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# Toward Greater Understanding of the Pernicious Effects of Workplace Envy

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# **Toward Greater Understanding of the Pernicious Effects of Workplace Envy**

Despite the fact that envy is widely viewed as one of the most pernicious and dysfunctional workplace emotions, research has ignored its longer-term consequences. This oversight can largely be attributed to over reliance on the relatively static affective events framework that does not account for how envy-eliciting events can threaten an individual's perceptions of social standing or trigger emotional schema from previous events. Hence, we propose an extension of this framework in order to address these shortcomings and in order to account more fully for the cumulative effects of prior envy-eliciting events. In particular, by integrating insights from social comparison and emotional schema theories into the current framework, we offer a deeper, more fine-grained explanation of the cumulative effects of emotionally congruent envious episodes. We believe that these additional insights will offer a perspective, for researchers and practitioners alike, into how envy-eliciting events can result in more malicious and chronic behavior. Future research and managerial implications are discussed.

Keywords: emotion, affective events theory, social comparison, emotional schema, envy

Envy is a painful emotion of wanting an advantage that another has and/or wishing the other did not have it (Schoeck 1969; Parrott 1991; Parrott and Smith 1993) or, simply put, 'pain at another's good fortune' (Tai, Narayanan and McAllister 2012, p.107). Envy's dysfunctional consequences, whether in the form of resentment, hostility, or even sabotage, are widely reported in the popular press and generally believed to be pervasive in the workplace (Greenberg, Ashton-James and Ashkanasy 2007). That workplace envy is commonplace is not surprising, given the tendencies of most organizations to create and foster competitive environments in which coworkers are often differentially rewarded (Duffy, Shaw and Schaubroeck 2008; Menon and Thompson 2010). Indeed, work events such as promotions, pay increases, bonuses, recognition, allocation of office space or even furniture, or simply praise from the boss make the workplace a fertile ground for envious feelings and spontaneous social comparison (Schaubroeck and Lam 2004). While managers compare individuals to identify and reward superior performance, often publicizing achievements to showcase best practices, they are often unaware of the unintended consequences of their actions in triggering envy.

Clearly, many working adults have felt the painful side effects of this emotion from time to time. One workplace survey involving 200 organizations and 278 respondents (Miner 1990) reported that 77 percent of those surveyed had observed an envy-eliciting event that had detrimental consequences, and 58 percent admitted that they had directly experienced such an event themselves. These findings are particularly surprising because openly expressing and admitting envy is often viewed as shameful, even sinful (Epstein 2003); hence, envious feelings often fester undetected. Left unchecked these emotions can pull work teams apart, undermine relationships with coworkers, sabotage organizational performance and, sadly, erode individual self-worth, job performance, and even future career aspirations (Menon and Thompson 2010).

While the malicious effects of envy have been extensively chronicled, more recently, some researchers have proposed that envy may also trigger more functional responses as well (van de Ven, Zeelenberg and Pieters 2009; Tai et al. 2012). For example, being passed over for a coveted promotion, an individual might cope with the pain of this envy-eliciting event by seeking feedback on how to get promoted in the future. However, this apparently functional response does not preclude concurrent dysfunctional coping responses (Tai et al. 2012), such as complaining to coworkers about your "raw deal", or subtly working to undermine rivals who may also be competing for promotion. Moreover, if this individual has experienced similar envy-eliciting events in the past, having been passed over for promotion or, perhaps, having not received plum assignments before, such benign responses become increasing less likely as more malicious responses are apt to preclude their consideration. Consequently, we focus specifically on the pernicious downside of envy in the workplace to further our understanding of the longer-term effects of envy-eliciting events.

# **Theoretical Background**

Extant research has primarily relied upon the relatively static, affective events framework (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996), which focuses on a single, one-time emotional episode but does not consider previous envy-eliciting events that are emotionally congruent with this episode nor does it specifically address perceived threats to social standing that are inherent to envious comparisons. Hence, in its present form this framework is constrained and underspecified (Briner 1999) and unable to explain the cumulative effects of envy-eliciting events. Consequently, we propose an extension of the affective events framework that incorporates emotional schema and social comparison theory in order to further our understanding of the processes that underlie the cumulative effects of envious episodes in the workplace. We also link these processes to both

overt and covert organizationally behaviors and theorize how such behaviors may become chronic, habituating and more destructive over time. Thus, rather than focus on the potential latent effects of a single envy-eliciting episode, our objective is to further explain the cumulative effects of emotionally congruent envious episodes that, when taken separately may have little or no consequence, result in highly dysfunctional outcomes over time. Before presenting our extended framework, we begin with a brief overview of the affective events framework and then overview prior research on workplace envy.

# Affective Events Theory

Affective events theory (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996) is concerned with understanding the link between an event (stimulus) and emotional and behavioral reactions to this event by a subject (response). As an aside, it is important to clarify that the concept of "affect" in this theory addresses emotions, which are 'specific, short-term reactions to an event', (Briner 1999, p. 326) such as envy, as well as moods, which tend to be lasting, diffuse feelings that are not directed toward a specific object or event, such as generalized sadness or cheerfulness (Weiss 2002). Given that our framework focuses specifically on emotions and not generalized moods and to remain consistent with affective events theory, we use the term "affect" in discussing the theory or related research when it applies to emotions; otherwise we use the term "emotion" or "feeling" to refer to the emotion of envy in the illustration of our framework.

As noted, affective events theory was never intended to explain the processes underlying reactions to specific emotions; rather it was designed as a broad, over-arching framework for exploring all emotions in the workplace. Viewing the work environment as having an indirect effect on affective experiences, it focuses primarily on triggering work events which are viewed as precipitating affective reactions that, in turn, result in either affect-driven or judgment-driven

behaviors. Though not specifically part of their formal theory, building on Fridja's (1993) notion of cognitive interpretation or assessment, Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) suggest that such work events trigger cognitive assessment which then influence the intensity of the affective reaction to the event. Essentially then, this theory is useful for conceptualizing emotions in the workplace and responses to it, as an experience of the workplace in which emotions are seen as being *about* something that happened and not merely *of* something (Fridja 1993). It also allows us to theorize aspects of feelings that have been under researched by previous studies including the distinction between levels of emotional intensity and differentiating between short-term affect-driven and long-term judgment-driven behaviors. However, beyond this the theory does not fully specify the underlying processes through which events elicit emotions (Ashkanasy, Hartel and Daus 2002).

# Prior Research on Workplace Envy

Several scholars have clearly delineated the emotion of envy concluding that within an organizational context, envy is a painful emotion of wanting an advantage that a coworker(s) has and/or wishing that co-worker(s) did not have it (Schoeck 1969; Parrott 1991; Parrott and Smith 1993; Smith and Kim 2007). Although envy and jealousy are often used interchangeably in everyday language, the social psychology literature on emotions in the workplace clearly distinguishes these as different constructs (Parrott 1991; Parrott and Smith 1993; Bedeian 1995; Smith and Kim 2007). Jealousy typically involves losing someone, who is still desired, to another individual as in the case of a love triangle (Bedeian 1995; Mishra 2009). Thus, the individual's desire is focused on another person and the possibility of losing that person to another rival (Mishra 2009), as opposed to envy's focus on organizational advantages such as better offices or larger pay raises. Similarly, while resentment and envy are often juxtaposed, they also are viewed differently in the literature. Specifically, resentment is predicated on

feelings of displeasure or personal indignation as a consequence of a perceived wrong doing by another, while envy is not (Smith 1991).

While affective events theory has been used to guide research on emotion in the workplace, it has not been applied specifically by researchers to workplace envy, despite its ubiquitousness. Rather, existing research has focused on proximal causes and common antecedent events associated with greater prevalence of workplace envy, such as a coworker being rated higher on performance (Exline and Lobel 1999) or being passed over for promotion by someone else (Schaubroeck and Lam 2004). With respect to the consequences of envy, research suggests that an envious individual's self-evaluation is threatened by the relative advantage of others (Smith 1991; Ben Ze'ev 2000; Smith and Kim 2007) and is likely to lead to a greater intention to turnover (Vecchio 1995, 2000). Prior research has also shown that individuals are envious because they want to be better than others and not just better off and consequently experience relative deprivation when others achieve more than they do (Ben Ze'ev 2000). In addition, according to prior research, envy reduces the envier's willingness to share high-quality work knowledge with the envied (Fischer, Kastenmüller, Frey and Peus 2009) and increases attempts to undermine them (Duffy, Ganster and Pagon 2002; Mouly and Sankaran 2002). Moreover, in groups, envy reduces collegiality and effort (Tyler 1997; Folger and Skarlicki 1998; Tyler and Blader 2000), group trust (Dunn and Schweitzer 2006), satisfaction, and performance (Torgler, Schmidt and Frey 2006). While this stream of research empirically linking antecedents to dysfunctional consequences is instructive, future research could clearly benefit from a more nuanced framework of the underlying processes involved in envy-eliciting events (Briner 1999).

# **Revised Framework**

To revise the affective events framework, we draw from and integrate affective events theory (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996), social comparison theory (e.g., Festinger 1954; Suls and Wheeler 2000) and schema theory (e.g., Markus and Zajonc 1985). In so doing, our aim is to specify a framework of envy-eliciting workplace events by elaborating the roles of perceived threats to social standing, prior congruent emotional experiences, the components of the ensuing cognitive assessment, and further clarifying the drivers of affect- and judgment-driven behaviors. As the top of Figure 1 shows, our framework employs the four central elements of affective events theory (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996) including a *triggering work event*, a *cognitive assessment*, an *affective reaction* and a *behavioral response*. Below each of these elements we then conceptualize the processes in more detail, and then further ground and illustrate these processes by elaborating on how an envy-eliciting event unfolds. As shown in Figure 1, we also highlight the components that we added or revised.

Insert Figure 1 about here

# Felt Appraisal

Essentially, an envy-eliciting workplace event results in an initial felt appraisal (Fridja 1993) which is not yet cognitive in nature. In the moment, this vague, felt appraisal is experienced as an unpleasant, painful reaction, which is primarily reflexive and spontaneous and thus not fully understood or processed by the individual (e.g., on first hearing that a coworker was given a coveted assignment, a person spontaneously experiences an unpleasant physiological response, such as blushing, muscle tightening, or increased pulse rate).

# Perceived Threat to Social Standing

At this point in the process, primarily aware of the unpleasantness of the eliciting event (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996), the individual is immediately compelled to try to make sense out of the triggering event by engaging in a more thorough cognitive assessment of what happened and how it affects him or her. As Figure 1 shows, cognitive assessment is based in part on the event's perceived threat to one's social standing. Because envy inherently involves a social comparison between what I have versus what another has (e.g., Parrott and Smith 1993; Ben-Ze'ev 2000,), we reason that the resulting cognitive assessment focuses primarily on the extent to which the advantage achieved by a coworker is perceived by the envier to threaten his or her social standing in the organization (e.g., To what extent do I perceive that a coworker receiving a desirable assignment might lower my organizational status?). Individuals generally engage in social comparison to evaluate their situations relative to significant others (Festinger 1954; Suls and Wheeler 2000). In the workplace, such comparisons provide a mechanism for comparing one's progress, or assessing one's contributions, as well as for coping with uncertainty (Goodman and Haisley 2007). Because individuals are more likely to engage in comparisons when faced with uncertainty (Buunk, Schaufeli and Ybema 1994; Shah 1998), it follows that individuals faced with a vague felt appraisal of an emotion-eliciting event should be especially prone to focus their cognitive assessment on social comparison. In particular, the extent to which the event is perceived to pose a threat to their relative social standing. In addition, the relative status perspective (Frank 1985, 2007; Hill and Buss 2006) suggests that individuals in organizations are particularly concerned with the question of how they compare with others on achievement criteria that are mutually understood by organizational members to be relevant to their relative social standing (Nozick 1974). Therefore, because there is an ongoing competition among organizational members to attain or at least maintain relative social standing (Waldron

1998) we would expect this propensity to be particularly pronounced in the cognitive assessment of work events.

# Congruent Affect-Laden Schema

Schema theory, also suggests that the cognitive assessment of a triggering work event will involve a search of one's memory for similar experiences stored as a schema (Markus and Zajonc 1985). Moreover, Game concludes that 'it is necessary to view affective events as episodes embedded in the context of an evolving interpersonal history' (2008, p. 387). Thus, we reason that an individual's initial felt appraisal of a work event can also be expected to activate latent emotional experiences. As schema theory suggests, a schema represents a 'cognitive structure that contains knowledge about the attributes of a category and the links among those attributes' (Fiske and Pavelchak 1986, p. 170). While a schema stores information in abstract forms, Moskowitz suggests that it also contains concrete examples of previous occurrences and 'holds all of one's knowledge about a person, object, or event' (2005, p. 156)

Moreover, because an affect-laden schema, rooted in prior emotionally charged experiences, tends to be retrieved from long-term memory when it is activated by similar emotional events (Fiske 1982; Fiske and Pavelchak 1986), it follows that felt appraisals of emotionally charged events should activate similar affect-laden schema. In particular, because a felt appraisal involves an unpleasant reaction to a specific situation, the schema selected from long-term memory is apt to be more emotionally and situationally congruent (e.g., when coworkers have been repeatedly given larger customer accounts) (Bower 1981; Shetzer 1993; Fiske and Morling 1999). Thus, the felt appraisal of a triggering work event also activates a cognitive assessment of congruent affect-laden schema. In sum, the cognitive assessment of an envy-eliciting work event involves both the proximal role of an event's perceived threat to one's

social standing and the distal role of activated congruent affect-laden schema. Formally stated, we propose that:

Proposition 1. An individual's felt appraisal of an envy-eliciting work event activates a cognitive assessment of the event's threat to the individual's social standing as well as congruent affect-laden schema.

# Intensity of Emotion

The ensuing, spontaneous cognitive assessment of a perceived threat to social standing serves to clarify and sharpen the individual's calibration and resolve as to what he or she perceives to be the importance of the threat. Once cognitive assessment has concluded, with the nature and extent of the perceived threat appraised, the individual reacts affectively, experiencing the emotion itself. Since, at its core, cognitive assessment 'contains an importance evaluation which influences the intensity of emotional reaction' (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996, p. 31), it follows that the greater the appraisal of the perceived threat to social standing, precipitated by the envy-eliciting event, the more intense this painful reaction is apt to be.

As suggested previously, from a social comparison perspective, the resulting envious feelings are often the regrettable consequence of a 'natural propensity to compare one's own attributes, possessions, and circumstances with those of others' (Alicke and Zell 2008, p. 73). Moreover, in the workplace such comparisons are often intentionally, or unintentionally, encouraged (Duffy et al. 2008). Previous research has shown, for example, that maintaining or improving status is of major concern and importance for most employees (Chusmir 1991; Parker and Chusmir 1991; Lee 1997). The more poorly individuals compare with coworkers on collectively valued achievement criteria, the greater their danger of losing social status. As a consequence, they are among the first to be fired, at greater risk of losing the respect of their

colleagues, and being denied access to desired resources (DiTomaso, Post, Smith, Farris and Cordero 2007). It's not surprising then, that research has found competitive reward structures increases the likelihood of envious feelings (Vecchio 2000, 2005) because they invite direct comparison and increase the level of perceived threat associated with comparing unfavorably (Duffy and Shaw 2000; Duffy et al. 2008). Social comparison in organizations and assessments of perceived threats to social standing are therefore not just a matter of ego and self-esteem but rather a matter of performance, reward and survival.

In summary, since envious feelings often stems from unfavorable social comparisons in the context of organizational status hierarchies in which there is ongoing competition to attain or maintain relative social standing, we expect that the intensity of these feelings will be directly influenced by the level of the perceived threat to one's social standing. For these reasons we propose that:

Proposition 2. Perceived threats to social standing directly influence the intensity of the emotional reaction such that the greater the perceived threat, the more intense the aroused feelings of envy are apt to be.

# The Contingent Role of Congruent Affect-Laden Schema

While the level of the appraisal of the perceived threat to social standing directly affects the intensity of envious feelings experienced, we expect that this impact is also contingent on the strength of congruent affect-laden schema activated from previous experience. Specifically, as suggested above, the initial felt appraisal of a work event will not only trigger an appraisal of threat to social standing, but will also trigger a search of one's memory for similar experiences that are stored in schema (Markus and Zajonc 1985). This search will activate congruent affect-laden schema, reflecting previously stored concrete examples and their related emotions (Bower

1981; Shetzer 1993). When an affect-laden schema is activated, the impact of the current event's appraised threat on intensity of feelings is apt to be amplified. An important determinant of the degree to which congruent affect-laden schema affects the relationship between perceived threat to social standing and the intensity of emotions is the extent to which the activated congruent emotional schema is well developed (i.e., schema strength) (Fiske and Neuberg 1990). Schema develops over time so recurrence of similar events can affect the extensiveness of the schema developed (Thorndyke and Hayes-Roth 1979; Mandler 1984).

For example, if an individual rarely meets a sales target while a coworker repeatedly exceeds it, such an experience is apt to result in a more extensively developed affect-laden schema about this situation and its associated feelings than if the situation occurred only once or when the event does not fit a pattern. As a schema develops, it also becomes more complex, unitized and tightly organized (Thorndyke and Hayes-Roth 1979; Fiske and Morling 1999) and is more likely to be activated as a single unit, such that activation of an emotional schema can bring years of accumulated negatively charged emotions into the appraisal of a current work event (Fazio 2001). In an instant, the current envy-eliciting event is placed into a broader context of previous painful experiences (Bargh and Williams 2006). Furthermore, the more developed the schema, the more it will impose previous painful experiences on interpretation of the current work event, while downplaying or nullifying information that is present in the current situation. Essentially, as schema develops it becomes more resistant to incorporating inconsistent information (Bower 1981; Schutzwohl 1998). Thus, a less developed schema leaves an individual more open to seeing information that is present in the current situation, even if that situation is inconsistent with the schema, while a highly developed schema is more resistant to change, making openness to new or inconsistent information highly unlikely.

As a consequence, for instance, faced with an envy-eliciting event an individual with a congruent, highly developed, emotional schema is apt to be hypersensitive about the event. This sensitivity is likely to trigger strong affective responses that amplify the impact of the current event's perceived threat to social standing on the intensity of envious emotion experienced. In other words, a single event may be sufficiently threatening to arouse a relatively intense envious reaction, without the strength of conviction and resolve that comes from previous experience embedded in schema, the individual's reaction is likely to be relatively muted. However, when there is extensively developed affect-laden schema that is congruent with the current work event, the impact of the current event's appraised threat is likely to be even stronger resulting in a more intense envious reaction than the work event might have otherwise warranted. In part, the intensity of this reaction is amplified because the individual has sufficient evidence to warrant and justify his or her appraisal of the threat to social standing. Moreover, because a welldeveloped affect-laden schema is less amenable to the influence of new information (Fiske and Morling 1999; Fiske 2011), it follows that when it is emotionally congruent and strong, the envious reactions to events that threaten social standing are apt to be more intense. For these reasons we propose that:

Proposition 3. The impact of a perceived threat to social standing on intensity of envious feelings is stronger when activated congruent affect-laden schema is more extensively developed and weaker when it is less extensively developed.

#### Dysfunctional Affect-Driven Behaviors

To the extent that individual emotional reactions are intense, we reason that affect-driven behaviors are more likely to be organizationally dysfunctional and overt (e.g., publically displaying one's feelings), because affect-driven behaviors tend to be relatively spontaneous

responses to the immediate stimuli of intense emotional reactions (Berkowitz 1993). Such behaviors result from an individual's immediate need to cope with the current heightened emotional state that follows from a workplace event as opposed to behaviors directed at dealing with the situation that gave rise to these feelings (Spector and Foss 2005). In the case of envy, for example, affect-driven behaviors help individuals cope with and release tension caused by this painful emotion. While affect-driven behaviors are spontaneous they can range in overtness from subtle expressions of discontent (e.g., cursing an envied coworker under one's breath to another coworker), to more blatant expressions (e.g., a spontaneous outburst during a group meeting) (Geddes and Callister 2007).

Consequently, the more intense the painful emotional reaction is, the more difficult it is to cope with and regulate its expression and the more likely it is to be expressed spontaneously to relieve the immediate tension felt (Lopes, Salovey, Beers and Cote 2005). This argument is consistent with the findings of Hess, Banse and Kappas (1995) that the more intense the emotion, the more likely it is that the immediate behavioral expression will be spontaneous as opposed to being regulated by the individual to fit the social norms of emotion expression. Given that expression of negative emotion, such as envy, is often discouraged in the workplace, when intensity levels are lower individuals are better able to regulate the behavioral manifestation of these emotions. Thus, individuals can delay, hide or mask their feelings and more thoughtfully select how, when and with whom they might act out their feelings. Conversely, given that emotional reactions are rooted directly in the emotion with little thought regarding solution to root causes or possible future consequences, when intensity levels are higher, affective behavioral responses can be expected to be more organizationally maladjusted and overt. In summary, we suggest that:

Proposition 4. The intensity level of envious feelings influence the extent to which affect-driven behaviors will be organizationally dysfunctional and overt, such that the greater the level of intensity the more dysfunctional and overt the behaviors will be.

## Dysfunctional Judgment-Driven Behaviors

The strength of congruent affect-laden schema activated is also apt to have a significant influence on an individual's behavioral response—particularly judgment-driven behaviors. Unlike affect-driven behaviors, which are more spontaneous and overt responses to emotional arousal, judgment-driven behaviors are more deliberated upon, further rationalized, and covert responses, which are enacted after weighing the evidence from a current envy-eliciting event in light of any past emotionally congruent experiences recalled as a result of this event (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996). It follows then that in determining what judgment-driven behaviors to pursue, individuals are likely to be influenced by the strength of their convictions from past experiences embedded in activated envy-laden schemas that are congruent with a current envy-eliciting event. Thus, we reason that judgment-driven behaviors are likely to be even more maladjusted, intentional, and covert (e.g., deliberately withholding effort on ongoing work assignments) to the extent that individuals' activated congruent envy-laden schemas are well developed.

Organizationally dysfunctional judgment-driven behaviors can range from intentionally spreading malicious rumors and gossip to plotting and then engaging in sabotage, theft or even murder (Tesser and Smith 1980; Berke 1988; Morris and Keltner 2000; InfoWorld 2005). Thus, because public expression of envious feelings at work is often considered inappropriate, such festering behaviors are more likely to be masked (e.g., put on a positive public face, but privately

undermine) or entirely hidden until enacted (e.g., sabotage). Consequently, masking or hiding true feelings allows for the judgment-driven behaviors to be given more conscious thought and mulled over as meditated responses to a work event. In addition, the more highly developed the envy-laden schema, the more likely the resulting behavior is apt to become habituated. Because a strong affect-laden schema tends to be more salient, it is more likely to dominate an individual's judgment even to the point of filling in missing information that is consistent with the schema or assimilating inconsistent information into it (Fiske and Morling 1999; Bargh and Williams 2006). Therefore, judging the resolvability of a current situation according to an activated, envyladen schema from past experiences, as opposed to using current information, can have 'breathtaking effects on affect and behavior' (Fiske 2011, p. 26) and significantly increase the likelihood of habituated, chronic behavior (Kunda 1999; Schwarz and Clore 2007; Izard 2009). For example, the more an individual contemplates an envied coworker, the more often he or she may withhold information from that coworker. Therefore, because highly developed envy-laden schemas are difficult to counteract and can be continually bolstered by new work events, they are more likely to persist covertly, aggregate, and result in increasingly maladjusted and chronic behavior. In summary, we propose that:

Proposition 5. The strength of congruent envy-laden schema influences the extent to which judgment-driven behaviors will be organizationally dysfunctional and habituating, such that the more extensively developed the schema is the more dysfunctional and chronic the behaviors will be.

# The Contingent Role of Emotional Intensity

The impact of congruent envy-laden schema on dysfunctional judgment-driven behaviors may also be contingent upon the intensity of emotional arousal resulting from a current work

event. Because individuals have a strong, impulsive tendency to make evaluative judgments based on their initial feelings (Schwarz and Clore 1988), it follows that when aroused envious feelings are more intense, they serve to amplify the impact of envy-laden schema on the degree to which judgment-driven behaviors will be maladjusted and chronic. Essentially, the intensity of emotional arousal from the current work event can further strengthen the individual's resolve and deepen his/her commitment to act on activated envy-laden schema. In addition, intense emotional arousal produces aftershocks that serve to precipitate a 'continuous affective or emotional engagement...which alters the affective pattern' (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996, p.43) in the current emotional episode and over time.

Moreover, while Schwarz and Clore (1988) established a link between the valence of current emotions and subsequent judgment, Lerner, Goldberg and Tetlock (1998) found in addition to valence that emotional intensity also strongly influenced judgment and behaviors. Although Lerner et al. (1998) focused on anger, their arguments are instructive in understanding other negative emotions. In particular, they found that intense, discrete negative emotions amplify negative attributions about the situation, lead to negative expectations about the future and also increase the individual's desire to behave punitively. Therefore, we suggest, that when envious feelings are more intense, congruent envy-laden schema will have an even greater impact on the extent to which judgment-driven behaviors will be maladjusted and habituating; whereas when envious feelings are less intense, the impact will be less. Thus we propose that:

Proposition 6. The impact of activated congruent envy-laden schema on the extent to which judgment-driven behaviors are organizationally dysfunctional and chronic is stronger when envious feelings are more intense and weaker when they are less intense.

#### **Future Research Directions**

Motivated by the ubiquitous and pernicious nature of envy in the workplace, we developed a framework that highlights the need for researchers and managers alike to look beyond immediate emotional triggers, when trying to understand envy's long-term organizational consequences. Our framework provides insights into how previous envy-eliciting experiences, in the form of emotional schema, tend to be resurrected by current envy inducing events (Davis 1999) thereby heightening emotional and behavioral responses to an event. In addition, it further differentiates affect and judgment-driven behaviors, demonstrating how affect-driven behaviors, generally short-lived and openly expressed, tend to be less damaging while judgment-driven behaviors are more apt to become chronic and habitual as envious emotions fester over time.

Although previous studies have generally focused on perceived threats to self-image and relative deprivation as envy triggers (e.g., Smith and Kim 2007), our framework shifts focus to the importance of relative social standing in the organizational context to highlight the importance of achievement criteria that are mutually understood by organizational members as indicators of relative status. Thus emphasizing that doing well on mutually understood achievement criteria is critical for individuals struggling to improve, or at least maintain their relative standing as opposed to being driven by more narcissistic self-image concerns (Vidaillet 2007). Never-the-less, while we have refrained from investigating the role of individual differences, we recognize, for example, that individuals may vary in their inclination to engage in social comparison that could exacerbate or dampen the extent to which painful felt appraisals trigger cognitive assessments of an event's threat to their social standing. Indeed, VanderZee, Buunk and Sanderman (1996) report that individuals who are high on neuroticism are more

likely to have a greater need for social comparison, are more likely to engage in upward comparison and are more likely to experience negative affect from upward social comparison. On the other hand, Tai et al. (2012) found that higher levels of core self-evaluation, which captures an individual's assessment of their self-worth and capabilities, can dampen the extent of dysfunctional reactions in envious episodes. Self-regulation, an element of emotional intelligence (Goleman 1998), might also play a similar role as self-regulators are better able to control or redirect productively disruptive emotions (Boyatzis, Goleman and Rhee 2000). In addition, the envy reducing impact of considerate managers or those that enjoy high levels of leader-member exchange quality (Vecchio 2005) reflects the importance of fair treatment in minimizing the accumulation of emotional grievances (Skarlicki et al. 2000). Thus, it would be particularly instructive to examine the contingent role of Cloquitt's fairness types (2001) since initial research by Cohen-Charash and Mueller (2007) found that counterproductive work behaviors are more apt to result when envy and unfair treatment interact.

Clearly the next step for future research is to empirically validate our propositions. However, in offering suggestions on how to move forward, we are mindful of some challenges in conducting such research, particularly when capturing the dynamics of envious episodes over time. For example, conducting a longitudinal study to capture the chronic consequences of envy overtime would certainly need to cover a significant period of time and would be extremely difficult to conduct, given the logistics of repeatedly gathering data from the same respondents as well as controlling for unanticipated intervening conditions that might confound results. Another option would be to conduct semi-structured interviews which would allow individuals to elaborate on a more detailed history of their experiences involving envious episodes. However, envy is a very difficult emotion to study because expressing such feelings in the workplace can

be perceived as inappropriate or self-serving (Epstein 2003; Smith and Kim 2007), making participation in such a highly sensitive study difficult or even threatening for respondents. That said, vignette studies with experimental manipulations have been successfully conducted on such sensitive workplace topics as: sexual harassment (Pierce, Aguinis and Adams 2000), ethical dilemmas (Fritzsche and Becker 1984; Flynn and Wiltermuth 2010), the risks of speaking up (Burris 2012), and envy and trust (Dunn and Schweitzer 2004). Vignette studies have long been used in experimental research, offering the ability to control for situational differences and providing identical information to respondents thereby increasing their internal validity (Powell, Butterfield and Bartol 2008). In addition, Woehr and Lance (2002) found that results from using vignettes were the same as those reported via direct observation.

Instructively, Greenhaus and Powell (2003), elaborate in some detail how they developed vignettes and then manipulated them to capture 16 different experimental conditions they were studying. In developing vignettes it is imperative that they be initially pretested to insure the manipulations are achieving the desired outcome (Greenhaus and Powell 2003). Given that caveat, here we offer some initial suggestions on how vignettes could be used to test our propositions. For example, prior to reading one of several vignettes that describe the context of a hypothetical envy-eliciting event; respondents could be instructed to envision the event as happening to them. Then, to capture their initial felt appraisal, they could be immediately asked to assess the strength of their initial, gut–reaction. These vignettes could be developed and tested prior to use in order to validate that they elicit relatively mild to very strong reactions. Experimental manipulations could then be added to these vignettes and pre-tested to capture salient variables such as events that stimulate greater or lesser threats to social standing, by inducing a perceived threat with additional information provided about the focal individual's

relative performance and standing. Respondents could then be asked to assess the intensity of envious feelings that result. Or vignettes could include additional information to describe past episodes that reflect more or less extensively developed congruent affect-laden schema, and then have respondents write short statements as to how they might react in order to assess dysfunctional judgment-driven behavioral outcomes. Given that a respondent may have experienced a similar event to one described in a vignette, it would be important to ask them to indicate if they have experienced anything similar as a manipulation check and then control for these experiences in the final empirical analysis (or set aside a respondent assessments on any vignette that overlaps their experience).

In order to capture responses to vignettes quickly, we would suggest that researchers use a combined vignette simulation with a computer aided experience-sampling procedure (Barrett 1998; Barrett and Barrett 2001) in which respondents are asked to read a vignette and then immediately prompted for their responses. Using this sampling procedure minimizes cognitive biases that can effect memory based, self-report surveys (Wheeler and Reis 1991; Reis and Gable 2000), which is particularly important in capturing affective responses (Seo and Barrett 2007). Since incorporating various experimental manipulations to capture each of the salient variables in the model could require respondents to react to several pre-tested vignettes, respondents should only be presented with pre-manipulation vignettes first. Then, a few weeks later, to reduce concerns over common method bias, these same vignettes with manipulations added could then be presented to respondents.

Researchers will also need to consider how to measure the intensity of envious feelings, as well as dysfunctional affect-driven and judgment-driven behavioral outcomes. Several approaches have been used to assess emotions ranging from self-report questionnaires, direct

observation of facial expression, vocal expression, posture, and physiological measures of muscle tension, pulse, skin conductance and hormone secretion. Such measures are widely used by neuroscientists to measure emotional arousal (Salimpoor, Benovov, Larcher, Dagher and Zatorre 2011). Functional magnetic imaging is also increasingly available to measure emotional arousal and the intensity of such emotional arousal (Henderson, et al. 2012). While several of these may be viable options, some could be prohibitively expensive to utilize and/or require subjects to travel to a lab setting, which could restrict full-time employee involvement. While students are frequently used in lab studies, we believe a field study with full time employees, who are more apt to understand the subtleties of the workplace, would further enhance the generalizability of the results. Hence, we would recommend a field study using a previously utilized measure of intensity of envious feelings and modifying it, if need, to capture respondents' immediate responses to the vignettes as they are read. One viable option, for example, is Vecchio's (1995, 1999) five item self-report measure of intensity of envious feelings has been utilized in several studies (e.g., Vecchio 2000; Vecchio 2005; Duffy, Scott, Shaw, Tepper and Aquino 2012), and its convergent validity demonstrated in two separate studies by Duffy et al. (2012). Another self-report option would be Snapp and Leary's (2001) or Priem, McLaren and Solomon's measures (2010), both of which assess emotional pain. These recommendations are consistent with Tai et al. (2012) conclusions that 'self-report measures such as these may effectively capture the pain and hurt feelings that are central to the experience of envy' (p. 120).

Finally, although measures have not been developed to assess affective-driven behaviors, we would suggest asking respondents, who have been instructed to envision the event as happening to them, to write a short statement describing how they might behave as a

consequence, immediately after reading vignette. Vignettes could be designed to elicit varying levels of maladjusted affective-driven and judgment-driven behavior. Descriptions of similar behavior could be grouped and then rated by an expert panel as to the extent to which each behavior is organizational dysfunctional, with objective of achieving inter-rater reliability among the judges' ratings before proceeding. These ratings could then be used as the final measure. Alternatively, a pilot study could be done on the vignettes in order to identify and rate the most common behavioral responses reported and then the behaviors identified could be used in the primary study with respondents asked to rate to what extent they would engage in each of these behaviors as a consequence of a specific vignette (ratings could then be summed).

In sum, our hope is that experimental studies of this nature can help scholars develop a deeper understanding of envy and, in particular, the underlying dynamic processes that lead to its chronic, unproductive consequences. While our revised framework is specific to envy, some components of it, most notably congruent emotional schema are apt to play a role in understanding other workplace emotions. However, we would discourage future researchers from seeking to develop a general framework for all workplace emotions, because some components are apt to be unique, such as social comparison which is inherent to envy, and more likely to be overlooked in such a framework.

# Implications for Practice

Because envy is so ubiquitous in the workplace and its negative outcomes more damaging over the long-term, organizations must do a better job of finding ways to minimize its counterproductive and costly downside. HR managers, in particular, should be encouraged to review their organization's HR practices to determine if they might unintentionally create a more fertile ground for envious feelings and spontaneous social comparisons—especially those that

influence promotions, pay increases, bonuses, performance appraisal, or other programs of recognition. Because organizations have a tendency to create and foster competitive environments in which employees are often differentially rewarded (Duffy et al. 2008; Menon and Thompson 2010), extant HR research has focused primarily on the beneficial upside of such practices while ignoring the downside for those who do not benefit and, thus, are more apt to experience envious feelings and reduced social standing (Marescaux, De Winne and Sels 2013). Despite this, HR managers should try to find ways to remediate practices that differentiate individuals by level of performance by making the processes involved as transparent and fair as possible. This means, for example, that it is not sufficient to simply develop and share with employees a performance appraisal rating scale. Rather HR managers need to work with line managers and employees to more fully articulate exactly what is being evaluated by the scale's metrics, such as conscientiousness or dependability, in order to provide greater transparency. Perhaps too, extending the range of relevant criteria along which individuals can succeed, would allow more employees the opportunity to achieve a modicum of success in areas in which they are better suited (Johnson and Stapel 2007). HR managers can also work with line managers to enhance fairness, by enlisting them to take the time to explain to each of their reports the metrics and procedures for distributing outcomes—even for offering plum assignments.

While managers are accustomed to comparing their direct reports in order to identify and reward superior performance, often pointing to top performers as exemplars of what is expected, they need to be more aware of the unintended consequences of their actions in triggering envy.

While discriminating among employees' job performance is a role managers must play, they also need to coach those who are sub-par on ways to improve their performance in order to help them redirect or at least ameliorate envious feelings over time. Likewise, managers are advised to look

for signs of emotional grievances and take action to avoid their accumulation in order to prevent persistent, long-term problems. For example, managers can begin to counteract this accumulation by establishing and reinforcing norms for fair treatment for all their direct reports. Fair treatment signals to the potential envier that he or she is a valued member of the organization, which can reduce the perceived threat of envy triggering events on social status (Skarlicki et al. 2000; Cohen-Charash and Mueller 2007). Managers can also create opportunities through training, professional development, and mentoring that can help solid citizens and underperformers reach their potential. Indeed, it has been suggested that the motivation and development of solid citizens, i.e. "B-players", is equally or more important to organizational performance than recognizing star performers because 'long-term performance, even survival, depends far more on the unsung commitment and contributions of B-players' (DeLong and Vijayaraghavan 2003, p. 96). In sum, because star performers tend to make frequent social comparisons that elicits envy towards themselves (Exline and Lobel 1999) and promotes envy among coworkers (Lewis and Sherman 2003), it is imperative that managers, when rewarding performance, try to strike a fair balance between their stars and B-players, especially if rewards are scarce (Cohen-Charash and Mueller 2007).

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FIGURE 1

An Extended Framework for Envy-Eliciting Events

