

Outcomes of Perceptions of Organizational Politics from A Social Exchange Perspective

Sosyal Mübadele Perspektifinden Örgütsel Politika Algısının Sonuçları

Sevgi Emirza^(*)
Engin Başış Öztürk^(**)

Abstract

Deriving from social exchange theory, this research aims to understand the outcomes and mechanisms of perceptions of organizational politics (POP). Specifically, we assert that POP distorts the social exchange processes between employees and their organizations, resulting in emotional exhaustion and then increased turnover intention. We further suggest that quality leader-member exchanges (LMX) can offset disrupted exchanges with organizations due to perceived politics and alleviate POP's effects on exhaustion and turnover. Moreover, we hypothesize that if employees' social exchanges with their organizations and leaders are both off-balance, then high perceived job alternatives indicating the odds of having a more balanced employment relationship somewhere else would exacerbate the adverse effect of POP on turnover intention. Hypotheses were tested with data collected with a 3-year time-lagged study design from 63 staff working in a healthcare institution. Regression analysis results showed that POP in the first year escalates emotional exhaustion in the second year, which in turn increases the turnover intention in the third year. Moreover, the negative outcomes of POP were found to hold up only when LMX is low, but not when it is high. Lastly, POP's negative outcomes are more pronounced when LMX is low and perceived job alternatives are high. This research contributes to the literature by clarifying the pathways and the mechanisms by which POP's effects unfold from a social exchange perspective. Furthermore, adopting a time-lagged study design, this research adds to the accumulated knowledge by demonstrating that adverse consequences of POP persist over an extended period.

Keywords: Perceptions of organizational politics, emotional exhaustion, turnover intention, leader-member exchange relationship, perceived job alternatives.

(*) Corresponding author/ Sorumlu yazar, Faculty of Business, Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir/Türkiye, sevgi.bakar@deu.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0002-5988-8935

(**) Faculty of Business, Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir/Türkiye, engin.ozturk@deu.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0002-5596-4099
Emirza, S. & Öztürk, E. B. (2023). Outcomes of Perceptions of Organizational Politics from A Social Exchange Perspective. *Journal of Management & Organization Studies*, 8(2), 177-206.
DOI: 10.15659/joad.8.2.002

Özet

Sosyal mübadele kuramından yola çıkan bu araştırma, işyerlerinde örgütsel politika algısının (ÖPA) sonuçlarını ve mekanizmalarını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Buna göre, örgütsel politika algısının, çalışanlar ve örgütleri arasındaki sosyal mübadele süreçlerini bozarak duygusal tükenmeye ve ardından işten ayrılma niyetinin artmasına neden olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Ayrıca, kaliteli lider-üye etkileşimlerinin (LÜE), algılanan politika nedeniyle kesintiye uğrayan örgüt ile mübadeleyi dengeleyebileceği ve ÖPA'nın duygusal tükenme ve işten ayrılma niyeti üzerindeki olumsuz sonuçlarını hafifletebileceği ileri sürülmektedir. Son olarak, çalışanların örgütleri ve liderleri ile olan sosyal mübadelelerinin her ikisi de dengesizse, başka bir yerde daha dengeli bir istihdam ilişkisine sahip olma ihtimalini temsil eden iş alternatiflerinin yüksek olmasının ÖPA'nın işten ayrılma niyeti üzerindeki etkisini arttıracığı savunulmaktadır. Hipotezler, bir sağlık kuruluşunda çalışan 63 sağlık personelinden 3 yıllık zaman diliminde toplanan veriler üzerinde test edilmiştir. Regresyon analizi sonuçları, ilk yıldaki ÖPA'nın ikinci yıldaki duygusal tükenmeyi arttırdığını; bunun da üçüncü yıldaki işten ayrılma niyetini arttırdığını göstermiştir. Ayrıca, ÖPA'nın olumsuz sonuçlarının yalnızca LÜE'nin düşük olduğu durumda görüldüğü, ancak LÜE yüksek olduğunda geçerli olmadığı bulunmuştur. Son olarak, LÜE düşük ve algılanan iş alternatifleri yüksek olduğunda ÖPA'nın olumsuz sonuçlarının daha belirgin olduğu görülmüştür. Bu araştırma, ÖPA'nın etkilerinin ortaya çıktığı yolları ve mekanizmaları sosyal mübadele perspektifinden açıklayarak yazına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca, boylamsal bir çalışma tasarımı benimseyen araştırma, ÖPA'nın olumsuz sonuçlarının uzun bir süre devam ettiğini göstererek de yazına katkı sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Örgütsel politika algısı, duygusal tükenme, işten ayrılma niyeti, lider-üye etkileşimi, algılanan iş alternatifleri

Introduction

In his seminal work, Mintzberg (1983) described organizations as political arenas and emphasized the ubiquity of organizational politics, which he characterized as divisive, self-serving, and illegitimate. While some scholars argue that organizational politics can be utilized for benevolent purposes for the benefit of departments or organizations (Hochwarter, 2012), the majority of studies following Mintzberg (1983) have appealed to the self-interested, destructive, and damaging nature of organizational politics (Hochwarter, Rosen, Jordan, Ferris, Ejaz, & Maher, 2020).

Perceptions of organizational politics (POP) include subjective appraisals about the organization's political environment and attributions of self-serving motivations to the behaviors of other organizational members (Ferris, Harrell-Cook, & Dulebohn, 2000). Accordingly, employees evaluate their workplace as

highly political, when they feel that others' behaviors are driven by self-interest in pursuit of achieving personal objectives only (Ferris, Russ, & Fandt, 1989). Because individuals base their cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses to environmental stimuli on their perceptions and evaluations of the actual events (Lewin, 1936), employees' subjective evaluations of the organization's political environment, in other words, POP, greatly shape how they feel, think and behave at workplace. Supporting this argument, previous research (Miller, Rutherford, & Kolodinsky, 2008; Chang, Rosen, & Levy, 2009; Bedi & Schat, 2013) has shown that POP is a significant factor influencing several job and organizational outcomes. Accordingly, findings indicate that employees' perceptions of higher levels of POP at the workplace generally results in detrimental consequences. For example, POP was found to be negatively associated with organizational trust, justice perceptions, job satisfaction, commitment, and performance while positively with stress, burnout, counterproductive work behavior, absenteeism, and turnover intention (Miller *et al.*, 2008; Chang *et al.*, 2009; Bedi & Schat, 2013). Given that organizational politics is a real and an inevitable part of everyday life in organizations (Hochwarter *et al.*, 2020), revealing the conditions in which POP's damaging effects attenuate or accentuate can help organizations have better control over the outcomes.

Supporting this argument, some studies stated that the strength of adverse consequences of POP might vary depending on several conditional factors. For instance, employees who have higher levels of insider status (Khan, Khan, & Gul., 2019), political skills (Crawford, Lamarre, Kacmar, & Harris, 2019), work drive (Hall, Franczak, Ma, Herrera, & Hochwarter, 2017), political support by supervisor (Kane-Frieder, Hochwarter, Hampton, & Ferris, 2014), and perceived resources (Hochwarter, Ferris, Laird, Treadway, & Coleman Gallagher, 2010) experience fewer or no negative work outcomes as a result of POP. However, negative effects of POP on work outcomes are amplified for those with high levels of need for achievement and faith in management (Byrne, Kacmar, Stoner, & Hochwarter, 2005), and ruminating tendencies (Rosen & Hochwarter 2014), as well as for those who work in an organic structure (Yang, 2017). In the current study, we extend the previous work by proposing leader-member exchange (LMX) as an attenuating and perceived job alternatives (PJA) as an accentuating factor, moderating the effect of POP on emotional exhaustion and turnover intention. The proposed model is depicted in Figure 1.

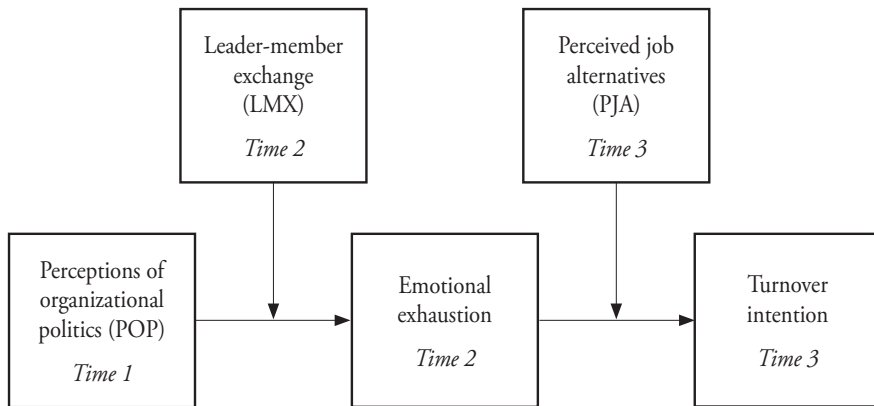


Figure 1. Theoretical Framework

Specifically, we draw on social exchange theory (SET, Blau, 1964) to identify the moderating variables and explain their effects on the outcomes of POP. We believe LMX and PJA are not only significant factors shaping important work outcomes, but they are also highly relevant from the SET perspective. SET argues that employees build and maintain relationships with their organizations and supervisors based on norms of reciprocity, suggesting that employees return both favorable and ill treatments by organizations and supervisors in kind (Cropanzano, Anthony, Daniels, & Hall, 2017). Previous research on POP suggested that it can violate the social exchange expectations and norms of reciprocity by creating ambiguity and uncertainty (Bodla, Afza, & Danish, 2015), and in return, employees react by reducing effort (Khan *et al.*, 2019), increasing dysfunctional behaviors (Crawford *et al.*, 2019), or leaving the organization (Harris, Andrews, & Kacmar, 2007). However, because employees view their supervisors as organizational representatives (Eisenberger *et al.*, 2010), we argue that LMX relationships can substitute for the lack of quality organizational exchanges in highly political organizations and offset the negative effects of POP by reducing the unpredictability and ambiguity associated with it. Moreover, we also propose that in highly political environments if employees also lack quality LMX, then they will rely on PJA to decide whether to leave the company and look for other organizations to build more balanced employment relationships. From the SET perspective, high PJA signals to the employees the opportunity to make a better deal with another employer, which can better meet exchange obligations.

This research contributes to the current knowledge in three ways. First, previous studies have mostly focused on revealing the outcomes of POP while relatively fewer studies provided the boundary conditions of such outcomes (Ferris, Ellen III, McAllister, & Maher, 2019). This study, by introducing theoretically and practically relevant variables, i.e., LMX and perceived job alternatives as moderating variables, enriches the literature with regard to the conditions under which the negative outcomes are more salient. Moreover, it also provides managerial intervention points to the organizations, which seek to reduce the POP's deleterious effects. Second, the majority of studies on POP have predominantly adopted cross-sectional designs to explain its effects. While they are beneficial for exploring the preliminary effects, findings of such designs stand for correlational relationships lacking adequate evidence for causal inferences. To address such shortcomings, previous studies made calls for examining POP's outcomes with longitudinal designs (Bedi & Schats, 2016; Ferris *et al.*, 2019; Hochwarter *et al.*, 2020). By adopting a three-wave time-lagged design, this research aims to respond to these calls, while also clarifying the direction and causal relationships between POP's outcomes. Third, several theoretical explanations have been offered to explain the outcomes of POP other than SET, such as uncertainty management theory (Yang, 2017), stress appraisal theory (Harris *et al.*, 2007), job demands resources theory (Malik, Shahzad, Raziq, Khan, Yusaf, & Khan, 2019), and conservation of resources theory (Haider, Fatima, & de Pablos-Heredero, 2020), etc. By building on SET to explain the consequences and mechanisms of POP and by testing theoretically relevant moderators, this research strengthens the utility of SET in understanding POP processes.

Theoretical Background and Hypotheses

SET is a widely used theory to understand social and psychological transactions between parties. It is used to understand how transactions and interactions between individuals, and organizations and their members evolve from economic exchanges into social exchanges (Cropanzano *et al.*, 2017). According to SET, employees build their relationships with other entities (i.e., other individuals and organizations) based on norms of reciprocity and expect their investments to be paid in kind (Gouldner, 1960; Blau, 1964). This suggests that when employees trade their time, effort, and loyalty in return for benefits such as salary, recognition, and promotion, they expect to be repaid reciprocally. When these give-and-take sequences between parties are successful and expected benefits are reaped,

then economic exchanges are turned into social exchanges where employees feel obligated to pay back, reciprocate further and feel committed to and remain with the organization. In such relationships, a balanced relationship is built, and employees continue exerting effort and investing in the relationship (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). However, if the organization does not follow the norms of reciprocity and employees do not receive the expected exchanges in return for the resources they invest in the relationship, then the relationship remains to be an economic exchange where employees engage in only short-term economic transactions, reduce invested resources and even withdraw from the relationship (Van Knippenberg, Van Dick, & Tavares, 2007).

Highly political organizational environments act as a barrier for employees to build quality social exchange relationships with their organization (Hall, Hochwarter, Ferris, & Bowen, 2004). In political organizations, employees engage in high levels of political behaviors like bypassing the rules for personal interests, using lobbying and coalition to influence supervisors and receive more rewards, relying on personal networks to secure a promotion, etc. While such “political games” are not legitimate (Mintzberg, 1983), they are not explicitly prohibited (Ferris, Adams, Kolodinsky, Hochwarter, & Ammeter, 2002) nor sanctioned by organizations (Mayes & Allen, 1977). This may result in organizations where rules and procedures are not clear for decisions about rewards, task assignments, and promotions; the performance-reward link is weak and ill-defined; and favoritism and unfair practices are utilized for the distribution of outcomes. As a result, politicized organizations become characterized by high levels of unpredictability, ambiguity, and uncertainty, which ultimately enhances employees’ POP. In such environments, because the organization cannot meet its obligations of exchange and follow the norms of reciprocity, employees cannot establish social exchanges with their organization (Hall *et al.*, 2004). In other words, political organizational environments hinder establishing committed and balanced social exchanges between employees and their organizations. Supporting these arguments, research has found that POP negatively impacts social exchanges with organizations (Bodla *et al.*, 2015), and thus results in many negative outcomes including poor performance, emotional exhaustion, and higher turnover (Harris *et al.*, 2007; Petrou, Kouvonen, & Karanika-Murray, 2011; Crawford *et al.*, 2019)

Drawing upon the principles of SET and the POP’s disturbing effects on social exchanges, we argue that the negative effects of POP would unfold gradually. First, it would increase emotional exhaustion (Petrou *et al.*, 2011; Sumner & Kinsella,

2022), which then would result in turnover intention (Harris *et al.*, 2007; Chang *et al.*, 2009). When employees have a high level of POP, they start assessing their relationship to determine whether there is a balance between resources invested and returns yielded. In a political organization, employees need to continuously check out and assess their gains vs. investments to determine whether there is a lack of reciprocity or an imbalance in the exchanges. This is a demanding and stressful process that can easily drain employees' psychological resources and leave them emotionally exhausted (Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004). Supporting these arguments, studies demonstrated that employees working in organizations that fail to reciprocate in kind experience higher burnout and emotional exhaustion (Schaufeli, 2006; Rose, Madurai, Thomas, Duffy, & Oyebode, 2010).

Next, we claim that emotional exhaustion due to high POP would result in increased turnover intention in the long run. In political organizations, every time employees observe an unbalanced exchange or lack of reciprocity, they are likely to attempt to rebalance the relationship by reducing the effort or trying to find alternative ways to restore the balance (Crawford *et al.*, 2019), which is demanding and exhausting. However, rebalancing the unreciprocated effort and restoring the relationship continuously is not sustainable, given the scarcity of emotional and psychological resources. After continually spending additional emotional and psychological resources without receiving the anticipated reciprocation from the organization, employees are likely to withdraw from the exchange relationship (Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004) and leave the organization (Özkan, 2022). Additionally, employees with high POP eventually “withdraw from an organization in order to avoid *political games*” (Chang *et al.*, 2009: 793), which is backed by evidence (Bedi & Schat, 2013). Thus, we expect employees with high levels of POP to experience emotional exhaustion, and as a result have higher turnover intentions.

Hypothesis 1: POP has an indirect positive effect on turnover intention through emotional exhaustion.

Leader-Member Exchange as A Moderator

Building on SET, we propose LMX as the first stage moderator attenuating the POP-turnover relationship. From the perspective of SET, LMX represents the quality of social exchange relationships employees maintain with their supervisors (Erdogan & Bauer, 2014). According to LMX theory, leaders build relationships

with different qualities with each employee, and this is because leaders have limited time, effort, and energy to allocate to employees and employees vary in terms of their competence, work drive, and eagerness for close relationships. Therefore, during the LMX process, a natural distinction emerges between the in-group members, employees in the close circle of the supervisor, and the out-group members, employees with an impersonal and arm's length relationship with the supervisor (Liden & Graen, 1980).

Similar to the relationship between employees and organizations, the relationship between leaders and employees can also be two types: low-quality LMX, which is built on economic exchanges, and high-quality LMX, which is based on social exchanges (Liden, Sparrowe, & Wayne, 1997). In low-quality LMX, the type and kind of exchanges are confined to formal job descriptions and have a more transactional and contractual nature. By contrast, high-quality LMX is characterized by mutual trust, support, commitment, and feelings of obligations that are beyond formal employment and exchanges, with a more social and personal nature. All leader-member interactions start as low-quality exchanges, and they can get mature and develop into high-quality exchanges as parties can build trusting and committed relationships. Such involvement initiates with parties reciprocating favors in kind, helping each other, and showing mutually beneficial behaviors beyond formal obligations. After successful series of exchanges, testing, and trials of role-making between parties, high-quality exchanges are established (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995).

We contend that quality LMX can play a buffering role against the unfavorable outcomes associated with the political organizational environment. Studies have revealed that employees reporting high quality LMX experience more positive outcomes (e.g., performance, commitment, job satisfaction, and justice) and less negative outcomes (turnover, emotional exhaustion, role conflict, and ambiguity) compared to their peers with low-quality LMX (Dulebohn, Bommer, Liden, Brouer, & Ferris, 2012; Schermuly & Meyer, 2016). This is possibly the result of in-group members' receiving privileged leader treatment through greater supervisory support, access to greater resources, and impact on within-unit decisions (Scott & Bruce, 1994; Andrews & Kacmar, 2001; Sparrowe & Liden, 2005).

There is some evidence regarding the role of LMX in determining how employees experience POP. For example, Dulebohn *et al.* (2012) in their meta-

analysis found that employees with quality LMX have a more favorable view of POP. What follows is that employees with quality LMX should be affected less by the negative outcomes of POP. There is preliminary evidence for this argument by Chhetri, Afshan, & Chatterjee (2016). They found that LMX interacts with POP to affect turnover, commitment, and job satisfaction, but they fell short of showing whether employees with low vs high-quality LMX differ significantly and in what direction. Drawing upon this evidence and the principles of SET, we argue that LMX will act as a protective shield against politicized environments to attenuate contextual effects on work outcomes. Accordingly, quality LMX can make up for uncertainty (Tordera, González-Romá, & Peiró, 2008), unpredictability, inconsistent, and unjust practices (Erdogan & Bauer, 2010) in the political environment by providing in-group members with access to information, resources, support, and control over decision-making (Liden *et al.*, 1997). Employees with quality LMX can feel their efforts and hard work are reciprocated fairly by their supervisors, if not by the organization. Quality LMX will save employees the need to continuously watch out whether their efforts are paid in kind as well as the struggle to rebalance their relationship every time they observe an imbalance. Thus, we expect employees with quality LMX to experience less emotional exhaustion, and consequently lower turnover intention despite high POP.

Hypothesis 2: LMX acts as a first-stage moderator to moderate the indirect positive effect of POP on turnover intention through emotional exhaustion. Accordingly, the positive indirect effect of POP is weaker when LMX is high than when it is low.

Perceived Job Alternatives as Another Moderator

PJA is simply described as “an individual’s perception of available alternative job opportunities” (Wheeler, Gallagher, Brouer, & Sablynski, 2007: 208). It is a subjective evaluation by employees of the probability to secure a position in another organization with better or just as good qualities as the current one. While some studies consider PJA as a preceding step before actual turnover (Hom, Mitchell, Lee, & Griffeth, 2012), others view it as a boundary condition regulating the effects of personal or organizational factors on turnover.

Empirical studies have demonstrated that individuals generally tend to leave their organizations when they have better or at least equally good alternatives

(Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000). More relevant to the current study is that when employees are distressed, exhausted, and unsatisfied in a given organization, they are more likely to withdraw if they have higher PJA (Boswell, Boudreau, & Dunford, 2004; Rubenstein, Eberly, Lee, & Mitchell, 2018). From the SET perspective, employees are likely to view valued alternatives to the current politicized organization where relationships are unbalanced as a prospect of establishing a new employment contract at equilibrium. In other words, high PJA signals to employees that they can substitute the current unreciprocating relationships with an alternative that potentially meets the obligations of social exchange and return in kind for employees' investments.

We propose LMX as the first and PJA as the second stage moderator in the POP-turnover relationship. Accordingly, we expect that when POP is high and LMX is low, indicating disrupted social exchanges between employee and both the organization and the supervisor, employees will experience emotional exhaustion and tend to leave their organization in the long run. However, the tendency to leave the organization as a result of high POP and low LMX will be stronger for employees who have other possibilities of finding better employment. In other words, the positive effect of POP on turnover intention will be much stronger for employees who have low-quality LMX and high levels of PJA compared to those with low levels of PJA.

Hypothesis 3: The positive indirect effect of POP on turnover intention through emotional exhaustion is moderated by LMX in the first stage and by PJA in the second stage. The positive indirect effect of POP is stronger when LMX is low and PJA is high than when LMX is low and PJA is low.

Method

Sample and Procedure

Data were collected at three different time points from the staff of a healthcare institution operating in Turkey, using online questionnaires over a three-year period between 2015 and 2017. The reason for collecting the data over a three-time period is twofold. Firstly, to reduce the common method bias, i.e., the potential inflation of variance estimates when measured using the same measurement method, which may lead to inaccurate estimations of the effects and drawing misleading conclusions regarding the relationships between

variables (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012). Measuring the variables (except LMX) in the current study requires obtaining subjective evaluations of employees, therefore data relies on self-reporting. Because same-source self-reported data is a concern for inflating common method bias, we followed the recommendations of Podsakoff *et al.* (2012) to address the method bias and used temporal separation of variables by collecting data over three years. The second reason for collecting data at three time points is related to the concern about drawing inferences about ordering of the effects in mediational models (Maxwell & Cole, 2007). Mediational models represent a series of effects, which suggests that the effects unfold in sequence over time. In other words, some amount of time is expected to elapse for each variable in the mediational model to reveal its effect on the following one. Correct ordering of variables in mediational models can be appropriately depicted through the temporal order of variables in data collection with a longitudinal design because testing mediational models with cross-sectional designs is likely to result in biased and misleading parameter estimates (Maxwell, Cole, & Mitchell, 2011). Thus, we preferred the temporal separation of variables and data collection at three time points to capture more accurate estimates of the mediational effects and provide evidence for the real mediational process.

Participants took the survey during work hours using the computers that the organization reserved for data collection purposes. Participants were asked to provide their e-mail addresses in each questionnaire in order to match their information across three years. 182 employees participated in the surveys in the first year, 127 employees in the second year, and 204 employees in the third year. When the data of the people who participated in all three surveys were matched, a sample of 67 people was retained. Removing 4 people who failed the attention check from the dataset left a usable sample of 63 people for the analyses. 59% of participants (37) were female, 62% younger than 40, and 90% had a bachelor's degree or higher.

Measures

Perceptions of Organizational Politics

Participants rated their POP in the first year of data collection. POP was measured with the 15-item scale developed by Kacmar & Carlson (1997). While the POP scale consists of three dimensions, because we are interested in examining

POP as a broad construct, we used it as a single factor by averaging all items. A 5-point Likert response scale was used (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*). A sample item from the scale is “People in this organization attempt to build themselves up by tearing others down.” Cronbach’s alpha for the scale is .85.

Leader-Member Exchange

Participants reported LMX ratings in the second year of data collection. LMX was measured with the 12-item LMX-MDM scale developed by Liden & Maslyn (1998). Participants rated on a 5-point Likert response scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*). This is a multidimensional scale composed of 4 dimensions: affect, loyalty, contribution, and professional respect. Despite its multidimensional nature, the scale has been generally used as a single factor (Joseph, Newman, & Sin, 2011). Because this study is concerned with understanding the effect of LMX as a broad construct, we used it as a single factor by averaging all items. A sample item from the scale is “My supervisor would come to my defense if I were “attacked” by others.” Cronbach’s alpha for the scale is .93.

Emotional Exhaustion

Emotional exhaustion ratings were also collected in the second year. It was measured with the 4-item brief version of Maslach & Jackson’s (1981) burnout scale that was adapted by Wilk & Moynihan (2005). The response scale was a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Once a month or less*, 5 = *Several times a day*). A sample item is “I feel burned out from my work.” Cronbach’s alpha for the scale is .93.

Perceived Job Alternatives

PJA was measured in the third year with a 4-item scale developed by Hui, Law, & Chen (1999). A 5-point Likert response scale was used (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*). A sample item is “It is easy for me to find a suitable job elsewhere.” Cronbach’s alpha for the scale is .83.

Turnover Intention

Employees reported their intention to leave their organization in the third year. It was measured with a 4 items scale from the study of Wayne, Shore, & Liden (1997) on a 5-point Likert response scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*). A sample item is “I plan to work for this company three years from now (reverse item)” Cronbach’s alpha for the scale is .84.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Prior to hypothesis testing, confirmatory factor analysis was performed on AMOS to test the discriminant validity of measurement tools. Given that item to sample ratio in the current study (39 to 63) is below the recommended threshold (1 to 10, Bentler & Yuan, 1999), the parceling method was used to reduce the number of indicators and improve the ratio in the measurement model (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). POP was represented with two parcels by averaging all the items of the first two dimensions and averaging items of the third dimension in the scale. LMX was represented with two parcels by averaging items in the affect and loyalty dimensions for the first parcel and items in the contribution and professional respect dimensions for the second parcel. Other variables were put into analysis without any parceling. The fit indices of the measurement model were found to be acceptable, where $\chi^2 = 125.721$, $df = 94$, CFI = .94, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .08

Results

First, descriptive statistics and correlations among the variables were analyzed, which are shown in Table 1. As preliminary evidence of the proposed relationships, POP is positively related to both emotional exhaustion and turnover intention and LMX is negatively related to emotional exhaustion and turnover intention.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations

Variables	Mean	SD	Min	Max	1	2	3	4	5
1. POP	2.89	.57	1.53	4.47	(.85)				
2. LMX	3.97	.78	1.83	5.00	-.26*	(.93)			
3. Emotional exhaustion	1.60	.92	1.00	4.75	.34**	-.42**	(.93)		
4. PJA	3.76	.75	2.25	5.00	.07	.16	-.01	(.83)	
5. Turnover intention	2.29	1.03	1.00	5.00	.40**	-.33**	.44**	.02	(.84)

Note. $N = 63$. Values in brackets are Cronbach Alpha coefficients. SD = Standard deviation. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

Analyses for hypothesis testing were performed on SPSS using the PROCESS Macro tool. To reduce multicollinearity and make the interaction impact easier to understand, the variables that make up the interaction term (i.e., POP, LMX, emotional exhaustion, and PJA) were centered around their means prior to the generation of interaction terms (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). Process Model Template 4 was used for testing the mediation in H1, Process Model Template 7 was used for testing moderated-mediation in H2, and Process Model Template 21 was used for testing conditional moderated-mediation in H3. The significance level of indirect effects was determined using the bias-corrected bootstrapping method with 5000 replications. The mediation hypothesis was deemed to be supported if the 95% bootstrapped confidence interval estimations did not contain zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The results of regression analyses are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2. Regression Analysis Results

Variables	Model 1 – H1 Mediation-only				Model 2 – H2 Moderated-mediation				Model 3 – H3 Two-stage moderated-mediation			
	Emotional exhaustion		Turnover intention		Emotional exhaustion		Turnover intention		Emotional exhaustion		Turnover intention	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
<i>Intercepts</i>	0.1	.57	.20	.59	1.52***	.09	1.66***	.24	-.08	.09	2.29***	.11
<i>Main effects</i>												
POP (<i>T1</i>)	.55**	.20	.51*	.22	.39*	.17	.51*	.22	.39*	.17	.53*	.21
Emotional exhaustion (<i>T2</i>)	-	-	.39**	.13	-	-	.39**	.13	-	-	.36**	.13
LMX (<i>T2</i>)					-.30*	.13	-	-	-.30*	.13	-	-
PJA (<i>T3</i>)									-	-	.01	.14
<i>Interaction effects</i>												
POP x LMX					-.72***	.18	-	-	-.72***	.18	-	-
Emotional exhaustion x PJA									-	-	.39**	.14
F	7.93**		10.70***		12.81***		10.70***		12.81***		7.74***	
R ²	.12		.26		.39		.26		.39		.35	

Note. *N* = 63. **p* < .05 ***p* < .01 ****p* < .001. POP = Perceptions of organizational politics, LMX = Leader-member exchange, PJA = Perceived job alternatives, T1 = Collected at Time 1, T2 = Collected at Time 2, T3 = Collected at Time 3. *B* = Unstandardized beta coefficient, *SE* = Standard error.

For H1, we proposed a mediation-only model where POP is expected to negatively influence turnover intention through emotional exhaustion. As shown in Table 2, a significant positive relationship was found between POP and emotional exhaustion ($B = .55, p = .007$), and between emotional exhaustion and turnover intention ($B = .39, p = .005$). While POP has a direct and positive effect on turnover intention ($B = .51, p = .02$), its indirect effect was also found to be positive and significant $B = .21$ and the bias-corrected confidence interval (CI) did not include zero, $CI_{95} [.22 - .52]$. These findings support H1 and indicate that the POP-turnover intention relationship is a partial mediation.

H2 predicted a moderated-mediation model in which LMX is expected to moderate the POP-turnover intention relationship via emotional exhaustion. Similar to the preliminary evidence by Chhetri *et al.*, 2016, the POP-LMX interaction term was found to be a significant predictor of emotional exhaustion ($B = -.72, p = .00$). Despite no hypothesis being formed, the effect of the POP-LMX interaction term on emotional exhaustion was also explored. Accordingly, when LMX is lower, that is one standard deviation below the mean (-1 SD), POP has a negative and significant effect on emotional exhaustion ($B = .95, p = .00$). However, this effect disappears when LMX is higher, that is one standard deviation above the mean (+1 SD) ($B = -.17, p = .44$). Then, we examined and contrasted the conditional indirect effect of POP on turnover through emotional exhaustion when LMX is lower (-1 SD) and higher (+1 SD). The bias-corrected bootstrapping estimates at the 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect were found to be positive when LMX is low ($B = .37, SE = .24, CI_{95} [.09 - 1.03]$), but insignificant when LMX is high ($B = -.07, SE = .09, CI_{95} [-.27 - .10]$). Moreover, we checked whether these statistics differ significantly from each other using moderated-mediation index and pairwise contrasts between conditional indirect effects. Accordingly, both moderated-mediation index (index = $-.28, SE = .18, CI_{95} [-.78 - -.08]$) and pairwise contrasts between conditional indirect effects (contrast = $-.44, SE = .28, CI_{95} [-1.21 - -.12]$) yielded confidence intervals that exclude zero thus supporting the significant difference of conditional indirect effects. These findings support H2.

H3 proposed a conditional moderated-mediation or two-stage moderated-mediation model, which has LMX as the first-stage moderator and PJA as the second-stage moderator in the POP-turnover relationship. Like the preliminary evidence, the interaction of emotional exhaustion with PJA predicts turnover intention ($B = .39, p = .008$). While no hypothesis was offered, we explored

moderating effect of PJA in the second stage. Accordingly, when PJA is lower (1 SD below the mean), emotional exhaustion has no effect on turnover ($B = .07$, $p = .69$), but when PJA is higher (1 SD above the mean), emotional exhaustion positively relates to turnover intention ($B = .65$, $p = .000$). We then examined the conditional indirect relationship between POP and turnover moderated by LMX at the first stage and moderated by PJA at the second stage using bias-corrected bootstrapping (5000 samples) method at the 95% confidence interval. Because we found in the test of H2 that the moderating effect of LMX was significant only when LMX was low, for testing H3 we compared the moderated-mediation effects at low LMX when PJA was low (-1 SD) and when PJA was high (+1 SD). As shown in Table 3, the bias-corrected bootstrapping estimates at the 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect were found to be positive when LMX is low *and* PJA is low ($B = .62$, $SE = .30$, $CI_{95} [.24 - 1.43]$), but insignificant when LMX was low and PJA is high ($B = .07$, $SE = .16$, $CI_{95} [-.26 - .39]$). Moreover, we checked whether these statistics differ significantly from each other using moderated moderated-mediation index and pairwise contrasts between conditional indirect effects. Accordingly, both moderated moderated-mediation index (index = $-.28$, $SE = .17$, $CI_{95} [-.75 - -.09]$) and pairwise contrasts between conditional indirect effects (contrast = $.55$, $SE = .29$, $CI_{95} [.17 - 1.35]$) yielded confidence intervals that exclude zero, thus supporting the significant difference of conditional indirect effects. These findings support H3.

Table 3. Conditional Indirect Effects for H3

Moderating Variables		Conditional Effect	SE	LLCI	ULCI
Low LMX (-1 SD = $-.7763$)	Low PJA (-1 SD = $-.7459$)	,06	,16	-,26	,39
	High PJA (+1 SD = $.7459$)	,62	,30	,24	1,43
High LMX (+1 SD = $.7763$)	Low PJA (-1 SD = $-.7459$)	-,01	,08	-,26	,07
	High PJA (+1 SD = $.7459$)	-,11	,15	-,48	,12

Note. LMX = Leader-member exchange, PJA = Perceived job alternatives, LLCI = lower limit confidence interval, ULCI = upper limit confidence interval.

Discussion

This study approached organizational politics from the SET perspective and adopted a time-lagged study design to explore the processes through which

adverse effects of POP unfold. Specifically, we found that POP, which is unfavorable for social exchanges, can predict employees' emotional exhaustion in the second year, increasing employees' turnover intention in the third year. Furthermore, we found that quality LMX, indicating favorable social exchanges with the supervisor, mitigates the adverse effects of POP. While employees who lack quality social exchanges with their supervisors experience the damaging effects of POP on emotional exhaustion and turnover, those with quality LMX do not experience any of these negative outcomes. Lastly, we explored the moderating role of PJA, indicating the possibility of developing better exchanges outside the current organization, in the POP processes. Results showed that PJA is a significant factor influencing employees' turnover decisions. Accordingly, employees experiencing high POP and low LMX, indicating low-quality social exchanges with both parties, decide to leave the organization only when they have high PJA, but not when they have low PJA.

Theoretical Implications

The current study adds to the organizational politics literature that investigates personal and organizational factors mitigating or exacerbating the damaging effects of POP (Ferris *et al.*, 2019). Our findings extend the relevant literature by illustrating a comprehensive picture of why, under what conditions, and which employees leave their political organizations. More importantly, we showed that social exchanges play a significant role in employees' decisions to leave their political organizations. Regarding the why question, our research clarifies that emotional exhaustion is one of the reasons why employees withdraw from politicized organizations. Political environments distressing employees and depleting their resources cause employees to decide to quit the "political game" and look for alternatives. However, our finding of emotional exhaustion as a partial mediator suggests that POP's effect on turnover intention can emerge through alternative outlets other than emotional exhaustion. This could be a potential inquiry for future studies.

Concerning the question of under what conditions employees leave their political organization, our study uncovered that LMX, social exchanges with supervisors, is an important condition that shapes employees' withdrawal from political environments. This finding suggests that employees continue to work in politicized organizations if they are satisfied with the quality of social exchanges

with their supervisors. This is consistent with the old saying that people do not leave their companies, they leave managers (Gallup, 2015). Regarding the POP-LMX relationship, most studies proposed and tested the effect of LMX in shaping employees' POP levels (Dulebohn *et al.*, 2012). As we found a weak negative correlation between POP and LMX, we can reasonably argue that LMX shapes how individuals evaluate the political environment because supervisors' decisions and deeds are also subject to political evaluations. However, there are also many organizational policies and procedures that supervisors do not have a say in or any control over, which ultimately affect employees' subjective evaluations of organizational politics. While our time-lagged study design and significant findings corroborate our argument that LMX mitigates the damages of POP, a potential research avenue includes replicating the current relationships through other longitudinal methods, such as panel design or experience sampling, to confirm the directions of the relationships.

Our study extends the current POP literature also by responding to the question of which employees leave their political organizations. The findings indicate that only the employees who think that they have alternative places or jobs intend to quit their political organizations and supervisors with low-quality exchanges. However, if employees think their chances of finding an alternative job that can provide better exchanges are low, they decide to continue with their political organizations and unsatisfying relationships with their supervisors. This raises the question of what these stuck employees do to rebalance their unbalanced relationship with the organization and/or their supervisor. According to previous research, they might reduce their performance and effort, engage in absenteeism, or even exhibit workplace deviance (Crawford *et al.*, 2019; Castanheira, Sguera, & Story., 2022). We believe these potential explanations regarding the reactions of low PJA employees against high POP and low LMX deserve future scholarly attention. Continuance commitment is a relevant construct that may be relied on to understand the reactions of these employees who are unsatisfied with their exchanges with their organizations and leaders, but cannot leave or change their work. This concept refers to staying in the organization due to the perceived cost of leaving the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1996), which largely depends on the availability of employment alternatives (Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002). While previous research found that continuance commitment is not determined by POP (Randall, Cropanzano, Bormann, & Birjulin, 1999; Hu, 2010), it can moderate the type of withdrawal reactions

employees demonstrate in highly politicized organizations. For example, previous research has shown that those with high continuance commitment tend to have lower turnover intention (Panaccio, Vandenberghe, & Ben Ayed, 2014), which is similar to our finding that employees with low quality bonds with their organizations and leaders continue working in their current job when they do not have good alternatives. Another finding is that high continuance commitment might act as a stressor and result in greater emotional exhaustion, and in turn higher silence behavior (Wang, Guo, & Duan, 2022). Moreover, employees with high continuance commitment view their job as a necessity or obligation and does not perform beyond the minimum level that is required to secure their position in the organization (Luchak & Gellatly, 2007). Drawing upon previous research, minimal performance and silence might be other withdrawal reactions that manifested by employees in highly political organizational environments. Thus, we recommend future studies to take a commitment approach and advance the understanding of the interactive effects of POP and commitment to explain employee withdrawal reactions. We believe understanding and exploring these effects are particularly important for healthcare personnel as costs of silence and low performance by these personnel can be asymmetrically higher and devastating (McKay & Deily, 2005).

The findings of the current study should also be discussed from a cultural perspective. Previous studies have suggested that depending on their cultural values and characteristics, people may have different expectations regarding social exchange relationships, which can shape how they perceive and react to any violation of reciprocity in their relationships with their organizations and their leaders (Chang *et al.*, 2009; Shore, Coyle-Shapiro, Chen, & Tetrick, 2009). For example, vertical-collectivistic culture, which is characterized by hierarchical relationships, interdependency and concern for group objectives, is likely to increase the sensitivity of its members and strengthen their reactions to the extent of support they receive from their organization as these people interpret such support as a cue signaling their belonging to the organization, and approval and acceptance by others (Eisenberger, Rhoades Shanock, & Wen, 2020). A recent meta-analytic study found that employees from vertical-collectivistic cultures react more strongly to their social exchanges with and support from their organizations such that their behavioral (i.e., performance, citizenship behavior) and attitudinal (i.e., organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and turnover intentions) outcomes are much pronounced compared to those from horizontal-

individualistic cultures (Rockstuhl *et al.*, 2020). These findings might be valid also for Turkey because of its culture's vertical-collectivistic characteristics. Participants may have been more responsive to POP in Turkey, which signals lack of organizational support and distorted exchanges. However, contrary to this reasoning, studies examining how culture shapes responses to POP found that people from cultures with high individualism or low power distance are more likely to be affected by POP and show higher turnover intention, lower commitment, and lower performance (Watkins, Smith, Cooke, & Christian, 2014). These findings, which at first glance seem contradictory, suggest that employees' reactions to unbalanced social exchanges as a result of high POP requires more elaboration on the role of cultural values and characteristics and their effects.

Lastly, drawing on previous studies (Bodla *et al.*, 2015; Crawford *et al.*, 2019), the current research assumed that POP results in unbalanced social exchanges, but it did not measure whether the employees really perceived that a distortion of reciprocity in their relationship with their organizations. Psychological contract breach holds relevance here as a notable construct, representing the extent to which an organization falls short of fulfilling its obligations and violates the norms of reciprocity (Coyle-Shapiro, Pereira Costa, Doden, & Chang, 2019). Previous studies have demonstrated that POP escalates employees' perception of psychological contract breach, which in turn shapes their psychological, attitudinal and behavioral responses (Rosen, Chang, Johnson, & Levy, 2009), including emotional exhaustion and turnover intention (Said, Ali, Ali, & Chen, 2021). We believe that psychological contract breach can account for the effects of POP proposed in our model and thus we recommend investigation of the effect of POP interacting with LMX on psychological contract breach and turnover intention as a future research endeavor.

Practical Contributions

Our study has also some practical contributions. First, the three-year time-lagged study design helps reveal the long-lasting damaging effects of POP. This suggests that contextual characteristics of organizations that tend to be stable, such as organizational politics, can have significant effects on employees' psychological states and attitudes. Despite this, developing friendly, supporting, and inclusive relationships with supervisors can protect employees from exhausting, distressing political environments and prevent their withdrawal. Thus, organizations

especially the ones characterized by political characteristics are recommended to invest in leadership development and training programs to improve the supervisors' relationship-building skills.

Our findings also suggest that organizations should pay attention to POP and even keep track of employees' politics perceptions periodically for their retention and well-being. It is important to keep in mind that the first reaction to unbalanced exchanges and increased POP might not be withdrawal. According to our findings, reduced psychological well-being, or emotional exhaustion, is the initial response to POP by those whose supervisors fall short of building balanced and quality dyadic relationships. Hence, in addition to measuring POP, regular assessment of emotional exhaustion levels is recommended to be included in periodical employee surveys and used for intervention purposes.

The findings of our study deserve closer attention of managers at healthcare organizations. Healthcare personnel is among the greatest assets of healthcare organizations and their retention and well-being are crucial for the organization's sustainability and effectiveness. Corroborating with previous studies on healthcare personnel (Ferris & Kacmar, 1992; Labrague, McEnroe-Petitte, Gloe, Tsaras, Arteche, & Maldia, 2017; Crawford *et al.*, 2019), our findings point to POP as a substantial factor that can have damaging effects on healthcare personnel's well-being and retention. Considering the scarce talent resource and the increasing trend of workforce mobility among healthcare providers (Kilic, Sonmez, Erzin, Guloksuz, & Pinto da Costa, 2019; Yıldız & Özer, 2022), it is important to explore the mediums through which the healthcare workforce can be retained and protected against negative dynamics in the organizational context such as POP. Thus, we recommend that managers of healthcare organizations regulate and check the very factors (Ferris *et al.*, 2002; Atinc *et al.*, 2010) that exacerbate the POP in their organizations to prevent talent from leaving.

Limitations

One limitation of the current study relates to the sample size. We collected data over a three-year period and used a participant's responses only if he/she participated in all three surveys. This resulted in dropping many responses and a sizeable reduction in the final sample size. Loss of participants in time-lagged surveys is common and expected, and it is likely to have minimal or no effect at all on regression estimates (Eerola, Huurre, & Aro, 2005; Gustavson *et al.*,

2012). Moreover, we used bootstrap analysis not only to control non-normal distribution of the indirect effect but also to minimize type I error rates because of the small sample size. Moreover, small samples do not always pose a problem since a simulation study indicated that the bootstrap confidence intervals can handle small sample sizes (even as small 50-60) when it comes to detection of mediation (Pan, Liu, Miao, & Yuan, 2018). Lastly, we collected the data from a single organization, which might have reduced the extent of the variability in the organizational political characteristics. These concerns are caveat to the generalizability of our findings. Thus, we encourage further research to replicate the current model and propositions with a larger and more comprehensive sample to enhance generalizability.

References / Kaynakça

- Andrews, M. C. & Kacmar, K. M. 2001. Discriminating among organizational politics, justice, and support. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22 (4): 347-366.
- Allen, N. J. & Meyer, J. P. 1996. Affective, continuance, and normative commitment to the organization: An examination of construct validity. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 49 (3): 252-276.
- Atinc, G., Darrat, M., Fuller, B., & Parker, B. W. 2010. Perceptions of organizational politics: A meta-analysis of theoretical antecedents. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 22 (4): 494-513.
- Bedi, A. & Schat, A. C. 2013. Perceptions of organizational politics: A meta-analysis of its attitudinal, health, and behavioural consequences. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne*, 54 (4): 246-259.
- Bentler, P. M. & Yuan, K. H. 1999. Structural equation modeling with small samples: Test statistics. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 34 (2): 181-197.
- Blau, P. M. 1964. *Exchange and power in social life*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Bodla, M. A., Afza, T., & Danish, R. Q. 2015. Perceived organizational politics and employee morale: Mediating role of social exchange perceptions in Pakistani organizations. *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Sciences*, 4 (1): 66-75.
- Boswell, W. R., Boudreau, J. W., & Dunford, B. B. 2004. The outcomes and correlates of job search objectives: Searching to leave or searching for leverage?. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89 (6): 1083-1091.
- Byrne, Z. S., Kacmar, C., Stoner, J., & Hochwarter, W. A. 2005. The Relationship Between Perceptions of Politics and Depressed Mood at Work: Unique Moderators Across Three Levels. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 10 (4): 330-343.
- Castanheira, F. V. D. S., Sguera, F., & Story, J. 2022. Organizational politics and its impact on performance and deviance through authenticity and emotional exhaustion. *British Journal of Management*, 33 (4): 1887-1904.
- Chang, C. H., Rosen, C. C., & Levy, P. E. 2009. The relationship between perceptions of organizational politics and employee attitudes, strain, and behavior: A meta-analytic examination. *Academy of Management Journal*, 52 (4): 779-801.
- Chhetri, P., Afshan, N., & Chatterjee, S. 2016. The impact of perceived organizational politics on work attitudes: the moderating role of leader-member-exchange quality. M. Khosrow-Pour (Ed.). *Politics and social activism: Concepts, methodologies, tools, and applications*: 1229-1242. IGI Global.
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. 2003. *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Coyle-Shapiro, J. A. M., Pereira Costa, S., Doden, W., & Chang, C. 2019. Psychological contracts: Past, present, and future. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 6: 145-169.
- Cropanzano, R., Anthony, E. L., Daniels, S. R., & Hall, A. V. 2017. Social exchange theory: A critical review with theoretical remedies. *Academy of Management Annals*, 11 (1): 479-516.
- Crawford, W. S., Lamarre, E., Kacmar, K. M., & Harris, K. J. 2019. Organizational politics and deviance: exploring the role of political skill. *Human Performance*, 32 (2): 92-106.
- Dulebohn, J. H., Bommer, W. H., Liden, R. C., Brouer, R. L., & Ferris, G. R. 2012. A meta-analysis of antecedents and consequences of leader-member exchange: Integrating the past with an eye toward the future. *Journal of Management*, 38 (6): 1715-1759.
- Eisenberger, R., Karagonlar, G., Stinglhamber, F., Neves, P., Becker, T. E., Gonzalez-Morales, M. G., & Steiger-Mueller, M. 2010. Leader-member exchange and affective organizational commitment: The contribution of supervisor's organizational embodiment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95 (6): 1085-1103.
- Eisenberger, R., Rhoades Shanock, L., & Wen, X. 2020. Perceived organizational support: Why caring about employees counts. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 7: 101-124.
- Erdogan, B. & Bauer, T. N. 2010. Differentiated leader-member exchanges: The buffering role of justice climate. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95 (6): 1104-1120.
- Erdogan, B. & Bauer, T. N. 2014. Leader-member exchange (LMX) theory: The relational approach to leadership. D. Day (Ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Leadership*: 407-433. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eerola, M., Huurre, T., & Aro, H. 2005. The problem of attrition in a Finnish longitudinal survey on depression. *European Journal of Epidemiology*, 20: 113-120.
- Ferris, G. R., Adams, G., Kolodinsky, R. W., Hochwarter, W. A., & Ammeter, A. P. 2002. Perceptions of organizational politics: Theory and research directions. F. Dansereau & F. J. Yammarino (Ed.). *Research in multi-level issues*: 179-254. Oxford, U.K.: Elsevier Science/JAI Press.
- Ferris, G. R., Ellen III, B. P., McAllister, C. P., & Maher, L. P. 2019. Reorganizing organizational politics research: A review of the literature and identification of future research directions. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 6: 299-323.
- Ferris, G. R., Harrell-Cook, G., & Dulebohn, J. H. 2000. Organizational politics: The nature of the relationship between politics perceptions and political behavior. S. B.,

- Bacharach & E. J., Lawler (Ed.). *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*: 89-130. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Ferris, G.R., Russ, G.S., & Fandt, P.M. 1989. Politics in organizations. R. A. Giacalone & P. Rosenfeld (Ed.). *Impression management in the organization*: 143-170. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gallup, 2015. *State of the American manager: Analytics and advice for leaders*, <https://www.gallup.com/services/182138/state-american-manager.aspx>. Retrieved on July 2023.
- Gouldner, A. 1960. The norm of reciprocity. *American Sociological Review*, 25: 161-178.
- Graen, G. B. & Uhl-Bien, M. 1995. Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of leader-member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level multi-domain perspective. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 6 (2): 219-247.
- Griffeth, R. W., Hom, P. W., & Gaertner, S. 2000. A meta-analysis of antecedents and correlates of employee turnover: Update, moderator tests, and research implications for the next millennium. *Journal of Management*, 26 (3): 463-488.
- Gustavson, K., von Soest, T., & Karevold, E., *et al.* 2012. Attrition and generalizability in longitudinal studies: findings from a 15-year population-based study and a Monte Carlo simulation study. *BMC Public Health*, 12: 1-11.
- Haider, S., Fatima, N., & de Pablos-Heredero, C. 2020. A three-wave longitudinal study of moderated mediation between perceptions of politics and employee turnover intentions: the role of job anxiety and political skills. *Revista de Psicología del Trabajo y de las Organizaciones*, 36 (1): 1-14.
- Halbesleben, J. R. & Buckley, M. R. 2004. Burnout in organizational life. *Journal of Management*, 30 (6): 859-879.
- Hall, A. T., Franczak, J., Ma, S., Herrera, D., & Hochwarter, W. A. 2017. Driving away the bad guys: The interactive effects of politics perceptions and work drive across two studies. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 24 (1): 106-120.
- Hall, A. T., Hochwarter, W. A., Ferris, G. R., & Bowen, M. G. 2004. The dark side of politics in organizations. R. W. Griffin & A. M. O'Leary-Kelly (Ed.). *The dark side of organizational behavior*: 237- 261. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Harris, K. J., Andrews, M. C., & Kacmar, K. M. 2007. The moderating effects of justice on the relationship between organizational politics and workplace attitudes. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 22: 135-144.
- Hochwarter, W. A. 2012. The positive side of organizational politics. G. R. Ferris & D. C. Treadway (Ed.). *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations*: 27-65. New York: Routledge

- Hochwarter, W. A., Ferris, G. R., Laird, M. D., Treadway, D. C., & Coleman Gallagher, V. 2010. Nonlinear politics perceptions—Work outcomes relationships: A three-study, five-sample investigation. *Journal of Management*, 36 (3): 740-763.
- Hochwarter, W. A., Rosen, C. C., Jordan, S. L., Ferris, G. R., Ejaz, A., & Maher, L. P. 2020. Perceptions of organizational politics research: Past, present, and future. *Journal of Management*, 46 (6): 879-907.
- Hom, P. W., Mitchell, T. R., Lee, T. W., & Griffeth, R. W. 2012. Reviewing employee turnover: focusing on proximal withdrawal states and an expanded criterion. *Psychological Bulletin*, 138 (5): 831-858.
- Hu, S. 2010. Perceived organizational politics and organizational commitment: exploring the moderating effect of job insecurity. *2010 International Conference on Management and Service Science Proceedings*: 1-4. Wuhan, China.
- Hui, C., Law, K. S., & Chen, Z. X. 1999. A structural equation model of the effects of negative affectivity, leader-member exchange, and perceived job mobility on in-role and extra-role performance: A Chinese case. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 77 (1): 3-21.
- Joseph, D. L., Newman, D. A., & Sin, H. P. 2011. Leader–Member Exchange (LMX) measurement: evidence for consensus, construct breadth, and discriminant validity. D. D. Bergh & D. J. Ketchen (Ed). *Building methodological bridges*: 89-135. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Kacmar, K. M. & Carlson, D. S. 1997. Further validation of the perceptions of politics scale (POPS): A multiple sample investigation. *Journal of Management*, 23 (5): 627-658.
- Kane-Frieder, R. E., Hochwarter, W. A., Hampton, H. L., & Ferris, G. R. 2014. Supervisor political support as a buffer to subordinates' reactions to politics perceptions: A three-sample investigation. *Career Development International*, 19 (1): 27-48.
- Khan, N. A., Khan, A. N., & Gul, S. 2019. Relationship between perception of organizational politics and organizational citizenship behavior: Testing a moderated mediation model. *Asian Business & Management*, 18: 122-141.
- Kilic, O., Sonmez, E., Erzin, G., Guloksuz, S., & Pinto da Costa, M. 2019. Mobility trends of psychiatric trainees in Turkey: hard to leave, harder to stay?. *European Archives of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience*, 269: 367-369.
- Labrague, L. J., McEnroe-Petitte, D. M., Gloe, D., Tsaras, K., Arteche, D. L., & Maldia, F. 2017. Organizational politics, nurses' stress, burnout levels, turnover intention and job satisfaction. *International Nursing Review*, 64 (1): 109-116.
- Lewin, K. 1936. *Principles of topological psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Liden, R. C. & Graen, G. 1980. Generalizability of the vertical dyad linkage model of leadership. *Academy of Management Journal*, 23 (3): 451-465.

- Liden, R. C. & Maslyn, J. M. 1998. Multidimensionality of leader-member exchange: An empirical assessment through scale development. *Journal of Management*, 24 (1): 43-72.
- Liden, R. C., Sparrowe, R. T., & Wayne, S. J. 1997. Leader-member exchange theory: The past and potential for the future. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 15: 47-120
- Little, T. D., Cunningham, W. A., Shahar, G., & Widaman, K. F. 2002. To parcel or not to parcel: Exploring the question, weighing the merits. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 9 (2): 151-173.
- Luchak, A. A. & Gellatly, I. R. 2007. A comparison of linear and nonlinear relations between organizational commitment and work outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92 (3): 786-793.
- Malik, O. F., Shahzad, A., Raziq, M. M., Khan, M. M., Yusaf, S., & Khan, A. 2019. Perceptions of organizational politics, knowledge hiding, and employee creativity: The moderating role of professional commitment. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 142: 232-237.
- Maslach, C. & Jackson, S. E. 1981. The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 2 (2): 99-113.
- Maxwell, S. E. & Cole, D. A. 2007. Bias in cross-sectional analyses of longitudinal mediation. *Psychological Methods*, 12 (1): 23-44.
- Maxwell, S. E., Cole, D. A., & Mitchell, M. A. 2011. Bias in cross-sectional analyses of longitudinal mediation: Partial and complete mediation under an autoregressive model. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 46 (5): 816-841.
- Mayes, B. T. & Allen, R. W. 1977. Toward a definition of organizational politics. *Academy of Management Review*, 2 (4): 672-678.
- McKay, N. L. & Deily, M. E. 2005. Comparing high-and low-performing hospitals using risk-adjusted excess mortality and cost inefficiency. *Health Care Management Review*, 30 (4): 347-360.
- Meyer, J. P., Stanley, D. J., Herscovitch, L., & Topolnytsky, L. 2002. Affective, continuance, and normative commitment to the organization: A meta-analysis of antecedents, correlates, and consequences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 61 (1): 20-52.
- Miller, B. K., Rutherford, M. A., & Kolodinsky, R. W. 2008. Perceptions of organizational politics: A meta-analysis of outcomes. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 22: 209-222.
- Mintzberg, H. 1983. *Power in and around organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Özkan, A. H. 2022. The effect of burnout and its dimensions on turnover intention among nurses: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Nursing Management*, 30 (3): 660-669.
- Pan, H., Liu, S., Miao, D., & Yuan, Y. 2018. Sample size determination for mediation analysis of longitudinal data. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 18 (1): 1-11.
- Panaccio, A., Vandenberghe, C., & Ben Ayed, A. K. 2014. The role of negative affectivity in the relationships between pay satisfaction, affective and continuance commitment and voluntary turnover: A moderated mediation model. *Human Relations*, 67 (7): 821-848.
- Petrou, P., Kouvonen, A., & Karanika-Murray, M. 2011. Social exchange at work and emotional exhaustion: The role of personality. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 41 (9): 2165-2199.
- Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., & Podsakoff, N. P. 2012. Sources of method bias in social science research and recommendations on how to control it. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 63: 539-569.
- Preacher, K. J. & Hayes, A. F. 2008. Contemporary approaches to assessing mediation in communication research. A. F. Hayes, M. D. Slater, & L. B. Snyder (Ed.). *The Sage sourcebook of advanced data analysis methods for communication research*: 13-54. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Randall, M. L., Cropanzano, R., Bormann, C. A., & Birjulin, A. 1999. Organizational politics and organizational support as predictors of work attitudes, job performance, and organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 20 (2): 159-174.
- Rhoades, L. & Eisenberger, R. 2002. Perceived organizational support: A review of the literature. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87 (4): 698-714.
- Rockstuhl, T., Eisenberger, R., Shore, L. M., Kurtessis, J. N., Ford, M. T., Buffardi, L. C., & Mesdaghinia, S. 2020. Perceived organizational support (POS) across 54 nations: A cross-cultural meta-analysis of POS effects. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 51: 933-962.
- Rose, J., Madurai, T., Thomas, K., Duffy, B., & Oyeboode, J. 2010. Reciprocity and burnout in direct care staff. *Clinical Psychology & Psychotherapy*, 17 (6): 455-462.
- Rosen, C. C., Chang, C. H., Johnson, R. E., & Levy, P. E. 2009. Perceptions of the organizational context and psychological contract breach: Assessing competing perspectives. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 108 (2): 202-217.
- Rosen, C. C. & Hochwarter, W. A. 2014. Looking back and falling further behind: The moderating role of rumination on the relationship between organizational politics

- and employee attitudes, well-being, and performance. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 124 (2): 177-189.
- Rubenstein, A. L., Eberly, M. B., Lee, T. W., & Mitchell, T. R. 2018. Surveying the forest: A meta-analysis, moderator investigation, and future-oriented discussion of the antecedents of voluntary employee turnover. *Personnel Psychology*, 71 (1): 23-65.
- Said, H., Ali, L., Ali, F., & Chen, X. 2021. COVID-19 and unpaid leave: Impacts of psychological contract breach on organizational distrust and turnover intention: Mediating role of emotional exhaustion. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 39: 100854.
- Schaufeli, W. B. 2006. The balance of give and take: Toward a social exchange model of burnout. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 19 (1): 75-119.
- Schermuly, C. C. & Meyer, B. 2016. Good relationships at work: The effects of Leader–Member Exchange and Team–Member Exchange on psychological empowerment, emotional exhaustion, and depression. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 37 (5): 673-691.
- Scott, S. G. & Bruce, R. A. 1994. Determinants of innovative behavior: A path model of individual innovation in the workplace. *Academy of Management Journal*, 37 (3): 580-607.
- Shore, L. M., Coyle-Shapiro, J. A., Chen, X. P., & Tetrick, L. E. 2009. Social exchange in work settings: Content, process, and mixed models. *Management and Organization Review*, 5 (3): 289-302.
- Sparrowe, R. T. & Liden, R. C. 2005. Two routes to influence: Integrating leader-member exchange and social network perspectives. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 50 (4): 505-535.
- Sumner, R. C. & Kinsella, E. L. 2022. 7 High expectations and unreciprocated effort in societal exchange: Lessons from the pandemic about psychological forces that influence burnout. M. P. Leiter, C. L. Cooper (Eds). *Burnout While Working: Lessons from Pandemic and Beyond*. New York: Routledge.
- Tordera, N., González-Romá, V., & Peiró, J. M. 2008. The moderator effect of psychological climate on the relationship between leader–member exchange (LMX) quality and role overload. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 17 (1): 55-72.
- Van Knippenberg, D., Van Dick, R., & Tavares, S. 2007. Social identity and social exchange: Identification, support, and withdrawal from the job. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 37 (3): 457-477.
- Wang, X., Guo, Y., & Duan, J. 2022. When does commitment backfire: Linking employee continuance commitment to silence behavior. *European Review of Applied Psychology*, 72 (6): 100797.

- Wayne, S. J., Shore, L. M., & Liden, R. C. 1997. Perceived organizational support and leader-member exchange: A social exchange perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, 40 (1): 82-111.
- Wheeler, A. R., Coleman Gallagher, V., Brouer, R. L., & Sablinski, C. J. 2007. When person-organization (mis) fit and (dis) satisfaction lead to turnover: The moderating role of perceived job mobility. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 22 (2): 203-219.
- Wilk, S. L. & Moynihan, L. M. 2005. Display rule “regulators”: The relationship between supervisors and worker emotional exhaustion. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90 (5): 917-927.
- Yang, F. 2017. Better understanding the perceptions of organizational politics: its impact under different types of work unit structure. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 26 (2): 250-262.
- Yıldız, G. H. & Özer, K. 2022. Neoliberal health policies and doctor migration. *Scientific and Academic Research*, 1 (1): 1-13.