Machiavellians ($M=1.92, SD=0.17$), followed by self-reported high Machiavellians ($M=1.97, SD=0.18$), and self-reported medium Machiavellians ($M=2.36, SD=0.15$). The results showed unexpected, non-linear distribution of observed Machiavellian scores, which is further documented in a Means Plot (Figure 5), below.

4.1.2.2 Means Plots



Figure 5: Means Plot comparing reported and observed levels of Machiavellianism

Post-hoc analyses were conducted given the statistically significant omnibus Anova F-test.

Specifically, Tuckey HSD tests were conducted on all possible group contrasts. Consequently, Tuckey post-hoc tests revealed statistically significant differences between the following groups: medium Machiavellians ($M=2.36$, $SD=0.15$) and low Machiavellians ($M=1.92$, $SD=0.17$), ($p=0.004$); and medium Machiavellians ($M=2.36$, $SD=0.15$) and high Machiavellians ($M=1.97$, $SD=0.18$), ($p=0.009$). The results suggest that the observed scores of Machiavellianism demonstrated more similarities between the low and high Machiavellians groups than between the low and medium Machiavellians groups, or medium and high Machiavellians groups, which causes the non-linear distribution of results demonstrated within the Means plot (Figure 5) above. Final stages of Anova involved comparison of scored and reported levels of Machiavellianism. Considering the similarity between low ($M=1.92$, $SD=0.17$) and high Machiavellians ($M=1.97$, $SD=0.18$), it might be assumed that neither of the mentioned groups - self-reported high Machiavellians and self-reported low Machiavellians - were entirely honest within the self-report questionnaires. The similarity between these scores

suggests that self-reported low Machiavellians under-reported, while self-reported high Machiavellians over-reported, the level of their amoral tendencies. However, the biggest cause of concern are the outliers - self-reported medium Machiavellians ($M=2.36$, $SD=0.15$) - whose responses varied most from the self-report questionnaires. This was evident from the distortion of a natural curve within the Means Plot, where self-reported medium Machiavellians scored higher than self-reported high Machiavellians. This suggests that self-reported medium Machiavellians are in fact high Machiavellians who under-reported their true level of Machiavellianism and exhibited the greatest degree of social desirability and self-reported bias, while the self-reported high Machiavellians are in fact medium Machiavellians who over-reported their level of amoral ideology and practice.

4.1.3 Study three - Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Study three revolved around qualitative data analysis deriving from semi-structured interviews, using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to assess the sources of Machiavellianism. The initial stage of the analysis involved the scoring of a MACH IV test, on the basis of which participants were classed as high or low Machiavellians. The IPA stages consisted of the identification of superordinate themes and subthemes, followed by a quantification of themes, in order to establish the most frequently reoccurring factors affecting formation of values. The final stages were concerned with detailed analysis of the discourse, and identification of the meaning of participants' statements, demonstrating a comparison of values and their effect upon individual's behaviour, evident between the two groups of interest. In summary, Study three investigated the influence of early upbringing practices upon the formation of values, and also the power of organisational culture to override those early influences.

The interview part of this research investigated the sources of Machiavellian tendencies and amoral values. Two main causes of Machiavellianism, namely upbringing practices and organisational culture influences, were assessed. The upbringing practices analysed the impact of early experience upon the formation of values and competitive behaviour from Individualistic and Collectivistic Culture stances ('win' vs. 'take part'). The organisational culture influence was assessed by analysing competitive behaviour and involvement in organisational politics. As is evident from the literature, all three constructs (amoral values, overly competitive behaviour and engagement in organisational politics) are strongly linked to Machiavellianism. Ultimately, the IPA analysis focused upon factors responsible for the early formation of amoral values and the transition of these values into adulthood. The power of organisational culture to change these early values was also investigated.

4.1.3.1 MACH IV and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

The starting point of the research was concerned with the identification of high and low Machiavellians by using the MACH IV test. The final sample consisted of nine low and six high Machiavellians. The initial stages of IPA involved coding of responses and identification of themes and subthemes. The second stage involved quantification of themes, in order to establish the most frequently reoccurring factors affecting the formation of values. The final stages were concerned with a detailed analysis of the discourse, and identification of the meaning of participants' statements. The analytical process has identified nine superordinate themes, differences in emphasis, and how these themes were identified between the two groups (low vs. high Machiavellians). The findings related to superordinate themes and subthemes are set out in Table 5.

Table 5: Superordinate themes and subthemes influencing values of high and low Machiavellians

Sources of Values	Superordinate Themes	HM Subthemes	LM Subthemes
1. Upbringing Practices	Parental values	(i) Authoritative parents (ii) Power & Influence	(i) Supportive parents (ii) Hard work
	Demographic Culture	(i) Patriotism	(i) Patriotism
	Schooling System	(i) Means to success	(i) Learning of values
	Values Identification	(i) We are the "best"	(i) Doing things fairly
	Fear of failure	(i) Match success of others	(i) Make parents proud
2. Organisational Culture	Competition	(i) To be better than others (ii) Power	(i) Reach targets (ii) "Do your best"
	Org. politics	(i) Necessity to reach top position (ii) Control of others	(i) Dangerous (ii) Refusal to engage (iii) Recognition that they lead to success
	Self-Attribution	(i) Ability to "flatter" others (ii) Machiavellianism	(i) Hard work (ii) Perseverance
	Others	(i) Nepotism	(i) Influential management (ii) Family

Note: HM = High Machiavellians; LM = Low Machiavellians

4.1.3.2 Early upbringing practices and formation of values

The early life experiences and formation of initial values were assessed within questions one to three of the interview.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analyses investigating the influences of early upbringing practices upon an individual's values identified three major themes: parental influence, demographic/people culture, and schooling system. The quantification of responses revealed that most individuals interviewed (N=13) listed parental upbringing as the main source of influence. Parental figures and the close family environment had a strong and long-lasting effect upon individual values, as evidenced by the recreation of participants' early memories demonstrated within their answers analysing 'win' vs. 'take part' upbringing practices. Both groups - high and low Machiavellians - were encouraged to do well in life and ultimately to

‘be the best’; therefore, they had similar upbringing practices slanted towards the ‘winning strategy’. However, the accounts of parental upbringing practices varied between high and low Machiavellians’ recollections. High Machiavellians recalled their parents as being explicit in terms of winning and being successful, where being ‘second best’ was not an option. They also recalled authoritative father figures, whom they admired and feared at the same time, which suggests early life identification with the stronger, more influential parental figure. High Machiavellians’ memories of family upbringing practices related to ‘winning’ focused on power and influence, without any reference to hard work. In addition, a certain undertone of superiority was also evident within their recollections, which is in line with Machiavellian traits.

P8: “Definitely win, failure was not an option. My father’s views upon success were straight forwards. If you want to be successful, you have to be on top. Better, smarter and richer than everyone else. In fact, coming to think about it, I always wanted to emulate his success.”

P11: “Win, yes win. My father was a very powerful man, and this attitude of his was installed in his children, me and my siblings.... He pushed me to do well in every venture....”

P12: “Win! I came from a string of successful generations of families, which had natural intuition for business and leadership qualities. I was always reminded of my heritage and the need to succeed at any cost, continue with the legacy, as my father would say. He had this uncompromising attitude towards success believing to be superior to others...”

In contrast to these directive instructions towards winning evidenced by high Machiavellians, low Machiavellians recalled 'hard work' as the main variable figuring strongly in their parental guidance. Low Machiavellians' upbringing experiences were more subtle and the winning was less explicit. The emphasis rested upon schooling/education as the major step towards success. Their encouragement towards competition was based upon a 'do your best' attitude and 'honest work' values practices by their parents.

P3: "Of course my parents influenced me to do my work and my mother helped me to do my homework and probably she was more effective than other ones in that matter...I would be tilted towards the first one- you have to be the best you can..."

P15: "As children, we were encouraged to do the best to our abilities and were encouraged to work hard by our parents. However, the 'winning' part was not explicitly mentioned."

P7: "My family, parents mostly.... Just observing what they were doing, rather than being told to do that, was sufficient. The hard work, honest hard work is something they [will] always be remembered for."

P6: "My mum wanted me to have good marks, be the best..., yes - she would encourage that..."

Apart from gentle encouragement towards achievement, low Machiavellians' parents also placed emphasis upon collectivistic values, encouraging learning yet perceiving a 'win' as a prize deserved and to be shared by all the individuals involved in the team. Individuals from collectivistic cultural orientation experienced a strong identification with their cultural values. Therefore, they were struggling to adjust to an Individualistic Culture within the workplace.

P2: "It's from my home and my school. I am a person who likes to work in a team. My success is to work in a team, not as an individual. Even in the current organisation I have felt that there are people who are very aggressive, arrogant, they always think about me, me, and me only...not as a part of the team."

As is evident, both groups received parental support and encouragement 'to do well' in life. As stated above, the vast majority of participants (N13) acknowledged parental influence upon the formation of their values, while the remaining minority (N2) participants expressed nostalgia, and dissatisfaction with the lack of support and guidance they received. This was attributed to a harsh economic situation and political condition, which prevented their parents from giving them sufficient attention because they were preoccupied with existential issues. Nevertheless, the participants' additional statements demonstrated that some early, even if indirect, identification with parental values took place.

P7: "Perhaps I was missing the parental encouragement. I wish things were different..." ... (long pause)

P7: "Plus I pride myself on being a decent person. We were poor, yet my parents never lied, nor did something bad in order to improve the situation, and I respect them for that."

P9: "I am not sure there were any encouragements. I grew up as the youngest out of six children, in a single parent family...Times were tough...I have also learned early on that the way to succeed is to be nice to others as you never know when you will need them."

The second major theme influencing the development and formation of early values was people/demographic culture. As part of their cultural heritage, individuals demonstrated their

patriotic values towards their country by stating the name of their country and justifying their values and behaviour. Low Machiavellians demonstrated a higher degree of nationalism and identification with their culture than high Machiavellians, as is evident within the accounts below.

P2: "As a Sri Lankan, these are my values, this is what I believe, and work is something that is small part of my life. My life after work is much more important to me. My family, health and my consciousness....is the most valuable thing to me..."

P3: "I have brought my own French habits with me..."

P7: "We are more direct in my culture, if we do not like you, we will tell you, yet we are not going to lie and pretend in order to succeed on the expense of others."

P15: "Inside me, I am still the same, little Chinese girl playing my violin, studying maths and obeying [the] elderly."

High Machiavellians, on the other hand, made less frequent reference to their cultural backgrounds and early influences. In addition, their accounts of cultural influence were linked to self-promotion of their own abilities rather than actual identification with cultural values.

P4: "Basically, I grew up in Cameroon, in the capital and it is tough competition.... My tribe – we are all similar in terms of determination and success. We have the natural ability to be the best..."

The final subtheme influencing the formation of early values was identified as education system and was equally prominent in both groups, low Machiavellians (P2, P3) and high Machiavellians (P4, P11). However, the strength and emphasis of schooling values varied. While low Machiavellians associated schooling with the learning of values linked to hard work

and the recognition of best performers, high Machiavellians perceived education as a means to success, to reach superior positions within an organisational hierarchy in later life.

P2: “The school culture in Sri Lanka is very important, it depends which school you go to, and there are girls’ schools and boys’ schools. So, the values are the same for both. They in schools learn to respect each other and work in a team; those are how to work in a professional team. It’s from my home and my school”

P3: “Win. It’s part at school, you are noted, and you have like a procedure, when you are given encouragement, congratulations, whatever. ...And at the end of the year you have prizes when you are the first, or the second...for the other ones there is nothing left. So, that’s the whole thing of being on the top or being no-one...”

P4: “Basically, I grew up in Cameroon, in the capital and it is tough competition, hence education is very, very important for us. If you stop early in your life, let’s say before A-level or that, basically you know it would be very difficult to get certain jobs. And it is French system, technically..., education is something which is being very, very important. If you don’t have a certain grade doesn’t matter how much experience you get. You won’t get a certain, very important position.”

P11: “Similarly, I was influenced by the schooling system, placing emphasis upon top performers. There can be only one winner!”

4.1.3.3 Formation of values and the long-lasting effect of early experiences

The strength of early influences (parental guidance, demographic culture and schooling system) upon personal values was also investigated. The analysis revealed that the majority of

individuals remained loyal to their cultural and parental values, regardless of whether they were linked to moral or amoral concepts. This suggests a strong, long lasting effect of early experiences upon the formation of values. Statistically speaking, 11 individuals followed parental advice, two individuals reported making slight changes which were required in order to adjust to a UK-based culture, while the remaining two seem to have struggled with their identity and had difficulties with identifying their core values.

Individuals who identified with early values reported two major themes; patriotism and fear of disappointment. Identification with one's own culture was associated with the belief of superiority, with the belief of being the best. This phenomenon was equally evident in both groups; high (P4) and low (P3) Machiavellians.

P3: "I have not changed anything being in UK. I have brought my own French habits with me..."

P4: "I am still very competitive and proud of my heritage...being part of the French system is fantastic...You are prepped up to succeed...."

Nevertheless, participants' identification with their own cultures was less significant than the second theme, fear of failure. The fear of failure was linked to parental upbringing practices, and the influence of the father figure. The paternal figure was deemed to be more authoritative and influential than the maternal figure, in addition to which most individuals identified with their father's success and aimed to emulate their success, and experienced fear of not being able to match up to parental expectations.

P1: "Probably I think that if I don't achieve, maybe nobody will like me, or they will not respect me or something...Achieve for others, like my family you have to achieve something that they could be proud of you, especially my father."

P2: "You cannot change so easily. The values my parents installed in me are permanent. If you respect your parents, you never forget or disobey them, regardless of how old or successful you are. There is also little bit fear inside me of disappointing them and not being able to do well, knowing how much money they invested in my education and the sacrifices they made...No, I did not change..."

P12: "I have followed in the footsteps of successful businessmen, my father, grandfather and many before him. Why would you change when the pattern is good ... (giggles). At the same time, there is the element of fear, or small chance of failure ... or, no, not really a failure but rather fear of not matching up the expectation and success of my ancestors."

P8: "I would say I had followed the drive of my father as I remember being a little child and wanting to be like him. Successful, rich and admired by everyone.... That's why I studied law, even if it is of no particular interest, yet guarantees success and prestige. Or maybe it was a fear of what might happened if I do not succeed [?]....not sure..."

The correlational pattern between successful parent and successful child was linked to increased drive and the desire to do whatever it takes in order to succeed, perhaps even breaking the rules and disregarding morality, as is evident from statements deriving from high Machiavellians (P12, P8). However, there were also participants/low Machiavellians (P2) whose fears of failure were more subtle. They wanted to succeed in order to make their parents proud rather than just engaging in competitive behaviour, and as a result they were advocating the use of honesty and respect for others. The lack of parental influence, or '*laissez faire*' parenting style, had also left a long-lasting effect upon the participants who expressed nostalgia about not being able to do well because they missed the encouragement and support from their

parents. As a result, they might lack the necessary skills to engage in competitive behaviour, and therefore might not be able to develop the Machiavellian traits required within an emotional labour context.

P7: "I have to say that the modesty or feeling that you are not worth much and should not expect to succeed in life stayed inside me. It is really difficult to run away from your past. Despite having professional job and being well educated, perhaps my career plateaued because I did not dare to dream and hope for better situations. I had accepted what I was given. Perhaps I was missing the parental encouragement."

4.1.3.4 Influence of organisational culture upon personal values

Analysis of organisational culture as a source of values focused upon the Machiavellian traits exhibited within the workplace and looked into competitive behaviour, engagement in organisational politics and extensive manipulation of information for personal gains.

4.1.3.4.1 Competitive values and behaviour at work

Most participants, regardless of their level of Machiavellianism, reported having competitive traits and advocated competitive behaviour within the workplace. As is evident, their competitive behaviour is closely linked to their early upbringing experiences and parental values/encouragement, as shown within the previous section. However, differences were evident between the groups in terms of the meaning and purpose of competition within the workplace. High Machiavellians advocated competitive behaviour in order to reach the top position and sustain that post; for them, competition was a source of power enabling them to maintain control over others. Low Machiavellians advocated competition from a more moral perspective, linking it to reaching targets and bringing the 'best' out of employees.

A significant proportion of participants attributed their competitive values to their 'driven and ambitious' personality. However, their later statements negated this view, and pointed towards the power of their early upbringing practices and parental values, which influenced their current stance towards competition.

P1: "I would say, label myself as a competitive individual. It is more about myself, because to respect myself and to be able to sleep and feel 'ok' about myself, I have to see some accomplishments in my life. I have to achieve for others, like my family... you have to achieve something that they could be proud of you, especially my father."

P3: "Yes, definitely. I am naturally strong, driven and ambitious individual. I have to succeed and prove to my family my worth. Where does the competition derive from? I would say having strong successful role models in my family where failure was not an option."

4.1.3.4.2 Organisational Politics and manipulation of information

Engagement in organisational politics also demonstrated significant disparities between the groups. Low Machiavellians reported a strong opposing stance towards organisational politics and expressed a clear dislike towards individuals and organisations taking part and/or supporting this practice. In addition, low Machiavellians also expressed strong refusal to engage in this type of behaviour.

P7: "It's sad, yet at the same time, it seems to be the norm these days that people have to do it in the workplace. Whenever I encounter these people I am disgusted. Having said that, it is only those stupid, uneducated individuals who manipulate information in order to get ahead, otherwise, they would not be able to reach their positions on a decent merit - intellect and hard work alone."

P14: "I would not be comfortable taking part in them. It is against my culture, against my upbringing, or morals.... I grew up in an environment which is very direct and you tell individuals the truth, it might not be pleasant, but at least they know where they stand. But smiling at someone and backstabbing them later, this is not good..."

P2: "I totally disagree. Manipulation is not my thing, and I would personally not, not engage. I had been in this situation so many times; I have kept myself out of it. Even though I am not going to talk, doesn't matter. My consciousness is much more valuable to me rather than rising to the top, senior position. Backstabbing someone, no, that's not me. My consciousness will tell me that I am doing something wrong, and this is much higher than going to senior position. It doesn't matter that no one can see me."

On the other hand, high Machiavellians perceived organisational politics as a natural element of the working environment and were content to engage with this practice. In fact, they were even justifying their behaviour as a necessity within the workplace and pointing towards the importance of 'taking part'. High Machiavellians did not express any regrets related to the use of amoral practices and linked their behaviour to early upbringing practices or the need to comply with organisational rules and regulations without questioning the moral aspect of organisational politics.

P11: "Organisational politics become sooner or later automated process of successful players. Therefore, yes, they are important in playing the game... If you want to be on top you have to dance with the wolves, as my father used to say... I would say, I gained the knowledge of how important they are early on, by observing

my family, mostly my father...You have to engage in the game to succeed and keep your position...”

P5: “I would do it! I will definitely do it! I would actually hard to not tell them. But if it’s not to disclose it I would do it, especially if I was given orders not to do it...then yes, I do that all the time...!”

It is also important to note that all individuals, regardless of the level of Machiavellianism, recognised the importance of organisational politics as a necessary tool to help reach top positions within the organisation. While low Machiavellians were strongly against these tactics, they expressed the wish to be able to do so in order to advance their careers. It is evident that they experienced a contradicting rationalisation of organisational politics - on the one hand they were certain it is amoral, wrong and harmful; on the other hand, they were aware that perhaps if they engaged in this process they would be able to further their careers, and ultimately become more successful. However, they doubted their ability to do so, which suggests the strong influence of early values which cannot be overridden by organisational culture.

P7: “I never had it, nor wish to possess it. Actually, when I had tough times, I wished I could be shrewd like others, but perhaps no.... This wouldn’t be me. My parents chose to be poor rather than join political party they did not believe in and this is the strongest influencer.”

P14: “Not sure, haven’t used it much, if at all... I always had the honesty values installed by my family and did not need to change... However, there were situations, like in workplace, where you see that promotions are linked to the politics and you start questioning whether or not you should get involved...Actually I contemplated

whether it would be easier to take part in them and to carve a career...but I am really not sure... I actually could/would do it..."

4.1.3.5 Success attribution

The final part of the IPA looked for factors, which were responsible for an individual's success; it identified two major themes, namely self-attribution and influence of others, evidenced within both groups. Nevertheless, the semantics in the two themes were evidently different. Low Machiavellians' (P2) personal attributes of success were composed of hard work, ambitious personality, intellect and perseverance, while high Machiavellians (P4, P8) listed their Machiavellian traits (ability to flatter others and deception) as the sources of success. High Machiavellians boasted about nepotistic recruitment/promotion practices that enabled them to progress within the organisation's ranks. Contrary to this amoral practice, low Machiavellians (P2) recognised the influence of others upon their success and listed helpful managers and family support amongst other reasons.

P4: "The first thing was determination. I have always been somebody who wanted to go very far. The second was basically hard working, in order to get to that level. I knew basically to put it in work. And I think the third might be, I don't know..., believe and hope...I would say I am around 60% Machiavellian...If you want to succeed, you have to learn some of these skills..."

P8: "Ambition, drive charisma and ability to flatter important people."

P2: "I have to give credit to previous manager who was here and helped me to grow and given me so much support..."

In summary, the analyses demonstrated a strong impact of early upbringing practices and childhood experiences upon an individual's values in later life. Parental values, demographic culture and schooling system all played their part in the formation process, with parental values being the strongest element. High Machiavellians' parents were more explicit and authoritative when instilling competitive values in their children, while low Machiavellian's parents used either a collectivistic approach to competition, advocating the 'taking part' experience, or the individualistic approaches advocating the 'win' stance, but in a less explicit way by encouraging hard work and moral values. Parental upbringing practices exhibited the strongest influence upon the formation of personal values that persisted into later life, as a significant majority of interviewed participants (regardless of the nature of their upbringing practices and values) reported staying truthful to their early values as advocated by their family.

The effect of early experience related to the formation of values was exhibited in the workplace, where high and low Machiavellians demonstrated different stances towards competition. Low Machiavellians perceived competition as a tool to use to identify and reward the top performers, while high Machiavellians perceived competition as a control mechanism for the fulfilment of personal goals. This stance towards competition was traceable to their family upbringing practices. Similar results were obtained within the section investigating engagement in organisational politics and the ability to manipulate information. Low Machiavellians expressed a strong refusal to engage in such deceitful tactics due to the morals instilled by their parents and due to their cultural values, while high Machiavellians justified their behaviour with early experience (parental influence) and also with work-related requirements, i.e. emotional labour. It is important to note, that low Machiavellians were also aware of work related pressure to engage in organisational politics in order to reach the top of the organisational hierarchy, yet they refused to engage within this practice, which suggests the strength of their personal values which were unaffected by the pressure of organisational

culture and institutional values. In terms of factors related to success, both groups attributed their success to internal and external factors, but the internal factors dominated. While low Machiavellians listed hard work, determination and honesty as the attributes of success, high Machiavellians actually accredited their success to their Machiavellian traits, such as the manipulation of information, and flattery. The external attribution also demonstrated differences in values. Low Machiavellians recognised the influence of family support and encouraging, supportive management, whereas high Machiavellians recognised the power of networking and flattery manifested via nepotistic recruitment and promotional practices. In other words, they attributed their success to their Machiavellian traits.

In conclusion, early childhood experiences and parental influence shape morality values, which are then fully formed by organisational culture. However, organisational culture and emotional labour demands do not have the power to override an individual's morality values, as they exhibit a strong propensity to remain relatively stable over time.

5 CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

5.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The previous chapter (Data Analysis and Results) provided findings deriving from the analysis for all three studies. This section will elaborate upon the findings and discuss them in relation to the initially proposed hypothesis and relevant literature. A brief summary of the main findings is provided below.

Study one results have shown that the elements of the ego-centric triad (Individualism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) co-vary (an increase in one leads to an increase in another). Of the three elements comprising the triad, only Machiavellianism has been shown to have a negative impact upon employee well-being. Machiavellianism also showed a direct negative effect upon career success and job satisfaction, and a positive mediated effect upon turnover intentions. Idiocentrism has shown a negative effect upon job satisfaction and has contributed to increased turnover intentions, while Surface Acting had an opposite effect from the other two elements, as it showed a decrease in turnover intentions.

Study two has shown some unexpected results. Self-reported low Machiavellians under-reported while self-reported high Machiavellians over-reported their levels of Machiavellianism. The outliers were the self-reported medium Machiavellians who most significantly under-reported their level of amoral values. Therefore, the self-reported medium Machiavellians are in fact high Machiavellians who under-reported their level of amoral values, and self-reported high Machiavellians are in fact medium Machiavellians who over-reported their level of amoral values.

Study three has shown that upbringing practices, namely parental values, have the greatest influence on the formation of amoral values. Although organisational culture causes employees to re-evaluate their values, it is not responsible for the rise of Machiavellianism in the workplace.

5.1.1 Study one - Impact of the ego-centric triad upon employees' states at work

The initially hypothesised model (M1) proposed a correlation between the elements of the ego-centric triad (Individualism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) (H1), and suggested the negative impact of the triadic elements upon employee well-being (H2). In addition, it was hypothesised that Machiavellianism would be positively related to career success (H4) and turnover intentions (H6) and would have a negative impact upon job satisfaction (H5). It was predicted that gender would serve as an antecedent to Machiavellianism (H3). The findings have demonstrated that some of the assumptions were met. However, they also show that the initial model (Model 1) was simplistic and that indirect variable influences, as well as direct ones, should be considered in order to create a better fit of the model. The predicted model (Model 1) was compared with two alternatives, theoretically plausible, models (Model 2 and Model 3). The results showed that Model 3 was clearly superior to the predicted model (Model 1) and to the adjusted model (Model 2). In fact, all indices show that the final model (Model 3) fits the data well.

Furthermore, the magnitude of the relationship between the variables is substantial and the residual variances can be considered as relatively small, taking into account the unforeseeable factors that might be of relevance within the emotional labour process.

5.1.1.1 Relationship amongst the elements comprising the ego-centric triad (H1)

The first hypothesis of interest (H1) was concerned with the relationship of elements comprising the ego-centric triad. The results showed that all three elements (Machiavellianism, Individualism and Surface Acting) correlate with each other at a small to moderate level, according to Cohen's criteria (1988). The results demonstrated statistically significant

correlations between the elements of the ego-centric triad. Firstly, it was shown that Individualistic Cultures do indeed influence the choice, and ultimately the expression, of Surface Acting ($r=.16$, $N=316$, $p<.005$). This, in line with prior research findings, suggests that employees from Individualistic Cultures rely on the use of Surface Acting because they lack the exposure to the social requirements of emotion management evident within Collectivistic Cultures. As a result, they opt for the strategy which requires less effort (Allen et al., 2013) and causes less contradiction of their previously adopted values, linked to free emotional expression (Eid & Diener, 2011). Considering that Individualistic Cultures (individuals with idiocentric values) perceive disingenuous emotions as an acceptable emotional display (Eid & Diener, 2001), it can be assumed that these cultures indirectly encourage the use of Surface Acting as the primary form of the emotion management strategies. Disingenuous emotions were also present in Machiavellians, as is evident within the correlation with Surface Acting ($r=.44$, $N=316$, $p<.001$). High Machiavellians possess a natural ability to manipulate and lie (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013), and do not experience any moral guilt if hurting others. As a result, Surface Acting is the perfect strategy to capitalise upon their strengths and enable them to reach their personal goals (Cropanzano & Mitchel, 2005) related to power and the control of others (Dahling et al., 2009). This emotion management strategy is easy to execute and requires little effort yet leads to maximum gain (Ozcelik, 2013), which supports Machiavellians' values. Perhaps not surprisingly, Machiavellianism has been shown to be more prevalent within Individualistic Cultures ($r=.38$, $N=316$, $p<.001$), as their cultural values revolve around personal needs and liberties which further foster competition and self-promotion strategies (Triandis, 1994; 1995), both of which are typical of individuals scoring high on the Machiavellian scale (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013). Consequently, the findings can be summarised by acceptance of hypotheses H1a), H1b) and H1c).

5.1.1.2 Impact of the ego-centric triad upon employee well-being (H2)

Hypothesis 2 (H2) was concerned with the effect of the ego-centric triad upon employee well-being and predicted that the high presence of negative emotions within the ego-centric triad elements will lead to impaired well-being. The path analysis revealed that the ego-centric triad does not possess a unified effect upon well-being, as neither Individualistic Cultures ($\beta = -.01$, $p > 0.05$) nor Surface Acting ($\beta = .08$, $p > 0.05$) demonstrate statistically significant results. The weak and statistically non-significant effect of Individualistic Cultures upon employee well-being could be due to weak identification with the cultural values of Individualism; in which case the need to focus upon personal desires and aims will be suppressed, as a result of which individuals will not perceive the emotional labour requirements as negative and value threatening. Additionally, there is the possibility of coexisting values of Individualistic and Collectivistic Cultures (Triandis, 1995; Smetana, 2002; Tamis-Le Monda et al., 2008). The coexistence of idiocentric and allocentric values enables the interaction of autonomy and relatedness. The relatedness facet of the values will minimise the existence of negative emotions within an emotional labour context and ultimately decrease the negative impact upon employee well-being.

The lack of statistical significance relevant to the effect of Surface Acting upon well-being could be accredited to two factors. Firstly, employees learn to rationalise a situation and train their minds to focus upon the positive aspects of emotional labour, such as rewards, as advocated by *Cognitive Dissonance* literature (Festinger, 1957). The rationalisation will enable them to focus upon the benefits deriving from emotional labour requirements, rather than dwell upon the conflict between felt versus expressed emotions (Hochschild, 1983). Secondly, the increased demand of emotional labour-laden jobs leads to automatization of the emotion management process, leading to habitual expression of emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) and reducing the degree to which they are being experienced (Liu et al., 2010).

Consequently, employees will pay little attention to the expression of their inauthentic emotions and the effect they might have upon their emotional states. This lack of concern for emotional dissonance can minimise, or possibly even eliminate, the negative effect of Surface Acting upon an individual's well-being.

The only element of the ego-centric triad accredited with negative effect upon well-being, and yielding statistically significant results, was Machiavellianism ($\beta=-.27$, $p<.001$), which suggests an unequal presence of negative emotions across the elements. This result could be further justified with high Machiavellians' natural predisposition towards cynicism (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013; Kessler et al., 2010) leading to mistrust and doubts related to others' behaviour, which will ultimately translate into the high presence of negative emotions. In other words, high Machiavellians' manipulative strategies and desires to engage in influence tactics (Grams & Rogers, 1990) will make them doubt others and consequently create the fear of being manipulated themselves (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Spain et al., 2014), which will increase the presence of negative emotions and impair their well-being. It became apparent that, of the three elements comprising the ego-centric triad, only Machiavellianism possesses a direct effect upon well-being. As a result, of the three plausible hypotheses (H2a, H2b, H2c) only hypothesis H2c was confirmed.

5.1.1.3 Machiavellianism and Gender (H3)

Continuing with the primary element of the ego-centric triad - Machiavellianism - it was further demonstrated that gender is not an antecedent to Machiavellianism because the differences between males ($M=2.75$, $SD=.49$) and females ($M=2.75$, $SD=.47$) were statistically non-significant ($p>0.05$). Therefore, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that the means are different, as a result of which the findings failed to reject the null hypothesis related to hypothesis 3 (H3). This is an unexpected result, considering that several sources - including

Socio-Analytic Theory and ‘glass ceiling’ phenomena supporters (Cassell & Walsh, 1997; Maddock, 1999; Marshal, 1993) - argue for Machiavellianism to be accredited to men. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that society has evolved since the initial research conducted within the *Socio-Analytic Theory* area (Hogan et al., 1985; Timmers et al., 1998), which has led to consequent changes in upbringing practices and gender-related values. As a result, women’s values might no longer necessarily focus upon ‘love and belonging’ but have probably moved towards the ‘power and control’ facet identified by Hogan et al. (1985). In support of the shift of values, the more recent studies (Abell & Brewer, 2014; Rim, 1992) argue that both genders engage in manipulative strategies, but the techniques with which they execute the manipulation will vary. In association, women exhibit Machiavellian traits in a more subtle way than men, which could further explain why men are more likely to be perceived as Machiavellians.

5.1.1.4 Machiavellianism and Career Success (H4)

Another unexpected result derives from the negative effect of Machiavellianism upon career success ($\beta = -.29, p < .001$), which contradicts the research hypothesis (H4) which assumed that high Machiavellians will be better equipped to cope with emotional labour, as a result of which they will achieve greater career success than low Machiavellians. Machiavellians are assumed to be destined for career success due to their highly competitive nature (Mudrack et al., 2012), cool-headed attitude, detachment from concern and exaggerated confidence (Jain & Bearden, 2011) together with their ability to manipulate their supervisor’s rating (Jones & Paulhus, 2009) and consequently gain political favours (Kessler et al., 2010). Nevertheless, their manipulative strategies tend to be detected in due time, as a result of which Machiavellians’ lack of sincerity will be exposed and they will lose their superior status (Furnham, 2010): this could explain the discrepancies between predicted and obtained results. Furthermore, contemporary businesses

are becoming aware of the danger of organisational politics, and Machiavellians themselves (Furnham et al., 2013). As a result, organisations tend to shy away from Machiavellianism, and create environmental conditions unfavourable for Machiavellians, preventing them from reaching the top of the organisational hierarchy, or removing them from their pedestals.

5.1.1.5 Machiavellianism and Job Satisfaction (H5)

The loss of power combined with a possible decrease in social status will lead to the belief that high Machiavellians have plateaued in their careers (Corzine et al., 1988). Nevertheless, this belief is not a subjective feeling but an objective reality, as documented in a previous section, where an increase in Machiavellianism leads to a decrease in career success ($\beta = -.29, p < .001$). In addition, career success serves as a mediating factor influencing well-being ($\beta = .35, p < .001$) and job satisfaction ($\beta = .18, p < .001$). The positive correlation between career success and job satisfaction is not surprising considering that the individual's perception of career success translates into their perception of the workplace (Abele et al., 2011). In addition, their definitions also tend to be structured around similar concepts. Career success refers to an ongoing development, while job satisfaction refers to an immediate reaction to current states at work (Heslin, 2005). Therefore, ongoing developmental career prospects should lead to a more positive perception of the workplace and an increase in job satisfaction. Essentially, this was confirmed within this research, where high Machiavellians' poor career prospects resulted in low job satisfaction ($\beta = -.19, p < .001$), which supports the research hypothesis (H5). Furthermore, their plateaued careers will be another factor negatively impacting their impaired well-being, which in turn will impact their job satisfaction. These findings echo previous research, stating a high correlation between the two variables (well-being and job satisfaction) as has been discussed (Diener, 2000; Fisher, 2000; Sparks et al., 2005; Warr, 1999; Weiss, 2002).

Nevertheless, high Machiavellians' low job satisfaction could also be accredited to other personality traits, typically: proneness to boredom, a need for constant stimulation (Marušić et al., 1995) and desire for greater rewards and control (Dahling et al., 2009). Their negative affect trait, predisposing them to focus upon the negative experiences (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2011) will also contribute to low job satisfaction (Moore et al., 1996; Sparks, 1994). Consequently, the findings also support the *Top-Down Dispositional Model* accrediting job satisfaction to personality traits and affectivity (Diener, 1999; Watson, 2000).

5.1.1.6 Machiavellianism and Turnover Intentions (H6)

Taking into account the high presence of negative emotions and low job satisfaction, it was assumed that Machiavellianism will positively relate to turnover intentions. However, the results did not fully support the hypothesis (H6), as Machiavellianism only demonstrated a small positive effect upon turnover intentions which was not statistically significant ($\beta=.05$, $p>.05$). These findings contradict previous research suggesting that high Machiavellians should possess higher turnover intentions due to the use of Surface Acting, which correlates with emotional exhaustion (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Morris & Feldman, 1997). Use of Surface Acting and emotional exhaustion erode an individual's attitudes towards an organisation (Edwards, 1990; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), and ultimately lead to turnover intentions (Cropanzano et al., 2003; Westman & Eden, 1997; Zerbe, 2000; Abraham, 1999; Allen & Griffeth, 2001). However, the contradiction of prior studies is only applicable when considering the direct effect of Machiavellianism upon turnover intentions. When analysing the accepted model (M3), it becomes apparent that Machiavellianism does possess an indirect effect upon turnover intentions mediated via job satisfaction.

The results show that individuals who are satisfied with their jobs, will have low turnover intentions ($\beta=-.41$, $p<.001$), which is in line with prior research findings (Aryee et al., 1991;

Khatri et al., 2001; Koh & Goh, 1995; Lam et al., 1995). Considering the finding that high Machiavellians possess low job satisfaction ($\beta = -.19$, $p < .001$), and applying the negative relationship effect, it can be presumed that their low job satisfaction leads to high turnover intentions.

Consequently, Machiavellians' turnover intentions can be mediated not only via job satisfaction but also via well-being, which was found to possess both a direct ($\beta = -.13$, $p < .001$) and an indirect ($\beta = .25$, $p < .001$) effect upon turnover intentions mediated via job satisfaction. These results can be further linked to the high negative affect trait of high Machiavellians. High negative trait affect impairs well-being and decreases job satisfaction, both of which are bound to result in high turnover intentions (Wright & Bonett, 1992).

5.1.1.7 Individualistic Cultures, Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intentions

Individualistic Culture demonstrated a negative impact upon job satisfaction ($\beta = -.13$, $p < .05$), which is linked to the low organisational commitment deriving from idiocentric values (Redding et al., 1994), within which a high degree of dissatisfaction is evident if personal goals and desires are not met (Triandis, 1994; Hofstede, 2001). Therefore, employees with idiocentric values will experience emotional labour demands more intensely than employees with allocentric values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Individualistically-orientated individuals will direct their dissatisfaction towards the workplace, manifested in low job satisfaction, rather than towards themselves; this results in the non-significant impact of Individualism upon employee well-being ($\beta = -.01$, $p > .05$).

Considering that Individualistic Cultures and Surface Acting are elements of the ego-centric triad, it was assumed that they would demonstrate a similar effect upon turnover intentions as Machiavellianism: i.e., it was assumed that any increase in Individualism and Surface Acting

would be proportionate to the increase in turnover intentions. However, this prediction was only true for the effect of Individualistic Cultures ($\beta=.18, p<.001$). These findings further suggest that the emotional dissonance and negative affect will be directly mediated via turnover intentions rather than indirectly via an employee's well-being ($\beta=-.01, p>.05$). Individualistic Cultures place emphasis upon values that are concerned with personal desires and objectives (Triandis, 1994; Hofstede, 2001), and individuals focus upon what is 'best for them'. Consequently, if their desires are not fulfilled in one organisational setting, employees will look for fulfilment elsewhere instead of dwelling upon the negativity, which explains the non-significant effect of Individualistic Cultures upon employee well-being. In addition, the findings also support the notion of idiocentric commitment, within which employees are committed to the organisation only to the extent to which it is advantageous for themselves (Redding et al., 1994). Individualism also shows an indirect effect upon turnover intentions mediated via job satisfaction, demonstrating a similar effect to Machiavellianism. Therefore, the effect of individualistic cultural orientation upon turnover is both direct and indirect, mediated via low job satisfaction, while the effect of Machiavellianism upon employee turnover is indirect, mediated via well-being, career success and job satisfaction.

5.1.1.8 Surface Acting and Turnover Intentions

Surface Acting, on the other hand, showed unexpected results where any increase in Surface Acting leads to a decrease in turnover intentions ($\beta=-.11, p<.05$). These findings point towards automated responses related to the use of Surface Acting within the emotion management process (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), and the rationalisation of behaviour, which decreases the presence of negative emotions and eliminates emotional dissonance, which constitutes the primary cause of turnover intentions. It could be suggested that Surface Acting in isolation is not a harmful strategy in itself, as it has not shown to have a negative impact upon employee

well-being ($\beta=.08$, $p>.05$), neither does it lead to an increase in turnover intentions ($\beta=-.11$, $p<.05$). In fact, the findings support the controversial findings deriving from Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) research disputing the damaging effect of Surface Acting, due to the habitual expression of disingenuous emotions (Liu et al., 2010). The findings also support the *Cognitive Dissonance* literature (Festinger, 1957), stating that individuals learn to rationalise the demands deriving from emotional labour and consequently perceive the emotional labour process as effortless (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

5.1.2 Study two - Machiavellianism and the Social Desirability Effect (H7)

Hypothesis (H7), associated with Study two, suggested that Machiavellianism and associated Idiocentrism will lead to increased self-rating bias. Therefore, it was expected that participants scoring low on the self-reported MACH IV test would score high on the LIWC analysis assessing their true level of Machiavellianism. Consequently, the interest was upon reported versus observed levels of Machiavellianism. Considering the increased demand of emotional labour (Morris & Feldman, 1996) within contemporary organisations, it is a necessity that all employees bend the truth here and there; in fact, people from all walks of life tell lies (Kashy & DePaulo, 1996), which further suggests that all of us possess some Machiavellian traits. However, the level of these Machiavellian traits will vary; as a result, the research accounted for three levels of Machiavellianism in order to encompass the full nature of this phenomenon.

5.1.2.1 Self-reported low Machiavellians and their true level of Machiavellianism

The LIWC analysis revealed some unexpected results. Firstly, it is evident that the predicted effect of the self-reported low Machiavellians scoring high (highest) in observed Machiavellianism (H7) was not established, as the means plot showed that self-reported low

Machiavellians ($M=1.92$, $SD=0.17$) actually scored lower than self-reported medium Machiavellians ($M=2.36$, $SD=0.15$) and self-reported high Machiavellians ($M=1.97$, $SD=0.18$). Consequently, it can be assumed that the self-reported level of low Machiavellians is a 'reasonably' objective reflection of their behaviour.

However, stating that social desirability bias did not take place would be incorrect, considering that the differences in the scores between low ($M=1.92$, $SD=0.17$) and high Machiavellians ($M=1.97$, $SD=0.18$) are small. It is evident that self-reported low Machiavellians scored higher than expected, but not higher than self-reported medium or high Machiavellians. These findings should be interpreted in relation to literature presented within earlier sections. Considering that low Machiavellians belong to a Collectivistic Culture which places emphasis upon conformity to social groups and social expectations (Hofstede, 2001), it would be natural that they would be inclined to provide slightly more positive responses in order to demonstrate their acceptance of cultural values related to moral behaviour (Shipper et al., 2007). As evident in prior research, Collectivistic Cultures demonstrated increased sensitivity towards people-orientated behaviour (Varela & Premeaux, 2008), causing participants to overestimate their degree of concern for others and to seek social approval of their behaviour (Middleton & Jones, 2000). This suggests that, when responding to questions related to the manipulation of others, low Machiavellians' responses might not have been entirely honest as they were under the influence of allocentric values.

On the other hand, participants from Individualistic Cultures, in this case self-reported medium and self-reported high Machiavellians, should place emphasis upon their own desires rather than on societal acceptance. They should be able to stay emotionally unaffected within self-report measures assessing moral aspects of behaviour (Balzer et al., 2004). Considering that idiocentric behaviour is organised in relation to the individual's own thoughts, feelings and actions, as opposed to the thoughts and expectations of others (Triandis, 1995), it could be

assumed that Machiavellians would admit to their behaviour. However, the research findings suggest otherwise, which tends to support Fisher and Katz's (2000) research, which suggests that all individuals possess the tendency to manipulate their responses regardless of their cultural orientation. The research findings also support the co-existence of collectivistic and individualistic cultural values (Triandis, 1995; Smetana, 2002; Tamis-Le Monda et al., 2008), showing that Western/individualistically orientated cultures value independence; yet they also recognise the importance of congeniality, and as a result they might feel the need to express socially desirable behaviour.

The social desirability bias is not only accredited to cultural values, but also to individual differences (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yammarino & Atwater, 1997), deriving from personality traits (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Edwards, 1953; Mick, 1996), and pointing towards high Machiavellians. Placing emphasis upon Machiavellianism, it became evident that self-reported medium Machiavellians scored higher on observed Machiavellianism than self-reported high Machiavellians, which is unexpected and raised further questions; such as why self-reported medium Machiavellians would under-report, and self-reported high Machiavellians would over-report, their amoral views and practices.

5.1.2.2 Self-reported medium Machiavellians as the true high Machiavellians

The results suggest that individuals who reported a medium level of Machiavellianism are actually the true high Machiavellians. It could be assumed that high Machiavellians (self-reported medium Machiavellians) did manipulate their responses in line with their deceitful natures and amoral practices (Christie & Geis, 1970; Exline et al. 1970; Geis & Moon, 1981). The results might be due to their interest in creating a perception of compliance with socially desirable behaviour (Jones & Paulhus, 2009), and consequently maintaining a socially

acceptable image. The co-existence of cultural values (Smetana, 2002; Tamis-Le Monda et al., 2008; Triandis, 1995), where Idiocentrism and Allocentrism are evident within a single individual, might have played a part and led to high Machiavellians becoming aware of the need to conform to and demonstrate agreement with allocentric values. Furthermore, high Machiavellians might have been equally influenced by the idiocentric values emphasising personal needs and desires (Triandis et al., 1988). Machiavellians' self-interest values and inherent ability to analyse information and adapt (Czibor & Bereczkei, 2012) leads to the realisation that socially desirable behaviour might be in their best interest as it is associated with further gains.

The initially proposed hypothesis (H7) is partially correct, as the results can justify the individualistic cultural orientation self-rating bias (Nilsen & Campbell, 1993; Farh et al., 1991) and Machiavellians' ability and interest to deviate from the truth (Geis & Moon, 1981). It is important to note that the 'true' high Machiavellians did misconstrue the extent of their amoral practice, yet not to the significant extent which was initially assumed. As observed, Machiavellians deviated from the truth; however, they did not entirely lie as they acknowledged that they do possess fairly high manipulative traits and consequently engage in amoral behaviour. In association, high Machiavellians admitting to manipulation is in alignment with Christie and Geis' (1970) review of the use of their MACH IV test (also used within this study), within which they conclude that high Machiavellians have a negative view of other people and generally are more likely to admit to socially undesirable statements about themselves. It is also plausible to assume that the increase in the emotional labour demands (MacDonald & Sirianni, 1996; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Pugliesi, 1999) makes Machiavellianism more acceptable, and therefore high Machiavellians do not feel compelled to deny their amoral behaviour.

5.1.2.3 Medium Machiavellians (self-reported high Machiavellians) and over-reporting of socially undesirable behaviour

Perhaps the most unexpected results derive from self-reported high Machiavellians (true medium Machiavellians), who over-reported their level of Machiavellianism, which contradicts prior research (Bradley et al., 2002; Burnkrant, 2001; Griffin et al., 2004; Van Iddekinge et al., 2005) and points towards the distortion of self-reported scores. Research literature states that individuals possess a strong propensity to portray a more favourable image of their values and behaviour (Van Iddekinge et al., 2005), and consequently will under-report socially undesirable behaviour (Mensch & Kandel, 1998) and over-report socially desirable behaviour (Hadaway et al., 1993). However, the research findings are in stark contrast to these findings as medium Machiavellians actually over-reported their amoral tendencies. One of the possible reasons of them doing so is that they could be classed as ‘Machiavellians in the making’, who are well aware that the Machiavellians’ ability to influence others is an important set of skills (Kessler et al., 2010) to have in the contemporary business world. Therefore, they try to emulate the behaviour of high Machiavellians in order to reach the desired level of success accredited to skilful Machiavellians. As part of their training or preparation process to become fully-fledged Machiavellians, they are practising their impression management skills, via which they hope to persuade others to view them as influential individuals (Zivnuska et al., 2004). Medium Machiavellians might have strongly identified with idiocentric values, which are associated with the tendency to inflate one’s abilities (Farh et al., 1991; Xie et al., 2006), in this case one’s level of Machiavellianism. Nevertheless, the full reason behind over-reporting on amoral behaviour requires further investigation and should be addressed within future research.

Considering these findings in relation to the proposed hypothesis H7, it can be concluded that it was not fully confirmed. The results have demonstrated that, although high Machiavellians

did under-report their amoral tendencies, the under-reporting was much lower than initially expected. This further suggests that the concept of Machiavellianism is more complex and requires the further investigation of additional factors which might have influenced the under-reporting (and in some instances over-reporting) of amoral values.

5.1.3 Study three - Sources of amoral values

Study three analysed the sources of Machiavellianism and related amoral values. The main influencers of values were defined as early upbringing practices and organisational culture. In this regard, the study searched for the differences related to formation of values between the two groups of interest (high and low Machiavellians). The long-lasting effect of upbringing practices upon personal values, and the power of organisational culture to override personal values, were also investigated.

5.1.3.1 Upbringing practices - As a source of personal values

The Interpersonal Phenomenological Analysis demonstrated that the superordinate themes related to upbringing values and to the values of organisational culture were identical between the groups. Nevertheless, the semantics of the superordinate themes varied, which resulted in differences within subthemes.

The results showed that both groups (high and low Machiavellians) were attributing the formation of their personal values to parental influences, demographic culture and schooling system; yet, the interpretation of these superior themes varied between the groups.

Starting with the parental influence superordinate theme, the initial question was concerned with a 'win' versus a 'take part' strategy advocated by parental figures. It was assumed that individuals from Collectivistic Cultures would receive the 'take part' advice (Grotevant, 1998), while individuals from Individualistic Cultures would receive the 'win' type of encouragement

(Bridges, 2003; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007), which supports the East versus West divide of cultural values (Hofstede, 1980).

However, these expectations were not met, as all parents (parents of high and parents of low Machiavellians), irrespective of their cultural orientation, were encouraging their children to do well; in fact, they supported the ‘win’ strategy as opposed to ‘taking part’. This suggests the shifting boundaries and coexistence of collectivist and individualist cultures (Tamis Le Monda et al., 2008). Nevertheless, the semantics behind the ‘win’ strategy varied. Parents of high Machiavellians exhibited authoritative traits and perceived winning as ‘a tool of power and influence’ over others. Furthermore, high Machiavellians also recalled having forceful parents who were advocating amoral practices in order to initiate ‘wins’, which suggests that their parents themselves would score highly on Machiavellian traits. On the other hand, the experience of low Machiavellians could not be more different. Their early memories were centred around supportive and encouraging parental figures, who were associating winning with hard work. These findings suggest the presence of similar values between parents and children. In addition, this similarity of values disputes Christie and Geis’ (1970) notion that children develop values complementary to their parents and leans towards acceptance of the later research stating that the values of parent and child are similar (Rai & Gupta, 1989).

The accreditation of values to parental influence or culture is not surprising considering that the vast amount of research suggests that values are transmitted from parents (Knafo & Spinath, 2011; McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Siegel, 1995; Parkinson, 1996; Super & Harkness, 2002). In addition, the transmission of values takes place early on in children’s lives (Knafo & Schwartz, 2009; Ranieri & Barni, 2012; Saarni, 1993; Schönplflug, 2001). In fact, at around the age of 10, young individuals will have fully formed their values, which are in par with adult values but just slightly less defined (Bilsky et al., 2013; Döring et al., 2010). It is evident that children

will emulate the values they are either directly taught by their parents, or the values they observe via social interactions (Parkinson, 1996).

As a result, children ‘copy’ their parents’ values and consequently become like them (Kraut & Price, 1976; Ojha, 2007; Rai & Gupta, 1989). The notion that Machiavellian parents will have Machiavellian children who will engage in amoral behaviour early on in their childhood (Braginsky, 1970; Barnett & Thompson, 1985) was confirmed in Study three. High Machiavellians recalled having parents who preached amoral values and at the same time admitted practising those amoral values themselves. Furthermore, the formation of amoral values is not only associated with emulation of parental values, but also with authoritative upbringing, emotional deprivation and approval seeking (Lang, 2015; Lang & Lenard, 2015). This notion was fully supported within this research. High Machiavellians recalled vividly their authoritative father figures, and a consequent desire to emulate their success in order to prove their worth. In fact, some of their memories had an undertone of dysfunctional families, who have little regard for encouragement and positive emotions; as a result, they had developed this maladaptive avoidance coping response discussed by Young et al. (2003), which affirmed their Machiavellian stance.

Nevertheless, it is also important to note that parents are not the only source responsible for formation of personal values, as cultural orientation and the schooling system were also listed by both groups.

The impact of demographic culture was evidenced by an individual’s patriotism towards their country. However, it was evident that low Machiavellians demonstrated higher levels of nationalism and identification with the values encouraged by their cultures, than high Machiavellians. High Machiavellians’ references to culture were filled with self-promotion strategies such as *“my country is the best, therefore, I am the best”*, which once again corresponds to their exaggerated confidence (Jain & Bearden, 2011). These findings are in

alignment with Hofstede's (1991) and Triandis' (1995) depiction of cross-cultural differences, within which Collectivistic Cultures encourage identification with the group while Individualistic Cultures encourage self-serving strategies. The final theme of early upbringing practices, the schooling system, also showed relevance to personal values. High Machiavellians perceived education as *"a tool to success, and future power over others"*. In other words, the schooling system was there to serve the purpose and fulfilment of individual desires. An opposing stance was reflected by low Machiavellians, who associated education with cultural values, and defined schooling as *"a place where children learn what is right and what is wrong"*.

As is evident from the research, and supported within prior studies (Knafo & Schwartz, 2009; Ranieri & Barni, 2012; Schönplflug, 2001), personal values develop as a result of interaction with others. Primary carers, parents, possess the greatest degree of influence upon the formation of early values; nevertheless, their own choice of values is tinted with the values of collectivistic or individualistic cultural orientation (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Knafo et al., 2008). In addition, cultural orientation will also impact the schooling practices, which are also influential in the formation of personal values.

The IPA results demonstrated that personal values form relatively early on in childhood and have a long-lasting effect upon personal values in adulthood. Participants felt that they had to follow their parental values regardless of whether they were concerned with moral or amoral practice, due to fear of failure and disappointment; which suggests a need for social approval (Hofstede, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) is evident within both cultures.

Considering the significant influences of early experiences and exposure to value systems upon the formation of personal values, it became apparent that Machiavellianism is generated as a result of environmental stimuli rather than having a genetic predisposition (Del Giudice & Belsky, 2011; Kaplan & Ganstead, 2005). Environmental stimuli can be classed into two facets:

the early childhood experiences evident within upbringing practices, and the later adulthood experiences deriving from organisational cultures and institutional influences.

5.1.3.2 Institutional influences

The institutional influences, organisational cultures, yielded two superordinate themes, namely competition and organisational politics.

As initially presumed, high Machiavellians associated competition with reaching the top in an organisational hierarchy and enabling them to possess power over others and consequently demonstrate their superior status, which is in line with Machiavelli's book (Machiavelli & Viroli, 2008) where the author discussed Machiavellians' pragmatic approach to maintaining power (Wilson et al., 1996). The findings are also relevant to Christie and Geis' (1970) concept of Machiavellianism, which states that Machiavellians' psychopathologies lead to an increased desire to control others.

Low Machiavellians' perception of workplace competition was in stark contrast to their counterparts as they perceived workplace competition as a positive factor stimulating motivation and increasing performance. The different stance towards competition amongst the groups supports the notion that the level of competitiveness varies amongst individuals (Hibbard & Buhrmester, 2010; Karatepe & Olugdabe, 2009) and Machiavellianism could be one of the factors responsible for those differences. High Machiavellians' aggressive stance towards competition corresponds to the findings of an earlier study (Mudrack et al., 2012), confirming that high Machiavellians demonstrate hypercompetitive levels of competition, while low Machiavellians' competitive tendencies are subdued in comparison.

Differences between the groups were also evident in participants' stance towards organisational politics. High Machiavellians perceived organisational politics as a form of survival and did not perceive them to be negative in any shape or form. They admitted to active engagement in

this practice and acted without any compunction of doing so, which supports Geis and Christie's (1970) depiction of Machiavellians.

On the other hand, low Machiavellians expressed strong dislike towards this practice and refused to engage. At the same time, low Machiavellians recognised the importance of organisational politics practice as it possesses numerous advantages, such as career progression and power. Low Machiavellians' admiration of high Machiavellians who are able to engage in organisational politics and reap associated benefits, might lead to imitation strategies and the exhibition of amoral behaviour. Therefore, it is plausible that both groups will engage in manipulation, which implies that low Machiavellians also have cheating tendencies, although only if under the influence of others or due to situational circumstances (Cooper & Peterson, 1980; Exline et al., 1970). Therefore, it can be assumed that if organisational politics are high, low Machiavellians might feel the pressure to adjust their values in order to fit in.

Based upon the discussion above, it is apparent that high Machiavellians seem to fit the description and attributes provided by previous research. High Machiavellians remained constant in their views and continued to do so within the final section investigating the factors responsible for an individual's success. High Machiavellians admitted with confidence that the use of amoral practice was responsible for their superior status, which once again confirms their manipulative and exploitative tendencies (Cherulnik et al., 1981; Exline et al., 1970; Geis & Moon, 1981; Harrell & Hartnagel, 1976; Wilson et al., 1998). In addition, the fact that they attributed their success purely to their own abilities showed identification with idiocentric values. Low Machiavellians attributed their success to their hard work and to influential others, therefore they recognised the support from larger communities and demonstrated their support for allocentric values (Triandis, 1995).

As observed, the values that individuals demonstrated towards workplace competition were similar, if not identical, to the values they were exposed to during their childhood. In other

words, participants' values demonstrated a mirror effect of the values preached by their parents (Rai & Gupta, 1989), which demonstrates the influence and power of early upbringing practices (Uzefovsky et al., 2015) upon personal values. Considering the significant impact that early upbringing practices and parental values had upon the development of personal values, it is perhaps not surprising that individuals exercised the same values within an organisational setting regardless of whether the organisation's cultural values differed. Nevertheless, this refusal to adjust to the values of one's organisation contradicts previous studies (Paine & Organ, 2000; Oyserman et al., 2002), which suggest that Collectivistic Cultures - and therefore low Machiavellians - would be more inclined to adopt the values of their workplace and sacrifice their own needs, belief and desires for the greater good of the group. As a result, individuals from Collectivistic Cultures should exhibit greater attachment to the organisation than individuals from Individualistic Cultures (Jung & Avolio, 1999; Triandis, 1995). The research findings also seem to contradict the *Social Identity Theory* which states that personal values are susceptible to change as a result of organisational attachment and psychological connectedness to one's workplace (Bishop & Scott, 2000; Siders et al., 2001), which leads to the adaptation of organisational values, ideas and practices (Becker & Kernan, 2003; Meyer et al., 2004). The findings have shown that individual's moral/amoral values are relatively stable and seemingly unaffected by institutional/workplace values. It is important to note that Study three only focused on a specific facet of personal values – amoral values, linked to lies, deception and organisational politics. Therefore, the findings should not be generalised to all personal values but should be seen as specific to Machiavellian traits.

Two strong themes arose from the research. Firstly, individuals from Collectivistic Cultures refused to adjust to organisational politics despite their personal values of obedience to the group, as they fully recognised the amorality of this practice. Therefore, they acted against their own personal values in order to keep their morality intact, which is in alignment with

Hofstede's (2001) notion related to cultural changes. This further suggests that Collectivistic Cultures have evolved and now recognise when obedience to society and groups might be harmful. Another possible explanation related to limited identification with organisational values is that the social identities that employees construe at work are short lived (Ashmore et al., 2004; Van Dick et al., 2004, 2005), and therefore have only a temporary effect: which supports the results within which neither of the groups, low nor high Machiavellians, reported identification with organisational values. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to assume that organisational culture has no influence upon the construction of employees' identities. As documented by participants' narratives, all of them were aware of the organisational pressure deriving from emotional labour demands that require manipulation of information and management of emotions. Furthermore, it could be inferred that the personal values of the high Machiavellians remained constant as they matched the organisational culture they worked for. The low Machiavellians' values were also seemingly unaffected; nevertheless, their rationalisation of organisational politics suggests some degree of influence, commitment to organisation and desire to belong to the group (Becker et al., 1996; Bishop & Scott, 2000; Siders et al., 2001). There is also the possibility that the low Machiavellians did identify with organisational values - and engaged in organisational politics - to a greater extent than they were willing to admit. However, their responses were structured around allocentric values, which are associated with social desirability bias (Varela & Premeaux, 2008), and the emphasis upon group membership (Earley, 1994). Further research is needed to investigate the above-mentioned bias and potential changes within personal values linked to moral/amoral behaviour.

6 CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 CONCLUSION

6.1.1 Research Questions, Objectives and Hypotheses revisited

The purpose of this research was to: (1) establish a relationship between the elements comprising the ego-centric triad and investigate the impact of this triad upon employee well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intention; (2) investigate the impact of social desirability response bias within self-report measures focusing upon amoral values; and (3) understand the sources of Machiavellianism and establish the influence of parental upbringing practices and organisational culture upon the formation of amoral values. As evident from the discussion section above, the conducted studies had yielded some interesting results, some of which were in line with previous research and confirmed the initially proposed hypotheses, while others were unexpected and require further investigation.

The main findings from the research are synthesised in relation to the research questions (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 and RQ4) and associated hypotheses, a reminder of which is provided below.

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive relationship between the elements of the ego-centric triad.

H1a) Individualistic Cultures encourage expression of Machiavellian traits.

H1b) Machiavellians employ Surface Acting as their primary emotion management strategy.

H1c) Surface Acting is a preferred method of emotion management strategies within Individualistic Cultures.

Hypothesis 2: The ego-centric triad will have a negative impact upon employees' well-being within the emotional labour facet.

H2a) Individualistic Cultures will exhibit negative effect upon employees' well-being due to

their emphasis upon self-centred values and free expression of emotions, which contradict the concept of emotional labour.

H2b) Use of Surface Acting as a primary emotion management strategy will have a negative impact upon employees' well-being, as a result of emotional dissonance.

H2c) Machiavellianism will have negative effect upon employees' well-being due to the extensive presence of negative emotions.

Hypothesis 3: The Machiavellian personality is more prevalent in males than females; therefore, gender serves as an antecedent to Machiavellianism.

Hypothesis 4: High Machiavellians are better equipped to cope with emotional labour demands, as a result of which they will achieve greater career success than low Machiavellians.

Hypothesis 5: High Machiavellians experience lower job satisfaction in comparison to their counterparts, due to their predisposition to negative affect.

Hypothesis 6: High Machiavellians will demonstrate increased turnover intentions deriving from low job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 7: Machiavellianism will be positively related to self-rating bias, as a result high Machiavellians will under-report their true level of amoral values and practice to a greater extent than their counterparts.

6.1.2 Study one - Research Questions 1 and 2, and Hypotheses H1, H2, H3, H4, H5, and H6

Study one and the superior fit model - Model 3 (Figure 4) - shed some light on the complexity of emotional labour and exposed the effect of the ego-centric triad upon employee states at work. The findings also provided answers to RQ1 and RQ2.

RQ1: Is there a positive relationship between the elements (Individualism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) of the ego-centric triad?

The research confirmed that the components associated with the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour (Individualism/Idiocentrism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) are positively correlated, as each one of them possesses ego-centric characteristics. It was shown that Individualistic Cultures encourage the use of Surface Acting as the preferred emotion management strategy. These findings offer support to Allen et al.'s (2013) research which states that individuals from Individualistic Cultures lack the necessary exposure to emotion management, evident within Collectivistic Cultures, which would be required for the use of Deep Acting. Individualistic Cultures also encourage the expression and existence of Machiavellianism, as their idiocentric values are focused upon personal rights and liberties, encouraging the self-centred behaviour described by Triandis (1994, 1995), which is in alignment with Machiavellians' philosophy documented by prior researches (Christie & Geis, 1970; Furnham et al., 2013). Consequently, Machiavellians rely upon the use of Surface Acting, which is based on the expression of disingenuous emotions and, as Ozcelik (2013) argues, requires little effort and leads to maximum gain. Therefore, Surface Acting is a good fit for highly manipulative individuals such as Machiavellians. This notion is also supported by Christie and Geis' (1970) studies depicting Machiavellian's traits.

As is evident, the research has confirmed H1, which assumed that there is a positive relationship between the elements of the ego-centric triad. The findings also support prior research providing descriptive characteristics of each ego-centric element yet offer a novel view of how these elements and their characteristics influence each other in a triangular fashion.

RQ2: How does the triad impact upon employee well-being, career success, job satisfaction and turnover intention?

Despite the positive correlations, the ego-centric elements do not lead to a unified effect upon employees' states at work. This is due to their differences, enabling them to internalise or externalise the negative affect deriving from emotional labour. Individualistic Cultures did not impair employee well-being, which could be due to the presence of coexisting values advocated by researchers (Triandis, 1995; Smetana, 2002; Tamis-Le Monda et al., 2008). As a result, idiocentric values were neutralised by the presence of allocentric values, as suggested in prior research (e.g. Smetana, 2002; Tamis-Le Monda et al., 2008; Triandis, 1995). The co-existence of values resulted in a positive effect and individuals did not perceive emotional labour demands as self-threatening. Nevertheless, individuals with idiocentric values (Individualistic Cultures) externalised their negative affect and dissatisfaction with emotional labour demands, by directing them into the workplace itself, which was manifested in low job satisfaction and increased turnover intentions.

The second element of the triad, Surface Acting, had proved to be the most effective element, demonstrating only positive effect upon employees' states. Surface Acting did not cause any harm to an individual's well-being and even decreased turnover intentions, which suggests that automated expression of the emotional management process took place, which has the tendency to eliminate emotional dissonance, as suggested by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993). In addition, the expression of positive emotions (even if not genuine) is perceived to enhance the

experience of positivity (Fredrickson, 2009; Larsen et al., 1992) and ultimately served as a buffer for turnover intentions.

The final element of the ego-centric triad - Machiavellianism - had the opposite effect to Surface Acting, demonstrating a negative impact upon all areas of employees' states at work. These results are attributed to the high level of negative emotions deriving from Machiavellians' predisposition towards cynicism (Christie & Geis, 1970; Kessler et al., 2010), which ultimately affect their social relationships (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Spain et al., 2014). Machiavellians' efforts to manage and consequently suppress their negative emotions would lead to the experience of negative affective states (Best et al., 1997; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000), which will be internalised - as evidenced by the affected well-being - and also externalised - as evidenced by decreased job satisfaction and increased turnover intentions. In addition, the high negative affective states will make them more likely to 'slip' and expose their manipulative strategies (Babiak & Hare, 2006), which consequently limits their career prospects, as documented within this research. The findings from this research also contradicts the notion of *Socio-Analytic Theory* (Hogan et al., 1985) which suggests a male predisposition for Machiavellianism deriving from gender value categorisation. It was found that gender did not seem to have any impact on the level of Machiavellianism, as men's and women's scores on the MACH IV scale were nearly identical; this further suggests that both genders engage in manipulative techniques, and the only thing which varies is the technique itself (Rim, 1992). In summary, it is evident that Machiavellianism possesses the most negative effects for employees' states at work. Machiavellianism impairs employee well-being and career progression, decreases job satisfaction and leads to increased turnover intentions. However, Machiavellianism can no longer be attributed to a male gender, as the research has demonstrated that gender does not act as an antecedent to Machiavellianism.

Based on these research findings, it is evident that the hypotheses H2c, H5 and H6 were confirmed (H6 showed indirect mediated effect), while hypothesis H2a, H2b and H3 failed to reject the null hypothesis and H4 followed the opposite pattern of prediction.

6.1.3 Study two - Research Question 3 and Hypothesis H7

As observed, Study two yielded some interesting results in relation to the causes of social desirability bias, and at the same time opened new opportunities for future research. In association, the study provided answers to the relevant research question (RQ3) and concluded that social desirability bias is evident across all levels of Machiavellians and cultural orientations; nevertheless, the reasons varied across the three groups of interest.

RQ3 - Does social attractiveness effect take place in anonymous self-reports when ego-centric qualities are of concern?

The cross-validating study of responses assessing the truthfulness of Machiavellians' self-reports showed that all individuals, regardless of their level of Machiavellianism, manipulated their responses, which once again demonstrated the omission of truth evidenced by individuals across sectors and positions and as argued in research (Kashy & DePaulo, 1996).

Study two revealed that, despite precautionary measures (such as projective reasoning, anonymous measures and extended wording of questions) advocated by research (Blair et al., 1977; Bradley et al., 2002; Bradburn et al., 2004; Burnkrant, 2001; Griffin et al., 2004; Grice, 1975; Holtgraves, 1989; Van Iddekinge et al., 2005), self-report measures were still affected by social desirability bias, which supports Presser's study (1990). The influence of reporting bias within self-report measures is common in research (Bradley et al., 2002; Burnkrant, 2001; Conte, 2005; Ellingson et al., 1999; Griffin et al., 2004; Hadaway et al., 1993; Lueke et al., 2002; McFarland & Ryan, 2001; Van Iddekinge et al., 2005; Vasilopoulos et al., 2002;

Viswesvaran & Ones, 1999; Zickar & Robie, 1999). Therefore, the presence of reporting bias was highly anticipated in Study two.

It was shown that self-report bias is evident across all levels of Machiavellians (low, medium and high) and cultural orientations (individualistic and collectivistic). Low Machiavellians manipulated their responses because of societal pressure deriving from Collectivistic Cultures, within which individuals are expected to show concern for others and demonstrate loyalty to the group (Gudykunst, 1997; Middleton & Jones, 2000). However, low Machiavellians from Collectivistic Cultures manipulate their self-reported responses only if the questionnaire is concerned with people-orientated behaviour (Varela & Premeaux, 2008), which was clearly the case in this research. In other words, low Machiavellians' deviation from the truth is due to respect for the society and group membership, rather than for personal gain and self-presentation, while the high Machiavellians have a specific agenda linked to impression management. High Machiavellians' manipulation of self-reported data is accredited to two factors. Firstly, and foremost, it is accredited to their manipulative nature, as described in various studies (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004; Christie & Geis, 1970; Kessler et al., 2010; O'Boyle et al., 2012), and their impression management tendency, as argued by early research into Machiavellianism (DePaulo & Rosenthal, 1979; Geis & Moon, 1981; Oksenberg, 1971). Secondly, high Machiavellians are also influenced by cultural orientation, deriving from the co-existence of cultural values, as elaborated by Smetana (2002) and Tamis-Le Monda et al. (2008). In other words, high Machiavellians are influenced by idiocentric values such as superiority and exhibitionism practised by Individualistic Cultures, and also by allocentric values recognising the importance of friendly relationships at work. Researchers (Middleton & Jones, 2000; and Xie et al., 2006) argue that both types of values - allocentric and idiocentric - lead to participants' denial of socially unacceptable behaviour. In contrast to high Machiavellians, medium Machiavellians actually followed the opposite trend of self-reporting

bias discussed by Van Iddekinge et al., (2005), by over-reporting their amoral views. Medium Machiavellians' actions can be accredited to their desire to emulate the success of high Machiavellians, deriving from the recognition that manipulation is a highly powerful tool within the business world (Kessler et al., 2010). In addition, medium Machiavellians could be classed as 'Machiavellians in the making', as they will use any strategy to create a perception of power and engage in impression management in order to receive favourable ratings, support of which is offered in Zivnuska et al.'s (2004) research. It is also highly plausible that high Machiavellians had strongly identified with idiocentric values, which, according to earlier research findings (Farh et al., 1991; Xie et al., 2006) have the propensity to inflate one's own rating.

As is evident, participants' responses were affected by self-report bias and, therefore the social desirability effect found in previous studies (Conte, 2005; Hadaway et al., 1993; Mueller-Hanson et al., 2003) was confirmed. Nevertheless, the deviation from observed responses was not sufficiently large to dismiss the data in Study one and thus invalidate the results. Consequently, the participants did not engage in fully constructed lies; they were just affected by social desirability bias deriving from cultural orientation and personality predisposition.

Based on the results, it can be concluded that hypothesis H7 was not fully confirmed, as high Machiavellians did not manipulate their responses to the predicted levels.

6.1.4 Study three - Research Question 4

Study three has provided insight into the formation of personal values, focusing specifically on the aspect of morality. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis have demonstrated similarities in subordinate themes between high and low Machiavellians. Despite the similarities in the themes, the meaning behind the factors influencing the formation of moral/amoral values varied. The formation of morality was accredited to parental influences,

demographic cultures and schooling system, while organisational cultures seemed to have far less influence.

RQ4: Where do Machiavellian tendencies stem from? Are upbringing practices or organisational culture responsible for employees' behaviour within an intra-organisational setting?

Machiavellian tendencies stem largely from early upbringing practices, namely parental amoral values, individualistic cultural orientation (identification with idiocentric values) and highly competitive schooling systems. Parental values of Individualistic Cultures and idiocentric values were strongly linked to the 'win' strategy which does not consider 'taking part' as an option. These findings support prior research that depicted the impact of Individualistic Cultures on formation of values (Bridges, 2003; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007). High Machiavellians recalled forceful upbringing practices advocating 'win at any cost'. The similarity between parents' and children's values is in alignment with prior research findings, suggesting transmission of values within the family environment (e.g. Bilsky et al., 2013; Knafo & Spinath, 2011; Ranieri & Barni, 2012; Super & Harkness, 2002). The formation of amoral values is associated with authoritative parental figures/upbringing practices, emotional deprivation and approval seeking, which mirrors Lang's research (2015; Lang & Lenard, 2015). Furthermore, emotional disconnection in early childhood and adolescence leads to the development of maladaptive avoidance coping responses advocated by Young et al. (2003), which is strongly linked to Machiavellianism. Identification with idiocentric values (regardless of geographic location) also played a strong part in the development of amoral values. Individuals demonstrated a high level of confidence in their cultural values, describing them as 'the best', which is reflective of their Machiavellian overrated confidence (Jain & Bearden, 2011). The final element, schooling systems, encouraged the formation and existence of their

values by supporting their idiocentric values and orientation. Researchers (Hofstede, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) have demonstrated that idiocentric values are associated with the need for social approval. Similar findings were evident in Study three, as Machiavellians recalled their desire to emulate their successful (even if amoral) role models. As evident, environmental stimuli are the main source of Machiavellian amoral values, which supports Del Giudice and Belsky's (2011), and Kaplan and Ganstead's (2005), earlier studies. High Machiavellians continue to exhibit their amoral behaviour within the organisational setting as this satisfies their desire for control over others and the need for hyper-competitive behaviour, described in earlier studies on Machiavellianism (Geis & Christie, 1970; Mudrack et al., 2012). High and low Machiavellians' accounts of their early childhood experiences mirrored their current behaviour, which implies limited changes in personal values focusing on morality. This further suggests that the level of Machiavellianism is fairly stable over time and is not significantly affected by institutional environments or organisational cultures. Therefore, the institutional power to override personal values might be weaker than initially thought and the identities which employees adopt within their workplace (or at least, identities related to morality) are only temporary. Therefore, these findings support Ashmore et al.'s (2004) notion of multiple identities at work and their temporary nature. Nevertheless, organisations do provide the optimal environment for high Machiavellians to grow further and exercise their manipulation via the use of organisational politics; as Machiavellians' practise of amoral behaviour is linked to their perception of organisational politics. These findings are supported by others (e.g. Bolino, 1999; Ferris et al., 2000; Valle, 1997), stating that an individual's degree of manipulation is proportionate with the level of organisational politics.

The results from the semi-structured interviews showed that early upbringing practices (parental values, demographic culture and schooling system) shape the personal values of individuals, which demonstrates a similarity with previous findings (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Keller,

2003; McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel, 1995; Super & Harkness, 2002; Uzefovsky et al., 2015). It was also found that organisational culture and institutional environment does influence employee thought processes and behaviour, support for which derives from prior studies (e.g. Becker et al., 1996; Bishop & Scott, 2000; Moorman & Blakely, 1995; Paine and Organ, 2000; Siders et al., 2001). However, this research showed that organisational values do not possess the power to override individuals' personal values of morality. It is important to note that this research investigated only certain facets of personal values, focusing on morality. Therefore, the findings of this research should be interpreted in the context of Machiavellianism (Machiavellians' deceitful tactics and values), as opposed to personal values in general terms. The research sought to control for change of value and institutional influence by ensuring that participants worked in their current workplace for three or more consecutive years. Despite this control measure, the cross-sectional design of the study possesses certain limitations, as do the self-report measures.

6.1.5 Summary of most important findings

The research and its related three studies have resulted in complex findings that enrich the literature on the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour and contribute to the knowledge of modern day Machiavellians. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

- The elements of the ego-centric triad (Individualism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism) are interrelated and have a direct influence upon each other. Individualistic Cultures (idiocentric individuals) support the use of Surface Acting - this is the preferred emotion management strategy of Machiavellians; whose values are in alignment with individualistic cultural orientation (Idiocentrism).
- Of the three ego-centric elements, Machiavellianism has the most negative impact upon employee states at work. Machiavellianism impairs employee well-being and career

success, decreases job satisfaction and increases turnover intentions. Individualism (idiocentric values) decreases job satisfaction and increases turnover intentions, while Surface Acting has the opposite effect and decreases turnover intentions.

- Machiavellians at all levels (high, medium and low) have demonstrated self-reporting bias and misrepresented their responses. However, the differences between reported and observed Machiavellian traits were not large enough to allow the validity of the findings obtained from Study one to be disregarded. The most interesting findings are that true medium Machiavellians actually over-reported their level of amoral values and behaviour.
- Machiavellian amoral values derive largely from upbringing practices, and organisational cultures have little influence upon the values of morality. Organisational cultures with a high level of organisational politics provide a positive environment for Machiavellians, enabling them to practise their amoral values and to alienate moral employees (low Machiavellians).

It should be noted that the above-discussed findings should be interpreted in the light of their limitations, as discussed in section 6.2 Limitations and Future Research below.

6.1.6 Contribution of the research

The findings from this research have enriched the research knowledge of emotional labour and also suggest that organisations need to rethink their recruitment and selection processes to include screening for undesirable personality characteristics.

Each individual study has contributed to the research knowledge in its own right.

The main contribution of Study one (and the whole research) is the introduction of the ego-centric triad, which gives an indication of why emotional labour and the use of Surface Acting can have both positive and negative implications. The findings have demonstrated that the 'Dark Side' of emotional labour cannot be explained by emotion management strategies alone, and additional factors (Idiocentrism and Machiavellianism) should be considered to fully account for the negative effect of emotional labour. Additional contributions of Study one to research knowledge derives from recognition that Surface Acting is not solely responsible for impaired well-being, but ego-centric characteristics of Machiavellians have a greater tendency to impair well-being, and lead to burnout. Therefore, despite the façade that Machiavellians portray, they still suffer from impaired well-being and may require organisational assistance, despite not exhibiting any obvious signs of impaired well-being.

A second contribution derives from Study three, which has shown that values of morality derive largely from upbringing practices and persist into later life. This suggests that employees with amoral values (Machiavellians) will continue to engage in organisational politics and manipulative behaviour regardless of the prevailing institutional cultural values. This will negatively impact upon intra-personal relationships and the productivity of organisations. Thus, from a Human Resource Management perspective, it may be more beneficial to invest in screening for undesirable (Machiavellian) traits in order to prevent decline in relationships and productivity at a later stage.

Study two, also contributed to the research knowledge, although to a lesser extent. Study two has demonstrated that individuals at all levels of Machiavellianism (high, medium and low) are prone to self-reporting bias. As a result, and whenever possible, research should use objective measures when investigating socially undesirable characteristics, particularly where Machiavellianism is concerned.

6.2 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

6.2.1 Limitations of conducted research

6.2.1.1 Study one - Cross-sectional design limitations

The results of this study should be interpreted in the light of its limitations. The sample composition is usually cited as the main limitation of many studies; nevertheless, considering that this research is concerned with emotion management processes, the heterogeneity of the sample should not hinder the validity of the research, as such studies are normally generalised across cultural context (Ekman, 1997; Hofstede, 1991, 2001).

The primary limitation of the research is the cross-sectional design of the study. Despite the theoretical model implying causal relationships, causality cannot be established from this study alone as exposure and outcome were measured simultaneously; therefore, this study does not provide evidence of temporal relationships between exposure and outcome. For that reason, it was not possible to establish the effect of prolonged use of Surface Acting upon employee states. Considering that the study focused on non-inherent attributes, which develop over time, the causality is unclear. Nevertheless, Study one formed an important stepping stone, uncovering the correlational relationships amongst the variables comprising the ego-centric triad and their impact upon employee states; this should be further explored. Secondly, it is also important to note that Study one relied solely upon the use of a single data collection measure/questionnaire tool which is associated with self-reporting bias (e.g. Bradley et al., 2002; Burnkrant, 2001; Conte, 2005; Griffin et al., 2004; Lueke et al., 2002; McFarland & Ryan, 2000; Van Iddekinge et al., 2005). In isolation from the context, this could be considered as a limitation factor; however, taking into account that the aim of the study was to explore causal relationships between variables and test the fit of the proposed model, the use of a single

method is acceptable, although the use of additional methods would enhance the validity of the data.

6.2.1.2 Study two - Supporting study limitations

Although Study two reached its aims and provided valuable comparison between reported and observed responses of Machiavellianism, there were some unavoidable limitations. Firstly, the limited amount of literature focusing upon validation of Machiavellians' responses meant that the study had to draw inferences from similar studies investigating either deception in a generic workplace context or focusing upon Machiavellians' impression management used as a self-promotion tactic with their workplace supervisors. Secondly, due to the time limit, the study was conducted with a small sample size representing UK-based working professionals. Considering that the aim of Study two was to supplement Study one and shed some light upon self-reporting bias when amoral values are of interest, the sample size should not be a hindrance to the validity. Nevertheless, if the study was to be considered as stand-alone research, the sample size should be enlarged.

6.2.1.3 Study three - Cross-sectional design limitations

Study three brought valuable insight into the factors responsible for the formation of personal values, by exploring the influence of early upbringing practices and institutional values. However, the study was also exposed to certain limitations. First, the research was limited by the measures used, as it relied primarily upon self-report measures. Despite the fact that the study utilised two measures (questionnaire and interview), participants might have tried to match their interview responses to the information provided within the questionnaires, despite this not being the purpose of the research. The MACH IV test served purely as a categorisation tool, enabling segregation of high and low Machiavellians.

Nevertheless, the self-reported measures had their place in this research as they investigated early experiences responsible for the formation of personal values, which can be examined only via the use of personal self-reflection and self-narrative. Furthermore, it was assumed that the confidentiality and anonymity of responses and the acceptance of Machiavellianism by society would encourage participants to provide true responses.

Secondly, due to the cross-sectional design of the study, it was not possible to investigate the changes of personal values across time and analyse the formation of values in detail. Although the control measure/screening criteria (continuous employment within a single organisation for three or more years) aimed to account for the influence of organisational culture upon personal values, it was not sufficient to demonstrate the change effect upon morality.

Analysing the impact of organisational culture across different time spans would enable the research to consider the element of peer and organisational pressure, and the notion of multiple social identities (Ashmore et al., 2004; Van Dick et al., 2004, 2005). It would then be possible to explore the changes, and ultimately the evolution, of employees' personal values evident within a workplace context.

6.2.2 Recommendations for future research

6.2.2.1 Study one - recommendations

Despite the valuable findings, there are some limitations deriving from this research, which should be addressed by future studies.

As some of the predictions were not supported within the study, future research should determine the cause of these anomalies. To be more precise, future research could explore additional variables (such as organisational politics, organisational culture or managerial styles) which might serve as mediating variables between Individualistic Cultures and well-

being, and Surface Acting and well-being. Therefore, the proposed model could be further developed by inclusion of additional (mediating) variables, which would allow a local fit of the model to be measured (e.g. by focusing on the mediating effect of organisational politics or management style on employee well-being) and also measurement of a global fit model (analysing the effect of the ego-centric triad).

In addition, it would be useful to include time variables into the equation of the proposed model, and consequently conduct a longitudinal study assessing the short-term versus long-term effect of elements comprising the ego-centric triad upon employees' states at work. Similarly, it would be of relevance to test the proposed model across different industries, to assess possible differences and explain the variation of emotional labour impact upon employee states across business sectors.

6.2.2.2 Study two - recommendations

Considering the limited amount of literature focusing upon tangible evidence of Machiavellian traits, future research should devote more focus on how can research objectively measure Machiavellian traits. In addition, for research aiming to replicate Study two findings, it would be imperative to enlarge the population sample and perhaps to investigate the deviation from true responses across different settings with various levels of emotional labour. Finally, it would be interesting to address the new findings deriving from this research, such as medium Machiavellians over-reporting their level of amoral values and practices, which deserves further attention.

6.2.2.3 Study three - recommendations

Future research should aim to expand upon the above-mentioned findings by conducting longitudinal studies as, despite this research control measure (continuous employment in an

organisation for three years or longer), it was not possible to account for all changes in morality values. As a result, measuring changes in values at different points in time (e.g. start of the employment, after one year and after three years within the same employment) could provide a more detailed and precise account of how morality values are shaped in an organisational setting.

6.3 FINAL THOUGHTS

The above undertaken research (Study one, Study two and Study three) had brought some valuable findings which contribute to the literature discussion within the concept of the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour. The conducted studies proposed a new concept in the form of the ego-centric triad and evaluated the impact of that triad upon employees’ states, focusing upon intra-organisational relationships. In addition, they cross-examined the validity of Machiavellians’ responses and established the level of deviation from their true level of amoral values. The studies also contributed to existing knowledge by uncovering the sources of Machiavellians’ amoral values. The main contribution of this research derives from the findings that the ‘Dark Side’ of emotional labour is attributable to the interaction of various elements (personality, cultural orientation and emotion management strategy), rather than solely to the use of Surface Acting. Therefore, the effectiveness of emotional labour should be assessed in relation to how different personalities and cultures (identification with idiocentric values) interpret emotional labour requirements, and how those interpretations affect employees’ states and organisational outcomes.

The findings derived from the studies demonstrated that, despite the correlation of the elements comprising the ego-centric triad (Individualism, Surface Acting and Machiavellianism), these elements do not possess a unified effect upon employee states at work; with Machiavellianism exhibiting the most detrimental effect of all elements, impairing employee well-being and job

satisfaction, diminishing their career prospects, and increasing turnover intentions. Considering that males and females both demonstrated a similar level of Machiavellian traits, it can be concluded that both genders engage in manipulative behaviour and amoral practice. Nevertheless, the deceitful nature of Machiavellians was not fully demonstrated, as individuals at all levels of Machiavellianism manipulated their responses. Low and high Machiavellians under-reported their true level of amoral practice, and medium Machiavellians over-reported their true level of amoral tendencies. This suggests that social desirability effect took place within the self-reported measures in spite of the anonymity of responses. Finally, the research findings suggest that, despite the rise of emotional labour, organisations are unlikely to be responsible for the rise of Machiavellianism as this trait derives from upbringing practices where early formation of values takes place. It can be further assumed that values of morality are relatively stable over time; therefore, organisational cultures possess limited influence upon employees' moral/amoral views and behaviour. It should be noted that this research investigated only personal values related to moral/amoral behaviour as opposed to personal values in general terms, and therefore the findings are only applicable to the values of Machiavellianism. Furthermore, these findings should be interpreted with caution, due to the cross-sectional design of the study and the use of self-reported measures. Although the sampling processes (selecting participants who worked in the same company for at least three continuous years) accounted for a certain degree of change in values, it did not provide measurable longitudinal data.

Despite the insightful evidence into the world of Machiavellians, more research is needed to form a firm conclusion about Machiavellian fit for emotional labour. Furthermore, the long-term effect of the ego-centric triad upon employees' states at work should be investigated in order to account for any variances associated with time variables. Similarly, longitudinal studies should be conducted with regard to the formation of moral values and the effect of

organisational cultures and institutional norms on the rise of Machiavellianism. Future research may also want to consider the use of new techniques (e.g. emotion recognition software), which would provide objective measures of undesirable characteristics, rather than solely rely on self-report measures.

As has been observed, emotional labour is on the rise, as is the expression of disingenuous emotions. Nevertheless, the long-term effect of this practice upon employees is unknown and requires attention from future research.

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7 APPENDIXES

7.1 APPENDIX A: STUDY ONE - QUESTIONNAIRE

Emotional Labour

This study is part of a PhD research examining the sources and impact of emotion management strategies within intra-organisational setting, while taking into account personality traits and cultural context. All the answers will be treated confidentially. You are not asked to identify yourself and the data will be processed in aggregate. There is no time limit, but the completion of this questionnaire should take you approximately 20 minutes. Your participation in this research is highly valued.

Choose a response which best describes your beliefs and behaviour.

Q1. I work best on my own.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q2. In general, it is important to go along with what other people in a group want.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q3. I would rather struggle through a personal problem by myself than discuss it with my friends.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q4. For me as an individual, winning is important.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q5. Working with others is usually more trouble than it is worth.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q6. If the group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q7. When my group does well, I feel good.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q8. What happens to me is my own doing.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q9. To what degree are you concerned about how your group compares to other groups?

- Very Concerned
- Somehow Concerned
- Not Concerned at all

Q10. To what degree is your personal success within group important to you?

- Very Important
- Somehow Important
- Not Important at all

Choose the response which best reflects you.

Q11. I frequently resist expressing my true emotions.

- Not at all true of me
- Slightly true of me
- Moderately true of me
- Very true of me
- Completely true of me

Q12. For me success is....(use the toolbar to assign a numerical value).

_____ Status

_____ Money

_____ Fame

Q13. I really try to feel the emotions that I need to show as part of my job.

- Not at all true of me
- Slightly true of me
- Moderately true of me
- Very true of me
- Completely true of me

Q14. I pretend to have emotions that I don't really have.

- Not at all true of me
- Slightly true of me
- Moderately true of me
- Very true of me
- Completely true of me

Q15. I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display to others.

- Not at all true of me.
- Slightly true of me.
- Moderately true of me.
- Very true of me.
- Completely true of me.

Q16. In my opinion equality is... [provide answer (in one word) in the box below]

Q17. I actually try to experience the emotions that I must show at work.

- Not at all true of me
- Slightly true of me
- Moderately true
- Very true of me
- Completely true of me

Q18. I hide my true feelings about a situation.

- Not at all true of me
- Slightly true of me
- Moderately true of me
- Very true of me
- Completely true of me

Choose an option which best describes your beliefs and behaviour within the work context.

Q19. The best way to handle people at work is to tell them what they want to hear.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q20. Most people are basically good and kind.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q21. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q22. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q23. In relation to success the most important attribute is....

- Beauty/Appearance
- Intellect
- Luck
- Resilience
- Hard work
- Other (Please specify.) _____

Q24. Anyone who completely trusts anyone at work is asking for trouble.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q25. The biggest difference between criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid to get caught.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q26. It is wise to flatter important people to further your career.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q27. Linguistic fluency is sign of intellect and accomplishment.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q28. It is hard to get ahead and to be successful without cutting corners here and there.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q29. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q30. It is possible to be good in all respects.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Consider these questions with reference to how you felt within the last 3 months.

Q31. During an ordinary working day, are there times when you feel unsettled for no apparent reason?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- Always

Q32. How do you usually feel at work?

- Relaxed and at ease
- Restless and tense

Q33. To which degree do you experience the following fears?

	High	Moderate	Low
Flying	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Spiders, snakes, lions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fear of death	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fear of being a failure	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fear of not being liked/loved	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q34. As you do your job, have you noticed yourself questioning your own ability and judgment?

- Yes
- Sometimes
- No

Q35. As an individual, would you say you feel good about yourself?

- No, I dislike every aspect of me
- Sometimes, I have good and bad moments
- Yes, I am rather fond of myself

Q36. Do you experience inability to get to sleep?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- Always

Q37. Do you perceive life is meaningless?

- Yes, often
- Sometimes, when I feel down
- No, never

Q38. Do you experience unaccountable tiredness?

- Yes
- Sometimes
- No

Consider the following questions with reference to your current workplace.

Q39. To what extent does your current work place...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Looks after its employees	<input type="radio"/>				
Treat employees like a number	<input type="radio"/>				
Needs some fresh people at the top	<input type="radio"/>				
Is the best firm I have ever worked for	<input type="radio"/>				
Is a poor firm to work for	<input type="radio"/>				

Q40. How do you feel about your current salary?

- Far too low
- Just about right
- Quite highly paid

Q41. How do you perceive opportunities for promotions?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
The system of promotion is fair	<input type="radio"/>				
Prospects of promotion are very limited	<input type="radio"/>				
Too much favoritism is evident	<input type="radio"/>				
The good jobs are usually taken before you hear of them	<input type="radio"/>				
My experience increases my prospects	<input type="radio"/>				

Q42. The job itself is...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
The same day after day	<input type="radio"/>				
Satisfying	<input type="radio"/>				
Endless	<input type="radio"/>				
Better than other jobs I've had	<input type="radio"/>				
The wrong sort of job for me	<input type="radio"/>				

Q43. Your immediate supervisor...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Is hard to please	<input type="radio"/>				
Does a good job	<input type="radio"/>				
Interferes too much	<input type="radio"/>				
Is short tempered	<input type="radio"/>				
Is easily approachable	<input type="radio"/>				

Q44. The people you work with....

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Easy to make enemies	<input type="radio"/>				
Hard working	<input type="radio"/>				
Some of them think they run the place	<input type="radio"/>				
Stupid	<input type="radio"/>				
Work well as a group	<input type="radio"/>				

Consider the following questions with reference to your current workplace.

Q45. How likely are you voluntarily to leave your current workplace for reasons like, more money or more prestige in another organisation, or problems with your current leadership, administration, or better working conditions elsewhere?

- Not likely
- Slightly Likely
- Moderately Likely
- Very Likely
- Completely Likely

Q46. How actively are you currently searching for other job opportunities for reasons like the ones stated in previous question?

- Not Actively
- Slightly Actively
- Moderately Actively
- Very Actively
- Extremely Actively

The following questions relate to your perception of your career success.

Q47. Which one of the following options best describes your current work position?

- Professional or Managerial worker in relatively senior position
- Mid-level to lower-level professional and supervisory jobs
- Professional/Non-Supervisory position
- Other (Please specify.) _____

Q48. What is your current salary?

- £18.000 - £24.000
- £25.000 - £35.000
- £36.000 - £45.000
- £46.000 £55.000
- £56.000 and above

Q49. How satisfied are you with your career success?

- Completely Satisfied
- Satisfied
- Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied
- Dissatisfied
- Completely Dissatisfied

Q50. How would you rate your career success in comparison to your peers?

- Less Successful
- About the same
- More Successful

Biographical Data:

Q51. What is your age?

Q52. Are you currently in full time employment?

- Yes
- No

Q53. Select your gender.

- Male
- Female

Q54. What is your country of origin?

Thank you for completing this research. If you would like to know more about the results of this research (Part 1) or participate in Part 2 - examining social desirability effect (written statements/e-mails), or Part 3 investigating the sources of emotion management strategies (semi-structured interview), please contact me via the e-mail below.

ResearchInfo@hotmail.co.uk

7.2 APPENDIX B: STUDY TWO - MACH IV QUESTIONNAIRE & E-MAIL SAMPLING

Social desirability bias of self-report measures

This study is part of a PhD research examining social desirability bias, while taking into account personality traits and cultural context. All the answers will be treated confidentially. You are not asked to identify yourself and the data will be processed in aggregate. There is no time limit, but the completion of this questionnaire should take you approximately 5-10 minutes. Your participation in this research is highly valued.

Choose an option which best describes your beliefs and behaviour within the work context.

Q1. The best way to handle people at work is to tell them what they want to hear.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q2. Most people are basically good and kind.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q3. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q4. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q5. In relation to success the most important attribute is....

- Beauty/Appearance
- Intellect
- Luck
- Resilience
- Hard work
- Other (Please specify.) _____

Q6. Anyone who completely trusts anyone at work is asking for trouble.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q7. The biggest difference between criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid to get caught.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q8. It is wise to flatter important people to further your career.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q9. Linguistic fluency is sign of intellect and accomplishment.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q10. It is hard to get ahead and to be successful without cutting corners here and there.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q11. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q12. It is possible to be good in all respects.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Biographical Data:

Q13. What is your age?

Q14. Are you currently in full time employment?

- Yes
- No

Q15. Select your gender.

- Male
- Female

Q16. What is your country of origin?

Q17. The next task requires sample of your workplace correspondence (an e-mail send to your colleagues or management.) In order to ensure anonymity, you should remove the company name and replace sender's and recipient's names with their job status. Please copy/paste content of your e-mail in the box below.

Thank you for your participation. If you would like to know more about the results of this research, or participate in Part 3 (interview), please contact me via the details below.

ResearchInfo@hotmail.co.uk

7.3 APPENDIX C: STUDY THREE - MACH IV QUESTIONNAIRE & INTERVIEW

Sources of personal values

This study is part of a PhD research examining the sources of personal values. All the answers will be treated confidentially. You are not asked to identify yourself and the data will be processed in aggregate. There is no time limit, but the completion of this questionnaire should take you approximately 5-10 minutes. Your participation in this research is highly valued.

Choose an option which best describes your beliefs and behaviour within the work context.

Q1. The best way to handle people at work is to tell them what they want to hear.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q2. Most people are basically good and kind.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q3. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q4. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q5. In relation to success the most important attribute is....

- Beauty/Appearance
- Intellect
- Luck
- Resilience
- Hard work
- Other (Please specify) _____

Q6. Anyone who completely trusts anyone at work is asking for trouble.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q7. The biggest difference between criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid to get caught.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q8. It is wise to flatter important people to further your career.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q9. Linguistic fluency is sign of intellect and accomplishment.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q10. It is hard to get ahead and to be successful without cutting corners here and there.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q11. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q12. It is possible to be good in all respects.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Biographical Data:

Q13. What is your age?

Q14. Are you currently in full time employment?

- Yes
- No

Q15. Select your gender.

- Male
- Female

Q16. What is your country of origin?

The questionnaire is now completed and will be analysed in conjunction with your interview. In order to be able to identify your responses, please choose & type a unique 6-digit identifier/password in the box below. Please make a note of the password, as you will be required to provide it again during the interview stage.

Thank you for taking part in the research. If you have further questions, or would like to know more about the result of the research, please contact me via the e-mail provided below:

ResearchInfo@hotmail.co.uk

7.4 APPENDIX D: STUDY THREE - INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FORM

Interview Protocol Form

Institution: _____

Interviewee (Title, First Name & Password): _____

Interviewer: _____

Introductory Protocol

To facilitate my note-taking, I would like to audio tape our conversations today. Please sign the release form. For your information, only researcher on the project will be privy to the tapes, which will be eventually destroyed after they are transcribed. Furthermore, you are ensured that (1) all information will be held confidential, (2) your participation is voluntary, and you may stop at any time if you feel uncomfortable. Thank you for your agreeing to participate.

The interview is planned to take approximately 30 minutes.

Introduction:

This interview is conducted in addition to prior questionnaire investigating emotion management strategies individuals use within emotional labour context. The focus of this interview is upon Machiavellian tendencies and how these tendencies are being influenced by up-bringing practices and cultural context. This study does not aim to make a judgment upon you as an individual. Rather it is trying to bring some light into the nature versus nurture debate of certain personality traits which affects our behaviour within intra-organisational relationships setting and consequently might be responsible for work related success.

A. Interviewee Background

What is your country of origin? _____

How many years have you been living in UK? _____

What is your highest degree? _____

What is your field of study? _____

Are you currently in full time employment? _____

What is your current job position? _____

B. Interview questions

1. Can you tell me about your upbringing? Were you encouraged 'to win' or to enjoy the 'taking part' experience?

2. Have you followed your up-bring practices advice and cultural expectations, or have you changed? Why do you think this is the case?

3. Have you experienced any difficulties in adjusting to UK based work culture?

4. How do you feel about competition within the workplace?

5. Are you a competitive individual? Can you elaborate upon the reasons related to your level of competitiveness?

6. What is your view of within organisational politics? Are you comfortable with taking part in them?

7. Can you think of factors, which could have influenced your behaviour within organisational politics?

8. What is your view about 'manipulation of information' in order to get ahead in the business world?

9. How would you judge your ability to manipulate information? Do you think this ability is something you have always had or is it something you developed as a result of your working environment?

10. Could you recall factors, or events, which led to your current work-related success?

C. De-briefing.

Thank you for taking part, your time is much valued. If you would like to know more about the results of this research, please contact me on the mail below.

ResearchInfo@hotmail.co.uk

