Communication and Work Alienation: To Speak or Not to Speak

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Abstract

As a result of the negative outcomes associated with work alienation coupled with the lack of research examining this phenomenon through a communication lens, the current study was advanced. Specifically, this study examined the influence of employees’ communication apprehension and approach/avoidance messages on their work alienation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. Findings indicated that communication apprehension and avoidance messages were positively related to work alienation and work alienation was negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Additionally, data fit the hypothesized Structural Equation Model providing directionality to the variables. Lastly, this study provided support for the study of work alienation by communication scholars.

*Key words:* Communication apprehension, approach/avoidance, work alienation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment.
Workplace alienation is conceptualized as a general cognitive state of psychological disconnection from work (Kanungo, 1979), resulting in a lack of self-expression and silence (see Kanungo, 1982). Work alienation has a long history beginning with Hegel (1949) followed by Marx (1964). According to Hegel, alienation involves a state of separation that when viewed from the context of work involves the separation of work from job, and organization and is not considered to be a desirable state. Similarly, Marx (1964) believed that work alienation represented a loss of individuality or separation of the individual from his or her labor.

Prior research indicates that worker alienation is a direct result of structural conditions including; centralized decision-making, formalized rules, policies, and procedures embedded in the workplace (Seeman, 1971). These social-structural conditions found in the workplace tend to compartmentalize work into discrete, controllable units that limit the individual’s autonomy, decision-making, and communication with others (Kanungo, 1979, 1982a; Mottaz, 1981). In this environment, employees may express feelings of self-estrangement and dissatisfaction (Mottaz, 1981). Seaman (1971) made the association between work alienation and powerlessness (lack of control), meaninglessness (inability to comprehend the relationship of one’s contributions to a larger purpose), normlessness and isolation (norms or codes of conduct do not effectively guide behavior toward personal goals), and self-estrangement (work becomes a path for satisfying extrinsic needs rather than a means for expressing one’s potential).

Behaviors associated with work alienation include: withdraw, apathy, and disinterest (Seeman, 1983). Alienated individuals also find themselves uninvolved, inattentive, and disengaged in communication dialogues (Seeman, 1983), resulting in a lack of autonomy, decision-making, and communication with others (Kanungo, 1979, 1982; Mottaz, 1981). As a result of the aforementioned research there appears an association between a lack of communication and work alienation. This association is the focus of the current study in that it could be extrapolated that a lack of communication between organizational members results in alienating employees. In other words, behaviors such as communication apprehension and avoidance behaviors may alienate employees. That being said, the value of the current study lies in its examination of conditions beyond structural conditions thought to alienate employees to include the communication behaviors of communication apprehension and avoidance behaviors. As a result, work alienation may be the consequence of communication behaviors that stifle the employee’s ability to be fully integrated into the organization. Further, the association between communication and work alienation provides scholars with a different perspective by which to examine work alienation. Thistly, approach and avoidance communication behaviors were included in the current study and are considered in greater detail below.

Approach/Avoidance

Mehrabian (1981) explained immediacy using an approach-avoidance metaphor. If one person likes another individual, that person will communicate in a way to initiate and maintain a relationship. If that person does not like the other individual, that person will communicate in a way to avoid or discontinue the relationship. Gorham (1988) concurred, stating that people show affect and interest in others via their verbal behaviors. When people are more immediate in their communication, others view them as more open and express more affect for them (Montgomery, 1981; Witt, Wheeless, & Allen, 2004).

When supervisors and colleagues use immediate and approach-oriented communication messages, individuals, the recipients of these messages, feel like an important part of the organization. However, when the messages recipients receive lack immediacy and are avoidance-oriented, these workers are left “feeling like an outcast, betrayed, and work being a
waste of time” (Koermer, Goldstein, & Forston, 1993, p. 277). When workers face incivil communication in the workplace, their attendance, productivity, and commitment all decrease and workers will view their fellow employees and the organization negatively (Pearson & Porvath, 2005).

Mottet and Richmond (1998) identified various approach and avoidance communication strategies to explain whether or not relationships would develop. Approach strategies included personal recognition (e.g., calling a co-worker by her name), inclusiveness (e.g., inviting someone to participate in organizational activities), openness (e.g., informing a colleague of organizational plans), and compliments (e.g., telling someone when a task was done well). Avoidance strategies included being abrupt (e.g., cutting someone off and saying you have no time to listen to her), distant (e.g., talking only superficially and never personally), offensive (e.g., calling a co-worker an unflattering nickname), and condescending (e.g., talking down to a colleague). Mottet and Richmond found that people use approach strategies more often and proposed that some people when wanting to distance themselves from others would more likely use fewer approach strategies versus using avoidance strategies.

In studying humor in the workplace, Campbell, Martin, and Wanzer (2001) found that when employees viewed their supervisors as being humorous, employees reported greater job satisfaction and that their supervisors used more approach strategies. When employees perceived their supervisors as not being humorous, employees reported that their supervisors used more avoidance strategies. Campbell, Martin, and Weber (2001) reported that employees considered their supervisors to be more emotionally supportive when their supervisors used approach strategies. Given what is known about approach-avoidance messages, we expected that if workers engage in approach strategies they would express less worker alienation than if they engaged in avoidance strategies. As a result, the following hypothesis was advanced:

H1a: There will be a positive relationship between work alienation and avoidance messages and a negative relationship between work alienation and approach messages.

Communication Apprehension

Given that work alienation is associated with a lack of self-expression and silence (see Kanungo, 1982), the addition of communication apprehension (CA) appeared relevant to the current study and will be considered in greater detail here. The negative consequences of being communicatively apprehensive are well documented (Richmond & McCroskey, 1998). In the organizational setting, workers high in CA avoid communication situations (McCroskey & Richmond, 1979). For these workers, the fear of communicating with others trumps the need to succeed professionally. McCroskey and Richmond stated that organizations may want to screen potential employees for CA in order to avoid hiring someone for a position that requires frequent interactions with others. They did add that once hired, organizations should attempt to help individuals reduce their CA to increase the possibility of those employees being successful in the organization.

Employees who are apprehensive are viewed negatively and have difficulty entering organizations (Richmond & Roach, 1992). They often find communicating with their supervisors burdensome (Bartoo & Sias, 2004) and end up being outside of the organizations’ in-groups (Madlock et al., 2007). Workers who are apprehensive about communicating face-to-face also tend to be writing apprehensive and telephone apprehensive (Reinsch & Lewis, 1984). Employees who are communicatively apprehensive have lower job satisfaction, lower status organizational positions, participate less, and have lower organizational commitment (Harville, 1992; Shockley-Zalabak & Morley, 1984; Winiecki & Ayres, 1999). Communicatively
apprehensive workers are often going to choose not to communicate, and “that silence can exact a high psychological price on individuals, generating feelings of humiliation, pernicious anger, resentment, and the like that, if unexpressed, contaminate every interaction, shut down creativity, and undermine productivity” (Perlow & Williams, 2003, p. 52). Based on the consistent research findings showing the negative impact of CA, the following hypotheses were considered.

H1b: There will be a positive relationship between employees’ CA and their work alienation.

H1c: There will be a significant positive relationship between CA and avoidance messages and a negative relationship between CA and approach messages.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction has been defined as “a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one’s job or job experiences” (Locke, 1976, p. 1297). The most common factors leading to worker stress and dissatisfaction are those emanating from the nature of the job itself, within which interpersonal relationships between employees and management take place (Barnett & Brennan, 1997; Kenny & Cooper, 2003). According to Korte and Wynne (1996), a deterioration of relationships in organizational settings resulting from reduced interpersonal communication between workers negatively influences job satisfaction, and sometimes leads to employees leaving their jobs. Hirschfeld and Field (2000) highlighted that work alienation appeared to reduced levels of organizational commitment, job involvement, and job satisfaction. More recently, Madlock and Booth-Butterfield (2008) found a strong negative relationship between job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and work alienation.

Support for the notion that reduced communication between employees negatively affects job satisfaction can be found in the CA literature. CA in the organizational setting has indicated that employees high in CA find occupations requiring less communication more desirable (Daly & McCroskey, 1975; Klopf & Cambra, 1979), hold positions as support personnel as opposed to either managers or professionals (Shockley-Zalabak & Morley, 1984), and during employment interviews, prospective employees high in CA talk less, look at the interviewer less, are less positive, and ask fewer questions than do individuals low in CA (Ayres, Keereetaweep, Chen, & Edwards, 1998). Further, once employees high in CA establish themselves in a position they tend to be perceived as less productive, less likely to advance, and express lower job satisfaction and lower satisfaction with their supervisors (Richmond, McCroskey, & Davis, 1982; Richmond & Roach, 1992). Based on what we know about job satisfaction the following hypothesis was advanced.

H1d: There will be significant negative relationships between employees’ job satisfaction and their CA, avoidance messages, and work alienation.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment is characterized by a strong belief in and acceptance of the organization’s goals and values, a willingness to exert considerable effort for the organization, and a desire to retain membership in the organization (Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulia, 1974; Sager & Johnston, 1989). Research has indicated positive relationships between organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Bateman & Strasser, 1984), job performance (Cohen, 1992), and leadership (Morris & Sherman, 1981), whereas recent research findings indicated a negative relationship between organizational commitment and work alienation (Madlock & Booth-Butterfield, 2008). As with job satisfaction, organizational commitment has been found to be negatively related to CA. For instance, Richmond and Roach (1992) found that high CA individuals find it more difficult to become and remain members of an organization. Based on
what we know about organizational commitment the following hypothesis was advanced.

H1: There will be negative relationships between employees’ organizational commitment and their CA, avoidance messages, and work alienation.

As a result of prior research findings highlighting the associations between the aforementioned variables of CA, avoidant messages, work alienation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment, the following path model was developed (see Figure 1).

H2: The data will provide a good fit for the path model containing CA and avoidance behaviors leading to work alienation, which in turn leads to job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Method

Participants
Participants were 209 full-time working adults (n = 99, 47.4% male) and (n = 110, 52.6% female) with tenure at their current organization ranging from 2-42 years (M = 12.34 years, SD = 10.77). Participant ranged in age from 22-70 years (M = 39.63 years, SD = 9.47) and reported working for a variety of organizations including education (19.6 %), government (11%), service (35.4%), high tech (7.7%), manufacturing (3.8%), civil service (8.6%), and 13.9% reporting other. A range of organizational positions from top management (8.1%), middle management (34%), lower management (12.4%), and non-management (45.5%) was represented in the sample.

Procedures
A network sample was utilized for the current study consisting of full-time working adults recruited by the primary author and students enrolled in communication courses at large Mid-Atlantic and Mid-Western Universities. To ensure that the participants were working adults the following procedure was utilized. Confidentiality was ensured by the primary author by
being the only person to view the returned envelopes and the completed surveys. The participants (working adults) were given an email address located on the cover letter in which they were asked to report their name and telephone number in the body of the email. Participants were then instructed to return the completed questionnaire in the self addressed stamped envelope provided by the researcher in which they were asked to write their name as it appeared in the body of the email in lower right hand corner of the envelope. To insure that the participants were working adults, only envelopes containing a completed questionnaire with verifiable information were used in the study. Periodically (i.e., approximately every 30 surveys), the primary author called and verified that the participants who completed the questionnaire were who they claimed to be.

Measures

Work Alienation was measured by 10 items adapted from a 12-item measure developed by Maddi, Kobasa, and Hoover (1979). Items were measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). With respect to the original measure, one item concerning a career dealing with matters of life and death and one item concerning a more dangerous job being better were deemed inappropriate for the study and omitted. Five of the 10 remaining items were slightly altered to improve readability. For example, the item “Most of life is wasted in meaningless activity” from Maddi et al.’s original measure was altered to read “Most of work life is wasted in meaningless activity.” Cronbach’s alpha for the 10-item scale was .88 (M = 27.16, SD = 9.93).

Job satisfaction was measured by the 8-item Abridged Job In General Scale (Russell, Spitzmüller, Lin, Stanton, Smith, & Ironson, 2004). Sample items include: “Better than most” and “Makes me content.” A 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree) was used in the current study instead of the original scale formatting (i.e., using 0 for “no,” 1 for ?” and 3 for “yes) to insure overall consistency throughout the questionnaire. Coefficient alpha for the current study was .90 (M = 28.78, SD = 6.05).

Organizational Commitment was measured using the 15-item Organizational Commitment Questionnaire developed by Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979). Sample items include: “I really care about the fate of the organization” and “I am proud to tell others that I am part of the organization.” The items were measured on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Cronbach’s coefficient alpha for the current study was .87 (M = 52.60, SD = 8.98).

Approach Avoidance was measured by the 14-item Approach/Avoidance Scale (Mottet & Richmond, 1998). Ten items measured approach behaviors and four items measured avoidance behaviors. The self report scale was designed to measure the degree to which a person engages in approach and avoidance behaviors. Sample items include a lead in sentence of “When communicating with others at work” followed by: I use ritualistic statements by saying such things as “Hey, what's up?” “Hi, how are you doing?” “Take care,” “Be careful,” and “I’ll talk to you later” (approach statement); or “I use discourteous and abrupt communication by interrupting and changing the subject, using inappropriate profanity, and by answering my questions with simple, short “YES/NO” answers” (avoidant statement). The items were measured on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 0 = never to 4 = very often. Cronbach’s coefficient alpha for the current study was .87 (M = 22.27, SD = 7.98) for approach behaviors, and .79 (M = 5.72, SD = 3.68) for avoidance behaviors.

Communication Apprehension was measured by the PRCA-24 (McCroskey, 2001). The 24 items measure overall CA as well as apprehension in the contexts of groups, meetings,
interpersonal, and public. Sample items include: “I dislike participating in group discussions” and “I'm afraid to speak up in conversations.” In order to assess the levels of CA in the workplace the directions on the survey asked the participants to keep their current organization in mind when answering the following questions. The 24-item instrument was measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). The scale was recoded so that higher scores reflected higher levels of CA. Cronbach’s alpha for the present study was .94 ($M = 59.91$, $SD = 15.31$).

**Results**

Hypothesis 1 predicted a significant positive relationship between work alienation and avoidance messages and a negative relationship between work alienation and approach messages. Results of Pearson’s correlational analysis supported the hypothesis by indicating significant relationships between the variables. Specifically, a weak positive relationship was found between work alienation and avoidance messages $r = .25$, $p < .001$, whereas a weak negative relationship was indicated between work alienation and approach messages $- .23$, $p < .001$. (See Table 1 for all the correlational results).

Table 1

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<td>2 Work Alienation</td>
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<td>3 Job Satisfaction</td>
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<td>-.50**</td>
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<td>.25**</td>
<td>-.30**</td>
<td>.34**</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Approach Messages</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td>-.23**</td>
<td>.31**</td>
<td>-.18*</td>
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Note: ** statistically significant at $p < .001$, * statistically significant at $p < .05$. ns $p > .05$

Hypothesis 2 predicted a positive relationship between employees’ CA and their perceived worker alienation. Results of Pearson’s correlational analysis supported the hypothesis by indicating significant relationship between the variables. Specifically, a moderate positive relationship was found between work alienation and communication apprehension $r = .36$, $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 3 predicted a positive relationship between CA and avoidance messages and a negative relationship between CA and approach messages. Results of Pearson’s correlational analysis supported the hypothesis by indicating significant relationship between the variables. Specifically, a moderate positive relationship was found between CA and avoidance messages $r$
Hypothesis 4 predicted there would be significant negative relationships between employees’ job satisfaction and their CA, use of avoidance messages, and work alienation. Results of Pearson’s correlational analysis supported the hypothesis by indicating significant relationship between the variables. Specifically, the strongest negative relationship was indicated between job satisfaction and work alienation $r = -.50$, $p < .001$, whereas moderate negative relationships were indicated between job satisfaction and CA $r = -.34$, $p < .001$ and between job satisfaction and avoidance messages $r = -.30$, $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 5 predicted there would be significant negative relationships between employees’ organizational commitment and their CA, avoidance messages, and work alienation. Results of Pearson’s correlational analysis partially supported the hypothesis. Specifically, the strongest negative relationship was indicated between organizational commitment and work alienation $r = -.54$, $p < .001$, whereas a moderate negative relationship was indicated between organizational commitment and avoidance messages $r = -.32$, $p < .001$. However, the relationship between organizational commitment and CA was not found to be significant $r = -.04$, $p > .05$.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that the data would support the path model containing CA, avoidance behaviors, work alienation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. The path model indicated that the data were generally consistent with the hypothesis. Results of the Structural Equation Model indicated that the data fit the model: $x^2 (5) = 14.18$, $p = .107$; CFI = .939, NFI = .934, GFI = .930, AGFI = .90, RMSEA = .058. Therefore, hypothesis 6 was supported (see Figure 2).

Figure 2.

*Actual Path Model Indicating a Good fit for the Data Involving CA, Avoidance Behaviors, Work Alienation, Job Satisfaction, and Organizational Commitment.*

$x^2 (5) = 14.18$, $p = .107$; CFI = .939, NFI = .934, GFI = .930, AGFI = .90, RMSEA = .058.
Discussion

The purpose of the current study was twofold. First, this study sought to extend prior research on work alienation by including the influence of communication such as CA and avoidance behaviors. Second, a path model was developed to indicate the association between communication behaviors, work alienation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. In sum, the overall goal here was to examine work alienation from a communication perspective in order to provide researchers with a new perspective to better understand this phenomenon.

The first finding of interest involves the association between the communication behaviors of CA and avoidance and work alienation. That is, a person who is CA or engaged in avoidance behaviors experienced work alienation. This finding is of value because it suggests that work alienation is rooted in communication and is a phenomenon that warrants further examination by organizational communication scholars. Further, this finding establishes communication as an antecedent of work alienation, which also extends prior research by adding communication to the list of factors believed to alienate workers. This finding also indicates that prior research may has overlooked the influence of communication on work alienation.

Another finding of interest here involves the lack of a significant relationship between CA and organizational commitment. Prior findings have been mixed in that some report that individuals high in CA find it more difficult to become and remain members of an organization (Richmond & Roach, 1992), while others suggest that once a person high in CA acquires a job that their CA keeps them committed to that organization (Harville, 1992). One possible explanation for the mixed results is the lack of attention to the influence of work alienation. For example, the current finding suggest that CA alone does not directly influence organizational commitment but outcomes that result from CA such as work alienation may actually account for an employee’s lack of organizational commitment. Due to the enormous costs associated with recruiting, training, and socializing newcomers (see, Allerton, 1996) organizational commitment is a valuable outcome for organizational communication scholars to consider.

Of most interest here is the path model indicating directionality between the variables beginning with the association between CA, avoidance behaviors, and work alienation. This model provides a pictorial of the association between communication behaviors, work alienation, and the outcomes of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. For example, avoidance messages were found to mediate the relationship between CA and work alienation. This finding suggests that people high in CA tend to respond to others in terse, non-disclosive, closed ended statements designed to mitigate communication interactions such as those found in avoidance messages. In following, avoidance messages then lead to work alienation, which in turn leads to decreased job satisfaction and organizational commitment. These findings suggest that employees high in CA may be predisposed to work alienation and the associated negative outcomes.

Although, the current study revealed some interesting findings regarding the association between communication and work alienation there is much more work to do for future researchers. For example, since negative communication behaviors lead to work alienation, do communication behaviors such as affirming communicator style and verbal or non-verbal immediacy have the opposite affect on work alienation? Or, do employees experience situational CA as a result of structural conditions present in the workplace that alienate workers? For example, a work climate that discourages communication between its members may manifest itself as situational CA. In essence, are there workplace structures in which employees become conditioned to carry out their workday activities avoiding interactions with others as a result of
fear that such behaviors would be deemed inappropriate by those in power? In essence, prior research that identified the link between structural conditions and work alienation may have been inadvertently misinterpreted by overlooking the communication element that mediates this relationship. Another area of interest to future researchers involves the role that Leader Member Exchange (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975) behaviors play in the alienation of employees. For example, prior research indicates that CA perpetuates low quality leader member exchanges and the designation as either an in-group or out-group member. As a result of these low quality leader member exchanges, it could be extrapolated that employees labeled as out-group members experience high levels of work alienation.

Limitations

One limitation of the current study is the lack of a clear explanation from the employees’ standpoint as to their perceptions of what it is to be alienated from work. This insight could help researchers better understand the association between communication and work alienation to include communication by supervisors and coworkers. Additionally, a qualitative component may have revealed additional possible costs to organizations that span beyond those associated with job satisfaction and organizational commitment to include anti-social behaviors such as theft or sabotage.
References


Communication and Work Alienation


