Mum's the Word: Leadership's Role in Workplace Knowledge Hiding

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A Thesis

In

The Department of

Management

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Science (Management) at

Concordia University

Montréal, Québec, Canada

December, 2024

Pouya Nikbakhsh 2024

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY School of Graduate Studies

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MSc Management

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Abstract

Mum's the Word: Leadership's Role in Workplace Knowledge Hiding Pouya Nikbakhsh

Knowledge is a critical strategic asset, yet deliberate knowledge hiding poses significant challenges to collaboration and innovation. This thesis examines how supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding influences employees' tendencies to hide knowledge, using social learning theory and perceived supervisor role modeling. Drawing on Leader–Member Exchange (LMX) theory, it also explores whether high-quality supervisor–subordinate relationships moderate these effects.

Data collected via Prolific from full-time employees across various industries were analyzed using regression, mediation, and moderated mediation models. Findings show that supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding strongly influences employees' similar behaviors, but not through explicit role modeling. Additionally, LMX quality did not significantly moderate these relationships.

These results highlight the impact of leadership behaviors on workplace knowledge dynamics. While supervisors' direct influence is notable, role modeling and LMX alone do not fully explain how knowledge-hiding norms spread. Organizations aiming to reduce knowledge hiding should address supervisory behaviors and foster a culture of transparency and collaboration.

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Acknowledgement

I'd like to thank Dr. Yu-Ping Chen for his constant support, his incredible attention to detail in my work, and his endless patience. His guidance gave me the inspiration, courage, and motivation to keep going and continually improve.

I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Yu-Shan Hsu and Dr. Steve Granger, for their generous guidance, continuous support, and thoughtful recommendations. Their knowledge and experience have been invaluable in helping me improve my thesis, one step at a time.

A special thank you to Dr. Linda Dyer, who has been a role model to me—not just as a researcher but as an amazing person. Her advice, support, and guidance have had a profound impact on this chapter of my life, and I'll always be grateful for that.

To my girlfriend, Parfi—thank you for being by my side through it all. You never hesitated to take on challenges, even while I spent countless hours glued to my computer screen. Your support meant everything to me.

I'm also grateful to my employer, Brother Canada, and especially to my manager, Milena Fernandes, for their understanding and encouragement throughout this process.

Finally, a big thank you to all the friends, colleagues, and loved ones who offered me their support along the way. Your kindness made all the difference.

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Introduction

In today's economy, where knowledge is becoming more and more important, it seems as if the management of knowledge in organizations, in a strategic manner, is becoming growingly crucial. This importance is related to and aims to maintain a competitive edge. Sir Francis Bacon once said, "knowledge is power" (Bacon, 1597), and this concept has held true over centuries, has evolved in terms of implication over centuries and has become an important aspect of organizational success. In the context of this thesis, the term "knowledge" is being referred to as the practical know-how and skill set employees use to execute their tasks, as opposed to mere factual information. This know-how encompasses tacit competencies acquired through experience and interaction, which can enhance organizational efficiency and innovation when shared across teams (Wang & Noe, 2010). Accordingly, this thesis focuses on the withholding of task-relevant expertise—knowledge that is central to daily operations and problem-solving, rather than personal or administrative information. In modern terms, knowledge distinguishes entities and provides them with a strategic advantage over competitors (Nissen, 2011). However, making sure that the transmission and sharing of knowledge continues in organizations, can sometimes be difficult to achieve (Wang & Noe, 2010). Organizations are advocating for open communication and knowledge-sharing to enhance their efficiency and improve collaboration; however, employees may still deliberately engage in knowledge hiding, also defined as concealing information requested by others (Connelly, Zweig, Webster, & Trougakos, 2012). This behavior of knowledge hiding might lead to unwanted consequences for organizations and is in contrast with what the organizations are inviting their employees to do. Specifically, knowledge hiding can undermine trust among colleagues, reduce teamwork effectiveness, and

damage organizational performance (Connelly et al., 2012). Furthermore, it may lead to decreased creativity and innovation within teams, as employees are less willing to share ideas (Černe, Nerstad, Dysvik, & Škerlavaj, 2014). Additionally, knowledge hiding can increase workplace conflicts and negatively impact employee morale, potentially resulting in higher turnover intentions (Serenko & Bontis, 2016) Such deliberate withholding hinders collaboration by denying others the resources needed to perform effectively, fueling frustration and suspicion (Serenko & Bontis, 2016).

Types of Knowledge Hiding

The concept of knowledge hiding has multiple aspects, all of which are worthy of studying; these aspects each introduce a different manner of hiding the knowledge. There are three types of knowledge hiding introduced in the article "Knowledge hiding in organizations: Understanding the toll on relationships and performance", (Connelly et al., 2012), They include: evasive hiding, playing dumb, and rationalized hiding. Evasive knowledge hiding occurs when someone deliberately provides incomplete or misleading information (Connelly et al., 2012). For instance, this could involve intentionally sharing only part of the required details or redirecting a person to another source without any plan to assist further. One other way to hide knowledge is by pretending not to have it. For example, an employee might falsely claim they lack certain information. A behavior named as "playing dumb" (Connelly et al., 2012). Another approach, known as rationalized hiding, involves withholding knowledge while citing external reasons, such as company policies or confidentiality. This type of knowledge hiding is called "rationalized knowledge hiding" and is the primary focus of my thesis.

Rationalized knowledge hiding in an organization can impact employees in many ways (Connelly et al, 2012). When supervisors engage in rationalized knowledge hiding by justifying

their withholding of information through external constraints like confidentiality or company policies, subordinates may perceive this behavior as acceptable or even necessary (Connelly et al, 2012). This can influence subordinates to adopt similar knowledge-hiding behaviors, leading to a culture of non-disclosure that damages knowledge sharing and collaboration within the organization (Connelly et al., 2012). Understanding the impact of rationalized hiding on employee behaviors is crucial for organizations aiming for a transparent and collaborative work environment.

Knowledge hiding in organizations is generally complex and have led to many insightful findings. While many organizations encourage open communication, they may still witness knowledge-hiding behaviors that undermine collaboration and decision-making initiatives (Connelly, Černe, Dysvik & Škerlavaj, 2019). The negative impacts of knowledge hiding on performance in the organizations are well-researched and they include reduced collaboration among employees, damage to decision-making process, lower productivity, having a toxic work environment, and many more (Wang & Noe, 2010). Knowledge hiding has negative impacts on trust among employees and undermines innovation and even goes against the overall growth of the organization (Connelly et al., 2019). These effects are not only harmful to organizational health but also create significant barriers to effective teamwork, as trust seems to be a crucial component of successful collaboration.

Prior research identifies several additional drivers of employee knowledge hiding. One well-documented category involves social exchange processes. Individuals often reciprocate negative treatment by withholding resources such as know-how (Blau, 1964). For instance, in climates of perceived injustice or poor reciprocity, employees may feel justified in not sharing knowledge (Peng, 2013; Zhao). Beyond fairness, employees who sense exclusion or disrespect

may hide knowledge to protect themselves (Lee, Kim, & Yun, 2018). Personality-based drivers have likewise been highlighted. Certain traits, such as neuroticism, can predispose individuals to see coworkers as threats and intentionally conceal information (Connelly & Zweig, 2015). Moreover, in highly competitive organizational cultures, employees can fear losing status or advantages if they share valuable expertise (Connelly, Černe, Dysvik, & Škerlavaj, 2019). Researchers also emphasize ethical climate and organizational norms. Serenko and Bontis (2016) note that where ethical guidelines are weak or inconsistent, employees may perceive fewer repercussions for engaging in hidden behaviors. Similarly, a culture that rewards individual heroics rather than collective success might implicitly encourage knowledge hoarding (Fong, Men, Luo, & Jia, 2018). In some cases, employees hide information to safeguard personal relationships, especially if disclosing knowledge could harm a teammate's reputation or expose mistakes (Peng, 2013).

Supervisors, because of the position they have in organizations, play a pivotal role in shaping workplace behaviors and norms (Bai, Lin, & Liu, 2019). Supervisors' actions often are perceived as cues for acceptable behavior among subordinates, and this, makes supervisors central figures in the continuation or mitigation of any knowledge-hiding behaviors (Bai et al., 2019). When supervisors engage in knowledge hiding behaviors, their behavior can unintentionally set a precedent for subordinates to follow. The subordinates then may begin to perceive knowledge hiding as an acceptable, or even necessary, practice at work and generally for career survival (Connelly et al., 2019).

The influence of supervisors' knowledge-hiding behaviors on subordinates thus becomes critical because it can affect subordinates' perceptions of acceptable conduct in the workplace (Černe et al., 2014). From time to time, and in certain situations, the subordinates might observe

their supervisors engaging in rationalized knowledge hiding; subordinates then, may interpret this behavior as a standard practice endorsed by the organization, and it is through that perception that a culture in which knowledge hiding is normalized could shape in the workplace (Peng, 2013). A culture of normalized knowledge hiding creates a team where employees would be continuously withholding information from their peers, their subordinates, their clients, among others. The effects of such a culture are far-reaching. A culture of knowledge hiding at the workplace not only hurts trust among employees but also obstructs the normal and expected flow of information, which is generally critical for decision-making and innovation in the organization (Connelly et al., 2012). If organizations fail to address knowledge hiding, they risk creating an environment where collaboration declines, productivity suffers, and critical institutional knowledge is lost. Over time, disengaged employees may choose to leave and seek opportunities elsewhere (Serenko & Bontis, 2016).

Rationalized knowledge hiding is worthy of further exploration too, as this type of knowledge hiding provides, what it seems to be, *logical justifications* for withholding information (Connelly et al., 2012). Supervisors who engage in this type of knowledge hiding may argue that they are protecting sensitive company's data or simply following company policies. While these justifications may always appear to be legitimate on the surface, they might be hiding some deeper issues including the supervisors' desire to maintain their power or avoid accountability (Connelly et al., 2012). The rationalization aspect of this type of knowledge hiding it more difficult for organizations to address the behavior, and making it more difficult for subordinates to distinguish knowledge hiding from truly protecting sensitive information. Subordinates who witness rationalized knowledge hiding may begin to adopt similar behavior

and with that, without wanting to damage their organization, contribute to obstruction of information flow (Connelly et al., 2012).

While it is true that knowledge hiding affects individual behaviors, we must remember that it also can have a profound impact on the culture of organizations (Serenko & Bontis, 2016). Knowledge hiding can truly undermine the very principles of transparency and collaboration and when knowledge hiding becomes normalized in a company, many of the communication goals that organizations strive to promote get damaged (Zhang & Wang, 2021). This result of this shift in culture can be a toxic work environment in which employees prioritize self-preservation over the collective good of the organization. In a toxic environment like that, employees might imitate the knowledge hiding behaviors of their supervisors. This copying would make such practices an accepted characteristic among team members. Theoretically, this can be explained through Social Learning Theory. Social Learning Theory explains that individuals learn behaviors by observing and imitating others, especially authority figures or role models (Bandura, 1977). If a Subordinate sees knowledge hiding by their supervisors, they will perceive it as a standard practice and may repeat this behavior themselves (Connelly et al., 2012). Since employees regard supervisors as role models whose actions define acceptable conduct within the organization, they are likely to follow suit (Peng, 2013). The result of this, as mentioned, would be culture of hiding and ongoing lack of constructive communication and information sharing.

If this justified knowledge hiding becomes normal in the organization, the consequences could become vast and extensive since it could have a profound impact on organizational culture (Serenko & Bontis, 2016). When knowledge hiding becomes the normal procedure at work, it undermines the transparency and collaboration that organizations try so hard to maintain (Zhang & Wang, 2021). Employees then may feel that hiding knowledge is important and necessary so

they can protect their interests in this new organizational culture. An eventual breakdown in trust and collaboration across teams could possibly be the result of this (Zhang & Wang, 2021). Over time, trust fades and collaboration disappear, and this could certainly damage creativity and innovation (Zhang & Wang, 2021). This is so as employees become less willing to share new ideas, even if they could be beneficial for the organization (Zhang & Wang, 2021). In addition, in a workplace where knowledge hiding continuously exists, employees' morale and job satisfaction go down (Fong et al., 2018). This subject seems even more important to study now, in the post-COVID era when the rise of remote work has introduced new challenges to knowledge management, particularly because it seems as working from distance can be exacerbating the potential for knowledge hiding (Serenko & Bontis, 2016). These days, in many companies, employees are continuing to work in different locations. After COVID-19 communication through digital channels has become common as more and more people are working remotely. This reduces the opportunities for knowledge sharing. Also, the lack of inperson contact in remote work environments can make it easier for individuals to hide knowledge, whether intentionally or unintentionally (Jasimuddin & Saci, 2022). Under such circumstances, supervisors' actions become even more critical. It is the supervisors, as leaders, or role models, who set the tone for how knowledge is shared or hidden within their teams (Bashir & Saleem, 2024).

All that was explained addresses how recognizing the roots knowledge-hiding behavior is important for any organization that seeks to remain competitive. Supervisors, in particular, must be mindful since it is their actions that could set the stage for what becomes their organizations' accepted behavior (Serenko & Bontis, 2016). This problem, however, could be addressed and eventually avoided. Supervisors can help mitigate the negative effects of knowledge hiding and

encourage more open communication among employees by creating an environment of trust and transparency (Jasimuddin & Saci, 2022). For this to happen, supervisors not only have to model the right behaviors but also need to continuously search for solutions and processes that support knowledge sharing across all levels of the organization. Related to all that was discussed, my thesis is focused on unearthing some of the possible reasons behind knowledge hiding and, in doing so, attempts to find possible solutions to manage and reduce knowledge hiding to avert its adverse effects at work. Knowledge management is critical for maintaining a competitive edge in today's economy, yet organizations often struggle with the complexities of it. In many cases employees may observe knowledge hiding within their organizations and this happens despite formal encouragement for open communication, particularly when it is the supervisors who engage in such behavior (Wang, Noe, 2010). My thesis aims to explore how supervisors' knowledge hiding, especially when it is rationalized by the supervisors and justified through policies or external constraints, influences subordinates' behaviors. I specifically, I seek to understand whether subordinates interpret their supervisors' actions as a norm and subsequently adopt similar behaviors. This is the question, since if they do this will be leading to the normalization of knowledge hiding within the organization.

Furthermore, and to elaborate, one of the central questions of my thesis is whether employees are more inclined to imitate their supervisors' knowledge hiding when they observe such behavior, particularly when it is rationalized. I also explore how the relationship between supervisors and their subordinates unfolds; I pose the question first whether it is supervisors' role modeling effect on subordinates that links the two groups and causes a mimicking behavior among subordinates, and then I further explore whether a strong, trust-based relationship between the supervisor and the subordinate enhances or the supervisor's influence on the

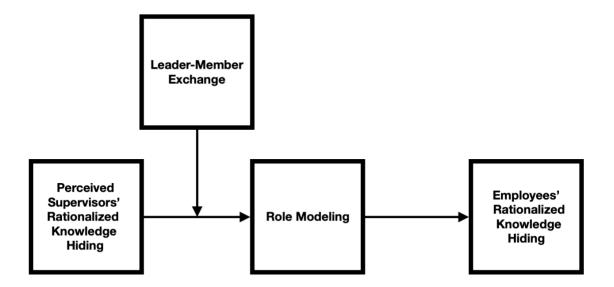
employee's actions or not. My thesis examines the meaning of being a role model in an organizational setting and then moves on to explore if subordinates see their supervisors as role models and how this perception impacts the adoption of knowledge hiding within teams.

To explore these questions, my thesis first draws on Social Learning Theory (SLT). SLT proposes that people often adopt behaviors by observing those in positions of authority, especially when they share close relationships (Bandura, 1977). By drawing on this theory I get to investigate how supervisors' actions can influence their subordinates' behavior. I will concentrate on rationalized knowledge hiding and I seek to uncover if such behavior might cause employees to perceive it as acceptable or even essential for success.

Overall, my thesis investigates the mechanisms of knowledge hiding and with that it will strive to offer critical insights into how it takes place. I expect the results of my thesis to provide guidance for creating more transparent, collaborative work environments. My thesis makes several theoretical contributions to the field of organizational behavior. First it contributes to the Social Learning Theory by studying the role of supervisor behavior in the workplace and effect of which on the organizational culture and behavior. This is done by specifically studying the effect of supervisors' knowledge hiding behavior on that of the subordinates. Second, my research specifically focuses on rationalized knowledge hiding. This differentiation gives me a tool to focus on this very behavior, distinguish its affects, and by that address a gap in the literature. This gap exists since the studying of this specific knowledge hiding and its causes and effects among supervisors and subordinates is lacking. Third, my thesis studies the possible effect of role modeling. By considering the possibility of role modeling as missing ring between supervisor behavior and employee behavior, in namely rationalized knowledge hiding, my research improves our understanding of the subject.

Although this thesis highlights how rationalized knowledge hiding (RKH) among supervisors may be linked to employees' own propensities to hide knowledge, it is crucial to acknowledge that our cross-sectional design does not permit definitive cause–effect conclusions (Wang & Noe, 2010). While we observe significant associations suggesting that supervisors' RKH could shape employees' knowledge-hiding behaviors, it remains possible that employees' behaviors also influence supervisors, or that other organizational factors drive both (Černe, Nerstad, Dysvik, & Škerlavaj, 2014).

Such finding could potentially be a conversation starter, helping organizations create a more collaborative, innovative, and productive work environment that supports long-term success. The research model of this thesis is shown in Figure 1.



Literature Review and Hypothesis Development

In organizational settings in today's knowledge-driven economy, to maintain a competitive edge, the strategic management of knowledge is a crucial factor (Nissen, 2011). Despite efforts to

promote open communication and collaboration, individuals within organizations often engage in knowledge hiding, which can severely damage organizational effectiveness and cause much expense (Connelly et al., 2012). Knowledge hiding in any of its forms, including evasive hiding, playing dumb, and rationalized hiding (Connelly et al., 2012) can create a toxic work environment, diminish trust among employees, and reduce overall productivity (Serenko & Bontis, 2016).

In particular, one of the factors that play a crucial role in shaping the organizational culture surrounding knowledge sharing or knowledge hiding is the influence of supervisors on their subordinates' behaviors (Škerlavaj et al., 2010; Serenko & Bontis, 2016). This in particular is because of the effect of their hierarchy and the power supervisors have over their subordinates (Černe et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2018). Supervisors who engage in knowledge hiding, and even rationalize it and justify it in the form of rationalized knowledge hiding, can inadvertently establish a norm within their teams. This might be leading subordinates to adopt similar behaviors (Zhao et al., 2016; Connelly & Zweig, 2015). This raises the important question of how such knowledge-hiding behaviors are transmitted within organizations and how they become ingrained as organizational norms.

Social Learning Theory (SLT)

Social Learning Theory (SLT), developed by Albert Bandura, states that individuals learn behaviors by observing others, particularly by observing those in authority or role models (Bandura, 1977). SLT emphasizes that behaviors are not always acquired through personal experiences or direct consequences, but rather through direct observation and imitation. This process, which is known as observational learning, is facilitated when individuals pay attention to the actions of others, retain information about those actions, and reproduce the behavior in

similar contexts (Bandura, 1977). Since employees often mimic the behaviors of those in higher positions, role models, such as supervisors, have a significant influence in this learning process (Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005).

SLT is particularly relevant to the study of knowledge hiding in organizations because it explains how employees may adopt similar behaviors when they observe supervisors engaging in rationalized knowledge hiding. According to Bandura (1977), learning occurs not only through direct experience but also through the vicarious observation of other's actions and the consequences of those actions. Then, according to SLT, we could consider if supervisors' justified knowledge hiding by citing company policies or confidentiality, could induce subordinates to perceive this behavior as acceptable and engage in similar actions. This thesis can help me validate this.

As mentioned before, rationalized knowledge hiding refers to the act of withholding information and justifying this behavior by providing external constraints, such as citing company policies or confidentiality (Connelly et al., 2012) and particularly because of the form of this knowledge hiding, it is very visible to subordinates since subordinates are aware that the supervisor has the sought after knowledge but is not providing it citing company policy as the justification. Whereas if engaged with playing dumb or evasive hiding, the subordinate had no means of realization whether the supervisor is hiding knowledge, or they simply do not know the answer. This is making rationalized knowledge hiders good candidate for observational learning. When supervisors rationalize their knowledge hiding, they are not only hiding knowledge, they are also providing seemingly logical justifications for doing so and so, subordinates who observe this behavior might infer that hiding knowledge is not only permissible but also a legitimate and acceptable or strategic practice within the organization, this possible learning is explained by

SLT and will be validated in this thesis.

This process aligns with Bandura's (1977) concept of vicarious learning. Vicarious learning, or observational learning, occurs when individuals learn by watching others and the consequences of their actions. Bandura's Social Learning Theory emphasizes that behaviors can be acquired without direct experience, through observation (Bandura, 1977). His famous Bobo doll experiment illustrated this by showing that children imitated aggressive behaviors they had observed in adults. In the experiment, children watched adults interact with a large inflatable Bobo doll. Some adults behaved aggressively, hitting and shouting at the doll, while others behaved non-aggressively. After observing the adults, the children were placed in a room with the Bobo doll. The results showed that the children who observed aggressive behaviors by watching others, especially when they see those behaviors being rewarded or unpunished.

In this scenario supervisors engage in rationalized knowledge hiding and inadvertently demonstrate that such behavior is acceptable within the organizational context. In turn, subordinates may begin to emulate this behavior, especially when they perceive that the supervisor's actions are rewarded or go unpunished. When supervisors engage in rationalized knowledge hiding, they inadvertently demonstrate that such behavior is acceptable or even advantageous within the organizational context. According to Social Learning Theory, subordinates are likely to emulate the behaviors of their supervisors, particularly when they perceive that these actions lead to positive outcomes or lack negative consequences. Just as the children in the Bobo doll experiment learned and replicated aggressive behaviors through observation, subordinates may learn and adopt knowledge hiding behaviors by observing their supervisors. This vicarious learning process facilitates the transmission of knowledge hiding

practices throughout the organization, potentially leading to a culture where knowledge hiding is normalized.

Also, research supports the idea that supervisors play a pivotal role in shaping employee behavior through role modeling (Bai et al., 2019). By drawing on SLT in the context of knowledge hiding, my thesis studies the possible mechanisms through which rationalized knowledge-hiding behaviors are learned and copied in organizations.

According to Bandura (1977), individuals learn not only from their own experiences but also by observing the actions and outcomes of others. In this context, if a supervisor hides knowledge while justifying this behavior, employees may view this as an acceptable approach, leading to a mirroring effect in their own behavior. Role modeling bridges this effect, as employees attempt to emulate the perceived norms established by their supervisors (Gibson, 2004). Based on this and what has been discussed so far, I propose the following hypotheses to further explore the role of supervisors' behavior, social learning, and relational dynamics in shaping employee knowledge hiding tendencies:

Hypothesis 1: Employees' perceptions of their supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding behaviors are positively associated with their own inclination to engage in rationalized knowledge hiding, mediated by the supervisors' role modeling for employees.

Hypothesis 1 draws on Social Learning Theory (SLT) for its basis. This theory discusses that employees often emulate the behaviors of their supervisors, perceiving these actions as organizational norms or survival strategies. After this and to further explore the relationships, I draw on Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory which focuses on the relationship quality between leaders and subordinates. This relationship could evolve over time through a series of exchanges that builds mutual trust, respect, and obligation (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975;

Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). LMX emphasizes that the quality of these exchanges varies between leader-member dyads, with some employees enjoying high-quality exchanges characterized by trust and loyalty, while others experience low-quality exchanges marked by formality and distance.

The quality of the LMX relationship can significantly influence employees' perceptions of their supervisors and their likelihood to emulate their behaviors. High-quality LMX relationships, which translates to a strong trust and mutual respect between the supervisor and subordinate (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995), may enhance the influence of supervisors on their subordinates' behavior. This could even include knowledge hiding. Research indicates that in high-quality LMX relationships, employees are more likely to internalize their supervisors' actions as norms (Henderson, Liden, Glibkowski, Chaudhry, 2008). If they do so, this would be making them more susceptible to adopting similar behaviors as their supervisors (Wayne, Shore, & Liden, 1997). Conversely, in low-quality LMX relationships, the supervisor's influence may be weaker, and subordinates may be less likely to imitate their behaviors (Harris, Wheeler, Kacmar, 2009).

In the context of knowledge hiding, LMX theory could be studied to consider the possible impact of supervisor behaviors on subordinates. In relation to this, my thesis studies whether high-quality LMX relationships are likely to amplify the supervisor's influence on subordinates 'knowledge-hiding behaviors. This is since employees in high quality LMX relationship might be more attuned to their supervisor's actions and so, become more likely to adopt supervisors' behavior as organizational norms (Bauer & Green, 1996). On the other hand, if low-quality LMX relationships exist, that could mitigate the supervisor's influence on the

subordinate. This is because the subordinates might not consider supervisor's behaviors as worthy of emulation (Liden et al., 1997), considering all these possibilities I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between perceived supervisor rationalized knowledge hiding and supervisors' role modeling is moderated by Leader-Member Exchange (LMX), such that highquality LMX relationships strengthen this relationship.

By now we have considered the moderating effect of LMX on the direct impact of supervisors' behavior rationalized knowledge hiding on the same behavior from the employee side. However, as mentioned in H1, I am considering the mediation effect of role modeling. So it is important to also study, whether LMX could have any moderating effect, through the impact it is leaving on the strength of our mediator. In order to consider this possibility, I hypothesize as follows.

Hypothesis 3: LMX will moderate the indirect effect between employees' perceptions of their supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding behaviors and their own rationalized knowledge hiding, such that the indirect effect will be strengthened when LMX is high.

Methodology

Data Collection

Data for this study were collected using Prolific, an online platform designed for academic research. Prolific offers access to a diverse pool of participants, which facilitates obtaining a representative sample of organizational behaviors across different industries and cultures.

Participants were selected based on their employment status while paying attention to the diversity of roles and industries. For that, only individuals currently employed full-time were

included to ensure relevance to organizational contexts. Further, the survey was made available to a wide range of roles and industries to enhance the generalizability of the findings across different organizational settings.

We recruited N = 150 full-time employees through Prolific, representing diverse industries (e.g., retail, finance, technology) and roles (e.g., administrative staff, managers, customer service). Out of N=150, N=146 responses were usable. The age range spanned between 18–62 years (M = 36.5, SD = 10.2). Participants' work experience was between 1 month and 39.75 years (M = 5.3 years, SD = 6.75).

Voluntary participation and informed consent were ensured through clear communication about the study's purpose and confidentiality. Participants were provided with a consent form outlining the study's objectives, procedures, and their rights, in accordance with ethical research standards.

Measures

Perceived Supervisor Rationalized Knowledge Hiding

I used a 4-item scale adapted from Connelly, Zweig, Webster, and Trougakos (2012) to measure how supervisors appear to withhold know-how under external justifications (e.g., "I'm not supposed to share this"). Items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree). A sample item reads, "My supervisor explained that they would like to tell but was not supposed to." Internal consistency was $\alpha = 0.69$ in this study.

Employee Rationalized Knowledge Hiding

Using parallel items from Connelly et al. (2012), we assessed employees' own rationalized hiding through a 4-item scale. A sample item is "I explained that the information is confidential and only available to people on a particular project." Responses were on the same 5-point Likert scale, yielding a reliability of $\alpha = 0.88$.

Supervisor Role Modeling

Further, to assess how much supervisors serve as role models, I employed the transformational leadership subscale by Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, and Fetter (1990). In leadership research, role modeling is closely linked to idealized influence and inspirational motivation, hallmarks of transformational leadership (Brown et al., 2005). Thus, this scale taps into the extent to which subordinates perceive their supervisor as an exemplar whose actions and ethical stance are worthy of imitation. Specifically, items such as "my supervisor leads by example" and "my supervisor provides a good role model" capture the kind of admiration-based learning that is central to deeper forms of social learning (Gibson, 2004). While employees may observe a supervisor's behaviors in other contexts, the transformational leadership framework pinpoints whether they truly identify with the supervisor as an influential figure to emulate. An example statement is "My supervisor provides a good role-model for me to follow." Cronbach's alpha was 0.76 in our sample.

Leader–Member Exchange (LMX)

I measured LMX quality using the 7-item scale by Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995). Participants responded to prompts like "How well does your leader understand your job problems and needs?" on a 5-point scale. Reliability (α) was 0.89 in the present dataset.

Data Analysis

I used SPSS software and specifically Hayes Macro Process (Hayes, 2013)to calculate statistics, including regression analysis and mediation modeling, to examine the relationships between the variables. This approach allowed for testing the hypothesized effects of supervisors' knowledge hiding on subordinates' behaviors and the potential mediating role supervisors' role-modeling and the moderating effect of LMX quality.

Results

Descriptive and statistical analyses were conducted for four key variables: perceived supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding, supervisors' role modeling, employees' rationalized knowledge hiding, and Leader–Member Exchange (LMX). These analyses addressed three main hypotheses. Table 1 provides an overview of the data, including means, standard deviations, and correlations for each measure. The directions of some correlations aligned with expectations, but some differed with expectations as noted below.

	Mean	SD	Cronbach's	1	2	3	4
			Alpha				
1. Supervisors' Rationalized Knowledge Hiding	2.5	0.92	0.69		0.06	0.47	-0.01

2. Supervisors' Role Modeling	3.69	1.01	0.76	_	0.06	68
3. Employees' Rationalized Knowledge Hiding	2.84	1.05	0.88			0.12
4. Leader-Member Exchange	3.53	0.75	0.89			

Table 1. Overview of the data

Hypothesis 1 investigated whether supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding (X) predicted employees' rationalized knowledge hiding (Y) and whether supervisors' role modeling behaviors (M) mediated this relationship. The results indicated a direct and significant effect, whereby supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding predicted employees' rationalized knowledge hiding (b = 0.53, p < .001), explaining 22% of the variance in employees' rationalized knowledge hiding. However, the mediation analysis did not support a significant indirect effect, as the effect of supervisors' role modeling was negligible and nonsignificant (b = 0.0024, BootLLCI = -0.0153, BootULCI = 0.0320). These findings suggest that although supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding, supervisors' role modeling does not serve as a meaningful mediator in this conte

	SRM_AGG (Mediator)	ERKH_AGG (Outcome)
Constant	3.5072 (0.2412)***	1.3962 (0.3511)***
SRKH_AGG (X)	0.0721 (0.0906)	0.5303 (0.0841)***
SRM_AGG (M)	_	0.0334 (0.0772)
R-Squared (R ²)	(R ²) 0.0661 0.4697	
Overall F	0.6328	20.24***

Table 2. Regression Results for Hypothesis 1

Indirect Effect ($X \rightarrow Y$ via M): Effect = 0.0024, BootSE = 0.0103, 95% CI [-0.0151, 0.0309] (Not Significant)

Notes: N = 146. Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses. **p < .05 = **, ***p < .001 Hypothesis 2 examined whether LMX (W) moderates the relationship between supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding (X) and supervisors' role modeling behaviors (M). The hypothesis predicted that high-quality LMX would strengthen this relationship. Conditional effect analyses showed a significant effect of supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding on role modeling behaviors at low LMX (16th percentile: b = 0.2497, p = .0272), but this effect was nonsignificant at moderate LMX (50th percentile: b = 0.1033, p = .1257) and high LMX (84th percentile: b = -0.0187, p = .8289). Contrary to the original hypothesis, high-quality LMX appears to diminish, rather than strengthen, the effect of supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding on supervisors' role modeling behaviors. This unexpected finding implies an "inverse moderation" rather than the anticipated positive moderation effect.

As discussed, contrary to the initial expectation that high-quality LMX would strengthen the link between supervisor rationalized hiding and supervisor role modeling, the data indicate a stronger effect under low-LMX conditions. One plausible interpretation is that subordinates with a low-quality relationship, lacking mutual trust and support, may be especially sensitive to any hint of self-serving or negative supervisory behavior (Harris, Wheeler, & Kacmar, 2009). Because they do not benefit from a strong relational bond, these employees could see such behavior as indicative of broader organizational norms, potentially leading them to rationalize similar actions in their own work.

In a more distant or adversarial relationship, negative behaviors tend to stand out more starkly (Martin, Guillaume, Thomas, Lee, & Epitropaki, 2016). By contrast, high-LMX subordinates might interpret the same behavior as situational or out of character, reducing the likelihood that they view it as normal or acceptable. Thus, the buffering effect of high LMX decreases the salience of rationalized hiding as a form of role modeling, whereas low-LMX subordinates perceive—and may internalize—the negative signal more readily.

Predictor	B (SE)	t	р	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	-1.2363 (0.8838)	-1.3988	0.1640	-2.9834	0.5108
SRKH_AGG (X)	0.7134 (0.3477)	2.0519	.0420*	0.0261	1.4006
LMX_AGG (W)	1.3148 (0.2350)	5.5952	.0000***	0.8503	1.7793
$X \times W$ (Int_1)	-0.1708 (0.0925)	-1.8466	0.0669	-0.3537	0.0120

Table 3. Moderated Regression Results for Hypothesis 2

DV: Supervisors' Role Modeling (SRM_AGG)

Model Summary:

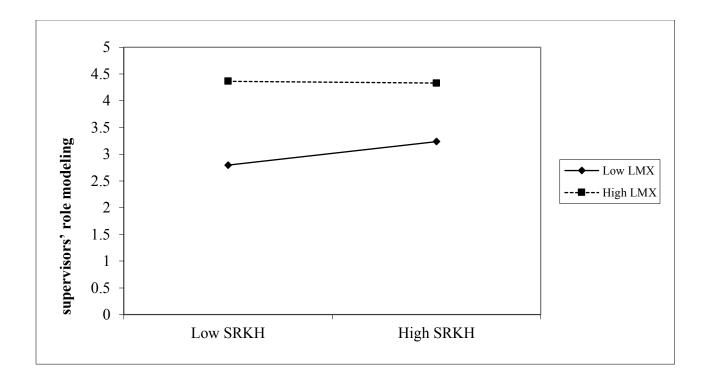
- $R = 0.6898, R^2 = 0.4758$
- F(3, 142) = 42.9567, p < .001
- N = 146

Conditional Effects of SRKH_AGG at Values of LMX_AGG

- LMX = 2.7143: B = 0.2497, SE = 0.1119, t = 2.2316, p = .0272*
- LMX = 3.5714: B = 0.1033, SE = 0.0671, t = 1.5402, p = .1257
- LMX = 4.2857: B = -0.0187, SE = 0.0861, t = -0.2166, p = .8289

Notes: Unstandardized coefficients are shown with standard errors in parentheses.

• p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001



Hypothesis 3 explored whether LMX moderates the indirect effect of supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding on employees' rationalized knowledge hiding through supervisors' role modeling behaviors. The premise was that a high level of LMX would strengthen this indirect effect. Building on the nonsignificant mediation result in Hypothesis 1, the moderated mediation analysis also revealed no significant conditional indirect effects at low (16th percentile: b = 0.0083, BootLLCI = -0.0336, BootULCI = 0.0604), moderate (50th percentile: b = 0.0034, BootLLCI = -0.0146, BootULCI = 0.0275), or high LMX (84th percentile: b = -0.0006, BootLLCI = -0.0145, BootULCI = 0.0111). The index of moderated mediation was similarly not statistically significant (b = -0.0057, BootLLCI = -0.0408, BootULCI = 0.0242). These outcomes indicate that LMX does not moderate the indirect pathway. Regardless of whether LMX quality is high or low, role modeling (M) does not significantly mediate the effect of supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding on employees' rationalized knowledge hiding. In summary, the results show that while supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding strongly

predicts employees' rationalized knowledge hiding, there is no evidence to support a mediating role of supervisors' role modeling or a moderating influence of LMX on the indirect effect. Furthermore, LMX moderates the direct path between supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding and role modeling in an unexpected direction, suggesting that high-quality LMX may actually attenuate, rather than enhance, the relationship. These findings offer a nuanced perspective on how LMX and role modeling behaviors interact with supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding to influence employees' knowledge hiding behaviors.

My moderation analysis did not yield a statistically significant interaction between supervisor rationalized hiding and LMX for role modeling. Consequently, any conditional indirect effect interpretations remain speculative. While I computed these values for completeness, the non-significant interaction indicates that variations in LMX may not reliably alter the mediating role of role modeling. Therefore, these conditional indirect effects should be interpreted cautiously.

Predictor	В	SE	t	р	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	-1.2363	0.8838	-1.3988	0.1640	-2.9834	0.5108
SRKH_AGG (X)	0.7134	0.3477	2.0519	0.0420*	0.0261	1.4006
LMX_AGG (W)	1.3148	0.2350	5.5952	0.0000***	0.8503	1.7793
$X \times W$ (Int_1)	-0.1708	0.0925	-1.8466	0.0669	-0.3537	0.0120

Table 3. Moderated Mediation Results for Hypothesis 3 (PROCESS Model 7)

Panel A: Predicting the Mediator (SRM_AGG)

DV: Supervisors' Role Modeling (SRM_AGG)

Model Summary:

- $R^2 = .4758$
- F(3, 142) = 42.9567, p < .001
- N = 146

Predictor	В	SE	t	р	LLCI	ULCI
Constant	1.3962	0.3511	3.9767	0.0001***	0.7022	2.0902
SRKH_AGG (X)	0.5303	0.0841	6.3052	0.0000***	0.3641	0.6966
SRM_AGG (M)	0.0334	0.0772	0.4321	0.6663	-0.1193	0.1860

Panel B: Predicting the Outcome (ERKH_AGG)

DV: Employees' Rationalized Knowledge Hiding (ERKH_AGG)

Model Summary:

- $R^2 = .2206$
- F(2, 143) = 20.2400, p < .001
- N = 146

LMX_AGG	Effect	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
2.7143	0.0083	0.0232	-0.0336	0.0604
3.5714	0.0034	0.0102	-0.0146	0.0275
4.2857	-0.0006	0.0062	-0.0145	0.0111

Panel C: Conditional Indirect Effects

 $(X \rightarrow M \rightarrow Y)$ at Different Levels of LMX_AGG (W)

Index of Moderated Mediation: -0.0057, BootSE = 0.0162, 95% CI [-0.0408, 0.0242] (Not Significant)

Discussion

The primary aim of this thesis was to investigate the complexities of knowledge hiding behaviors within organizations, focusing on the influence of perceived supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding behaviors on employees' own knowledge hiding tendencies. This study also explored the potential mediating role of supervisors' role modeling and the moderating role of Leader– Member Exchange (LMX) in these relationships. The findings offer valuable insights into how these factors interact, contributing to the broader understanding of knowledge management and leadership behaviors in organizational settings (Connelly et al., 2012).

The results reveal a significant direct relationship between perceived supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding and employees' own rationalized knowledge hiding, suggesting that employees may often mirror the behaviors exhibited by their supervisors. This pattern aligns with social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), which posits that individuals learn and replicate behaviors by observing and modeling others, particularly those in positions of authority. However, contrary to expectations, the hypothesized mediating role of supervisors' role modeling was not supported. Although social learning theory would imply that supervisors' role modeling could reinforce or inhibit certain behaviors, the data indicate that employees' knowledge hiding was not significantly shaped by supervisors' role modeling in this context.

But how can we distinguish role modeling from SLT? Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977) proposes that individuals learn behaviors by observing and possibly imitating others, particularly when those others occupy positions of authority or expertise (Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005). However, observation alone does not necessarily equate to role modeling, which involves an additional layer of identification or admiration toward the person being

observed (Gibson, 2004). In many cases, employees may witness supervisors engaging in knowledge hiding without regarding them as moral or inspirational figures—thus reducing the likelihood that "role modeling," in a deep sense, is what drives the employees' own behavior. Further, this distinction provides one explanation for the null findings on role modeling as a mediator: employees may simply interpret supervisor hiding as an "allowed" or "pragmatic" behavior rather than a "model" to emulate in a positive sense. Consequently, copying can occur without the psychological investment typically associated with transformational or exemplary leadership (Podsakoff et al.,1990).

Similarly, the moderating role of LMX on the relationship between supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding and supervisors' role modeling, as well as on the indirect effect of supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding on employees' knowledge hiding, was not supported. LMX theory suggests that a high-quality relationship between leader and member fosters trust, respect, and mutual obligation (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). The initial assumption was that such high-quality exchanges would strengthen the pathways by which supervisors influence employees' behaviors. Instead, the nonsignificant moderation effect indicates that high LMX, at least in this particular context, does not necessarily enhance or buffer the impact of supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding on employees' behaviors. These findings challenge the notion that LMX uniformly moderates negative leadership behaviors and suggest that other contextual factors or mechanisms may be at play. It is also important to note that data showed a comparatively strong moderating impact of low LMX on the effect of perceived supervisor's knowledge hiding on supervisors' role modeling.

The results collectively underscore the powerful role of supervisors in shaping employee behavior, at least directly, in the context of knowledge hiding. Supervisors' rationalized

knowledge hiding behaviors appear to act as a normative signal (Connelly et al., 2012), inducing employees to engage in similar acts. Yet, employees may not see their supervisors' broader role modeling efforts as directly relevant to knowledge hiding decisions. It is plausible that situational or pragmatic considerations overshadow the influence of explicit role modeling, or that factors such as organizational culture, ethical climate, or individual value systems could play a more significant mediating role than supervisors' role modeling itself. Future research would benefit from investigating these alternative pathways.

The nonsignificant moderation findings regarding LMX indicate that the quality of the leader-member relationship alone may not be sufficient to mitigate or amplify the transmission of knowledge hiding behaviors. This could suggest that negative behaviors, once perceived as rationalized by supervisors, may bypass relational buffers like trust or mutual support, extending their influence even under high-quality LMX conditions. Conversely, other contextual variables such as organizational trust, perceived justifiability of the behavior, or broader cultural norms might be more influential. These possibilities highlight the importance of considering a wide array of contextual factors when examining knowledge hiding processes.

From a practical standpoint, these findings underscore the need for organizations to directly address knowledge hiding behaviors at the supervisory level. Since supervisors' actions significantly shape employees' behaviors, organizations should implement policies, training programs, and incentive structures designed to reduce knowledge hiding practices among supervisors. Establishing a transparent and cooperative culture—where knowledge sharing is clearly rewarded—may help diminish the spread of knowledge hiding norms (Connelly et al., 2012). Moreover, the results imply that merely improving LMX quality may not be enough to curb supervisors' influence on employees' knowledge hiding; interventions such as ethical

leadership development or the reinforcement of strong knowledge-sharing norms may be required to counteract supervisors' negative modeling effects.

Future Research

Although the findings of this study were unexpected, they do open several avenues for future research. Further investigation is needed to identify potential mediators that could explain the transmission of knowledge hiding behaviors from supervisors to employees. Additionally, future research could explore the role of organizational culture, ethical climate, or individual differences in moderating these relationships. Longitudinal studies would be particularly valuable in establishing causal relationships and understanding the complexities of these behaviors over time.

This study contributes to the literature on knowledge management and leadership by highlighting the direct influence of supervisors 'knowledge hiding behaviors on employees and questioning the assumed roles of role modeling and LMX in this context. These findings offer both theoretical and practical insights, suggesting that more nuanced and targeted approaches are needed to address knowledge hiding in organizations.

Limitations

Although the finding of my thesis is contributing to the body of research and to the organizations, it has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the cross-sectional design of the research restricts the ability to draw causal inferences between the variables studied. Of course significant relationships were observed, but it is still difficult to make sure of the directionality of these effects with certainty. Future research with longitudinal designs could

provide us with a stronger understanding of how these work and could either unfold or alter over time.

Second, this thesis relies on self-reported data and this may introduce bias. This is especially since participants might have responded in ways they perceived to be socially desirable rather than reflective of what their true behaviors and perceptions were. I took measures, for instance not asking about participants' names and personal information, leaving the survey open to partake to anyone who is a full-time employee, notwithstanding their location, and omitting Ips which were inevitably recorded, to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of responses, and this most likely mitigated some of these concerns, notwithstanding that the potential for bias cannot be entirely ruled out. Also, relying solely on self-reported measures for all constructs may introduce mono-method bias (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). In particular, using single-source data (e.g., subordinates reporting both their own and their supervisors' behaviors) can inflate correlations through shared method variance (Doty & Glick, 1998; Podsakoff et al., 2003). Although ensuring anonymity and employing validated scales can help mitigate some biases (Conway & Lance, 2010), future research would benefit from collecting data from multiple sources (e.g., separate supervisor self-reports or peer assessments) to address common-method concerns and strengthen the robustness of the findings (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012).

Third, I have to acknowledge that the study's sample was limited in terms of number and also it was limited to participants recruited through Prolific, an online platform, which, while diverse, may not fully represent the broader organizational population, for instance those who do not usually work with computers, or internet, or simply, those who are not on Prolific platform. Because of this, the findings might not be generalizable. The findings might not also be

generalizable to all industries or cultural contexts, particularly in environments where organizational norms around knowledge sharing and hiding change significantly.

Lastly, my study focused on a specific type of knowledge hiding—rationalized knowledge hiding. This focus allowed me to limit the scope of this thesis and provided me with an opportunity for a deeper exploration of this particular behavior, but might have limited me from extending my findings to other forms of knowledge hiding, such as evasive hiding or playing dumb. Future research could take initiative in studying other types of knowledge hiding, and doing that, broaden the scope and provide a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon.

Also, in my thesis, I concentrated on rationalized knowledge hiding—where withholding is justified by external constraints, such as "confidentiality" or "policy" (Connelly et al., 2012). A key reason for this focus is the heightened visibility of rationalized hiding: subordinates clearly see true existence of an "official reason" or lack thereof. By contrast, evasive hiding (providing partial or misleading information) or playing dumb (pretending ignorance) can be more subtle and harder to detect, leaving employees uncertain whether the supervisor truly lacks knowledge. Nonetheless, the overarching premise of Social Learning Theory could apply to these other forms of knowledge hiding as well. Future research might examine whether the imitative effect differs when the hiding is more covert. For instance, if evasive hiding is less apparent, employees might be slower to internalize it as a norm. Comparing effect sizes across all three knowledge-hiding types could yield a richer understanding of how knowledge-hiding practices propagate within teams. Investigating these forms in a unified model may also reveal whether certain leadership or relational factors amplify—or mitigate—the spread of various knowledge-hiding tactics.

Lastly, future quantitative models could control for factors such as organizational justice, competition intensity, exchange ideology, or personality traits to isolate the unique effect of supervisor behaviors on knowledge hiding. By including these controls, researchers can examine whether supervisor-induced knowledge hiding still matters once broader relational or cultural influences are accounted for. This approach would help clarify whether supervisor rationalized hiding adds an incremental predictive value beyond general negative social exchange processes or specific dispositional tendencies.

Conclusion

My thesis contributes to the growing body of literature on knowledge management. This contribution is based on my findings, whether when my hypotheses were supported or not. In my thesis I focused on the complex relationships between supervisors' knowledge hiding behaviors and employees' corresponding actions. The findings of my thesis shows a significant direct relationship between perceived supervisors' rationalized knowledge hiding and employees' own knowledge hiding behaviors. This showcases how influential the role of supervisors in shaping employee behavior is. However, the mediating role of supervisors' role modeling and the moderating influence of Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) that were hypothesized in my thesis were not supported by the data. We could assume from this result that these may be more complicated than hypothesized and so require further research and further understanding.

The practical implications of these findings are clear: organizations must address knowledge hiding at the supervisory level, as supervisors' behaviors have a direct and substantial impact on employees. We now can conclude that simply enhancing the quality of leader-member exchanges may not suffice in curbing knowledge hiding behaviors. Instead, a more

comprehensive approach is needed that includes promoting a culture of transparency and ethical leadership.

My thesis advances our understanding of the direct effects of supervisors' knowledge hiding behaviors, but it also raises important questions about the mechanisms through which these behaviors influence employees. I hope for future research to continue to explore these, particularly in different organizational contexts and with a focus on other potential mediators and moderators. By doing so, researchers can better understand and address the challenges of knowledge hiding in organizations, so they can ultimately develop environments where knowledge hiding is curbed, and knowledge sharing is the norm.

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Appendix (Standard Measures)

All measures, except for LMX, were measured were rated on a scale from 1 = "Strongly Disagree" to 5 = "Strongly Agree."

Measuring Perceived Supervisors 'Rationalized Knowledge Hiding:

Please think of a recent episode in which a someone requested knowledge from your supervisor, and they declined to share their knowledge or expertise, or did not give all the information needed. For example, your supervisor might not have shown this person how to do something, only gave a part of the information needed, declined to tell something they needed to know, or did not help them learn something important. In this specific situation, ...

• Your supervisor explained that they would like to tell but was not supposed to.

• Your supervisor explained that the information is confidential and only available to people on a particular project.

• Your supervisor said that their boss would not let anyone share this knowledge.

• Your supervisor said that they would not answer this question.

Measuring supervisor's role-modeling:

In terms of knowledge exchange ...

• ... your supervisor provides a good role-model for you to follow.

- ... your supervisor leads by example.
- ... your supervisor leads by doing, rather than simply by telling.

Measuring Employees 'Rationalized Knowledge Hiding:

Please think of a recent episode in which a someone requested knowledge from you, and you declined to share your knowledge or expertise, or did not give all of the information needed. For example, you might not have shown this person how to do something, only gave a part of the information needed, declined to tell something they needed to know, or did not help them learn something important.

In this specific situation, ...

• You explained that you would like to tell but was not supposed to.

• You explained that the information is confidential and only available to people on a particular project.

• You said that your boss would not let anyone share this knowledge.

• You said that they would not answer this question.

Measuring the Quality of Leader-Member Exchange (LMX):

Please answer the following questions about your relationship with your supervisor.

• Do you usually know how satisfied your leader is with what you do? (Does your member usually know)

Rarely Occasionally Sometimes Fairly Often Very Often

• How well does your leader understand your job problems and needs? (How well do you understand)

Not a Bit A Little A Fair Amount Quite a Bit A Great Deal

• How well does your leader recognize your potential? (How well do you recognize)

Not at All A Little Moderately Mostly Fully

• Regardless of how much formal authority he/she has built into his/ her position, what are the chances that your leader would use his/ her power to help you solve problems in your work? (What are the changes that you would)

None Small Moderate High Very High

• Again, regardless of the amount of formal authority your leader has, what are the chances that he/ she would "bail you out," at his/ her expense? (What are the chances that you would)

None Small Moderate High Very High

• I have enough confidence in my leader that I would defend and justify his/ her decision if he/she were not present to do so? (Your member would)

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

• How would you characterize your working relationship with your leader? (Your member)

Extremely Ineffective Worse Than Average Average Better Than Average Extremely Effective