JOURNAL OF OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY AT 20

Researching Rudeness: The Past, Present, and Future of the Science of Incivility

Lilia M. Cortina
University of Michigan

Dana Kabat-Farr
Dalhousie University

Vicki J. Magley and Kerri Nelson
University of Connecticut

Incivility refers to rude, condescending, and ostracizing acts that violate workplace norms of respect, but otherwise appear mundane. Organizations sometimes dismiss these routine slights and indignities—which lack overt malice—as inconsequential. However, science has shown that incivility is a real stressor with real consequences: though the conduct is subtle, the consequences are not. We now know a great deal about how common incivility is, who gets targeted with it, under what conditions, and with what effects. The first half of this article reviews and synthesizes the last 15 years of workplace incivility research. In the second half, we look beyond that body of scholarship to pose novel questions and nudge the field in novel directions. We also point to thorny topics that call for caution, even course correction. Incivility in organizations is as important now as ever. Our goal is to motivate new science on incivility, new ways to think about it and, ultimately, new solutions.

Keywords: incivility, respect, organizations, organizational behavior, occupational stress

Averaging almost one article per day, research into workplace incivility has exploded in recent years. *Incivility* refers to rude, condescending, and ostracizing acts that violate workplace norms of respect, but otherwise appear mundane. Organizations sometimes dismiss these routine slights and indignities—which lack overt malice—as inconsequential. When we began studying incivility 20 years ago, our goal was simply to put it "on the map" as a construct worthy of organizational inquiry. Our efforts have met with great success, as the science of incivility has since taken off. A Google Scholar search of the term *workplace incivility* returned 23 works published from the years 1996 through 2000. Contrast that with the last half decade (2011 through 2015), which saw 1,700 articles published on this topic. How did that journey begin and where has it taken us? In what directions should the field head next with this topic? Likewise, where should we tread with caution? These are the questions that motivate this paper.

The impetus for our article was a piece that two of us published in the *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* (*JOHP*) more than 15 years ago: "Incivility in the Workplace: Incidence and Impact" (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001). Much to our delight, that has proven to be our most highly cited work to date. The present article begins by recounting the events that led up to that publication, putting it in historical context. Next, we synthesize (in broad strokes) the scholarly record that followed. That is, we look back and chronicle the course taken by incivility research since our "incidence and impact" article. We then look forward to the future and chart promising new paths—and potential pitfalls—for this area of inquiry. Our article concludes with recommendations, considerations, and cautions for the science of incivility moving forward.

Before delving into content, we briefly note the scholarly backgrounds of each author. Two of us (Lilia Cortina and Vicki Magley) are what you might call "first-generation incivility researchers," helping establish on-the-job incivility as a topic meriting scientific attention in North America. We began collaborating in the 1990s as doctoral students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, one in Clinical-Community Psychology (Cortina) and the other in Social, Organizational, and Individual Differences Psychology (Magley). We shared the same advisors—Louise Fitzgerald and Fritz Drasgow—and the same subspecializations in women's studies and quantitative psychology. Until then, our primary research focus had been sexual harassment in organizations.

The other two authors (Dana Kabat-Farr and Kerri Nelson) are "second-generation incivility researchers," training under Cortina and Magley. We both began studying incivility in graduate school, one (Kabat-Farr) in Personality and Social Contexts Psychology at the University of Michigan and the other (Nelson) in Industrial/

Lilia M. Cortina, Departments of Psychology, Women's Studies, and Management and Organizations, University of Michigan; Dana Kabat-Farr, Rowe School of Business, Dalhousie University; Vicki J. Magley and Kerri Nelson, Department of Psychological Sciences, University of Connecticut.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Lilia M. Cortina, Departments of Psychology, Women's Studies, and Management and Organizations, University of Michigan, 530 Church Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. E-mail: lilia@umich.edu

Organizational Psychology at the University of Connecticut. By the time we entered the field, more than a decade had passed since the publication of our advisors' 2001 *JOHP* article, and workplace incivility had flourished into a vibrant line of inquiry. We use an interdisciplinary lens to study incivility, incorporating perspectives from occupational health psychology, social/personality psychology, and management science (one of us, Kabat-Farr, is now Assistant Professor of Management at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia, Canada).

All authors on this article have found incivility to be an exciting area of study, and we are delighted to tell you more. Let us begin at the beginning.

What's Gender Got to Do With It? Remembering Years Past

The 2001 *JOHP* article began as a gender story in the mid-1990s. It emerged from a unique partnership of psychologists and legal professionals, who joined forces to conduct research commissioned by the Eighth Circuit Gender Fairness Task Force. This was a 30-member task force, consisting of federal judges, court employees, practicing attorneys, professors of law, and representatives from the offices of the United States Attorneys and Federal Public Defenders. The Task Force defined its ultimate goals as "understanding, identifying, isolating, and eliminating gender bias" in the federal courts (Eighth Circuit Gender Fairness Task Force, 1997, p. 11). To execute the necessary research, they engaged a social science team: psychologist Louise F. Fitzgerald and her lab, which included Cortina and Magley (then doctoral students).

The main focus of the Fitzgerald Lab was sexual harassment in organizations, so we suggested to the Task Force that this be their main focus as well. The task force agreed that sexual harassment was a problem in their work environment, but added that incivility was just as problematic (and perhaps more prevalent). Though incivility in the law had never received scientific scrutiny, it was then a focus of many commentators in legal trade publications. For instance, attorneys were described as "modern day gladiators" (Corr & Madden, 1995, p. 9) and "barbarians of the bar" (Pierce, 1995, p. 60). Judges were perceived as too arrogant, impatient, impolite, and preoccupied with case management to be civil (Hansen, 1991; Ring, 1992). Some critics argued that the notion of "civil litigation" had become an oxymoron (e.g., Honeywell, 1994; Wallis-Honchar, 1997).

Reports of incivility in the legal profession, however, were entirely anecdotal. Was the rudeness really so rampant? To address this question, we needed an instrument to measure the incidence of incivility. No such instrument existed, so we created one. Informed by focus groups and conversations with attorneys, judges, and court employees, the social science team generated items that later became the Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS; Cortina et al., 2001). At that point, the team still conceptualized the project as one primarily about sexual harassment, so we thought that if nothing else, this new instrument could function as "filler items" in our sexual harassment survey. The new items assessed experiences of specific, uncivil acts from superiors and coworkers over the prior 5 years. (Side note: We fought for a 1- or 2-year time window, but task force members insisted on 5 years. Some worried that one or two years would not be sufficient to detect incivility, assuming it

to be rare in the venerable federal court context. We have received countless questions over the years about *why* we chose such a *long* time-frame for the original WIS. Our answer is simple: This choice was not ours, and if anything, we resisted it.)

Armed with our new incivility (filler) items, we sent surveys to all judges ($N = 149$) and all employees ($N = 1,167$) in the Eighth Circuit court system, as well as 4,605 randomly sampled attorneys. The court employee data became the basis of several *JOHP* articles on workplace incivility (Cortina & Magley, 2003, 2009; Cortina et al., 2001).[1] One might wonder whether the federal court workplace is unique—perhaps a breeding ground for incivility—given the American adversarial model of justice. That model, however, applies to the *trying of fact*, not the typical organization and functions of court personnel (e.g., managing court documents, supporting IT systems, accounting). Work in this context is not as unusual as it might seem at first glance.

Following the completion of the three surveys, we rolled up our sleeves and dove into the data. Through a stroke of serendipity, we discovered that our "filler items" were fascinating. First, they hung together beautifully as a reliable and cohesive scale in all three data sets. In the employee data, we also found evidence of validity via convergence with a climate measure of fairness (Donovan, Drasgow, and Munson's, 1998, Perceptions of Fair Interpersonal Treatment Scale). Second, we found that incivility was alarmingly common in the federal courts: More than 60% of attorneys, 70% of employees, and 74% of judges had encountered some kind of uncivil conduct at work during the prior 5 years (Cortina et al., 2001, 2002). One of the district court judges on the task force (Honorable Carol E. Jackson) captured the findings eloquently:

> When we looked at interactions among the lawyers and judges, we discovered that both groups could benefit greatly from a Miss Manners course. [Incivility] was experienced across the board as disturbingly high . . . it's hard to say how often this kind of behavior is intentional, or, how often it results from what my grandmother used to call "no home training." (Eighth Circuit Gender Fairness Task Force, 1997, p. 8)

Third, we learned that these everyday slights and indignities *mattered* in individual work lives (Cortina et al., 2001, 2002). The more frequently people encountered incivility on the job, the less they liked that job (i.e., lower satisfaction with work, coworkers, supervisors, promotion opportunities, and pay and benefits). Their symptoms of psychological distress increased, and they described more disengagement from work as well as thoughts and intentions of quitting. Moreover, these findings were not an artifact of a hectic work environment; even when controlling for general job stress, the same relationships emerged. Seemingly small acts of incivility, we learned, were just as corrosive to work and wellbeing as overt harassment.

After finding that this conduct was a real stressor with real consequences, we wondered what to call it. Legal professionals termed it *incivility* in their trade literature, but we discovered that European researchers had been investigating similar phenomena for years at that point, under different names: *aggression* (a term

---

[1] For results based on the attorney and judge surveys, see Cortina et al. (2002) and Lonsway, Freeman, Cortina, Magley, and Fitzgerald (2002), respectively.

used in the work of Kaj Björkqvist and colleagues), *harassment* (Ståle Einarsen), *bullying* (Heinz Leymann), and sometimes *mobbing* (Dieter Zapf). In the first draft of the manuscript that ultimately became the 2001 *JOHP* article, we dubbed this construct *psychological aggression*, but reviewers took issue with this term. Then, to our delight, Lynne Andersson and Chris Pearson published their 1999 article in *Academy of Management Review*, defining and theorizing this phenomenon in detail. Like our lawyer friends, they called the conduct "incivility," and ever since then so have we.

The Work That Followed: 2001 Through 2016

The scientific study of workplace incivility is relatively "young," but it has come a long way in its short history. What has this journey taught us? The review that follows is by no means exhaustive; rather, we focus on major themes that emerged over the past 15 years, starting with our 2001 *JOHP* article. Many scholars have built on that work by delving further into the incidence and impact of incivility, as well as factors that mediate and moderate that impact. Although the literature has now grown to encompass many related constructs, we confine our review to articles specifically addressing "workplace incivility." Notably, a large majority of these studies utilized the Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS; Cortina et al., 2001) or some adaptation of it (e.g., Blau & Andersson, 2005; Caza & Cortina, 2007; Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013; Matthews & Ritter, 2016).

Incidence of Workplace Incivility: New Insights Into Targets and Instigators

Targets. In our 2001 study, the great majority (>70%) of employees reported having been subjected to incivility in the prior 5 years. Among those targets, nearly one third noted that they encountered this rudeness anywhere from "sometimes" to "many times" (Cortina et al., 2001). Since then, research has continued to show that incivility is common, even ubiquitous in the contemporary workforce. Over time it became clear that few workers escape incivility, regardless of function, firm, or industry. Today this might seem obvious, but 20 years ago it was not (recall the Eighth Circuit Task Force members who insisted on a 5-year time window for assessing uncivil experiences, believing that one or two years could easily elapse with no incivility at all). Even after incidence rates were well established, questions remained: Who tends to be most targeted with incivility, under what conditions, and why?

Also in our 2001 article, we proposed that power (e.g., based on gender or position) would play a role in experiences of incivility, such that those with less social power are at higher risk for being mistreated. Indeed, we found more women than men reporting uncivil experiences, especially in male-dominated professions such as the law (Cortina et al., 2002). Cortina (2008) continued this focus on power when introducing the theory of selective incivility, which posits that incivility can act as a covert, modern manifestation of gender and racial discrimination (Cortina, 2008). Testing this theory of "selective incivility," Cortina and colleagues (2013) found in multiple organizations that both gender and race (and their interaction) do relate to risk for uncivil treatment. We elaborate on this work in the *stigmatized identities* subsection below.

Notably, research has also revealed that employees need not be directly targeted with incivility to endure its effects: witnesses are harmed as well. For example, people are less helpful, suffer reduced task and creative performance, and display more dysfunctional ideation when witnessing acts of incivility, though these decrements are less pronounced when the witness is in competition with the target (Porath & Erez, 2009). Further, witnesses are more likely to experience negative emotions when the targeted coworker is of the same gender (Miner & Eischeid, 2012), and they perceive more harm when the target reacts in a negative way (Chui & Dietz, 2014). Beyond personal harm, observers seek justice for such witnessed offenses; one experimental study found that witnesses retaliated against incivility instigators in work-related ways by giving them undesirable work tasks and providing negative work evaluations (Reich & Hershcovis, 2015). It is important to note that negative affect/emotionality functioned as a mediator in many of these studies, helping explain the negative consequences of these observational experiences.

Instigators. Since 2001, the literature has expanded to encompass the perpetration of incivility. For example, research has found that employees who are dissatisfied or exhausted with their jobs, have faced distributive injustice (Blau & Andersson, 2005), or have a dominant conflict management style (Trudel & Reio, 2011) are more likely to act uncivilly toward colleagues. Others have examined how individual differences and job-related factors interact to predict incivility instigation (e.g., Taylor & Kluemper, 2012). For example, those with an obsessive passion for their work appear more likely to perpetrate incivility, especially in organizational climates that emphasize mastery and learning (Birkeland & Nerstad, 2016).

A recent body of research has examined incivility instigated by not only coworkers and supervisors but also organizational "outsiders," answering a call of our original 2001 *JOHP* article to expand beyond "insider" instigators. Customer incivility has received the most attention in this respect (e.g., Arnold & Walsh, 2015; Kern & Grandey, 2009; Marchiondo, Cortina, Shannon, Haines, Geldart, & Griffith, 2015; Sliter, Jex, Wolford, & McInnerney, 2010; Sliter & Jones, 2016; van Jaarsveld, Walker, & Skarlicki, 2010; Walker, van Jaarsveld, & Skarlicki, 2014; Wilson & Holmvall, 2013). In fact, customer and coworker incivility can interact to influence employees' outcomes, suggesting that those facing incivility on multiple fronts have fewer resources at their disposal (Sliter, Sliter, & Jex, 2012). Additionally, family members have been examined as external instigators of incivility, whereby incivility experienced at home has negative consequences in the workplace (e.g., Bai, Lin, & Wang, 2016; Lim & Tai, 2014). Researchers have developed and validated scales to measure instigated (Gray, Carter, & Sears, 2017) and experienced incivility from customers (Wilson & Holmvall, 2013), paving the way for future investigation on these topics.

In an effort to add clarity to the term *perpetrator* (and *victim*), Hershcovis and Reich (2013) noted that workplace aggression can be reciprocal. In fact, research has examined both individual and organizational factors that turn targets into instigators, contributing to a so-called "spiral" of incivility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). One study found that men were more likely to perpetrate incivility when they worked in a context that tolerated rude, disrespectful behavior (Gallus, Bunk, Matthews, Barnes-Farrell, & Magley, 2014). Employees are also more likely to enact incivility in re-

sponse to experiencing incivility when working under passive managers (Harold & Holtz, 2015). That said, Schilpzand, De Pater, and Erez (2016) rightly noted that many of the theoretical tenets of Andersson and Pearson's "incivility spiral" have received little empirical examination. Importantly, researchers have shown that incivility instigation is not the only way in which employees respond to incivility in the workplace, as discussed below.

Impact of Workplace Incivility: New Insights Into When and Why

Over the past 15 years, research has consistently shown that workplace incivility is related to negative outcomes for its targets. The individual and organizational costs of this low-intensity behavior include work withdrawal (e.g., Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001), job stress and psychological distress (e.g., Cortina et al., 2001; Lim & Cortina, 2005), counterproductive work behaviors (CWBs) and lower job satisfaction (e.g., Penney & Spector, 2005), lower coworker and supervisor satisfaction (e.g., Martin & Hine, 2005), incivility perpetration (e.g., Gallus et al., 2014; van Jaarsveld et al., 2010), lower afterwork psychological detachment and next-morning recovery (Nicholson & Griffin, 2015), reduced creativity, task performance, and helpfulness (Porath & Erez, 2007), higher turnover intentions (e.g., Wilson & Holmvall, 2013), lower marital satisfaction (Ferguson, 2012), depression, and higher work-to-family conflict (Lim & Lee, 2011). In addition, studies have shed light on factors that intervene in the impact of incivility—that is, mediators and moderators of the incivility-outcome relationship. We organize this work into four categories: individual differences, stigmatized identities, cognitive and emotional processes, and job-related/situational factors.

Individual differences.   The role of individual differences in how employees perceive and cope with incivility has garnered considerable attention. Beginning with perceptions, research has shown that some people are more prone to perceiving and experiencing incivility than others. For example, Bunk and Magley (2011) suggested that certain individuals have a higher sensitivity to interpersonal treatment, which translates into stronger reactions. They developed and validated a scale measuring this individual difference, opening the door for future research on mistreatment perceptions. In a vignette study, Sliter, Withrow, and Jex (2015) found that individuals who are higher in trait anger, conscientiousness, and surprisingly, positive affect are more likely to perceive ambiguous behaviors as uncivil, whereas those higher in openness are less likely to do so. Employees who are rated by their coworkers as high in neuroticism and low in agreeableness also report experiencing more incivility than others (Milam, Spitzmueller, & Penney, 2009). Further, employees' conflict management styles may influence experiences, such that those with more dominating styles are more likely to both encounter and engage in incivility (Trudel & Reio, 2011).

Individual differences may also play a role in how employees respond to uncivil behavior. For example, an external locus of control, low emotional stability, or perceptions that others have hostile intentions may make employees targeted with incivility more likely to endure end-of-day negative affect (Zhou, Yan, Che, & Meier, 2015). Employees high in neuroticism also appear more likely to respond to a severe incivility incident by ignoring and/or avoiding the perpetrator, whereas the opposite is true for those low

in neuroticism (Beattie & Griffin, 2014a). Further, Lim and Tai (2014) found that employees experiencing family incivility were more likely to suffer psychological distress when they had low core self-evaluations; this distress, in turn, negatively affected job performance. Ali, Ryan, Lyons, Ehrhart, and Wessel (2016) examined the moderating role of job seekers' goal orientation on their responses to incivility on the job market; they found greater negative effects on job search self-efficacy and behavior when job seekers had low "avoid-performance orientation" (that is, a low tendency to avoid situations in which failure is a possibility). To explain this pattern, they posited that individuals who are low in performance-avoidant goal orientations may lack strategies to buffer the effects of rejection.

Individual differences may also influence response strategies that directly affect the organization. Using weekly experience sampling, Taylor, Bedeian, Cole, and Zhang (2014) found that changes in incivility frequency linked with changes in burnout and turnover intentions, tentatively showing that these effects may be stronger for those higher in conscientiousness. Narcissism may also play a role, such that narcissistic individuals are more likely to disengage and perform poorly when experiencing uncivil treatment at work; a possible reason is that incivility thwarts opportunities for narcissists to self-enhance (Chen et al., 2013). Using an event-level perspective, Walker et al. (2014) found that employees were more likely to respond to customer incivility by being uncivil themselves when they perceived most of their interactions to be *civil*. Employees may react to incivility with interpersonal deviance when they believe that mistreatment *should* be reciprocated and when they attribute hostile intentions to others (Wu, Zhang, Chiu, Kwan, & He, 2014).

Stigmatized identities.   Following the introduction of the theory of selective incivility (Cortina, 2008), research has considered how stigmatized identities affect workplace incivility experiences and outcomes. In a test of the theory, Cortina et al. (2013) found that women, people of color, and particularly African American women reported more uncivil treatment than other groups, and these experiences were associated with higher turnover intentions. In a sample of conference attendees, Settles and O'Connor (2014) also found that women (compared with men) described more incivility at conferences. Further, although Kern and Grandey (2009) reported no differences in uncivil customer conduct toward racial minority (primarily African American) versus White retail employees, they did find that minority employees suffered more stress from those experiences when they strongly identified with their racial group. In contrast to these studies, Welbourne, Gangadharan, and Sariol (2015) found Hispanic women describing less incivility than either Non-Hispanic White women or Hispanic men. Moreover, Hispanic employees demonstrated more resilience toward negative outcomes.

Other researchers have considered the roles of factors such as weight and motherhood status in incivility experiences. Sliter, Sliter, Withrow, and Jex (2012) found that individuals meeting criteria for being overweight or obese reported higher levels of incivility, and this effect was moderated by race and gender. Additionally, in a study conducted by Miner, Pesonen, Smittick, Seigel, and Clark (2014), incivility experiences were more frequent for mothers of three children compared with those with fewer children or none at all. Motherhood, however, also served a buffering or protective role against negative outcomes. Further, Porath, Overbeck, and Pearson (2008)

reported that employees' coping strategies differed according to both gender and status. Specifically, male targets, and those of higher status, were more likely to respond aggressively to incivility, especially when the instigator was of equal status. In contrast, low-status and female targets were more likely to distance themselves or avoid the instigator.

Cognitive and emotional mechanisms. Other studies have explored how incivility takes a toll by way of cognitive and emotional processes. For example, research has concluded that incivility impairs task performance and engagement by disrupting cognitive processes (e.g., memory; Porath & Erez, 2007) or depleting mental, emotional, and social energy (Giumetti, Hatfield, Scisco, Schroeder, Muth, & Kowalski, 2013). Kabat-Farr, Cortina, and Marchiondo (2016) found negative affect and guilt in response to incivility linking to decreased empowerment and self-esteem as well as increased withdrawal; emotional reactions were especially pronounced for the most committed employees. Emotional processes may also help connect workplace incivility to nonwork outcomes. One study found that workplace incivility fueled hostile emotions, especially for those higher in trait hostility; these emotions, in turn, predicted angry and withdrawn behavior at home (Lim, Ilies, Koopman, Christoforou, & Arvey, 2016).

Further, these processes may work together to predict employees' coping strategies, like support seeking, conflict avoidance, aggression, assertion, and absenteeism (Cortina & Magley, 2009; Porath & Pearson, 2012). In a sample of university students, Caza and Cortina (2007) found that incivility experiences related positively to perceptions of injustice and social ostracism, which in turn predicted lower institutional satisfaction and higher psychological distress. Research has also examined emotional labor, emotional exhaustion, and job demands as mechanisms influencing relationships among customer incivility, employee-perpetrated incivility, and customer service quality (Sliter et al., 2010; van Jaarsveld et al., 2010). Negative emotions and optimism may also mediate links between incivility and such job outcomes as job satisfaction, work effort, and CWBs (Bunk & Magley, 2013; Sakurai & Jex, 2012).

Third parties can also influence—and be influenced by—cognitive and emotional responses to incivility. Schilpzand, Leavitt, and Lim (2016) found a buffering effect, whereby targets who perceived they were not alone in their experiences (i.e., witnessed a team member being treated uncivilly) had lower appraisals of self-blame and, in turn, less stress, rumination, and withdrawal. Foulk, Woolum, and Erez (2016) suggest that incivility may be "contagious" by activating concepts related to rudeness in the target's mind and carrying over into subsequent encounters with others.

Job-related and situational factors. Moving beyond the individual, research has demonstrated that both job-related and situational factors may exacerbate the negative effects of incivility. For example, Welbourne and Sariol (2017) found that employees with high job involvement were more likely to respond to incivility by engaging in CWBs. They also reported that female targets with jobs requiring higher task interdependence were more likely to engage in CWBs, but the opposite was true for male targets. Further, Sliter and Jones (2016) found that both physical aspects of the work environment (e.g., disorganization, cleanliness) and qualities of the employees themselves (e.g., unprofessional interaction, neuroticism) play roles in incivility instigated by customers. Cameron and Webster (2011) also examined incivility as a potential

consequence of "multicommunicating" (e.g., juggling more than one conversation simultaneously) at work.

In contrast, both professional and personal resources can buffer the negative effects of incivility. For example, Walsh and colleagues (2012) found that employees who perceive their workgroup as having a civil climate report fewer incivility experiences. Further, transformational leadership (Arnold & Walsh, 2015) as well as social/emotional support at work (Beattie & Griffin, 2014b; Miner, Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Brady, 2012) and home (Lim & Lee, 2011) can attenuate negative outcomes of incivility. Job control and psychological detachment can also reduce the impact of daily e-mail incivility on end-of-workday distress and (subsequently) next-morning distress (Park, Fritz, & Jex, 2015). However, incivility can also undermine professional resources; Miner-Rubino and Reed (2010) found that workgroup incivility predicted turnover intentions, burnout, and lower job satisfaction indirectly, via decreases in organizational trust.

Notably, incivility can have effects at both the workgroup and organizational levels. Lim, Cortina, and Magley (2008) found that workgroup-level incivility predicted turnover intentions and health impairments beyond individual experiences of incivility, and this was mediated by (declines in) mental health and job satisfaction. Further, Griffin (2010) found that organization-level incivility explained additional variance in intentions to stay after accounting for individual experiences.

In summary, the last 15 years have witnessed great strides in our understanding of the incidence and impact of workplace incivility. However, it is important to acknowledge that the majority of this research on incivility's impact has been based on cross-sectional, correlational designs. Consistent with theoretical assumptions undergirding this literature (e.g., stressors trigger strains, incivility saps resources), we have used implicitly causal and temporal language throughout this section (e.g., "impact") with the caveat that causal and temporal conclusions must remain tentative until confirmed using other research designs. Recent work has started filling these gaps, including workplace incivility experiments (e.g., Foulk et al., 2016; Giumetti et al., 2013; Hershcovis & Reich, 2013; Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015; Schilpzand et al., 2016) and daily diary survey designs (e.g., Beattie & Griffin, 2014a, 2014b; Nicholson & Griffin, 2015; Park et al., 2015; Zhou et al., 2015). For example, studies utilizing diary designs have provided tentative support for the conclusion that a small number of incidents, even over a small timeframe, have measurable consequences for employees such as reduced next-day recovery and well-being. Further, Park et al. (2015) speculate that findings from daily diary studies may be an "early warning sign" of more serious outcomes to come. We eagerly anticipate further advances in the literature, using these designs and others, to continue deepening our understanding of the incidence and impact of workplace incivility.

The preceding sections look back and synthesize the scholarly record to date. We now shift to *looking forward* to the future of incivility science. Many questions remain unanswered and many methods unexplored; the next sections highlight topics that seem especially ripe for further inquiry. We also note potential areas of concern that call for caution (and, in some cases, course correction).

Uncharted Waters: Promising Pathways for Incivility Science

Beyond the dyad. Incivility research to date has largely taken an individual target/instigator approach, conceptualizing one individual for each role. Problematizing this perspective (Fox & Spector, 2005; Hershcovis & Reich, 2013), scholars have argued that roles should be viewed as fluid, wherein an individual might be targeted with incivility at one point, instigate incivility at another, and later become a target once more. Recent work is starting to push the discussion past the dyad, referring to the process of incivility spreading like a contagious disease (Foulk et al., 2016).

The dyadic approach also limits our ability to understand how incivility functions amid a network of actors. A network perspective could open up new and important empirical questions. In particular, it may help us track which individuals within a network are "senders" of rude behavior (behaving badly toward others), "receivers" (on the receiving end), or reciprocators (exchanging similar acts of insult; Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006). Social network analysis would also expand the ways in which we conceptualize and operationalize some familiar concepts, such as power. We could study the role of formal organizational power, centrality (the degree of importance of an individual in a network), and social power (see Raven, Schwarzwald, & Koslowsky, 1998), as well as their intersections with various identities (e.g., race, gender, and class). For example, we could consider the intersections of experience as determined by multiple positions of power (or lack thereof): a female manager's encounter with incivility when she has a low degree of centrality in her network versus a male's experience in a similar organizational position with high centrality.

Network analysis also enables group-level examination, allowing us to consider the role of cliques and subgroups in facilitating or inhibiting incivility. Cohesive subgroups of individuals may be more likely to view others in the network as members of an outgroup and use incivility to demarcate group boundaries. Groups may be formed on the basis of shared social identity, similar organizational status, or common views on organizational politics. These groups may or may not be readily apparent to organizational members, much less researchers, but might come to light through social network analysis. It may be, for example, that rampant incivility among restaurant employees is best understood through a lens of group dynamics between front-house and back-of-house employees.

Further, network analyses could enable studies of incivility at the organization level, in order to detect how organizational context affects incivility. The literature to date draws on samples from a variety of industries, but does little to reconcile the various organizational norms and structures in which participants are embedded. A meso-level approach is necessary to compare and contrast the incivility phenomenon in relation to these norms and cultures.

Network analysis has the potential to both answer new questions as well as more thoroughly test existing ideas in the literature. For example, network analysis can help tease apart issues of incidence (at both the individual and group level) and impact. A methodological limitation of behavioral scales such as the WIS (Cortina et al., 2001) is that they do not distinguish between reports of a few behaviors many times versus many behaviors a few times. Social network analysis allows measurement of number and frequency of incivility experiences, enabling a finer-grained calculation of incivility and its effects over time for a particular target, including comparisons of incidence-impact relationships for different individuals within the network. With this method, we may uncover information as to when infrequent exposure to incivility matters and whether there exists a threshold effect: an amount of incivility after which deleterious outcomes emerge for the target or others in the network. Further, a longitudinal network analysis would more fully test the idea of incivility functioning as a contagion, increasing exposure of incivility across people and time. Finally, social network analysis could also enable a test of the tit-for-tat theory of incivility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999), examining the process through which targets may or may not reciprocate uncivil actions. Incivility researchers interested in conducting social network studies should look to related mistreatment literatures for guidance, including school bullying (e.g., Huitsing, Snijders, Van Duijn, & Veenstra, 2014), ostracism (e.g., Yang & Treadway, 2016), and cyberaggression (Wegge, Vandebosch, Eggermont, & Walrave, 2015).

Beyond the spiral. Andersson and Pearson (1999) offered the metaphor of a "spiral" to conceptualize a tit-for-tat progression of uncivil events on the job. As we summarized in our 2001 *JOHP* article, their theory proposes that

> incivility can represent the beginning of an upward spiral of negative organizational events, eventually escalating to coercive and violent employee behavior. [Andersson and Pearson] suggest that the accumulation of a series of low-level, aggravating encounters leads to a "tipping point," when the last minor injustice triggers intense, retaliatory aggression. . . . Thus, relatively minor forms of interpersonal mistreatment can, over time, precipitate major organizational conflict. (Cortina et al., 2001, p. 65)

According to this reasoning, incivility begets incivility, aggression, and violence. Pointing to research in criminology, Andersson and Pearson (1999, p. 458) give the example that, "one person mocks another; the second responds with an obscene insult. The first shoves; the second hits. And the conflict escalates until one person is seriously wounded."

Andersson and Pearson (1999) proposed the incivility spiral as a possible chain of events, but we know from empirical research that it is not a common one. Physical violence, after all, is rare in organizations (Schat, Frone, & Kelloway, 2006). To their credit, Andersson and Pearson (1999) acknowledged that the spiraling of incivility into an "exchange of coercive actions" is "relatively infrequent" (p. 462), observing that there are points when any of the parties involved can depart from the uncivil exchange. For example, targets can ignore the behavior, reinterpret it as benign or unintentional, or walk away. They can also recognize the rudeness for what it is, but take no action in response. Or instigators can apologize, prompting forgiveness from the target. In these scenarios, the disrespect never "spirals" into aggression, violence, or anything of the sort. Andersson and Pearson (1999) wrote explicitly about these points of departure from the incivility spiral, and this was clear in their graphical depiction of a sample spiral (Figure 3 in Andersson & Pearson, 1999, p. 460). However, subsequent research has all but ignored the notion of departure points. As of this writing, a Google Scholar search of the terms *workplace incivility* and *departure points* returns all of three pub-

lications (one of which we authored: Kabat-Farr et al., 2016). In contrast, when we replace *departure points* with *spiral*, we find more than 500 scholarly works.

We recommend that researchers take seriously the notion of departure points and forge new insights into the incivility-response cycle. If spirals into coercive aggression and violence are rare, what are some more typical behavioral reactions to incivility on the job? How do people commonly respond to rudeness within their work relationships, and how can we make sense of those reactions? These questions require new theory and new interdisciplinary thinking. In short, we suggest that the metaphor of the incivility spiral may have run its course. It has been useful in capturing the rare incident of incivility that escalates into violence, drawing theoretical and practical attention to this topic. Let us now build on that foundational work with new propositions, new concepts, and new results pertaining to incivility in the workplace.

Beyond the critical incident. Like other areas of organizational science, workplace incivility research is grappling with the question, "What is the appropriate temporal lens for this topic?" As noted earlier, the WIS asks respondents to provide retrospective accounts of the frequency of their experiences, looking back over the past 5 years (original 7-item WIS; Cortina et al., 2001) or one year (newer 12-item version; Cortina et al., 2013). Many studies follow these general accounts with a series of detailed questions about a critical incident (e.g., asking about its duration, perpetrators, appraisal, coping; Bunk & Magley, 2013; Cortina & Magley, 2009). More recently, some researchers have moved beyond this critical incident approach and collected true longitudinal incivility data—via either event-contingent sampling or interval-contingent sampling (cf., Meier & Gross, 2015; Rosen, Koopman, Gabriel, & Johnson, 2016; see Cole, Shipp, & Taylor, 2016 for a summary). We applaud these efforts, as conducting such research, quite simply, is difficult. However, it is time (so to speak) to contemplate the value of different temporal approaches to the science of incivility.

To begin, the typical retrospective recall approach to assessing incivility does allow researchers to capture broad-stroke connections between experiences and outcomes. In other words, such studies are the basis for understanding that experiences of incivility carry both professional and personal costs, as already reviewed. The importance of this research should not be ignored: before its accumulation, the idea that such seemingly small, low-level, ambiguous behaviors could really affect workers was dismissed as absurd. Also, retrospective accounts allow for incidence and prevalence estimates. Although varying temporal "lookback" periods make it difficult to compare such estimates directly, it would be even more difficult to generalize incidence estimates from event-based or daily diary accounts of such experiences.

Longitudinal methods are important in isolating causal and dynamic relationships. As Cole and colleagues conclude, "the adoption of a purely static or 'snapshot' approach toward interpersonal mistreatment masks considerable and meaningful fluctuations in the experience of, responses to, and consequences of such behavior" (2016). Further, they offer insightful guidance—not repeated here for lack of space—in the construction of such longitudinal studies.

Although we look forward to continued longitudinal contributions to this literature, we also want to balance our enthusiasm with three considerations. First, virtually all of the recent prospective incivility research involves interval-contingent sampling (Beal & Weiss, 2003). That is, it is still retrospective; the retrospective time period is simply shortened from (usually) one year to one day/week/month with repeated measurements the next day/week/month. How frequently and over what duration this assessment occurs strike us as blind endeavors, likely as driven by construct demands as they are by financial limitations and/or student-progress realities. One challenge to the literature, given these varied temporal frames, is that it is quite difficult to make direct comparisons across studies. As Ford and colleagues (2014) demonstrate, time lags do affect the strength of associations between stressors and strains. We suggest that article abstracts include all temporal details of study designs, not only to be very explicit up-front, but also to facilitate comparisons as studies accumulate. Additionally, we recommend that researchers take care to provide ample descriptive information about the frequency of incivility detected in such longitudinal studies, again to facilitate comparisons.

Second, we submit that the sheer nature of incivility—with its ambiguity and low-level nature—may well make *longer* time frames more appropriate than shorter ones. Interpersonal exchanges are not always, immediately—or within even a day or so—recognizable as involving a behavior problematic enough to note on a survey. Considerations of the context, the people involved and how they typically behave, and the behavior in question may require time to process; likewise, understanding of the situation as rude or inappropriate could also take time. Of course, some experiences are obvious, but many are not (by definition, incivility is ambiguous). It remains an empirical question what factors influence rapid identification.

Finally, we must always keep in mind that longitudinal studies often necessitate truncated measurement. Rather than respond to a comprehensive list of behaviors in the repeated surveys, participants may be asked to respond to an abbreviated scale or single item, again requiring rapid interpretation. As behavioral detail gets lost, so does precision. It is important that we weigh the benefits of repeated measurement against the costs of truncated measurement. Clearly, more research is needed to understand incivility through a temporal lens. Until then, we caution against the assumption that longitudinal methods are *always* best for answering the increasingly complex questions arising in this area.

Beyond the negative. Research has concluded that incivility is both common and costly to organizations, with costs including lost revenue (Porath & Pearson, 2013). The vast number of scholarly articles on the topic have included an equally vast number of "practical implications" sections. However, few ideas about practical interventions have been put to an empirical test. What should organizations do to stem the tide of incivility or curb its insidious spread?

To combat incivility, scientists and practitioners have developed *civility* interventions, many with great success. Cisco Systems, Inc., was one of the first corporations to introduce a civility promotion training program (Pearson & Porath, 2009). Through workshops, case studies, coaching, and video presentations, employees and managers learn to both recognize and address incivility. Cisco's culture of mutual respect complements these formal training activities. In the public sphere, the National Institute for Civil Discourse promotes healthy, civil political debate in the United States, linking incivility research to public practice. Addi-

tionally, organizational scholars (Spence Laschinger, Leiter, Day, Gilin-Oore, & Laschinger, 2012) have documented the success of the Civility, Respect, and Engagement in the Workplace (CREW) intervention, finding workgroups that implement the 6-month program to have lower supervisor incivility, higher civility perceptions, and more positive job attitudes (e.g., commitment, self-efficacy) one year later.

Examining these successful civility interventions may help us understand the mechanisms of harm in an uncivil workplace. For example, CREW, which aims to both reduce incivility and promote civility, includes weekly or biweekly meetings with a trained facilitator to set goals and promote positive teamwork (Spence Laschinger et al., 2012). At the center of these meetings is the formation of respectful and trusting relationships among members (Spence Laschinger et al., 2012), pointing to the importance of shared positive workgroup norms. The success of this relational approach to fostering civility also suggests that notions of reciprocity and positive emotional contagion may be at play (Leiter, Day, Oore, & Spence Laschinger, 2012). Another civility intervention, the Civility Among Healthcare Professionals project, focuses on themes of community, engagement, and empowerment in efforts to enhance the quality of the social environment at work (Graham, Zweber, & Magley, 2013; Walsh & Magley, 2013). A much shorter term intervention than CREW, these train-the-trainer 2-hr sessions are conducted in small groups and can foster immediate changes in knowledge and attitudes surrounding workplace civility (Graham et al., 2013; Walsh & Magley, 2013). These intervention examples focus on *civil* behaviors and discourse, but what is *civility*?

The science of workplace *civility* is just beginning to take off. In their 1999 article, Andersson and Pearson conceptualized civility as a manner of conveying respect, cooperation, and moral standard; they noted that business has been often a place where civility is manifested as "formality yet friendliness, distance yet politeness" (p. 453). Other scholars define civil behavior as treating others with dignity, respecting others' feelings, and upholding social norms for mutual respect (Carter, 1998; Johnson, 1988). More recently, Porath, Gerbasi, and Schorch (2015) conceptualized civility as being treated with respect, dignity, politeness, and pleasantness. Workplace civility includes behaviors that do not necessarily warrant public documentation or notice (Van Dyne, Cummings, & McLean Parks, 1995).

We contend that civility lies on a 2-dimensional spectrum of interpersonal organizational behavior, as illustrated in Figure 1. One dimension captures impact on performance, from enhancing to degrading. The second dimension entails a range from low intensity/high ambiguity to high intensity/low ambiguity. Crossing these two dimensions, we find four quadrants of interpersonal organizational behavior. Civil conduct falls into the performance-enhancing, low-intensity, high-ambiguity quadrant.

Civil behaviors, similar to incivility, are low-level and ambiguous in their intent (see Figure 1). Individuals who engage in civility do so because it is "the right thing to do" (Andersson & Pearson, 1999), with no intention to benefit the target or organization (Pearson et al., 2001). From the target or observer's perspective, civil behaviors may not be overt in their positive intent. They may not even be particularly memorable. Someone held the elevator for you, listened to your contributions during a meeting, said "thank you" at the end of their email: none of these actions are extraordinary. Civility involves respectful, polite behaviors that most of us would desire in our working environment.

Burgeoning research on civility in organizations shows promise: civil individuals benefit from their positive actions. Porath et al. (2015) found that individuals who perceive a colleague to be civil are more likely to ask him/her for work advice and to perceive her/him as a leader. Greater perceptions of civility by one's network are associated with improved performance on account of perceptions of warmth and competence. In other words civility, though subtle, can be performance-enhancing. Its impact on performance may be smaller than more extraordinary acts of inter-
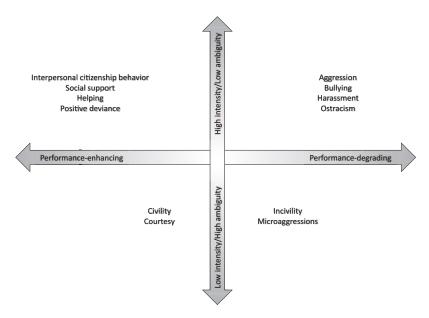

Figure 1. Two-dimensional spectrum of interpersonal organizational behavior.

personal citizenship (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2017); we suggest this possibility in Figure 1—with civility positioned closer to neutral on the performance dimension, compared with more extraordinary positive behaviors—but this proposition requires empirical testing.

Civility has also been conceptualized at the organizational and team levels as "workgroup norms for civility" (Walsh, Magley, Reeves, Davies-Schrils, Marmet, & Gallus, 2012), and early research indicates that it can improve safety climate, reduce workplace injuries (McGonagle, Walsh, Kath, & Morrow, 2014), and reduce interpersonal deviance in the face of organizational constraints (Clark & Walsh, 2016). This emerging research, it is interesting to note, focuses on *norms* of interpersonal treatment, which is one area that the incivility field is relatively silent on (despite norm violation being a key distinguishing factor of incivility as defined by Andersson & Pearson, 1999). As this scholarship moves forward, it will be important to test the "antidote" ability of a civility climate, especially in organizations that have established and pungent incivility norms.

Civility is associated with certain positive outcomes, but should it be the ultimate goal? Or should organizations strive for more? A civil climate serves as the *foundation* to positive relationships and empathy at work (Pearson, Andersson, & Porath, 2000). We encourage research that builds on civil foundations to branch farther into the positive realm, fostering behaviors such as interpersonal citizenship characterized as positive "above and beyond" helping, cooperation, consideration (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2017; Settoon & Mossholder, 2002).

The spectrum of workplace behaviors detailed in Figure 1 conceptualizes conduct at an individual level. However, (in)civility interventions generally focus on the group level, in which there may be both good and bad actors. To combat incivility, we suggest focusing on positive workplace actions, but we caution that it takes many more positive behaviors to overcome the negative (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001). Because of this, efforts to eliminate rudeness should be in place as well as efforts to encourage the positive. At the same time, we also should be cognizant of the implications and complexities of encouraging positive behavior. Research by Eagly (2009) details gender differences in pro-social behavior, both in the performance of and stereotypes about such actions. Women tend to be more relational (establishing close personal, dyadic relationships), whereas men tend to enact prosocial behaviors that aid the organization or group (Eagly, 2009). Both forms of pro-social behavior should be encouraged and rewarded, keeping in mind what we know about gender and helping behavior: helping behavior may be seen as "in-role" for women (consistent with gender stereotypes of women and communal) and "extra-role" for men, resulting in these behaviors being less noticed and less rewarded for women (Allen & Rush, 2001; Caleo, 2016; Lovell et al., 1999). At the same time, when men do help, their behaviors may be attributed to self-serving motivations, resulting in devaluation (Farrell & Finkelstein, 2007). However, there is also research to suggest that men's altruistic helping behaviors on work tasks are rewarded through positive evaluations and recommendations, whereas women's are not (Heilman & Chen, 2005). Although we want to spur helping behaviors, we must be mindful of how these behaviors intersect with social norms and identities.

In sum, civility may be a springboard for more intense positive actions. Research has demonstrated the benefits of such acts for those who engage in them (i.e., focusing on the *actor*). We encourage researchers to delve also into the *receiving* end of interpersonal citizenship behaviors; such an approach could enable us to document how positive behaviors function as social resources for employees. Early research in this area suggests promising effects of being targeted with interpersonal citizenship behavior, including increased job satisfaction (Regts & Molleman, 2013), thriving, empowerment, and performance of organizational citizenship (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2017). This evidence indicates that organizations may be able to foster gains through the building of social resources via positive interactions (e.g., Hakanen, Perhoniemi, & Toppinen-Tanner, 2008).

Troubled Waters: Proceed With Caution

The dark side of civility. The preceding section frames civility in a positive light, but not all scholars share this sunny view of civility in organizations. If we look beyond the confines of our discipline (psychology), we find thought leaders in other fields expressing alarm about civility interventions. Intriguing questions emerge: does civility have a dark side? Where might we find problems in this work and how can we correct them? Is it possible to reconcile the pro- and anti-civility perspectives?

These questions came to a head in August 2014, when the firing (or "un-hiring") of Steven Salaita at the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign ignited heated debate nationwide about incivility in (academic) employment. Top university executives issued calls for civility and respect. For example, in his September 2014 inaugural address, University of Michigan President Mark Schlissel expressed aspirations for "Michigan to be known as a place where mutual respect does not require agreement, where differences of perspective are treated with sensitivity, and where we all become advocates for, and experts in, civil discourse." That same month, UC Berkeley Chancellor Nicholas Dirks messaged his campus that: "We can only exercise our right to free speech insofar as we feel safe and respected in doing so, and this in turn requires that people treat each other with civility" (see Flaherty, 2014). According to these and other leaders, civility is a prerequisite for the free and open exchange of ideas—it is vital for a strong academy. However, other scholars are condemning such calls for civility as regressive tools of censorship.

According to some academics—often in the humanities—civility has a dark underbelly that works against free and critical speech (e.g., Flaherty, 2014). For instance, UCLA history professor Michael Meranze (2014) maintains that "the repetitive invocation of 'civil' and 'civility' to set limits to acceptable speech bespeaks a broader and deeper challenge to intellectual freedom." These critiques are often referring to attempts by *those at the top* to silence dissident voices below them, in the name of civility. In this sense, the discourse of "civility" structures and is structured by power. According to historian Joan Scott (2015), "the notion of civility consistently establishes relations of power whenever it is invoked. Moreover, it is always the powerful who determine its meaning—one that, whatever its specific content, demeans and delegitimizes those who do not meet its test." In other words, people in power can define what constitutes civility and incivility, and then relegate their critics to the dust-heap of the latter. Echoing similar senti-

ments, media studies scholar Andrew Calabrese (2015, p. 540) shows how civility can be "wielded as a weapon to limit, silence or otherwise control the free expression of the weak." Once branded as *uncivil*, one loses credibility and rationality in the eyes of others, and one's critical ideas lose purchase (Scott, 2015). These scholars caution that dangerous agendas hide behind appeals to civility, especially when those appeals come from above.

We should add that these problems are not confined to academia: across a variety of industries, calls for civility can have the effect of suppressing unpopular speech or minority opinions. One can imagine a corporate board meeting in which members with different ideas about strategic planning acquiesce to the views of those in power, scared of being accused of rudeness should they oppose the dominant majority or challenge the status quo. In this way, civility mandates can make employees feel unsafe to speak up and express divergent perspectives. This self-silencing can be bad for people and bad for organizations, stifling innovation and diversity of thought.

The "perils of civility" argument stands in contrast to the theory of selective incivility (Cortina, 2008; see also Cortina et al., 2013; Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2012). This perspective views incivility as an instrument of oppression, used to ostracize women, people of color, and other undervalued minorities from organizational life (Cortina, 2008). Note that an analysis of power also figures prominently in this work: unequal distributions of power pervade our society, and "asymmetrical power combined with prejudice sets the stage" for selective incivility on the job (Cortina, 2008, p. 62). Moreover, experts in workplace mistreatment (not only incivility but also harassment, bullying, abusive supervision, and the like) often advocate civility and respect as progressive goals to strive for—essential components of a healthy, hostility-free work environment (e.g., Feldblum & Lipnic, 2016; Leiter, Laschinger, Day, & Oore, 2011; Yamada, 2010). Civil and respectful conduct cannot, by definition, be hostile conduct.

In our view, there is merit in both the anti- and pro-civility standpoints. Rather than being incompatible, perhaps they are confronting different realities. The humanists stress that their aims are *not* to "claim that all appeals to civility are inherently fraudulent and valueless" (Calabrese, 2015, p. 550) or encourage "the warfare of the uncivil" (Scott, 2015). Instead they urge critical analysis of (in)civility, especially through a lens of power; we could not agree more. Two important questions emerge from this work: (1) *who* is invoking civility, and (2) *why?*

Scott, Calabrese, Meranze, and others protest calls for civility issued by *the powerful* (answering the "who" question) *to control, discipline, and silence dissident minorities* (the "why" question). In contrast, occupational health psychologists promote calls for civility issued by *stakeholders at all levels* (including but not limited to leadership) for the purpose of *protecting workforce health and wellbeing*; the objective is to create dignified working conditions for all persons, especially those in the minority (Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2013; Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2012). These are different sets of actors, pursuing different goals. One could easily agree with both viewpoints, so perhaps they are not so irreconcilable after all.

The diverging perspectives on civility point to interesting but thorny questions: Is one employee's right to free (but potentially harassing or hateful) speech in conflict with another's right to respect at work? In the specific context of higher education, should we defend faculty sexism, racism, or homophobia in the name of academic freedom? Should we use "civility" as a criterion in selection and promotion decisions; if so, how should we go about doing that, and how can we make certain that civility goals do not act as cover for prejudice? In short, this controversy reveals a potential *dark* side to civility: when used to suppress voice, criticism, or anger over social ills. It also exposes a bright side to some incivility: when used to *protest* social injustice, sometimes loudly and angrily. Both possibilities, we suggest, deserve attention. The challenge here is that "once we destabilize the binary of *good–civility* versus *bad–incivility*, we must contend with a much more elusive set of demons" (Calabrese, 2015, p. 541). This takes us into new territory, marked with both promise and peril. Proceed with caution.

To help incivility researchers make sense of this difficult terrain, we urge scholars to bridge their disciplinary divides. Many humanists, alarmed about the dark side of civility, seem unaware of the volumes of organizational research on this topic. Likewise, many organizational scientists know nothing about the critical discussions of civility impinging on academic freedom that are cropping up in the humanities. We recommend more interdisciplinary conversations and collaborations in this domain. Partnerships across social science disciplines, and between social scientists and humanists, could yield innovative insights into problems of (in)civility in organizations. Additionally, we advocate that such discussions not exclude another oftentimes ignored stakeholder in academia— university staff. Akin to the court employees in our 2001 *JOHP* article, their work environment is also entrenched in the cultural norms of the academy.

The trouble with siloes. The workplace mistreatment literature is now bursting with an array of different constructs. At first glance, this may seem a positive development, signaling a surge of interest in these topics. The research is becoming segmented into siloes, however, as each scholar works narrowly on her/his favorite construct. We urge researchers to resist this trend. Instead, it is important that we read widely across diverse literatures, diverse disciplines, and diverse forms of interpersonal mistreatment. This can help open up new avenues of inquiry and avoid reinventing old ones. To illustrate, we offer examples of three related literatures (on cyberbullying, ostracism, and sexual harassment) that could inform the science of incivility moving forward.

Bullying, and in particular cyberbullying (bullying carried out using mobile phones or the Internet; e.g., Smith et al., 2008), lives in a distinct literature from incivility; however, we see great potential to inform the science of incivility. For example, incivility research to date has been centered on face-to-face interactions (for important exceptions see Giumetti et al., 2013; Lim & Teo, 2009; Park, Fritz, & Jex, 2015), but given the increased use of telecommuting and the integration of technology, it may be more likely to occur virtually. The cyberbullying literature has pointed to unique features of cyber mistreatment that might also be pertinent for incivility researchers to consider. First, digital mistreatment takes place where there is a lack of supervision (Patchin & Hinduja, 2006), making it more difficult to detect. Second, instigators are sometimes protected by the anonymity of cyberspace (Kowalski & Limber, 2007), making it difficult to identify the perpetrator. Finally, cyber mistreatment may thrive on account of the accessibility of targets (Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013). Workplace mistreatment is no longer limited to a 9-to-5 office, but continues long

after the workday, making it difficult to escape. As the cyberbullying literature grows, incivility scholars may find it helpful to look there for guidance.

Social ostracism is another related literature that incivility researchers may find useful, in particular the work that examines physiological consequences. For instance, social ostracism can trigger engagement in unethical behavior, and physiological arousal (measured using galvanic skin response) acts as a key mechanism in this relationship (Kouchaki & Wareham, 2015). Additionally, McQuaid and colleagues used a psychobiological approach to uncover a genetic basis for responses to interpersonal environments, and found that differences in the oxytocin receptor gene may make some people more sensitive to negative social stressors than others (McQuaid, McInnis, Matheson, & Anisman, 2015). The incivility literature has so far been relatively silent on the biological front (for an exception see Giumetti et al., 2013, who found no significant relationship between simulated supervisor cyber incivility and heart rate), leaving many interesting questions open for future study.

Incivility scientists should seek to bridge research on identity-ambiguous (e.g., incivility, ostracism) and identity-salient mistreatment (sexual harassment, racial/ethnic harassment, heterosexist harassment, etc.). Housed in separate literatures, these varieties of misbehavior are conceptualized as separate and distinct, when in reality they are highly correlated (e.g., Lim & Cortina, 2005) and sometimes one and the same (see Cortina, 2008). Moreover, understandings of identity-salient mistreatment could advance our understandings of incivility. The sexual harassment literature, for instance, is much older than incivility science. Harassment specialists have dealt extensively with organizational prevention and remediation strategies, which could inform interventions designed around workplace incivility. Sexual harassment scientists have also been in conversation with experts in employment law; this could provide insights into how to think about legal implications of workplace incivility. Studies of sexual harassment outside of North America have started to yield a cross-cultural understanding of gender and aggression in organizations; this work can help us think about how cultural values and norms influence incivility on the job. These are just a few examples. Our point is that we must resist the temptation of insularity, and instead realize the benefits of cross-pollination of ideas from disparate literatures, disciplines, and mistreatment domains.

Steering clear of myths. Looking back over the past 15 years, we raise a point that returns us back to our 2001 *JOHP* article, which focused on the incidence and impact of workplace incivility. As is clear from the present review, that paper laid the foundation for considerable—and consistent—research highlighting that workplace incivility is abundant and of consequence. Most empirical articles, in fact, begin with a brief overview of this set of facts prior to introducing the unique contribution of that article's research. Such introductions are certainly understandable, but, given the considerable and consistent evidence, they beg the question of their continued purpose. In other words, why is it that we, researchers, feel the need to continue articulating these relationships?

We believe that the answer to this question lies in an anticipated disbelief from the audience about the pervasiveness and seriousness of incivility. This anticipated disbelief has, at least for us, been very real and only marginally lessened over the years, despite the accumulated evidence to the contrary. We routinely hear comments like the following: Aren't people making too much out of simple slights, exaggerating what's happened? Could people be "claiming" mistreatment in an effort to protect themselves from possible (deserved) organizational sanctions? Aren't people being a bit overly sensitive? Is it really that big of a deal?

Such comments reflect attitudes and beliefs that parallel those expressed as core myths about sexual violence. Specifically, these myths have been defined as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression" in the form of rape (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 134) and sexual harassment (Lonsway, Cortina, & Magley, 2008, p. 600). Pervasive in our society, these fallacies deny the reality of sexual violence and, when denial becomes impossible, justify it. We suggest that similar mythologies may surround all forms of interpersonal mistreatment—incivility included—in which power dynamics, doubt of victim harm, and suppression of perpetrator culpability loom large.

What happens with dismissive attitudes such as these is an empirical question. And, we argue, one that is worth asking. At an individual level, we anticipate that such attitudes might undermine victims' desire to report their experiences. In other words, if victims themselves question the nature of their experience(s), it seems highly unlikely that they would seek assistance from others, either organizationally or personally. At a group level, with shared sentiment that, for example, "a bit of animosity can fuel creativity," we anticipate that group functionality might suffer. Of course, these ideas are speculative and require careful investigation. At this point, we hope to encourage researchers to consider how myths such as these might function to impede victims' well-being. Perhaps most important, however, we hope that such myths not shape future research choices.

Closing Thoughts

The science of incivility has traveled far during its short life. Since generating the (filler) items comprising the original Workplace Incivility Scale (Cortina et al., 2001), we have learned a great deal about incidence rates, impacts, boundary conditions, mediators, moderators, and more. This article builds on that work by reviewing it, critiquing it, and looking beyond it. We pose novel questions and nudge the field in novel directions. We also point to thorny topics that call for caution, even course correction. Incivility (and civility) in organizations is as important now as ever. Our goal is to motivate new science on incivility, new ways to think about it and, ultimately, new solutions.

References

Ali, A. A., Ryan, A. M., Lyons, B. J., Ehrhart, M. G., & Wessel, J. L. (2016). The long road to employment: Incivility experienced by job seekers. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 101,* 333–349. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000055

Allen, T. D., & Rush, M. C. (2001). The influence of ratee gender on ratings of organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 31,* 2561–2587. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2001.tb00191.x

Andersson, L. M., & Pearson, C. M. (1999). Tit for tat? The spiraling effect of incivility in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review, 24,* 452–471.

Arnold, K. A., & Walsh, M. M. (2015). Customer incivility and employee well-being: Testing the moderating effects of meaning, perspective taking and transformational leadership. *Work and Stress, 29,* 362–378. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02678373.2015.1075234

Bai, Q., Lin, W., & Wang, L. (2016). Family incivility and counterproductive work behavior: A moderated mediation model of self-esteem and emotional regulation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 94,* 11–19. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2016.02.014

Baumeister, R. F., Bratslavsky, E., Finkenauer, C., & Vohs, K. D. (2001). Bad is stronger than good. *Review of General Psychology, 5,* 323–370. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.5.4.323

Beal, D. J., & Weiss, H. M. (2003). Methods of ecological momentary assessment in organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods, 6,* 440–464. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1094428103257361

Beattie, L., & Griffin, B. (2014a). Accounting for within-person differences in how people respond to daily incivility at work. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 87,* 625–644. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/joop.12067

Beattie, L., & Griffin, B. (2014b). Day-level fluctuations in stress and engagement in response to workplace incivility: A diary study. *Work and Stress, 28,* 124–142.

Birkeland, I. K., & Nerstad, C. (2016). Incivility is (not) the very essence of love: Passion for work and incivility instigation. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 21,* 77–90. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0039389

Blau, G., & Andersson, L. (2005). Testing a measure of instigated workplace incivility. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 78,* 595–614. http://dx.doi.org/10.1348/096317905X26822

Bunk, J. A., & Magley, V. J. (2011). Sensitivity to interpersonal treatment in the workplace: Scale development and initial validation. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 84,* 395–402. http://dx.doi.org/10.1348/096317910X488626

Bunk, J. A., & Magley, V. J. (2013). The role of appraisals and emotions in understanding experiences of workplace incivility. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 18,* 87–105. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0030987

Calabrese, A. (2015). Liberalism's disease: Civility above justice. *European Journal of Communication, 30,* 539–553. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0267323115595306

Caleo, S. (2016). Are organizational justice rules gendered? Reactions to men's and women's justice violations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 101,* 1422–1435. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000131

Cameron, A., & Webster, J. (2011). Relational outcomes of multicommunicating: Integrating incivility and social exchange perspectives. *Organization Science, 22,* 754–771. http://dx.doi.org/10.1287/orsc.1100.0540

Carter, S. L. (1998). *Civility: Manners, morals, and the etiquette of democracy.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Caza, B. B., & Cortina, L. M. (2007). From insult to injury: Explaining the impact of incivility. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 29,* 335–350. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01973530701665108

Chen, Y., Ferris, D. L., Kwan, H. K., Yan, M., Zhou, M., & Hong, Y. (2013). Self-love's lost labor: A self-enhancement model of workplace incivility. *Academy of Management Journal, 56,* 1199–1219. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2010.0906

Chui, C. W. S., & Dietz, J. (2014). Observing workplace incivility towards women: The roles of target reactions, actor motives, and actor-target relationships. *Sex Roles, 71,* 95–108. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0367-7

Clark, O. L., & Walsh, B. M. (2016). Civility climate mitigates deviant reactions to organizational constraints. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 31,* 186–201. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/JMP-01-2014-0021

Cole, M. S., Shipp, A. J., & Taylor, S. G. (2016). Viewing the interpersonal mistreatment literature through a temporal lens. *Organizational Psychology Review, 6,* 273–302. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/2041386615607095

Corr, K. P., & Madden, P. M. (1995). Goodbye, Rambo—Hello, Mr. Rogers? *For the Defense, 37,* 8–14.

Cortina, L. M. (2008). Unseen injustice: Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Academy of Management Review, 33,* 55–75. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2008.27745097

Cortina, L. M., Kabat-Farr, D., Leskinen, E. A., Huerta, M., & Magley, V. J. (2013). Selective incivility as modern discrimination in organizations: Evidence and impact. *Journal of Management, 39,* 1579–1605. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206311418835

Cortina, L. M., Lonsway, K. A., Magley, V. J., Freeman, L. V., Collinsworth, L. L., Hunter, M., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2002). What's gender got to do with it? Incivility in the federal courts. *Law & Social Inquiry, 27,* 235–270. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2002.tb00804.x

Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2003). Raising voice, risking retaliation: Events following interpersonal mistreatment in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 8,* 247–265. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.8.4.247

Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2009). Patterns and profiles of response to incivility in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 14,* 272–288. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0014934

Cortina, L. M., Magley, V. J., Williams, J. H., & Langhout, R. D. (2001). Incivility in the workplace: Incidence and impact. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 6,* 64–80. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.6.1.64

Donovan, M. A., Drasgow, F., & Munson, L. J. (1998). The Perceptions of Fair Interpersonal Treatment Scale: Development and validation of a measure of interpersonal treatment in the workplace. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 83,* 683–692. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.83.5.683

Eagly, A. H. (2009). The his and hers of prosocial behavior: An examination of the social psychology of gender. *American Psychologist, 64,* 644–658. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.64.8.644

Eighth Circuit Gender Fairness Task Force. (1997). Final report and recommendations of the Eighth Circuit Gender Fairness Task Force. *Creighton Law Review, 31,* 1–181.

Farrell, S. K., & Finkelstein, L. M. (2007). Organizational citizenship behavior and gender: Expectations and attributions for performance. *North American Journal of Psychology, 9,* 81–95.

Feldblum, C. R., & Lipnic, V. A. (2016). *EEOC Select Task Force on the Study of Harassment in the Workplace: Report of the Co-Chairs.* Retrieved from https://www.eeoc.gov

Ferguson, M. (2012). You cannot leave it at the office: Spillover and crossover of coworker incivility. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 33,* 571–588. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.774

Flaherty, C. (2014, September 9). The problem with civility. *Inside Higher Ed.* Retrieved from https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/09/09/berkeley-chancellor-angers-faculty-members-remarks-civility-and-free-speech

Ford, M. T., Matthews, R. A., Wooldridge, J. D., Mishrac, V., Kakard, U. M., & Strahan, S. R. (2014). How do occupational stressor-strain effects vary with time? A review and meta-analysis of the relevance of time lags in longitudinal studies. *Work & Stress, 28,* 9–30.

Foulk, T., Woolum, A., & Erez, A. (2016). Catching rudeness is like catching a cold: The contagion effects of low-intensity negative behaviors. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 101,* 50–67. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000037

Fox, S., & Spector, P. E. (Eds.). (2005). *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/10893-000

Gallus, J. A., Bunk, J. A., Matthews, R. A., Barnes-Farrell, J. L., & Magley, V. J. (2014). An eye for an eye? Exploring the relationship between workplace incivility experiences and perpetration. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 19,* 143–154. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0035931

Giumetti, G. W., Hatfield, A. L., Scisco, J. L., Schroeder, A. N., Muth, E. R., & Kowalski, R. M. (2013). What a rude e-mail! Examining the differential effects of incivility versus support on mood, energy, engagement, and performance in an online context. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 18,* 297–309. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0032851

Graham, L. A., Zweber, Z. M., & Magley, V. J. (2013, April). *Proximal and distal outcomes of a workplace civility training.* Paper presented at the annual meeting for the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Houston, TX.

Gray, C. J., Carter, N. T., & Sears, K. L. (2017). The UWBQ-I: An adaption and validation of a measure of instigated incivility. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 32,* 21–39.

Griffin, B. (2010). Multilevel relationships between organizational-level incivility, justice and, intention to stay. *Work and Stress, 24,* 309–323. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02678373.2010.531186

Hakanen, J. J., Perhoniemi, R., & Toppinen-Tanner, S. (2008). Positive gain spirals at work: From job resources to work engagement, personal initiative and work-unit innovativeness. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 73,* 78–91. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2008.01.003

Hansen, M. (1991). Incivility a problem, survey says. *ABA Journal, 77,* 22.

Harold, C. M., & Holtz, B. C. (2015). The effects of passive leadership on workplace incivility. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 36,* 16–38. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.1926

Heilman, M. E., & Chen, J. J. (2005). Same behavior, different consequences: Reactions to men's and women's altruistic citizenship behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 90,* 431–441. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.3.431

Hershcovis, M. S., & Reich, T. C. (2013). Integrating workplace aggression research: Relational, contextual, and method considerations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 34,* S26–S42. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.1886

Honeywell, M. G. (1994). How to be on the offensive without being offensive. *Trial, 30,* 86.

Huitsing, G., Snijders, T. A., Van Duijn, M. A., & Veenstra, R. (2014). Victims, bullies, and their defenders: A longitudinal study of the coevolution of positive and negative networks. *Development and Psychopathology, 26,* 645–659. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0954579414000297

Johnson, C. (1988). Socially controlled civility: The functioning of rituals in the divorce process. *American Behavioral Scientist, 31,* 685–701. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0002764288031006007

Kabat-Farr, D., & Cortina, L. M. (2012). Selective incivility: Gender, race, and the discriminatory workplace. In S. Fox & T. Lituchy (Eds.), *Gender and the dysfunctional workplace* (pp. 107–119). Northhampton, MA: Edward Elgar. http://dx.doi.org/10.4337/9780857932600.00014

Kabat-Farr, D., & Cortina, L. M. (2017). Receipt of interpersonal citizenship: Fostering agentic emotion, cognition, and action in organizations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 47,* 74–89. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12421

Kabat-Farr, D., Cortina, L. M., & Marchiondo, L. A. (2016). The emotional aftermath of incivility: Anger, guilt, and the role of organizational commitment. *International Journal of Stress Management.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/str0000045

Kenny, D. A., Kashy, D. A., & Cook, W. L. (2006). *Dyadic data analysis.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Kern, J. H., & Grandey, A. A. (2009). Customer incivility as a social stressor: The role of race and racial identity for service employees. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 14,* 46–57. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0012684

Kouchaki, M., & Wareham, J. (2015). Excluded and behaving unethically: Social exclusion, physiological responses, and unethical behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 100,* 547–556. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0038034

Kowalski, R. M., & Limber, S. P. (2007). Electronic bullying among middle school students. *The Journal of Adolescent Health, 41,* 22–30. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2007.08.017

Leiter, M. P., Day, A., Oore, D. G., & Spence Laschinger, H. K. (2012). Getting better and staying better: Assessing civility, incivility, distress, and job attitudes one year after a civility intervention. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 17,* 425–434. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0029540

Leiter, M. P., Laschinger, H. K. S., Day, A., & Oore, D. G. (2011). The impact of civility interventions on employee social behavior, distress, and attitudes. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 96,* 1258–1274. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0024442

Lim, S., & Cortina, L. M. (2005). Interpersonal mistreatment in the workplace: The interface and impact of general incivility and sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 90,* 483–496. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.3.483

Lim, S., Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Personal and workgroup incivility: Impact on work and health outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 93,* 95–107. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.93.1.95

Lim, S., Ilies, R., Koopman, J., Christoforou, P., & Arvey, R. D. (2016). Emotional mechanisms linking incivility at work to aggression and withdrawal at home: An experience-sampling study. *Journal of Management.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206316654544

Lim, S., & Lee, A. (2011). Work and nonwork outcomes of workplace incivility: Does family support help? *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 16,* 95–111. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0021726

Lim, S., & Tai, K. (2014). Family incivility and job performance: A moderated mediation model of psychological distress and core self-evaluation. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 99,* 351–359. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0034486

Lim, V. K., & Teo, T. S. (2009). Mind your E-manners: Impact of cyber incivility on employees' work attitude and behavior. *Information & Management, 46,* 419–425. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2009.06.006

Lonsway, K. A., Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Sexual harassment mythology: Definition, conceptualization, and measurement. *Sex Roles, 58,* 599–615. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9367-1

Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1994). Rape myths: In review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18,* 133–164. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1994.tb00448.x

Lonsway, K. A., Freeman, L. V., Cortina, L. M., Magley, V. J., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2002). Understanding the judicial role in addressing gender bias: A view from the Eighth Circuit Federal Court System. *Law & Social Inquiry, 27,* 205–234. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2002.tb00803.x

Lovell, S. E., Kahn, A. S., Anton, J., Davidson, A., Dowling, E., Post, D., & Mason, C. (1999). Does gender affect the link between organizational citizenship behavior and performance evaluation? *Sex Roles, 41,* 469–478. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1018883018719

Marchiondo, L. A., Cortina, L. M., Shannon, H. S., Haines, T., Geldart, S., & Griffith, L. (2015). Service with a smile meets customer with a snarl: Links between customer incivility and worker wellbeing. In M. Paludi (Ed.), *Bullies in the workplace* (pp. 150–172). New York, NY: Praeger.

Martin, R. J., & Hine, D. W. (2005). Development and validation of the Uncivil Workplace Behavior Questionnaire. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 10,* 477–490. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.10.4.477

Matthews, R. A., & Ritter, K. J. (2016). A concise, content valid, gender invariant measure of workplace incivility. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 21,* 352–365. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/ocp0000017

McGonagle, A. K., Walsh, B. M., Kath, L. M., & Morrow, S. L. (2014). Civility norms, safety climate, and safety outcomes: A preliminary investigation. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 19,* 437–452. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0037110

McQuaid, R. J., McInnis, O. A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2015). Distress of ostracism: Oxytocin receptor gene polymorphism confers sensitivity to social exclusion. *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience, 10,* 1153–1159. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/scan/nsu166

Meier, L. L., & Gross, S. (2015). Episodes of incivility between subordinates and supervisors: Examining the role of self-control and time with an interaction-record diary study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 36,* 1096–1113. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.2013

Meranze, M. (2014). *The order of civility.* Retrieved from http://utotherescue.blogspot.com/2014/09/the-order-of-civility.html

Milam, A. C., Spitzmueller, C., & Penney, L. M. (2009). Investigating individual differences among targets of workplace incivility. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 14,* 58–69. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0012683

Miner, K. N., & Eischeid, A. (2012). Observing incivility toward coworkers and negative emotions: Do gender of the target and observer matter? *Sex Roles, 66,* 492–505. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0108-0

Miner, K. N., Pesonen, A. D., Smittick, A. L., Seigel, M. L., & Clark, E. K. (2014). Does being a mom help or hurt? Workplace incivility as a function of motherhood status. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 19,* 60–73. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0034936

Miner, K. N., Settles, I. H., Pratt-Hyatt, J. S., & Brady, C. C. (2012). Experiencing incivility in organizations: The buffering effects of emotional and organizational support. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 42,* 340–372. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00891.x

Miner-Rubino, K., & Reed, W. D. (2010). Testing a moderated mediational model of workgroup incivility: The roles of organizational trust and group regard. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40,* 3148–3168. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2010.00695.x

Nicholson, T., & Griffin, B. (2015). Here today but not gone tomorrow: Incivility affects after-work and next-day recovery. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 20,* 218–225. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0038376

Park, Y., Fritz, C., & Jex, S. M. (2015). Daily cyber incivility and distress: The moderating roles of resources at work and home. *Journal of Management.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206315576796

Patchin, J. W., & Hinduja, S. (2006). Bullies move beyond the schoolyard: A preliminary look at cyberbullying. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 4,* 148–169. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1541204006286288

Pearson, C. M., Andersson, L. M., & Porath, C. L. (2000). Assessing and attacking workplace incivility. *Organizational Dynamics, 29,* 123–137. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0090-2616(00)00019-X

Pearson, C. M., Andersson, L. M., & Wegner, J. W. (2001). When workers flout convention: A study of workplace incivility. *Human Relations, 54,* 1387–1419. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/00187267015411001

Pearson, C., & Porath, C. (2009). *The cost of bad behavior: How incivility is damaging your business and what to do about it.* London, England: Penguin.

Penney, L. M., & Spector, P. E. (2005). Job stress, incivility, and counterproductive work behavior (CWB): The moderating role of negative affectivity. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 26,* 777–796. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.336

Pierce, J. L. (1995). *Gender trials: Emotional lives in contemporary law firms.* Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Porath, C. L., & Erez, A. (2007). Dues rudeness really matter? The effects of rudeness on task performance and helpfulness. *Academy of Management Journal, 50,* 1181–1197. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/20159919

Porath, C. L., & Erez, A. (2009). Overlooked but not untouched: How rudeness reduces onlookers' performance on routine and creative tasks. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 109,* 29–44. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2009.01.003

Porath, C. L., Gerbasi, A., & Schorch, S. L. (2015). The effects of civility on advice, leadership, and performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 100,* 1527–1541. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000016

Porath, C. L., Overbeck, J. R., & Pearson, C. M. (2008). Picking up the gauntlet: How individuals respond to status challenges. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 38,* 1945–1980. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2008.00375.x

Porath, C. L., & Pearson, C. M. (2012). Emotional and behavioral responses to workplace incivility and the impact of hierarchical status. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 42*(S1), E326–E357. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2012.01020.x

Porath, C., & Pearson, C. (2013). The price of incivility. *Harvard Business Review, 91,* 114–146.

Raven, B. H., Schwarzwald, J., & Koslowsky, M. (1998). Conceptualizing and measuring a power/interaction model of interpersonal influence. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 28,* 307–332. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1998.tb01708.x

Regts, G., & Molleman, E. (2013). To leave or not to leave: When receiving interpersonal citizenship behavior influences an employee's turnover intention. *Human Relations, 66,* 193–218. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0018726712454311

Reich, T. C., & Hershcovis, M. S. (2015). Observing workplace incivility. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 100,* 203–215. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0036464

Ring, L. M. (1992). The incivility crisis. *Trial, 29,* 78.

Rosen, C. C., Koopman, J., Gabriel, A. S., & Johnson, R. E. (2016). Who strikes back? A daily investigation of when and why incivility begets incivility. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 101,* 1620–1634. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000140

Sakurai, K., & Jex, S. M. (2012). Coworker incivility and incivility targets' work effort and counterproductive work behaviors: The moderating role of supervisor social support. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 17,* 150–161. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0027350

Schat, A. C. H., Frone, M. R., & Kelloway, E. K. (2006). Prevalence of workplace aggression in the U.S. workforce: Findings from a national study. In E. K. Kelloway, J. Barling, & J. J. Hurrell (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace violence* (pp. 47–89). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412976947.n4

Schilpzand, P., De Pater, I. E., & Erez, A. (2016). Workplace incivility: A review of the literature and agenda for future research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 37*(S1), S57–S88. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.1976

Schilpzand, P., Leavitt, K., & Lim, S. (2016). Incivility hates company: Shared incivility attenuates rumination, stress, and psychological withdrawal by reducing self-blame. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 133,* 33–44. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2016.02.001

Schlissel, M. (2014). *Inaugural address: The power of ideas and the value of all voices.* Retrieved http://president.umich.edu/news-communications/speeches/inaugural-address-the-power-of-ideas-and-the-value-of-all-voices/

Scott, J. W. (2015). *The new thought police: Why are campus administrators invoking civility to silence critical speech?* Retrieved from https://www.thenation.com/article/new-thought-police/

Settles, I. H., & O'Connor, R. C. (2014). Incivility at academic conferences: Gender differences and the mediating role of climate. *Sex Roles, 71,* 71–82. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0355-y

Setton, R. P., & Mossholder, K. W. (2002). Relationship quality and relationship context as antecedents of person- and task-focused interpersonal citizenship behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87,* 255–267. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.2.255

Sliter, K. A., Sliter, M. T., Withrow, S. A., & Jex, S. M. (2012). Employee adiposity and incivility: Establishing a link and identifying demographic moderators and negative consequences. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 17,* 409–424. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0029862

Sliter, M., Jex, S., Wolford, K., & McInnerney, J. (2010). How rude! Emotional labor as a mediator between customer incivility and employee outcomes. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 15,* 468–481. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0020723

Sliter, M., & Jones, M. (2016). A qualitative and quantitative examination of the antecedents of customer incivility. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 21,* 208–219. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0039897

Sliter, M., Sliter, K., & Jex, S. (2012). The employee as a punching bag: The effect of multiple sources of incivility on employee withdrawal behavior and sales performance. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 33,* 121–139. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.767

Sliter, M., Withrow, S., & Jex, S. M. (2015). It happened, or you thought it happened? Examining the perception of workplace incivility based on personality characteristics. *International Journal of Stress Management, 22,* 24–45. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0038329

Slonje, R., Smith, P. K., & Frisén, A. (2013). The nature of cyberbullying, and strategies for prevention. *Computers in Human Behavior, 29,* 26–32. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.05.024

Smith, P. K., Mahdavi, J., Carvalho, M., Fisher, S., Russell, S., & Tippett, N. (2008). Cyberbullying: Its nature and impact in secondary school pupils. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 49,* 376–385. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01846.x

Spence Laschinger, H. K., Leiter, M. P., Day, A., Gilin-Oore, D., & Mackinnon, S. P. (2012). Building empowering work environments that foster civility and organizational trust: Testing an intervention. *Nursing Research, 61,* 316–325. http://dx.doi.org/10.1097/NNR.0b013e318265a58d

Taylor, S. G., Bedeian, A. G., Cole, M. S., & Zhang, Z. (2014). Developing and testing a dynamic model of workplace incivility change. *Journal of Management, 43,* 645–670.

Taylor, S. G., & Kluemper, D. H. (2012). Linking perceptions of role stress and incivility to workplace aggression: The moderating role of personality. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 17,* 316–329. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0028211

Trudel, J., & Reio, T. G., Jr. (2011). Managing workplace incivility: The role of conflict management styles—Antecedent or antidote? *Human Resource Development Quarterly, 22,* 395–423. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/hrdq.20081

Van Dyne, L., Cummings, L. L., & McLean Parks, J. (1995). Extra-role behaviors: In pursuit of construct and definitional clarity (a bridge over muddied waters). In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 17, pp. 215–285). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

van Jaarsveld, D. D., Walker, D. D., & Skarlicki, D. P. (2010). The role of job demands and emotional exhaustion in the relationship between customer and employee incivility. *Journal of Management, 36,* 1486–1504. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206310368998

Walker, D. D., van Jaarsveld, D. D., & Skarlicki, D. P. (2014). Exploring the effects of individual customer incivility encounters on employee incivility: The moderating roles of entity (in)civility and negative affectivity. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 99,* 151–161. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0034350

Wallis-Honchar, C. (1997). Right to remain silent can quiet incivility. *Chicago Daily Law Bulletin, 143,* 5.

Walsh, B. M., & Magley, V. J. (2013, May). *Testing a model of civility training effectiveness.* Paper presented at the symposium Work, Stress and Health, Los Angeles, CA.

Walsh, B. M., Magley, V. J., Reeves, D. W., Davies-Schrils, K. A., Marmet, M. D., & Gallus, J. A. (2012). Assessing workgroup norms for civility: The development of the civility norms questionnaire-brief. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 27,* 407–420. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10869-011-9251-4

Wegge, D., Vandebosch, H., Eggermont, S., & Walrave, M. (2015). The strong, the weak, and the unbalanced: The link between tie strength and cyberaggression on a social network site. *Social Science Computer Review, 33,* 315–342. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0894439314546729

Welbourne, J. L., Gangadharan, A., & Sariol, A. M. (2015). Ethnicity and cultural values as predictors of the occurrence and impact of experienced workplace incivility. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 20,* 205–217. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0038277

Welbourne, J. L., & Sariol, A. M. (2017). When does incivility lead to counterproductive work behavior? Roles of job involvement, task interdependence, and gender. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 22,* 194–206. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/ocp0000029

Wilson, N. L., & Holmvall, C. M. (2013). The development and validation of the Incivility From Customers Scale. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 18,* 310–326. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0032753

Wu, L., Zhang, H., Chiu, R. K., Kwan, H. K., & He, X. (2014). Hostile attribution bias and negative reciprocity beliefs exacerbate incivility's effects on interpersonal deviance. *Journal of Business Ethics, 120,* 189–199. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-013-1658-6

Yamada, D. C. (2010). Workplace Bullying and American Employment Law: A Ten-Year Progress Report and Assessment. *Comparative Labor Law & Policy Journal, 32,* 251.

Yang, J., & Treadway, D. C. (2016). A social influence interpretation of workplace ostracism and counterproductive work behavior. *Journal of Business Ethics.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-015-2912-x

Zhou, Z. E., Yan, Y., Che, X. X., & Meier, L. L. (2015). Effect of workplace incivility on end-of-work negative affect: Examining individual and organizational moderators in a daily diary study. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 20,* 117–130. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0038167