

Is it worth the regret? Deciding to engage in employee voice

by

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Abstract

Employee voice and silence can have major implications, both positive and negative, at every level of an organization, especially when related to important workplace issues. Accordingly, the decision to speak up is often risky, and made complex by the number of decision factors an employee must consider. The purpose of the current study was to integrate emotion, specifically anticipated regret, into a utility-based model of employee decision making to voice or not voice. As a cognitively mediated emotion, anticipated regret can be factored into the decision making process along with the traditional voice factors such as risk, safety, and efficacy, and allow employees to incorporate their future emotional preferences into their decision. An experimental moderated mediation design was used to examine the indirect influence of risk on voice intent through the effect of anticipated regret. Results from the current study indicated that anticipated regret for both engaging and not engaging in voice acts as a mechanism through which risk affects intent to voice after controlling for general risk-taking propensity and the Big Five traits. These findings were consistent across two voice scenarios covering different workplace contexts and issues. Furthermore, anticipated regret for engaging in voice showed a significantly stronger indirect effect, indicating that employees may be differentially weighing the two types of anticipated regret, especially for situations with high amounts of risk. Thus, by uncovering the influence of anticipated regret and further elucidating why risk is such a substantial predictor of employee silence, we were able create a more holistic picture of why employees choose to speak up or remain silent.

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Is it worth the regret? Deciding to engage in employee voice

On January 28, 1986, the space shuttle Challenger exploded after launching and all seven of the crew members perished in a fiery blast. Considered the single largest tragedy in space flight history, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) put their shuttle program on halt for over two years and underwent a complete organizational restructure. However, less well known is the fact that the Challenger disaster may have been prevented if employees had not failed to effectively voice their concerns to superiors regarding a faulty engineering system. Inhibiting conditions such as groupthink, social stressors, and a hierarchical structure coalesced to push the engineers towards silence and compliance (Whyte, 1998; Vaughan, 1997). Ultimately, these conditions contributed to the fateful, faulty decision to launch the Challenger shuttle. Although the magnitude of the consequences linked to the Challenger catastrophe are greater compared to the consequences experienced in an everyday organizational setting, the Challenger tragedy serves as a salient example of the importance of understanding the processes underlying the decisions of voice and silence.

The current study examined how the risk surrounding a voice opportunity is associated with the decision to engage in voice or silence. Anticipated regret was proposed as a mechanism driving the relationship between risk and voice. More specifically, this study examined anticipated regret for speaking up *and* anticipated regret for not speaking up (i.e., remaining silent). Additionally, a potential moderator of this relationship was proposed to be the decision making style of the employee, specifically, the extent to which an individual displays maximizing tendencies. The theoretical framework supporting these relationships will be overviewed, and a moderated mediation model examining these relationships will be proposed.

Employee Voice

Employee voice is defined as a form of extra-role communication by which an employee intends to bring about change by expressing ideas, opinions, suggestions, information about problems, or concerns regarding work-related issues to individuals that have the ability to take action (Morrison, 2014). Conversely, silence is the failure to communicate suggestions, concerns, or information that could be useful or relevant to share (Milliken, Morrison, & Hewlin, 2003). Employee voice and silence has many important outcomes at both the organizational- and individual-level, and these outcomes can be both positive and negative. The limited research on outcomes of voice and silence generally suggests that effective performance increases when employees are able to share their ideas and concerns, and dysfunction increases as a result of silence. Researchers have proposed that voice improves organizational outcomes such as learning, innovation, improved work processes, crisis prevention, and reduction of immoral or illegal behavior (Detert & Edmondson, 2011; Detert & Trevino, 2010; Grant, 2013; LePine & Van Dyne, 2001; Liang, Fahr, & Fahr, 2012; Morrison & Milliken, 2000; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2008b.). Voice has also been empirically shown to have a positive impact on work-group performance, which, in turn, leads to increased organization-level financial performance (MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Podsakoff, 2011). Furthermore, at an individual-level, research on procedural justice argues that employees feel more valued and have a greater sense of control when they are able to voice their opinions before a decision is made (Lind & Tyler, 1988). For instance, Folger (1997) distinguished the effects of voice on distributive justice (*outcome* fairness) vs procedural justice (*process* fairness) perceptions. In terms of distributive justice, workers who were given the opportunity to voice their opinions regarding fair pay perceived their pay to be fairer compared to workers who were not granted voice. Additionally, workers

granted the opportunity to engage in voice expressed greater satisfaction with the pay process (i.e., procedural justice) compared to the workers not allowed to voice (even under pay inequity).

However, not all outcomes of voice are positive. Voice may also increase turnover rates if managers are not receptive to the issues raised (McClellan, Burris, & Detert, 2013), and empirical studies have found a negative relationship between employee voice and promotions and salary increases two years later (Sierbert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001). At an individual level, silence is also argued to increase dissatisfaction, stress, and cynicism (Morrison & Milliken 2000, Perlow & Repenning, 2009). Thus, in order to avoid the negative outcomes associated with engaging in voice, it is important to not only understand the dynamics that motivate an employee to communicate but also the conditions and factors that suppress employee voice. These factors are best examined through a multi-level perspective that encompasses both organizational and individual-level factors to better understand how these factors impact employee decisions. Moreover, the decision of whether or not to speak up is difficult because there always exists some level of risk and uncertainty regarding outcomes and/or consequences. Thus, it is important to examine how perceived risk influences intent to engage in voice.

Risky Voice

Speaking up about workplace issues or injustices is an inherently risky endeavor for many employees. Risky voice opportunities, as introduced by Detert and Edmondson (2005), are situations in which an individual has the opportunity to speak up about a work-related observation, concern, or idea and simultaneously believes that speaking up may lead to negative consequences. Additionally, prohibitive voice, which is focused on problems or sensitive topics, is associated with higher levels of perceived risk for employees (Liang et al., 2012). Thus, the decision of whether or not to engage in voice is often complicated, and a primary emphasis in the

literature has been focused on gaining insight into the decision process that drives voice and silence.

Voice Decision Calculation

The decision alternatives associated with employee voice are to engage in voice behavior by speaking up (i.e., action) or to choose to remain silent about the issue and not speak up (i.e., inaction). There are two key judgments that play a role in this decision: 1) perceptions of whether or not speaking up will actually bring about the desired result (i.e., efficacy), and 2) perceptions of safety or risk, which refers to whether engaging in voice will have negative consequences either for the individual or his/her relationships with peers. These judgments result in a subjective calculation of the individual's unique perception of the benefits (i.e., utility) associated with engaging in voice in the presence of risk or uncertainty in their environment. The premise of this calculation is that individuals will be more likely to speak up as their judgments of efficacy and safety increase and remain silent as efficacy and safety decrease (Morrison, 2014). Following this reasoning, individuals should be less likely to speak up if they perceive that engaging in voice will be overly risky. Accordingly, it is important to understand how various risk factors are incorporated in the voice decision calculation, as well as how risk influences an individual's intent to speak up. Thus, this following section focuses on various motivators and inhibitors that contribute to judgments of risk, and how these judgments impact an individual's decision calculation to engage in voice.

Motivators and Inhibitors of Voice

There are many factors that contribute to the risk associated with engaging in voice. These individual- and contextual-level factors can either strengthen or diminish the link between a voice opportunity and subsequent behavior and are presented as two categories: motivators and

inhibitors (see Table 1). These factors operate by impacting the subjective utility calculation that underlies the decision to engage in voice. Depending on the motivators and inhibitors present, the answers to questions such as “Is it worth it?” and “Is it too risky?” will change along with the likelihood of engaging in voice (Morrison, 2014).

Motivators provide mechanisms to increase the likelihood of engaging in voice. First, motivators strengthen the prosocial motivation that drives the need to engage in voice and make a positive difference in the workplace. Second, motivators increase the probability of effective voice and decrease the probability of negative consequences. Third, motivators may operate through a pathway that is independent of deliberate decision making (Detert & Edmondson 2011, Morrison 2014). A number of motivators have been identified. Individual-level motivators include personality factors such as extraversion, conscientiousness, assertiveness, and duty orientation have been found to increase the likelihood of voice (Crant, Kim, & Wang, 2010; Tangirala, Kamdar, Venkataramani, & Parke, 2013). Attitudes towards one’s organization and job such as organizational identification, satisfaction, control or influence, and organizational support all motivate voice (Frazier & Fainschmidt 2012; Liang et al. 2012, Luchak 2003; Olson-Buchanan 1997; Tangirala & Ramanujam 2008a, 2008b, 2012; Venkataramani & Tangirala 2010). Other important motivators include emotions such as anger, as well as positive leader-member exchange, and transformational leadership (Botero & Van Dyne, 2009; Edwards Ashkanasy, & Gardner, 2009; Liu, Zhu, & Yang, 2010). Lastly, contextual factors such as group voice climate, caring climate, and formal voice mechanisms all contribute to motivating employee voice (Frazier & Fainshmidt, 2012; Morrison, Wheeler-Smith, & Kamdar, 2011; Wang & Hsieh, 2013).

Conversely, inhibitors provide mechanisms to decrease the likelihood of speaking up and increase the likelihood of silence. First, inhibitors can reduce the prosocial drive and increase feelings of resignation. Second, inhibitors can also affect the expected utility calculation by reducing perceived efficacy and safety (i.e., voice will be perceived as being too risky or futile). Third, inhibitors suppress action through unconscious and automatic processing (Morrison, 2014). Individual-level factors that diminish voice include achievement orientation (Tangirala et al. 2013), internalized beliefs about the riskiness of voice (Detert & Edmondson, 2011), and the emotion of fear (Kish-Gephart, Detert, & Trevino, 2009). Contextual factors such as job and social stressors (Ng & Feldman 2011), a climate of fear or silence (Morrison & Milliken, 2000), a hierarchical structure (Pinder & Harlos 2001), and change resistant culture (Dutton, Ashford, O'Neill, Hayes, & Wierba, 1997) all contribute negatively to the perceived risk of speaking up.

In terms of the employee's subjective decision calculation, the perceived negative consequences of speaking up is exacerbated with the magnitude of inhibitors present. As the perceived inhibitors in the environment increase in number or magnitude, uncertainty related to the voice outcome increases along with the perceived risk associated with engaging in voice. An employee who makes the decision to speak up may fear a significant number of negative consequences, especially if the employee is engaging in prohibitive voice. An employee may fear that he or she will lose respect or support from their coworkers, be viewed as a troublemaker or complainer, receive a negative performance evaluation, be appointed to less desirable projects, fail to be considered for promotion, or even get fired (Detert & Trevino 2010, Grant 2013, Milliken et al. 2003). Taking negative consequences into consideration, the likelihood of engaging in voice decreases when an employee perceives voice to be overly risky (i.e., the outcome is uncertain due to inhibitors in the environment) (Detert & Burris 2007, Liang et al.

2012). Thus, in order to engage in voice, an employee's decision calculation must result in an acceptable level of risk.

Hypothesis 1 (H1): The risk of the voice situation will predict the likelihood of engaging in voice; a high risk voice scenario will result in a decreased intent (i.e., negative value) to engage in voice compared to a low risk voice scenario.

Emotions and Employee Voice

Although a number of inhibitors and motivators have been presented in the voice literature, one component that is often missing from these decision calculations is the examination of potential mechanisms underlying the relationship between risk and voice intent (van der Plight, Zeelenberg, van Dijk, Vries, & Richard, 1998). As detailed above, past research has identified specific inhibitors that affect how individual's calculate the risk associated with the voice opportunity, which should then lead to changes in voice intent. However, it would be beneficial to further understand how or why these changes in risk are leading to certain decisions. Although the risk or safety of the voice situation is posited to be a hugely influential decision factor, risk evaluations could be leading to other, more subtle judgments which indirectly influence an employee's decision to engage in voice or silence. That is, the rational, utility based model of voice decision may not be fully capturing the decision process associated with the complexity of voice decisions, especially for decisions regarding silence (Morrison, 2014). In order to address this gap, recent research on voice inhibitors investigated the role of emotions on voice decisions. Particularly, negative, high-intensity emotions such as fear and anger may affect whether employees speak up or remain silent. For instance, a high level of fear may inhibit an individual's ability to process the voice opportunity rationally and, thus, push the employee towards silence (Kish-Gephart et al., 2009). Alternatively, anger may work in the

opposite direction of fear and increase the likelihood of whistle blowing (Edwards et al., 2009), as well as the ability to overcome silence by spurring an individual to action (Kish-Gephart et al. 2009). These emotions are evidence that other factors outside of the traditional utility calculation may be triggering an employee to speak up or remain silent.

However, research on emotions in employee voice has focused exclusively on discrete, visceral emotions. Although important to understand the impact of high-intensity emotions, the premise of these emotions is that they should lead directly to a certain behavior or choice (i.e., fear leads to silence and anger leads to voice). This does not allow visceral emotions to be examined in the traditional utility model of employee voice decisions. Thus, it is unclear how emotions such as fear and anger contribute to or stem from the risk or safety associated with the voice opportunity. Additionally, although automatic affect (i.e., quick, intense, short lasting emotions) can trigger reactions that directly affect subsequent behavior, there is evidence that some types of more conscious emotion may actually be influencing behavior *indirectly* as a feedback system (feedback theory of emotion; Baumeister, Vohs, DeWall, & Zhang, 2007). This feedback theory of emotions posits that behavior actually *pursues* emotion rather than emotion directly causing behavior. Through this lens, the main and direct impact of emotion is to stimulate cognitive processing rather than directly cause behavior. When considering a choice or how to act, individuals anticipate their future emotional outcomes and make a decision or behave in way that pursues the emotional states they desire. Accordingly, anticipated emotion can be very beneficial in guiding behavior, especially for decisions like voice or silence that is associated with a more rational, conscious decision process. Anticipated emotions have the potential to be factored into the individual's utility calculation and decision process, rather than simply short-circuiting the decision process and leading to a rash behavior (i.e., through intense

fear or anger). For instance, employees may choose to remain silent because they anticipate negative emotions if they choose to speak up or, alternatively, may choose to speak up because they anticipate negative emotions for *not* speaking up. More specifically, one anticipated emotion that has been recognized by decision researchers is the importance of anticipated *regret* in guiding decisions and behavior, especially decisions that are associated with risk and uncertainty (Loomes & Sugden, 1982). Although not previously studied in employee voice research, examining anticipated regret in an employee's decision process, especially as it relates to prohibitive voice and silence, has the potential to uncover a less discrete, emotion-based component of the decision to speak up or remain silent.

Anticipated Regret

Classic regret theory (Loomes & Sugden, 1982) posits that regret is an aversive emotional state that results from learning that an alternative choice would have led to a more favorable outcome. Despite the ubiquity of regret in many contexts, it is under examined in workplace decision making – including the impact of regret on the decision to engage in employee voice. According to regret theory, the utility (i.e., attractiveness) of a choice depends also on the *feelings* evoked by the outcomes of the non-chosen option. Thus, regret theory emphasizes the importance of incorporating subjective emotions into the decision process and utility calculation. The two assumptions of regret theory are: 1) individuals compare the actual outcome with the outcome of a decision they rejected, and so experience emotion (i.e., regret) as a consequence if the non-chosen option would have been more favorable, and 2) these emotional consequences are *anticipated* and factored into the decision-making process. Thus, anticipated regret occurs *prior* to making a decision and serves as a prediction of the regret one may feel if the chosen option turns out poorly. Thus, anticipated regret is a function of predicted decision

outcomes, while regret is a function of actual decision outcomes (Loomes & Sugden, 1982). Additionally, it is important to note that even though anticipated regret is a feeling or emotion, it is processed differently than the immediate, visceral anticipatory emotions experienced at the time of the decision (e.g. fear, anger, distress). Rather, anticipated regret is a cognitively mediated feeling and is modeled as the implicitly cognitive task of predicting future emotions depending on different decision outcomes and probabilities (Lowenstein, Weber, Hsee, & Welch, 2001). On the basis of these assumptions, regret theory proposes that individuals modify their subjective expected utility calculations, and thereby their decision, by including a component of anticipated regret (Loomes & Sugden 1982, Reb 2008). These assumptions are in contrast to the non-cognitive, visceral emotions that have been studied in employee voice decision making. Therefore, anticipated regret has the potential to close this divide by explaining an additional, cognitively-mediated, emotion-based mechanism through which risk and behavioral intentions to engage in voice are formed. In the case of employee voice, factoring anticipated regret into an employee's risk calculation should influence the expected utility associated with the decision to engage in voice. More specifically, past experimental work has shown that anticipated regret should naturally lead to more risk-averse behaviors (i.e., individuals avoid uncertainty by selecting the less risky option, although the riskier choice may result in better outcome: Josephs, Larrick, Steele, & Nisbett 1992, Richard, van der Pligt, & de Vries 1996). In the case of employee voice, employees with high anticipated regret about speaking up should make the risk-averse choice and remain silent.

Further supporting anticipated regret, a number of studies examining the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB; Ajzen, 1985) and various behavioral intentions also support the notion that people are regret averse and therefore behave in a manner that will reduce the amount of

regret associated with their decision (i.e., behavior pursuing emotion). Much like the expected utility models of decision making mentioned above, TPB assumes that human decision makers are rational and logical in their approach to use all available information in making a choice. A central factor to TPB is an individual's intention to perform a specific behavior with the goal of capturing the motivational factors that influence the behavior (i.e., the stronger the intention, the more likely the individual should be to engage in the behavior). The three main components that TPB uses to explain behavioral intentions are: 1) attitude toward the behavior (i.e., beliefs about the likely outcomes) 2) subjective norms (i.e., perceived social pressure) and 3) perceived behavioral control (i.e., beliefs about the factors that encourage or impede performance). These three components are assumed to be based on a corresponding set of beliefs that ultimately work to guide an individual's behavior and has shown substantial value for predicting behavioral intentions (Ajzen, 1985, 1991).

However, TPB has also been criticized for ignoring the affective aspects of decision making, and it is possible that other components of human decision making, such as anticipated regret, could lend important insight to behavioral intentions. Research incorporating anticipated regret into TPB models has shown that anticipated regret can account for the prediction of various behaviors over and above the original components of TPB. For instance, Richard, van der Pligt, and de Vries (1996a) found that anticipated regret significantly influenced behavioral intentions for eating junk food, using soft drugs, and alcohol use after taking into account attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control. In this vein, anticipated regret remains a unique construct from attitudes by eliciting affective outcomes and not just behavioral beliefs as posited by TPB. On the same note, anticipated regret has also been shown to directly mediate the relationship between volition (i.e., personal responsibility for the risk) and risk

perception. Voluntarily taking a risk elicits thoughts about alternative outcomes and thus induces anticipated regret by making individuals feel responsibility for their decision. In turn, increased anticipated regret leads to increased perceived risk as individuals process the additional costs of potential regret over negative outcomes (Nordgren, 2007). Since engaging in employee voice is an extra-role, voluntary decision, employees should feel high levels of personal responsibility for their decision. As such, the perceived risk associated with speaking up should be positively related to an individual's anticipated regret. Thus, anticipated regret may help explain the relationship between the perceived risk of voicing and the decision of whether or not an individual decides to speak up.

Furthermore, the increased salience of future regret has been shown to add to the prediction of risky behaviors such as condom use and unsafe sex (Barker, Buunk, & Manstead 1997, Richard, van der Pligt, and de Vries, 1996b), casual sex (Connor & Flesch, 2001), driving violations (Parker, Manstead, & Stradling, 1995), and smoking behaviors (Connor et al., 2006). Thus, having individuals consider their anticipated regret led to safer, or more risk-averse, behavior such as increased condom use and reduced sexual risk-taking behavior. Additionally, it has been shown that anticipated emotions should be increasingly salient the more negative consequences (i.e., risk) associated with the decision (e.g., smoking vs. studying: Richard et al., 1996a).

However, an existing gap between the study of anticipated regret through classic regret theory and TPB is the difference in how anticipated regret is framed in relation to the behavior. Original regret theory proposed that the anticipation of regret stemming from *not* making a decision or *failing* to behave in a certain way (i.e., “I will regret *not* engaging in X behavior”) promotes the intention to engage in that specific behavior or make that specific choice. In

contrast, in TPB research, anticipated regret has most often been framed as regret *for engaging* in a certain behavior or decision (i.e., “I will regret engaging in X behavior”). This conceptualization of anticipated regret is most often seen in TPB studies examining intent to engage in riskier behaviors such as casual sex, smoking behaviors, and using soft drugs (Connor & Flesch, 2001; Connor et al., 2006; Richard, van der Pligt, & de Vries, 1996). Thus, anticipated regret for engaging in these kinds of risky behaviors has found to predict behavioral intent such that higher anticipated regret leads to decreased behavioral intent. However, the relationship between anticipated regret for *not* engaging in a behavior (i.e., per classic regret theory) and TPB has been examined less. A few studies support that anticipated regret for not engaging in a behavior predicts less risky behaviors such as intentions to protect one’s health (Connor & Abraham, 2001) and providing assistance to parents in need of care (Rapaport & Orbell, 2000). Additionally, Sheeran and Orbell (1999) found that anticipated regret for *not* playing the lottery was associated with greater intent to play, but anticipated regret *for* playing was not associated with intent. In this way, anticipated regret for *not* engaging in behavior should be more predictive for behaviors or choices when the majority of the risk is associated with *failing* to engage in the behavior (i.e., exercising) compared to when the risk is associated with *engaging* in the behaviors (i.e., using drugs).

In an employee voice context, an individual may feel anticipated regret for both engaging in voice (e.g., may regret speaking up if they are retaliated against), as well as for staying silent (e.g., may regret not speaking up about an important issue). Much of the research on risk in employee voice contexts revolves around feelings of safety surrounding the decision to speak up, which may indicate that much of an employee’s perceived risk is based upon *engaging* in voice rather than the risk associated with staying silent. Thus, higher evaluations of risk should

increase feelings of anticipated regret for choosing to speak up (i.e., anticipated *action* regret). However, employees may also feel strongly about engaging in voice and may associate significant risk with *not* speaking up due to a number of factors (e.g., criticality of the workplace issue, pro-sociality, etc.). These judgments could lead to increased anticipated regret for *not* engaging in voice behavior (i.e., anticipated *inaction* regret) such that employees can have both anticipated action and inaction regret for engaging in voice. Thus, it would be beneficial to integrate classic regret theory with how anticipated regret has been previously conceptualized with TPB to examine risky behaviors to provide a more holistic picture of the functioning of both anticipated action and inaction regret as it relates to the risk of the voice situation as well as the intent to engage in voice behavior (e.g., which type of anticipated regret is driving the decision to speak up or remain silent?).

The above research on the predictive value of anticipated regret for risky behaviors supports the notion that anticipated regret may be a mechanism underlying an employee's intention to engage in voice. Traditionally, antecedents of voice and silence have focused on factors that contribute to the riskiness of the voice opportunity or on discrete emotions that are visceral and non-conscious in nature. The risk of the voice situation may actually be leading individuals to have feelings of anticipated regret (both for engaging and *not* engaging in voice) which should change as the risk of the voice situation changes. This leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis (H2a): Compared to the low risk condition, the high risk condition will lead to higher anticipated regret (i.e., positive value) over engaging in voice (action anticipated regret).

(H2b): Compared to the low risk condition, the high risk condition will lead to lower anticipated regret (i.e., negative value) for *not* engaging in voice (anticipated inaction regret).

Hypothesis (H3a): Anticipated regret for engaging in voice (action anticipated regret) will be associated with a decrease (i.e., negative value) in voice intent.

(H3b): Anticipated regret for *not* engaging in voice (inaction anticipated regret) will be associated with an increase (i.e. positive value) in voice intent.

Hypothesis 4 (H4): Anticipated regret for engaging (action anticipated regret) *and* for not engaging in voice (anticipated inaction regret) will mediate the relationship between the risk condition (high vs. low) and intent to engage in voice.

Individual Differences and Anticipated Regret

Not only is the feeling of anticipated regret context dependent (i.e., based on risk and uncertainty in the environment), but it is also subject to individual differences. As an emotion-based decision component, there are various factors that may influence how an individual experiences and processes anticipated regret. In turn, these different factors may influence how certain individuals process anticipated regret in their decision calculation (i.e., anticipated regret may be more influential for some than others). Therefore, it is important to look at different elements that may play a role in determining the amounts of anticipated regret felt by different individuals, as well as if it affects their subsequent behavioral intentions. One avenue of individual differences research that has potential to contribute to employee voice research is differences in individual decision making styles. Decision styles that have a relationship with the

emotion of regret should be especially relevant in the case of anticipated regret in voice decision calculations.

According to theory of rational choice, individuals should have complete information or use all available information associated with each alternative and compare these options on a single scale of utility. After comparing these choices, individuals should choose the one that maximizes their preferences or utility (von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1944). However, it is well established that humans often violate these principles of rational choice and that decisions are subject to biases that allow us to exert minimal amounts of cognitive effort (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979, 1984). Theories of bounded rationality take the cognitive limitations of the decision maker into account, often describing how humans deviate from rationality due to limitations in cognitive capacity for finding alternatives, computing consequences under uncertainty, and making comparisons among choices (Simon, 1990). These cognitive limitations are especially relevant and important for voice decisions based on the traditional, rational utility calculation. One way these limitations are illustrated is through our tendency to use either a maximizing or satisficing strategy when making decisions (Simon, 1978), and thus our use of these strategies could be an interesting individual difference related to employee voice decisions.

Maximizing and satisficing as decision strategies have often been conceptualized as representing opposite sides of a single continuum. Maximizing is defined as the tendency to seek only the best option (i.e., the option with the highest utility) without settling for a lesser option. On the opposite end of the continuum, satisficers tend to settle for what they believe to be a “good enough” option. So, while maximizers expend resources to make even incrementally better decisions, satisficers will stop exerting effort as soon as they arrive at the first choice that meets their criteria (i.e., one that “satisfies” them) (Schwartz et al. 2002). These distinctions in

decision strategies have resulted in interesting and unique choice and outcomes for maximizers versus satisficers, including the way regret is experienced and processed.

First, maximizers and satisficers differ in the way they experience post-decision regret. In a series of four different studies, Schwartz et al. (2002) found that maximizers were more regretful and less happy with their consumer purchases, and were more sensitive to regret in general compared to satisficers. Additionally, compared to satisficers, maximizers engaged in heightened social comparisons and were more concerned with what others thought of them, which may be contributing the heightened regret maximizers experience (Weaver, Schwarz, Cottone, Daniloski, 2009). Expanding on these findings, Parker, Bruin, and Fischhoff (2007) showed that maximizers have a greater dependence on others when making decisions, are more likely to avoid making the decision, and experience significantly higher levels of regret compared to satisficers. Individuals with a maximizing orientation also experience a higher tendency to engage in upward counterfactual thinking (i.e., evaluative thoughts concerning the more favorable outcomes of an alternative decision), which negatively related to satisfaction and perceived competence in the choice of an academic major (Leach & Patall, 2013).

Furthermore, regret may be the underlying factor in the relationship between maximizers and their more negative life outcomes compared to satisficers. For instance, Roets, Schwartz, and Guan (2012) found that maximizers in U.S. and Western Europe (i.e., in societies where choice is abundant) experience lower well-being than satisficers, and that this effect was mediated by experienced regret. Similarly, regret has been found to partially mediate the relationship between maximization and life satisfaction, with decision difficulty contributing the most to regret in these instances (Moyano-Diaz, Martinez-Molina, Ponce, 2014; Purvis, Howell, & Iver, 2011). Furthermore, Ma and Roese (2014) experimentally controlled for performance and decision

effort and demonstrated that maximizing tendencies still increased consumer regret and decreased satisfaction compared to both a baseline and satisficing condition. This study also demonstrated that maximizing impacted post-decision affective responses above and beyond its impact on the actual decision process (e.g., search depth). Thus, the affective responses maximizers feel may be more salient and/or impactful than the effect maximizing has on the actual decision process itself.

Second, maximizers and satisficers may choose between options in a manner that stems from their differential processing and experience of regret. For example, studies have shown that maximizers prefer reversible options compared to irreversible options whereas satisficers are more content with a permanent rather than changeable options (Shiner, 2015; Sparks, Ehrlinger, & Eibach, 2012). Reversible decisions create a prevention focus in which the main concern is negative consequences (e.g., “I will choose a reversible decision so I am not stuck with a poor decision.”). Furthermore, reversible decisions may promote counterfactual thinking and a focus on the potential negative aspects of a decision which are congruent with a maximizer’s typical experience. Thus, maximizing tendencies towards regret, counterfactual thinking, and dissatisfaction may lead them to put a higher value on reversible decisions. In agreement, Zeelenberg and Pieters (2006) suggest that people ensure that they can change their decisions later (i.e., pick a reversible option) in order to prevent anticipated regret. Because of the maximizing tendency to focus on regret, maximizers may be choosing the reversible decision in order to manage their high levels of anticipated regret during the decision process.

Although anticipated regret has not been investigated in the maximizing literature, the characteristics that have been associated with being a maximizer (e.g., greater levels of post-decision regret and focus on potential negative consequences) may actually be indicative of

maximizers experiencing a heightened level of pre-decision anticipated regret compared to satisficers. After evaluating the risk and potential negative consequences associated with the decision to engage in voice (not engage in voice), individuals with a maximizing orientation should have higher anticipated action (inaction) regret for voicing their concerns through an increased fixation on the potential risks (or benefits) compared to those with a low maximizing orientation.

Hypothesis (H5): Maximizing tendency will moderate the indirect effect of risk on voice intent through its relationship with anticipated regret; higher maximizing tendencies will strengthen the relationship between both anticipated action and anticipated inaction regret and voice intent.

Method

Participants

354 undergraduate students ($M_{age} = 19.28$, Females: $N = 279$) enrolled in the Department of Psychology Research Participation System participated in this study. Students completed the study online via Qualtrics and received extra credit for their participation.

Design

The dependent variable in the current study was the intent to engage in employee voice, with the risk condition as the dichotomous, independent variable and anticipated action and inaction regret as the mediating variables. A between subjects design was used for risk condition and participants were randomly assigned to either the high or low risk voice condition.

Additionally, two voice scenarios (i.e., restaurant and retail) were counterbalanced within each risk condition.

Materials

Voice scenario. In order to assess voice opportunities in different work contexts, two different employment contexts were used to demonstrate voice opportunities. These scenarios included a restaurant (i.e., member of a wait staff) and retail (i.e., store employee) context. For each employment context, both a high and low risk scenario were composed for a total of four scenarios. For instance, consistent with the motivators and inhibitors studied in the voice literature, a high risk condition was illustrated by a scenario in which the individual works at a job (restaurant vs. retail) that has a change-resistant climate, has a poor relationship with their supervisor, and has various job and social stressors. In contrast, a low risk condition would be illustrated by a friendly work climate and a positive supervisor relationship. It was necessary to create a high and low risk condition in order to assess whether the manipulation of risk led to differences in risk perception and, subsequently, differences in levels of anticipated regret (i.e., the mediator). Prior to the current study, all voice scenarios were pilot tested in order to determine the relative perceived risk associated with each one. The final scenarios included in the current study included all four of the voice scenarios from the initial pilot study (i.e., two high and two low risk scenarios; see Appendix A for each scenario used in the study).

Anticipated regret. Anticipated action regret for engaging in voice was measured using five items modified from Connor et al.'s (2006) anticipated regret scale to fit the current study (see Appendix B for scales). Participants responded to the statement "If I voiced my opinion, I would..." for five different response stems. For example, one response stem was assessed from (1) *Definitely not regret it* to (5) *Definitely regret it* and another response stem was assessed from (1) *Not be worried* to (5) *Be really worried*. Items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale with higher scores indicating higher anticipated regret for engaging in voice. The average of 5

responses was used to create a mean anticipated action regret score. Internal reliabilities (Chronbach's α) were .82 and .81 for the restaurant and retail scenario, respectively.

Anticipated inaction regret for engaging in voice was measured using the same modified anticipated regret scale (Connor et al., 2006). However, participants responded to the statement, "If I did *not* voice my opinion, I would..." on the same five response scales. Items were scored and averaged similarly to the anticipated action regret scale, with higher scores indicating higher anticipated for *not* engaging in voice. Internal reliabilities were .72 and .76 for the restaurant and retail scenario, respectively.

Perceived risk. The perceived risk associated with engaging in voice for each voice scenario was measured using a 2-item risk perception scale modified from Nordgren (2007) adapted for the current study as well as a single independent item (see Appendix C for scale). Participants rated the modified items, "How great are the risks of voicing your concerns to your supervisor?" and "What is the risk of voicing your concern and suffering negative consequences?". Additionally, participants were asked: "How risky do you perceive the situation to be?". The two items modified from Nordgren (2007) were assessed on a 7-point scale from (1) *Extremely small* to (7) *Extremely great*. The self-constructed item was assessed on a 7-point scale from (1) *Not risky at all* to (7) *Extremely risky* (see Appendix C for perceived risk items). Internal reliabilities were .91 and .89 for the restaurant and retail scenario, respectively.

Intent to voice. The intent to voice scale assessed the likelihood of speaking up or engaging in voice behavior based on each voice scenario. Intent to voice was assessed using five different statements modified from Connor et al. (2006) to fit the current study. Example items include, "I do not intend to speak up", "I plan to speak up", "I will not speak up", etc. (see Appendix D scale). Each item was measured on a 5-point scale from (1) *Strongly agree* to (5)

Strongly disagree (Connor et al., 2006) with higher scores indicating stronger intention to voice. Internal reliabilities were .91 and .93 for the restaurant and retail scenario, respectively.

Maximization scale. Maximizing tendencies were assessed using the Maximization Tendency Scale (MTS; Diab, Gillespie, & Highhouse, 2008) (see Appendix E for scale). The Maximization Tendency Scale is a 9-item scale measured on a 7-point Likert scale from (1) *Completely Disagree* to (7) *Completely Agree* ($\alpha = .79$), with higher scores indicating higher maximizing tendencies.

Additional Individual Difference Measures. General risk propensity and Big Five traits were measured as control variables in the current study. Accordingly, the coefficients presented for the mediation models represent effects after statistically holding the control variables constant. The General Risk Propensity Scale (GRiPS; Zhang & Highhouse, 2018) was used to measure an individual's domain-general risk taking preferences (e.g., "Taking risks makes life more fun"). The GRiPS scale is an 8-item scale measured on a 5-point Likert scale from (1) *Strongly Disagree* to (5) *Strongly Agree* ($\alpha = .93$) (see Appendix F for scale). The Big Five personality dimensions were measured using The Big Five Inventory (John, Donahue, & Kettle, 1991), a 44-item scale used to assess the five major dimensions of personality: conscientiousness ($\alpha = .76$), neuroticism ($\alpha = .83$), openness ($\alpha = .79$), agreeableness ($\alpha = .80$), and extraversion ($\alpha = .89$) (see Appendix G for scale).

Demographic questions. General demographic questions (e.g., age, gender) were asked along with questions related to past work experience (see Appendix H for items). Specifically, participants were asked how many hours they work per week, how many jobs they have held, and if they have engaged in employee voice in the past.

Procedure

After consenting to participate in the study, participants were randomly assigned to the high or low risk condition inside the online survey (each condition had two voice scenarios each). Participants began by reading the first of two voice scenarios depicting a hypothetical employee voice situation. These scenarios illustrated a voice opportunity (i.e., a job-related concern, issue, suggestion etc.) using different motivators and inhibitors to portray either a high or low risk situation (see Appendix A). After reading the first scenario, participants were asked to judge their levels of anticipated action and inaction regret regarding the decision to voice their concerns. They then rated their levels of perceived risk associated with engaging in voice in that specific situation. Finally, participants responded to items about their intent to engage in voice. This process was repeated for the second voice scenario within the assigned high or low risk condition. After reading both scenarios and filling out anticipated regret, risk, and voice intent scales, participants completed the maximizing tendency scales, the risk-taking propensity scale, the Big Five measure, and general demographic questions.

Results

Manipulation Check

A repeated measures ANOVA was carried out to verify that 1) the manipulation of risk between conditions was successful and 2) the voice scenarios (i.e., restaurant vs. retail) did not significantly differ from one another. The within-subjects variable was the scenario (restaurant and retail), the between-subjects variable was the risk condition (high vs. low), and the dependent variable was perceived risk. The within-subjects effect of the scenario was not statistically significant, $F(1, 352) = .725, p = .395$, indicating that the amount of perceived risk was not significantly different between the two scenarios. Additionally, there was no significant interaction between the voice scenarios and the risk conditions, $F(1, 352) = .02, p = .90, \eta p^2 =$

.002. As expected, the between-subjects effect of the risk condition was statistically significant, $F(1, 352) = 56.9, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$, indicating that the manipulation of risk between the high and low risk conditions was successful (i.e., the high risk condition had higher perceptions of risk than the low risk condition).

Risk Condition

Direct effects. In order to test hypothesis *H1* that the high risk condition should result in decreased intent to voice compared to the low risk condition, we first examined the influence of the risk manipulation on the intent to voice for each scenario. For the restaurant scenario, an independent sample t-test indicated that intent to voice was significantly different between the high and low risk conditions, $t(352) = 3.72, p < .001, d = .40$. Participants in the low risk condition ($M = 4.66, SD = .92$) were significantly more likely to report intention to engage in voice compared to the high risk condition ($M = 4.28, SD = 1.00$). For the retail scenario, a similar pattern emerged. An independent samples t-test indicated that intent to voice was significantly different between the high and low risk condition, $t(352) = 2.82, p = .01, d = .30$. Participants in the low risk condition ($M = 4.58, SD = .92$) were significantly more likely to report intention to voice compared to the high risk condition ($M = 4.28, SD = 1.1$). Thus, for both scenarios, *H1* was supported; the high risk condition reported significantly less intent to voice compared to the low risk condition.

In order to test *H2a* that the high risk condition should result in increased anticipated *action* regret compared to the low risk condition, we examined the influence of the risk manipulation on anticipated action regret for each scenario. For the restaurant scenario, an independent samples t-test revealed a significant difference in anticipated action regret between the high and low risk condition, $t(352) = -3.46, p = .001, d = .36$. Specifically, the high risk

condition ($M = 2.57, SD = .78$) reported higher levels of anticipated action regret compared to the low risk condition ($M = 2.29, SD = .79$). For the retail scenario, an independent samples t-test yielded a significant difference in anticipated action regret between risk conditions, $t(352) = -4.03, p < .001, d = .45$. Participants in the high risk condition ($M = 2.60, SD = .76$) reported higher levels of anticipated action regret compared to the low risk condition ($M = 2.26, SD = .74$). Thus, in support of *H2a*, the high risk condition led to significantly higher levels of anticipated action regret compared to the low risk condition for both scenarios.

To test *H2b* that the high risk condition had decreased anticipated inaction regret compared to the low risk condition, we examined the influence of the risk manipulation on anticipated inaction regret for each scenario. For the restaurant scenario, an independent samples t-test indicated that there was a marginal difference between anticipated inaction regret between the high and low risk condition, $t(352) = 2.0, p = .05, d = .21$. Participants in the high risk condition ($M = 3.48, SD = .67$) reported lower anticipated inaction regret compared to participants in the low risk condition ($M = 3.62, SD = .67$). For the retail scenario, although participants in the high risk condition ($M = 3.44, SD = .65$) reported less anticipated inaction regret compared to the low risk condition ($M = 3.58, SD = .76$), the effect was not statistically significant, $t(352) = 1.94, p = .05, d = .20$. Thus, *H2b* was partially supported; anticipated inaction regret was significantly lower for the high risk condition only in the restaurant scenario (see Table 3 for all t-test results).

Anticipated Regret

Anticipated Action Regret. Voice intent was regressed onto anticipated action regret per scenario to test *H3a* that anticipated action regret should have a negative relationship with intent to voice. For the restaurant scenario, anticipated action regret significantly predicted intent to

voice ($B = -.80$, $t(352) = -16.00$, $p < .001$). Anticipated action regret also explained a significant proportion of variance in reported voice intent, $R^2 = .42$, $F(1, 352) = 255.79$, $p < .001$. Similarly, for the retail scenario, anticipated action regret significantly predicted intent to voice ($B = -.85$, $t(352) = -15.55$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, anticipated action regret explained a significant proportion of variance in intent to voice, $R^2 = .41$, $F(1, 352) = 241.73$, $p < .001$. Thus, *H3a* was supported for both scenarios; anticipated action regret led to decreased intent to voice.

Anticipated Inaction Regret. Voice intent was regressed onto anticipated inaction regret per scenario to test *H3b* that anticipated inaction regret should have a positive relationship with intent to voice. For the restaurant scenario, anticipated inaction regret significantly predicted voice intent ($B = .71$, $t(352) = 10.41$, $p < .001$) and explained a significant proportion of variance in reported voice intent, $R^2 = .24$, $F(1, 352) = 108.38$, $p < .001$. Similarly, anticipated inaction regret significantly predicted voice intent in the retail scenario ($B = .76$, $t(352) = 11.67$, $p < .001$) and explained a significant proportion of the variance in reported voice intent ($R^2 = .28$, $F(1, 352) = 136.29$, $p < .001$). Thus, *H3b* was fully supported for both scenarios; anticipated inaction regret led to increased intent to voice.

Mediation analyses

The mediation hypothesis, *H4* predicted that anticipated action and inaction regret would have an indirect influence on the relationship between the manipulation of risk and intent to voice. Indirect effects for both voice scenarios were tested using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression with the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018) 10,000 bootstrap samples. In order to account for the experimental design, the IV was split into a dichotomous variable based on the two levels of risk (coded as 1= low risk condition and 2 = high risk condition). The dependent

variable was voice intent, and both anticipated action and anticipated inaction regret were entered as mediating variables.

Restaurant scenario. For the restaurant scenario (see Figure 1 for the mediation model for the restaurant scenario), parallel mediation analyses indicated that the risk manipulation indirectly influenced intent to voice through its effect on anticipated action regret ($ab = -.19$) and anticipated inaction regret ($ab = -.05$) when controlling for the Big Five Traits and general risk propensity. Participants in the high risk condition reported more anticipated action regret ($a = .31$), but less anticipated inaction regret ($a = -.15$) compared to participants in the low risk condition. Additionally, participants with higher levels of anticipated action regret were less likely to report intent to voice ($b = -.60$), but were more likely to report intent to voice for higher levels of anticipated inaction regret ($b = .30$). 95% bootstrap confidence intervals for the indirect effects based on 10,000 bootstrap samples were both below zero (-.30 to -.09) and (-.11 to -.002) respectively, supporting the indirect effect of the risk manipulation through both anticipated action and inaction regret. As shown in the Figure 2, the direct effect of perceived risk on intent to voice was reduced when controlling for the effect of anticipated action and inaction regret ($c' = -.19, p = .02$).

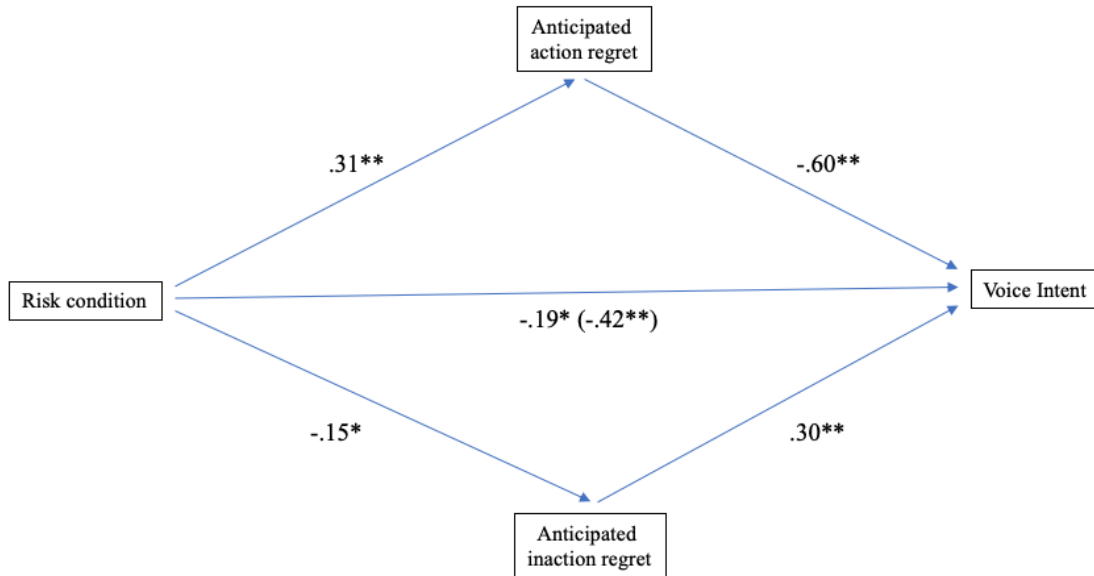


Figure 1. Mediation model for restaurant scenario

Retail scenario. For the retail scenario (see Figure 2 for the mediation model for the retail scenario), parallel mediation analyses showed similar results. The risk manipulation indirectly influenced intent to voice through its effect on the anticipated action ($ab = -.21$) and inaction regret ($ab = -.06$) when controlling for the Big Five traits and general risk propensity. Participants in the high risk condition reported higher levels of anticipated action regret ($a = .37$), but lower levels of anticipated inaction regret ($a = -.16$) compared to the low risk condition. Subsequently, participants with higher levels of anticipated action regret were less likely to report intent to voice ($b = -.59$), whereas higher level of anticipated inaction regret was associated with an increased intent to engage in voice ($b = .40$). 95% bootstrap confidence interval of $(-.33$ to $-.12)$ and $(-.14$ to $-.003)$ were both below zero, supporting the indirect influence of the risk manipulation through both anticipated action and inaction regret. As illustrated in Figure 3, the direct effect of perceived risk on intent to voice was reduced when controlling for the effect of anticipated regret ($c' = -.07, p = .36$). Thus, the mediating effect of anticipated action and inaction regret was supported for both scenarios.

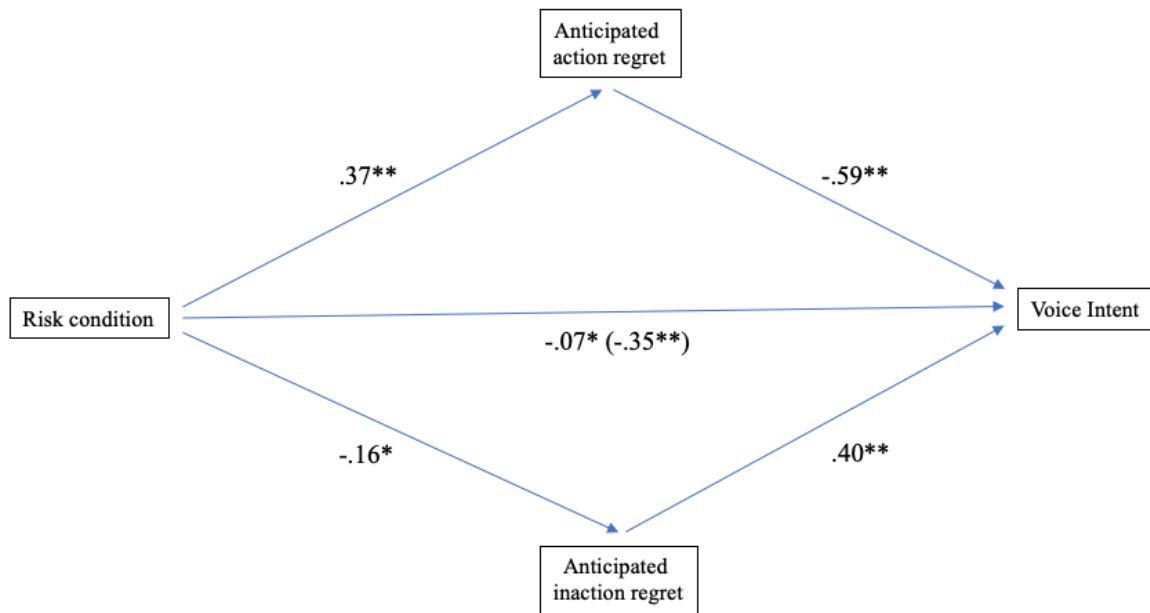


Figure 2. Mediation model for retail scenario

Moderated mediation analyses

Based on the maximizing tendency to experience higher levels of regret, the indirect influence of risk on voice intent through anticipated regret should be stronger among individuals higher in maximizing tendencies. The moderated mediation hypothesis, *H5*, was tested using OLS conditional process analysis in PROCESS for SPSS (Hayes, 2018) using 10,000 bootstrap samples. In order to account for the experimental design, the IV was again split into a dichotomous variable based on the two levels of risk (coded as 1= low risk condition and 2 = high risk condition). Additionally, prior to running the analyses, anticipated action and inaction regret and maximizing tendency were mean-centered in order to allow substantive interpretation of the path coefficients based on the conditional effects of the moderator.

For both the restaurant and retail scenario, the indirect effect of the risk manipulation on intent to voice through anticipated action and inaction regret was not contingent on an individual's maximizing tendency. None of the indexes of moderated mediation for either

scenario were significant, thus, only the unconditional indirect effect models are presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2. In order to further assess any interactions between anticipated regret and intent to voice (i.e., separate from conditional indirect effect analyses), multiple regression analyses were utilized to examine any interactions between either anticipated action or inaction regret and maximizing. Only the interaction between anticipated inaction regret and maximizing in the restaurant scenario provided significant increase in explained variance when accounting for anticipated regret for not engaging in voice and maximizing $F(1, 350) = 7.08, p = .008$. Analyses indicated that higher maximizing tendencies attenuate the relationship between anticipated inaction regret and voice intent. The higher the maximizing tendency, the less voice intent was impacted by feelings of anticipated inaction regret.

Exploratory analyses

Exploratory analyses were carried out using hierarchical multiple regression with the following variables entered sequentially: risk condition, anticipated action regret, anticipated inaction regret, Big Five traits (agreeableness, openness, extraversion, neuroticism, conscientiousness), general risk propensity (GRiPS), and maximizing tendency. We examined the incremental predictive validity of the individual difference variables on the intent to voice (see Table 2 for descriptive statistics for all variables). As displayed in Table 4, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted for each voice scenario with voice intent as the dependent variable. Because anticipated regret explained a significant proportion of the variance in intent to voice in the current study, risk condition and the anticipated regret variables were entered before any of the individual difference variables. The Big Five traits are typically successful in predicting a number of organization-relevant outcomes such as job performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991) and organizational citizenship behaviors (Chiaburu, Oh, Berry, Li, & Gardner,

2011), and may also be useful in predicting voice intent. In these exploratory analyses, the Big Five traits were the first individual difference variables entered in order to assess whether they could predict intent to voice beyond the risk and anticipated regret variables. In the next step, we examined whether general risk propensity could predict voice intent beyond the risk manipulation, anticipated regret, and the Big Five traits. Last, maximizing tendency was included to assess whether it served any predictive use as an individual difference variable on top of the more traditionally studied variables such as the Big Five Traits and risk taking propensity. If maximizing tendency adds significant incremental predictive validity to the model, it helps substantiate maximizing as a unique and important individual difference variable for organizational-relevant outcomes.. Results for each scenario are presented below.

Restaurant scenario. For the restaurant scenario, the risk manipulation and anticipated regret variables explained 46% of the variation in voice intent. However, the additional 1.7% of variance in voice intent explained by the Big Five Traits did not result in a significant R^2 change, $F(5, 343) = 2.1, p = .06$, although Extraversion was significantly positively related to voice intent. Introducing general risk taking propensity explained an additional 1.0% of the variance in voice intent with a significant R^2 change, $F(1, 342) = 6.80, p = .01$. Finally, the addition of maximizing tendencies in the final model explained an additional 2.1% of the variance in voice intent with a significant R^2 change value, $F(1, 341) = 14.58, p < .001$. When all 10 variables were included in the final model, none of the Big Five Traits were significant predictors of voice intent. Overall, the final model explained 51.2% of the total variability in voice intent with the risk manipulation, anticipated regret variables, general risk propensity, and maximizing tendency all significant predictors of voice intent for the restaurant scenario.

Retail scenario. For the retail scenario, the same six stage hierarchical multiple regression was conducted. The risk manipulation and anticipated regret variables explained 47% of the variation in voice intent. However, in contrast to the restaurant scenario, the risk manipulation did not significantly predict voice intent after adding anticipated action regret to the model ($B = -.03, p = .736$). Additionally, including the Big Five traits resulted in a significant R^2 change, $F(5, 342) = 4.68, p < .001$, and explained an additional 3.4% of the variability in voice intent. Interestingly, extraversion was the only Big Five trait that significantly predicted voice intent ($B = .17, p < .001$). Similar to the restaurant scenario, both general risk propensity and maximizing tendency resulted in significant R^2 change values, explaining an additional 0.9% ($F(1,341) = 6.5, p = .01$) and 1.5% ($F(1,340) = 10.97, p = .001$) of variance, respectively. In contrast to the restaurant scenario, extraversion, but not the risk manipulation, remained a significant predictor of voice intent in the final model. Overall, the final model explained a total of 51.8% of the total variability of voice intent for the retail scenario.

Overall, the exploratory results regarding the individual difference variables seemed to indicate that the large majority of the variance in voice intent is captured by the variables that stem directly from the voice situation (i.e., anticipated action and inaction regret). Although the Big Five traits, general risk propensity, and maximizing tendency resulted in significant R^2 change values in some cases, the proportion of variance each explained in the total model was small and may not provide much substantive benefit.

Discussion

The traditional decision process leading to voice or silence has been portrayed in the form of a utility calculation that takes into account the efficacy and risk associated with engaging in voice. Under this deliberate, rational framework, a number of motivators and inhibitors of voice

have been uncovered (see Table 1). Consistent with past research done through the risk framework, the current study found that amount of perceived risk associated with the voice opportunity significantly affected the choice to engage in voice. The high risk condition was significantly more likely than the low risk condition to remain silent about the workplace issue portrayed in the voice scenario. This is consistent with the argument that employees are more likely to speak up when their perception of safety increase and are more likely to remain silent when their perceptions of risk increase (Detert & Burris, 2007). These findings further the traditional notion that perceptions of risk impact an employee's utility calculation and are factored into the decision process. However, we further hypothesized that an employee's perception of risk may subsequently give rise to emotion which, in turn, indirectly affects the final voice decision.

There is a growing understanding that unconscious factors, such as emotion, may also play an important role in voice decisions, especially in the case of employee silence. However, this research has focused solely on strong, visceral emotions that involve little conscious processing or cognition. This study integrates the traditional voice calculation with an emotion-based approach by utilizing an emotion (i.e., anticipated regret) that allows for cognitive and emotional appraisals to work together towards a voice decision.

The current study found that the high risk condition experienced significantly higher anticipated action regret, but significantly lower anticipated inaction regret, compared to the low risk condition. This supports the notion that risk perceptions may be triggering an emotional reaction to the risks associated with the voice opportunity. Specifically, the direction of the relationships indicate that employees who perceive higher levels of risk should also feel more anticipated regret towards speaking up and less anticipated regret towards remaining silent.

Additionally, results indicated that anticipated action regret had a negative relationship with the intention to engage in voice. That is, employees who feel more anticipated regret towards speaking up should be less likely to engage in voice compared to employees with lower anticipated action regret. For anticipated regret for remaining silent (inaction) we see the direction of the signs flip indicating that employees with more anticipated inaction regret should be *more* likely to engage in voice behavior. Intuitively, this makes sense. If employees anticipate that they may regret voicing their opinions, their perceived utility associated with speaking up should also decrease. However, if employees believe that there is substantial risk associated with remaining silent, and have high anticipated regret for *not* engaging in voice, then their perceived utility should actually increase instead of decrease. This is also consistent with the feedback theory of emotion framework in which employees may be choosing to remain silent because they anticipate the regret they may have if they speak up and, consequentially, choose to behave in a manner that reduces their future regret (i.e., remaining silent). Additionally, employees may be choosing to speak up because they anticipate the regret they would feel if they were to remain silent and, consequentially, choose to speak up in order to reduce their future feelings of regret. These results indicate that the addition of anticipated regret fits into the traditional utility function associated with employee voice decisions, and augments the calculation with a unique, emotional component that can help further explain voice intent.

As reported above, the current study found that perceptions of risk positively (negatively) influence anticipated action (inaction) regret, and that anticipated action (inaction) regret negatively (positively) influence the intent to engage in voice. Hence, it was important to examine whether anticipated regret served as a potential mechanism through which risk was affecting intent to engage in voice. For both the restaurant and retail voice scenario, the risk

manipulation influenced intent to engage in voice indirectly through anticipated action regret and anticipated inaction regret after controlling for the impact of the Big Five traits and general risk taking propensity. After both forms of anticipated regret were factored into the relationship, the influence of the risk manipulation on voice intent was notably decreased for both scenarios. Furthermore, the indirect effects for anticipated action and inaction regret were significantly different in both scenarios, which suggests that anticipated action regret has a larger indirect influence on voice intent compared to anticipated inaction regret. This delineation is in line with the conceptualization of anticipated regret utilized by TPB which posits that individuals are motivated to behave based on the anticipated regret they feel towards *engaging* in the action. That is not to say that anticipated inaction regret as traditionally proposed by regret theory is not important, but is simply less impactful for some choices and behaviors compared to others. In the context of risky voice decisions where the majority of the focus is on potential negative consequences, it makes sense that anticipated regret towards engaging in voice would have a more substantial impact on behavioral intent. Overall, these findings support the notion that anticipated action and inaction regret acts as a mechanism through which risk impacts an individual's intent to engage in voice. Thus, although visceral emotion has been postulated to directly influence voice behavior, emotions such as anticipated regret may be indirectly affecting an employee's voice decision. So, although visceral emotions may trigger rash voice decisions by dominating an individual's decision making process, findings from the current study indicate that certain emotions can also be anticipated and factored into a more rational and conscious decision process. By anticipating their future states of regret, individuals seemed to be making safer, more risk-averse decisions when the decision entailed a high level of risk compared to a lower level of risk. This further supports the idea that individuals may be making decisions or

behaving in a manner that allows them to pursue the emotional states they desire (Baumeister, 2007). Rather than the associated perception of risk or safety driving the decision, employee voice may be more of an emotionally driven process than previously thought. Accordingly, although anticipated regret is influenced by the risk of the voice situation, the subsequent feelings of anticipated regret that stems from this risk is largely responsible for driving intent to speak up or remain silent.

Although the mediation model was supported, the moderated mediation model based upon the proposal that the tendency to maximize would strengthen the indirect effect between risk and voice intent through anticipated regret was not supported for either of the scenarios. Additional regression analyses looking at interaction of specific effects and not indirect effects indicated that individuals lower in maximizing tendencies were more strongly affected by anticipated inaction regret compared to those higher in maximizing, such that the relationship between anticipated inaction regret and voice intent was weaker for those higher in maximizing. Overall, and contrary to expectations, maximizers had a negative relationship with anticipated action regret and a positive relationship with anticipated inaction regret across both scenarios. Instead of experiencing both higher levels of post-decision regret and anticipated action regret, maximizers are experiencing both forms of anticipated regret in a manner that further encourages them to make the decision to engage in voice. Although current research on maximizing has found a consistent positive relationship between maximizing and post-decision regret, it could be that maximizers only experience heightened amounts of post-decision regret, and do not experience higher anticipated regret compared to individuals with lower maximizing tendencies. One speculation could be that maximizers are experiencing higher levels of post-decision regret, not because they are failing to factor in their anticipated regret, but because their feelings of

anticipated regret act in opposition to how the risk of the situation should encourage them to behave. For example, the high risk voice condition was strongly, positively related with anticipated regret towards speaking up, but maximizing tendency was negatively associated with anticipated regret towards speaking up and positively associated with anticipated regret towards *not* speaking up. Thus, maximizers are behaving in a manner consistent with reducing their future feelings of regret, but also in a manner that seems to disregard the level of risk associated with pursuing the behavior. This relationship could also help explain the positive relationship that maximizers have with general risk taking propensity (which was also associated with having less anticipated action regret). Furthermore, since traditional regret theory posits that individuals will have regret for foregone options, it makes conceptual sense that a maximizers increased anticipated inaction regret (i.e., “I will regret *not* doing this) would drive them to make choices in which increased post-decision regret would naturally follow. Future research may benefit from examining whether or not 1) maximizing is related to or interacts with perceptions of risk or a propensity to take risks and 2) if maximizers are disregarding their feelings of anticipated regret or if they are simply anticipating regret differently (i.e., are maximizers sacrificing their well-being by not factoring emotional outcomes into their decision process *or* do maximizers experience anticipated regret in a way that leads to decisions that are not consistent with the associated risk?).

Limitations

First, the risk manipulation and voice opportunity were presented using voice scenarios. Although these scenarios allowed us to manipulate the level of risk associated with each voice situation, the use of scenarios may diminish the external validity of the employee voice situations to real-world workplace voice opportunities. For instance, hypothetical scenarios are not able to

capture the full interactivity between the individual and the workplace environment. Although this interaction is of substantial interest to research on emotions in the workplace, using scenarios allowed us to present a situated context to which individuals were free to interpret and respond to based on their own perceptions and reactions. Similarly, this study utilized self-report measures of an individual's intention to engage in voice rather than an objective, behavioral measures of voice based on a real-life voice opportunity. Although behavioral intentions have been found to account for considerable variance in actual behavior (Ajzen, 1991), it is possible that reported intention to engage in voice behavior may differ from actual voice behavior in a real, organizational voice situation. It may be that reported intent to voice was inflated simply due to the fact that individuals did not have to engage in the risky behavior or because the risk was not as salient as it would be in real-world voice situation. Furthermore, reported intent could have also been weakened since individuals had less stake in the hypothetical work issue. Individuals may be more likely to speak up in real-world voice situations that directly impact their work. Another limitation is that the sample was composed of mainly female, undergraduate students. Although this convenience sample is widely used in psychological research and females make up a majority of the retail industry, industrial/organizational psychology would benefit from a sample more representative of a traditional organization's workforce. Having a more gender-balanced sample would allow us to investigate potential gender differences in intent to voice, especially since differences existed in the risk propensity between males and females in the current sample. Furthermore, the general work experience that comes with age and tenure in organizations could affect how individuals react to voice opportunities. Although the majority of the participants in the current sample had work experience, it would be beneficial to study voice

opportunities and anticipated regret with a sample that has both increased and more diverse work experience.

Future research

Overall, results supported anticipated regret as a mechanism through which perceived risk influences the decision to speak up or remain silent in prohibitive voice situations. It is important to note that this does not imply that risk is not an important driver of voice decisions. Offering a robust, novel mechanism through which risk perceptions influence voice decisions, should further catalyze the need to study why and how calculations of risk and safety are so critical to an employee's voice intent. Future work should continue to explore other potential mechanisms associated with the perceptions of risk linked to voice opportunities. By thinking outside of the traditional theory and calculation surrounding the voice decision process, we can identify both conscious and more subtle mechanisms that may be working together to influence an employee's decision process. Importantly, nearly every organizational outcome is the byproduct of everyday, employee decision making, and employee voice is a prime example of how individual decisions can have a broad impact on the organization. Thus, if employee decisions are the foundation of an organization, then the biases and nuances of human decision making represent cracks and irregularities in that foundation. By further investigating and uncovering the why and how of employee voice decisions, we can begin to illuminate, fix, and help individuals and organizations adapt to that foundation.

Although this study examined the influence of emotion, anticipated regret has both an affective and cognitive component, and it would be of interest to see if and how differences in risk impact more discrete emotions (e.g., fear and anger) and if these emotions then indirectly affect the voice decision. The feedback theory of emotion posits that individuals can learn from

their emotional experiences which should then influence their future behavior. This suggests that employees can still learn from and incorporate emotions such as fear and anger to make voice-relevant decisions. For instance, although fear has been mainly posited to trigger irrational, impulsive behavior, perception of risk could also be leading to fear, which in turn may decrease voice intent in a manner similar to anticipated action regret.

Lastly, this study was largely focused on prohibitive voice and inhibitors that promote silence. Future research would benefit from investigating mechanisms that may *increase* the likelihood of engaging in voice or individual differences that may attenuate the relationship between inhibitors such as anticipated action regret and silence. It would be beneficial to understand factors that increase feelings of anticipated *inaction* regret in contrast to anticipated *action* regret. For example, the cruciality of the voice situation and personal responsibility for negative consequences may increase anticipated regret for *not* speaking up and thus lead to instances in which anticipated inaction regret is more critical for the employee's decision. Furthermore, it would be of interest to know how specific motivators or inhibitors of voice impact anticipated regret in different ways. From the current study we know that risk influences feelings of anticipated regret, but perceptions of risk are composed of a number of individual and organizational motivators and inhibitors that change based upon the organization and the individual.

Organizations should recognize that voice decisions are not based on rash, emotional reactions from their employees, but can largely be an outcome of an employee's more conscious and rationalized decision process. Consequently, a shift in an employee's anticipated regret (for both engaging and not engaging in voice) may be the difference between speaking up and staying silence. Additionally, organizations should be attentive to the specific work place factors

that are contributing to their employees' feeling of both anticipated action and inaction regret (e.g., specific organization-specific motivators and inhibitors). Once specific antecedents are targeted, organization- or department-wide policies, such as creating formal voice procedures, can help reduce the risk and, accordingly, the anticipated regret associated with problem-focused voice opportunities.

Conclusion

The research on employee voice in organizations have come a considerable way in identifying motivators and inhibitors of voice. Consistent with previous research, this study further solidified the importance of risk evaluations on voice intent. This study was a first step towards integrating an emotion-based decision component into the traditional, utility-based framework of the voice decision process. Furthermore, by examining anticipated regret from the lens of regret theory and TPB, we were able to incorporate and compare the influence of both anticipated regret *for* engaging in the behavior and for *not* engaging in the behavior. Anticipated regret for both engaging and not engaging in voice were uncovered as mechanisms through which a risky voice opportunity predicted less intent to voice. Thus, this risk-averse decision was also consistent with the decision that would most effectively reduce future feelings of regret. Together, these findings expand upon and further explicate the determinants of employee and voice and silence.

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Table 1. *Motivators and inhibitors of voice*

	Motivators	Inhibitors
Personality factors	Extraversion Conscientiousness Assertiveness Duty Orientation	Achievement orientation
Attitudes to organization	Organizational identification Satisfaction Control/influence Organizational support	
Emotions & beliefs	Anger	Fear Internalized beliefs about riskiness of voice
*Leader behavior	Leader-member exchange Transformational leadership	
*Contextual factors	Group voice climate Caring climate Formal voice mechanisms	Job and social stressors Climate of fear/silence Hierarchical structure Change-resistant culture

Note. * indicates variables most relevant to current study

Table 2. Mean, Standard Deviation, Internal Consistency, and Correlations of Variables

		M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	S1 Action	2.43	0.79	(0.82)												
2	S1 Inaction	3.55	0.67	-0.47**	(0.72)											
3	S1 Intent	4.47	0.98	-0.65**	0.49**	(0.91)										
4	S2 Action	2.42	0.77	0.52**	-0.27**	-0.46**	(0.81)									
5	S2 Inaction	3.51	0.71	-0.26**	0.52**	0.38**	-0.46**	(0.76)								
6	S2 Intent	4.43	1.03	-.44**	0.34**	0.65**	-0.64**	0.53**	(0.93)							
7	Maximize	4.33	0.78	-0.19**	0.18**	0.33**	-0.16**	0.20**	0.32**	(0.79)						
8	GRiPS	2.95	0.94	-0.16**	0.09	-0.19**	-0.19**	0.09	-0.25**	0.12*	(0.93)					
9	Extravert	3.38	0.87	-0.17**	0.18**	0.24**	-0.17**	0.18**	0.29**	0.19**	0.28**	(0.89)				
10	Agree	3.82	0.62	-0.06	0.10	0.11*	-0.06	0.09	0.12*	0.22**	-0.03	0.22**	(0.80)			
11	Conscient	3.54	0.57	-0.16**	0.07	0.16**	-0.14**	0.11*	0.18**	0.33**	-0.19**	0.15**	0.39**	(0.76)		
12	Neurot	3.02	0.78	0.15**	0.03	-0.09	0.27**	-0.06	-0.22**	-0.03	-0.25**	-0.26**	-0.23**	-0.25**	(0.83)	
13	Open	3.35	0.62	-0.15**	0.13*	0.16**	-0.16**	0.15**	0.18**	0.16**	0.31**	0.12*	0.06	-0.03	-0.06	(0.79)

Note. *, $p < 0.05$, **, $p < 0.01$. S1 = restaurant scenario, S2 = retail scenario, Action = anticipated action regret, Inaction = anticipated inaction regret, Intent = reported voice intent. Diagonals contain Cronbach's Alpha.

Table 3. Independent Group T-Test between High and Low Risk Condition

	Restaurant Scenario					Retail Scenario				
	Low Risk		High Risk		T-Test	Low Risk		High Risk		T-Test
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Voice Intent	4.66	.92	4.28	1.0	3.72**	4.58	.92	4.28	1.1	2.82*
Ant. Action Regret	2.29	.79	2.57	.78	-3.46*	2.26	.74	2.60	.76	-4.03**
Ant. Inaction Regret	3.62	.67	3.48	.67	2.00*	3.44	.65	3.58	.76	1.94

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Table 4. Incremental Prediction of the Big Five, GRiPS, and Maximizing Tendency

	Voice Intent (Restaurant Scenario)	Voice Intent (Retail Scenario)
<i>Model 1</i>		
Risk condition	-.38**	-.32*
<i>Adjusted R² (ΔR²)</i>	.04 (.04**)	.02 (.02*)
<i>Model 2</i>		
Anticipated action regret	-.78**	-.84**
<i>Adjusted R² (ΔR²)</i>	.42 (.39**)	.40 (.38**)
<i>Model 3</i>		
Anticipated inaction regret	.33**	.43**
<i>Adjusted R² (ΔR²)</i>	.46 (.04**)	.47 (.07**)
<i>Model 4</i>		
Extraversion	.11*	.17**
Agreeableness	.02	.01
Conscientiousness	.10	.10
Neuroticism	.03	-.04
Openness	.07	.08
<i>Adjusted R² (ΔR²)</i>	.47 (.02)	.50 (.03**)
<i>Model 5</i>		
GRiPS	.12*	.12*
<i>Adjusted R² (ΔR²)</i>	.48 (.01*)	.50 (.01*)
<i>Model 6</i>		
Maximizing Tendency	.20*	.18*
<i>Adjusted R² (ΔR²)</i>	.50 (.02**)	.52 (.02*)

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$. Model 1 predictors include the risk manipulation; Anticipated action regret was added to Model 2; Anticipated inaction regret was added to Model 3; Big Five traits were added to Model 4; GRiPS was added to Model 5; Maximizing Tendency was added to Model 6.

Figure 1. Mediation model for restaurant scenario

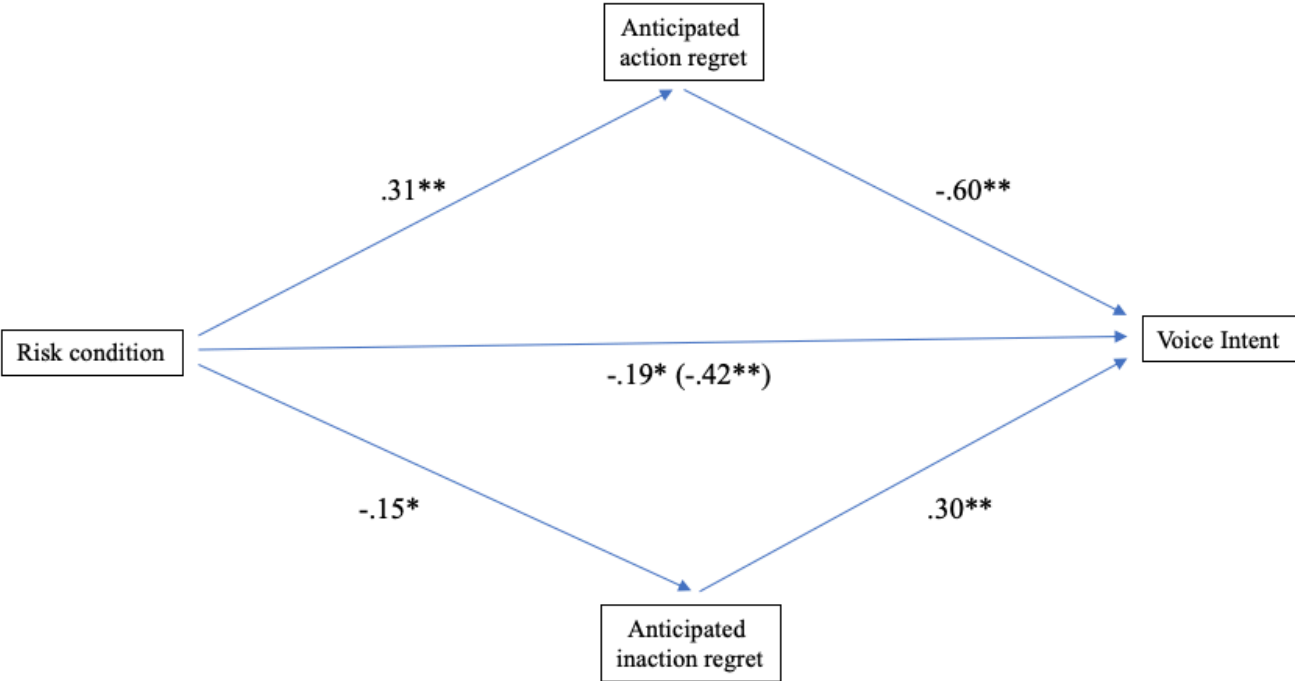
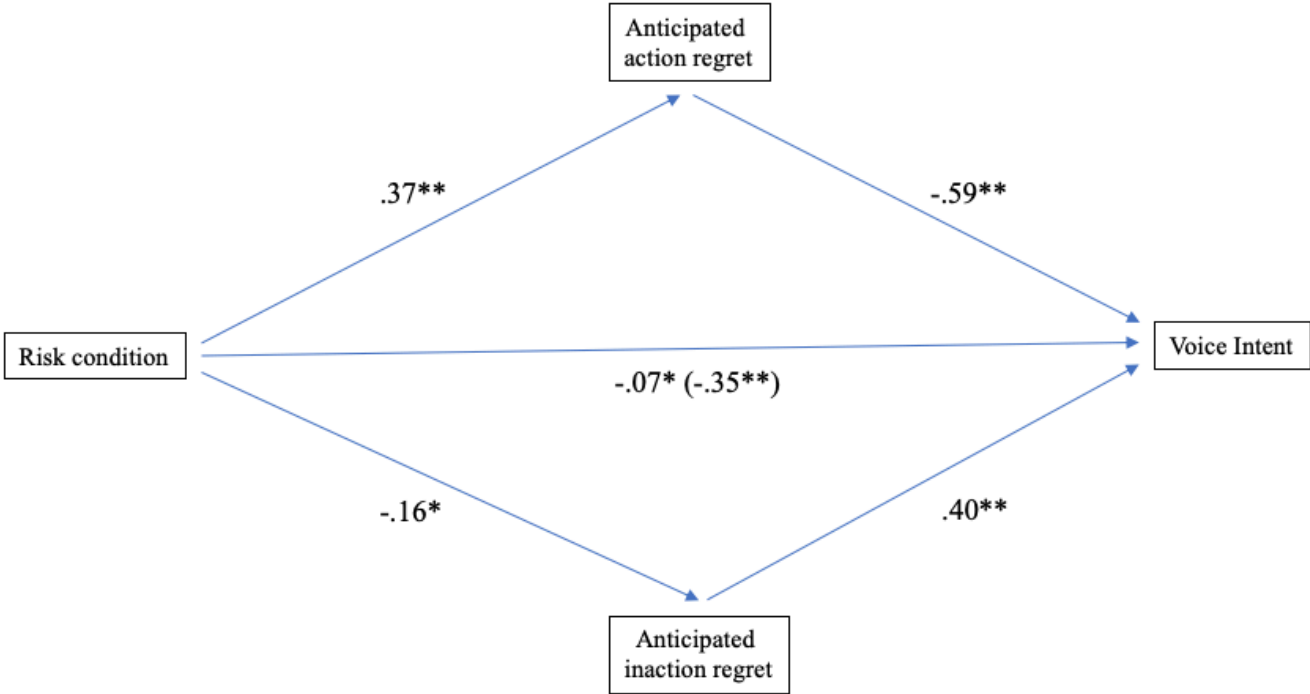


Figure 2. Mediation model for retail scenario



Appendix A Voice scenarios

*parentheses and italics indicate wording for low risk scenario

Restaurant scenario

Imagine that you work in a busy restaurant as a member of the wait staff. All of the work hours are scheduled by your manager who oversees the wait staff and does the employee scheduling for each week. However, there is really no set timeline as to when your hours are finalized by your manager and you are never sure when the schedule for each week will be made available. This gives you little time to make adjustments or ask for a change in your schedule before you're expected to come in and work. This results in confusion between employees and last-minute schedule changes, which often leaves the restaurant understaffed and creates more work for you. This has been the scheduling method for a long time, but you don't think it's effective and you are thinking about talking to your manager about it.

However, you know that your manager doesn't always react fondly to negative comments or suggestions from employees, and does not like dealing with complaints from anyone. Overall, management is focused on making the restaurant profitable and seems to be pretty resistant to making changes in normal day-to-day routines. There seems to be an overall pattern of employees just "putting up with it", and a strict chain of command between the manager and employees in the restaurant. *(Over the time you've worked as an employee at the restaurant, you've built a pretty good relationship with your manager. The restaurant has a "family" atmosphere, and your manager emphasizes an open-door policy and seems to be committed to doing what it takes to improve the restaurant for both customers and employees.)* You also consider the potential negative consequences of speaking up. You don't want to stir the pot or be viewed as a troublemaker or complainer. Furthermore, you fear losing respect from your fellow employees or manager if you speak up, and potentially being viewed less favorably as an employee if your manager doesn't react well.

Retail Scenario

Imagine that you work at a retail clothing store where you are responsible for getting the products ready for sale. Some of your duties include unpacking the products, putting them on display, creating price tags, and completing anything else that is assigned to you. The store manager is responsible for taking inventory and ordering shipments of store products for you to unpack and get ready. However, your manager often fails to communicate with you or the other employees which results in them constantly ordering too much product. Consequently, there is always an overstock of clothing and the store often runs out of room to display or even store the excess orders. It's stressful that you and your co-workers are left to deal with the problem on your own, so you are considering speaking to your manager about the issue.

However, you know that your manager doesn't always react fondly to negative comments or suggestions from employees, and does not like dealing with complaints from anyone. Overall, management is focused on making the store profitable and seems to be pretty resistant to making

changes in normal day-to-day routines. There seems to be an overall pattern of employees just “putting up with it”, and a strict chain of command between the manager and employees in the store. *(Over the time you’ve worked as an employee at the store, you’ve built a pretty good relationship with your manager. The store has a “family” atmosphere, and your manager emphasizes an open-door policy and seems to be committed to doing what it takes to improve the store for both customers and employees.)* You also consider the potential negative consequences of speaking up. You don’t want to stir the pot or be viewed as lazy or a complainer. Furthermore, you fear losing respect from your fellow employees or manager if you speak up, and potentially being viewed less favorably as an employee if your manager doesn’t react well.

Appendix B

Anticipated Action Regret items (5 items modified from Connor et al., 2006; 2 items modified from Sheeran et al., 1999)

Instructions: Please indicate your answer to each of the following statements by selecting the appropriate number.

If I voiced my opinion, I would:

1	2	3	4	5
Definitely not regret it				Definitely regret it
1	2	3	4	5
Not be worried				Be really worried
1	2	3	4	5
Be very happy				Be very sad
1	2	3	4	5
Be very proud of myself				Be very ashamed of myself
1	2	3	4	5
Not be sorry				Be sorry

Anticipated Inaction Regret items (5 items modified from Connor et al., 2006; 2 items modified from Sheeran et al., 1999)

Instructions: Please indicate your answer to each of the following statements by selecting the appropriate number.

If I voiced my opinion, I would:

1	2	3	4	5
Definitely not regret it				Definitely regret it
1	2	3	4	5
Not be worried				Be really worried
1	2	3	4	5
Be very happy				Be very sad
1	2	3	4	5
Be very proud of myself				Be very ashamed of myself
1	2	3	4	5
Not be sorry				Be sorry

Appendix C

Risk Perception Scale (modified from Nordgren, 2007)

Directions: Please indicate your answers to each of the following statements by selecting the appropriate number.

1. How great are the risks of voicing your concerns to your supervisor?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely small						Extremely great

2. What is the risk of voicing your concern and suffering negative consequences?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely small						Extremely great

3. How risky do you perceive the situation to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not risky at all						Extremely risky

Appendix E
Maximization Tendency Scale (Diab, Gillespie, & Highhouse, 2008)

Direction: Please indicate your answers to each of the following statements by selecting one of the options provided.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely Disagree						Completely Agree

1. No matter what it takes, I always try to choose the best thing.
2. I don't like having to settle for "good enough".
3. I am a maximizer.
4. No matter what I do, I have the highest standards for myself.
5. I will wait for the best option, no matter how long it takes.
6. I never settle for second best.
7. I am uncomfortable making decisions before I know all of my options.
8. Whenever I am faced with a choice, I try to imagine what all other possibilities are, even ones that aren't present at the moment.
9. I never settle.

Appendix F
General Risk Taking Propensity (GRiPS; Zhang, Highhouse, & Nye, 2018)

Directions: Please indicate your response by selecting the appropriate number.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

1. Taking risks makes life more fun
2. My friends would say that I'm a risk taker.
3. I enjoy taking risks in most aspects of my life.
4. I would take a risk even if it meant I might get hurt.
5. Taking risks is an important part of my life.
6. I commonly make risky decisions.
7. I am a believer of taking chances.
8. I am attracted, rather than scared, by risk.

Appendix G
The Big Five Inventory (John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991)

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who *likes to spend time with others*? Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which **you agree or disagree with that statement.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
<u>1. Is talkative</u>				<u>23. Tends to be lazy</u>
<u>2. Tends to find fault with others</u>				<u>24. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset</u>
<u>3. Does a thorough job</u>				<u>25. Is inventive</u>
<u>4. Is depressed, blue</u>				<u>26. Has an assertive personality</u>
<u>5. Is original, comes up with new ideas</u>				<u>27. Can be cold and aloof</u>
<u>6. Is reserved</u>				<u>28. Perseveres until the task is finished</u>
<u>7. Is helpful and unselfish with others</u>				<u>29. Can be moody</u>
<u>8. Can be somewhat careless</u>				<u>30. Values artistic, aesthetic experiences</u>
<u>9. Is relaxed, handles stress well</u>				<u>31. Is sometimes shy, inhibited</u>
<u>10. Is curious about many different things</u>				<u>32. Is considerate and kind to almost everyone</u>
<u>11. Is full of energy</u>				<u>33. Does things efficiently</u>
<u>12. Starts quarrels with others</u>				<u>34. Remains calm in tense situations</u>
<u>13. Is a reliable worker</u>				<u>35. Prefers work that is routine</u>
<u>14. Can be tense</u>				<u>36. Is outgoing, sociable</u>
<u>15. Is ingenious, a deep thinker</u>				<u>37. Is sometimes rude to others</u>
<u>16. Generates a lot of enthusiasm</u>				<u>38. Makes plans and follows through with them</u>
<u>17. Has a forgiving nature</u>				<u>39. Gets nervous easily</u>
<u>18. Tends to be disorganized</u>				<u>40. Likes to reflect, play with ideas</u>
<u>19. Worries a lot</u>				<u>41. Has few artistic interests</u>
<u>20. Has an active imagination</u>				<u>42. Likes to cooperate with others</u>
<u>21. Tends to be quiet</u>				<u>43. Is easily distracted</u>
<u>22. Is generally trusting</u>				<u>44. Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature</u>

Appendix H
Demographic Questions

Directions: Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

1. What is your age?

2. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other _____

3. If you currently hold a job, please indicate how many hours per week you work. _____

4. How many total jobs have you held? _____

5. Have you ever raised an issue or concern to a boss/manager at work before?