



Cynicism in organizations and its relationship to perceived organizational justice: evidence from the higher education sector in Syria

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Abstract. *Purpose.* After fourteen years of war, Syria's institutional landscape has been severely fragmented and debilitated. Interestingly, the largest and most well-established higher education system has been decimated. The higher education sector faces some substantial cross-cutting challenges where cynicism as a concept has been widely recognized and become a prominent phenomenon. This study aims to identify the level of organizational cynicism and the role of organizational justice as a measure to alleviate cynicism in Syria's higher education sector. *Methodology.* Using a questionnaire as a measurement, quantitative data were collected from 324 academic staff across 15 departments from Damascus University. To analyze the data, multiple regression was used. *Findings.* Organizational justice contributes negatively to cynicism, indicating its role in reducing cynicism; with interactional justice having the strongest effect. Political cynicism homogenizes perceptions across demographic groups. *Value of results.* The study findings are of significant importance and interest to the university administration, policymakers, and practitioners in trying to adopt a more sustainable and quality education system. The Syrian war raises important education-related questions asserting the role of interactional justice in alleviating cynicism, and thus, the reduction in politics and the development of positive thinking may enhance employee behaviors.

Keywords: organizational cynicism, organizational justice, Syria, war, higher education.

Introduction

After fourteen years of war in Syria, the COVID pandemic, and the 2023 earthquake, education in general and higher education in particular have been damaged severely. Apart from physical damage, the Syrian higher education system has been subject to several negative stresses, tension,

and threats, where organizational cynicism become widespread in the workplace. Presumably, the unfair treatment (lack of justice) accompanied by cynic political belief (exogenously determined) would bring negative impacts on employees' attitudes, in which the employees become more cynical towards their organization. We emphasize in this paper the applications of cynicism in the context of educational organizational behavior in general, and reactions to justice more specifically. However, political cynicism in our study is not a direct cause of organizational cynicism; rather, it would manifest itself indirectly through negative influence on employee's emotional responses.

Thus, an explanatory research question has been designed about the importance of using organizational justice tools in reducing this phenomenon, especially in educational public organizations. We also intend to examine the differences among employees' perceptions as the war has an impact on the study's results, and how by applying the proper tools of organizational justice measures in the educational field one can reduce the risk related to cynicism and increase the performance of the organization and productivity of employees (Chaloupka, 1978). Argued that one of cynicism's paradoxes is that it flourishes at the same time to become more visibly active, yet that cynicism can build successful organizations. We argue in this paper that educational organizations were often marginalized in overarching discussions on humanitarian needs for the post-war era; however, their role must not be underestimated.

As long has been recognized, cynicism has become an important concept widely discussed in management in general. There is a consensus, regardless of detailed differences, that cynical attitude pertained to several targets; personal, managerial, and organizational (Andersson, Bateman, 1977), (Dean et al., 1998). More specifically, it is the negative attitudes and behaviors of the employees against their organizations, and it has cognitive, effective, and behavioral dimensions; that is, mainly emerged from a belief of 'integrity deficiency' and 'injustice' prevalent in the organization. The lack of justice was found to be among the major factors that trigger organizational cynicism (Dean et al., 1998), using its links to the employee directly. On the other hand, organizational justice reflects the employees' perception of justice, rightness, and fairness in the organization (Khwanda, Shawki, 2022), (Colquitt, Greenberg, 2003) which expresses the methods used for decision-making; that would enhance the organizational outcome. When the perception of fairness is faint, job satisfaction and commitment; and other organizational behavior outcomes are observed to get negative tendencies. Which, in turn, leads to distrust, distress, and disgust of the employees towards their organization – behave cynically (Cole et al., 2006). In contrast, high organizational justice was found to be positively reflective in the workplace procedures, interactions, and thus, the outcomes (Bernerth et al., 2007; Colquitt, Greenberg, 2003). This study is trying to address two questions, the first one is related to the distinctive role of organizational justice in alleviating organizational cynicism. The second one is to investigate differences between the interviewees regarding the use of organizational justice in alleviating organizational cynicism where political cynicism has been formulated on the beliefs about these differences.

Much less is known about higher education inside Syria where most research focused on the humanitarian crisis and its impact on the educational sector for refugees in the host countries (Moser-Mercer et al., 2014; Streitwieser, Miller-Idriss, 2017). This study tries to fill a research gap related to the repercussions of the Syrian war on the organizational climate of the higher education system in Syria. In addition, this is the first study to investigate the implications of cynicism and the impact of justice within a public educational organization. Empirical evidence confirms severe deterioration, large scale of Syrian staff report worsened working conditions since 2011, creating fertile ground for organizational cynicism (Suliman et al., 2023). This study is the first of its kind to be focused far from the physical destruction of the war but on the emotional destruction in Syria. The findings are of significant importance to the university administration, policymakers, and practitioners in trying to adopt a new and more sustainable and quality education approach in the post-war era.

The literature review and hypothesis development

Organizational cynicism

Following extensive literature, cynicism could be described within the realm of attitude; as negative feelings like contempt, frustration, and hopelessness towards one's employing organization (Andersson, Bateman, 1997). It encompasses three dimensions: (1) a belief of lack of organization integrity, (2) a negative effect towards the organization, and (3) critical behavior tendencies are consistent with belief and affect. Such negative attitudes could be general and specific, reflective of the contempt towards an individual, group, ideology, or institution suggested that cynicism is a distinct aspect of a person's affective state, which is a non-stable trait and may change over time (Andersson, 1996; Bommer et al., 2005; Chiaburu et al., 2013; Rubin et al., 2009). Cynicism of the employee is found to be caused by the work environment characteristics: (i) a high level of executive compensation, (ii) poor organizational performance, and (iii) arbitrary layoffs (Anderson, Van Wincoop, 2003; Totawar, Nambudiri, 2014). On the other hand, multiple factors are attributed to organizational cynicism such as trust deficiency in management, organizational change, prevailing justice in the organization, and employee's emotional responses (Clarke, 1999; Cole et al., 2006; Kim et al., 2009; Thompson et al., 1999; Worley et al., 1999).

The outcomes of organizational cynicism should not be understated; it is negatively related to job performance, job satisfaction, and job commitment (Chiaburu et al., 2013; Choi, 2011). Thus, the most appropriate way to target this phenomenon is through organizational change efforts as suggested by some researchers (Reichers et al., 1997). These efforts could not preclude other forms of cynicism they believe it as the lack of integrity related to organizational leaders; that is, personality-related (Armenakis, Harris, 2002; Stanley et al., 2005). In this context, one should recognize (i) the reaction of the individuals (employees) to these changes (Judge et al., 1999; Wanberg, Banas, 2000), from one hand, and (ii) the organizations' leaders' capabilities to implement the necessary steps for a successful change, from the other hand (Bernerth et al., 2007). Accordingly, as argued by (Beugre, 1998; Bies, Shapiro, 1988; Seo, Hill, 2005; Piderit, 2000), organizational justice provides a promising perspective that one should consider to focus on employees' fairness perception, as a necessary condition for a 'successful implementation'. As such, the relationship between the individual justice perception and job attitude is subjected to justice climate; that is strong in the case of high justice climate and vice versa which might bring negative consequences harmful both for employee and organization (Zafar, Mahmood, 2022).

Organizational justice

As a part of social exchange theory, justice effects adopt the view that employees regard fairness as a benefit deserving of reciprocation. Therefore, experiencing justice begets an obligation on the part of employees to reciprocate and thus fosters the development and maintenance of a social exchange relationship, with the expectation that such a relationship will lead to the exchange of valued benefits between the parties (Tyler, Blader, 2005). Organizational justice is defined as employees' perception of justice and fairness, and the methods of decision-making in the organization (Colquitt, Greenberg, 2003; David, 2020). It is a historical process of the individual evaluation of the ethical state of managerial behaviors (David, 2020). The concept of organizational justice is often described as having three dimensions: (i) distributive, (ii) procedural, and (iii) interactional justice. The first one usually deals with the results and outcomes — based on equity theory; it is the perceived fairness of gains sharing among employees such as responsibilities, opportunities, effort, rewards, and wages (Cohen, 1987; Cohen-Charash, Spector, 2001; Brockner, 2002). Second, procedural justice deals

with the way and methods of reaching the final results in the organization, and is mainly related to the employee's participation in decision-making; it is the employees' right of voice and choice (Bies, Shapiro, 1988; Cohen-Charash, Spector, 2001; Niehoff, Moorman, 1993). Third, interactional justice involves the administration's value and respect towards the employees, and it focuses on interpersonal relations such as respect, accuracy, and empathy.

Looking into the organizational justice perspective and its impact on work-related attitudes and outcomes, previous studies have proved a positive relation. That moves from organizational justice to (1) job satisfaction, (2) commitment, and (3) psychological capital, while a negative relation has been reported with turnover intentions and interpersonal deviance (Bennett, 2006; Pillai et al., 1999; Avey et al., 2011). Thus, it is important in any organization not only to investigate factors affecting the employees' feelings and thus, their performance, but it becomes essential to determine factors that undermine their work, in which the organizational justice is found highly influential in this regard. This has strongly emphasized regarding workplace that lecturers' organizational justice is their valuation of the orthodoxy among things in return to receive and things they are getting from their organization (Loan et al., 2020).

In sum, justice related-problem are an important factor that affects the employees' behavior, which, in turn, reflects the organizational and administrative success (Parveen, Reddy, 2024); as the applied injustice influences the employees' behaviors, which is most likely to be developed into negative emotions, thoughts, and actions (cynicism).

Model of organizational cynicism and organizational justice-the case of the Syrian higher education sector

It is worth noting that the Syrian war has an impact on the behavior of employees, not just at the economic level; but also, at the organizational level. Organizational cultures in higher education institutions in Syria are characterized deeply by an ineffective emphasis on individual performance and a lack of a cooperative climate (Oh et al., 2023). However, the study did not mention the cynicism that prevailed due to the crisis at the higher educational staff; which, in turn, nourished the organizational roots of negative behaviors and attitudes. Thus, we argue that it is crucial to alleviate the cynicism phenomena for the staff at the higher educational level in Syria.

Historically, numerous studies and empirical works regarding organizational cynicism have been conducted at the educational institution level, enterprises, and private and public organizations. Studies showed that organizational cynicism would lead to many negative results, which affect the performance level of employees, which, in turn, would affect the efficiency of the organization (Cincotta, 2005; Kaygin et al., 2017; Mete, 2013; Shahzad, Mahmood, 2012; Suliman, Khwanda, 2020). Meanwhile, organizational justice proved to be an important factor that influences the employees' outcome behavior, fosters their positive orientation, decreases mental distress and other negative attitudes and feelings, and thus, increases job commitment and satisfaction (Meier, Stiglitz, 2001; Myhill, Bradford, 2013; Robbins et al., 2012; Shah, et al., 2023). Past findings have generally reported a positive association run from organizational justice to employees' confidence, trust, and commitment, and thus, alleviate organizational cynicism.

The research model has been designed to: (1) Investigate the use of organizational justice as a tool in easing organizational cynicism that has been rarely studied in the higher educational sector considering the Syrian case as a torn-up country due to the war. In addition (2) on the other hand, we also intend to examine how the interviewees' perception toward the use of organizational justice as a tool to mitigate organizational cynicism due to their differences for education and experience. Alleviating organizational cynicism is demonstrated in this model (Fig. 1). Accordingly, research hypotheses are formulated:

Hypothesis 1: Organizational justice contributes positively to organizational cynicism in the Syrian higher education sector.

Hypothesis 2a: The staff’s perception of the impact of organizational justice on alleviating organizational cynicism differs significantly according to their level of education.

Hypothesis 2b: The staff’s perception of the impact of organizational justice on alleviating organizational cynicism differs significantly according to their years of experience.

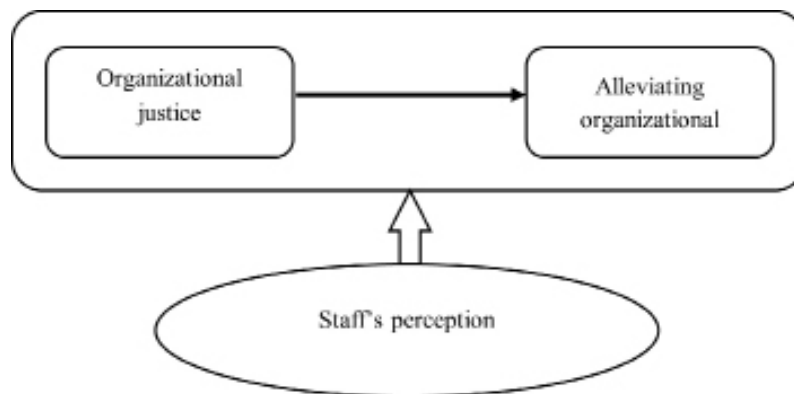


Figure 1. Model of Organizational justice and Organizational cynicism considering Syrian higher institution staff

Methodology

Data collection and participants

The sample of this study includes 15 different public schools and departments at Damascus University. The population of the study is 400 academic employees who have different titles, and 324 were evaluated, representing a response rate of 87%. A power analysis using G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) determined that 324 respondents provide 90% power to detect medium effects ($f^2 = 0.15$) at $\alpha = 0.05$, exceeding recommended thresholds. When demographic variables of the sample were viewed; 18 % were research assistants, 43 % were lecturers, 17 % were assistant professors, and 22 % were professors. In terms of qualifications, 84.5% of the respondents had Ph.D. degree, and 15.5% were Master degree. The sample consists of respondents from different age groups and with different years of job experience. Tenure of the sample is as follows: 75 % is between one and five years; 25.3 % is between six and ten years. Sample characteristics are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Personal characteristics of the participants

Scale	Frequency	Percent	Mean	SD
Education level				
Secondary and less education	49	15.1		
Middle institution education	87	26.9		
Bachelor’s level degree	157	48.5	2.52	.86
Post graduate education	31	9.6		
Total (324)	324	100.0		
Job experience				
Less than three years	61	18.8		
Between three – five years	124	38.3		
Between six – ten years	57	17.6	2.49	1.07
More than ten years	82	25.3		
Total (324)	324	100.0		

Source: The author dependent on the SPSS output, 2023.

To investigate the management dilemma, the author applied a quantitative approach, using a questionnaire, which was developed depending on previous studies.

Instruments

Organizational Cynicism Questionnaire

The questionnaire for organizational cynicism was adopted from (Dean et al., 1998), which consists of three dimensions (13 items); beliefs (5 items), affect (4 items), and behavior (4 items). This scale was translated into Arabic using back-translation. Pilot testing with 30 academic staff confirmed face validity (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.86$). Cultural adaptations included replacing 'management' with 'university administration' in items.

Organizational Justice Scale

Organizational Justice Scale developed by B. P. Niehoff, R. H. Moorman was used. It is composed of 19 items of three sub-scales measuring, namely: distributive (six items), procedural (five items), and interactional (eight items). All items were measured on a five-point Likert scale with '1' representing strongly disagree and '5' representing strongly agree (Niehoff, Moorman, 1993). According to Table 2, Cronbach's alpha was used to determine the reliability levels of the scale of organizational justice as well as organizational Cynicism; the measures for cynicism had a satisfactorily high Cronbach's alpha of ($\alpha = 0.87$). In addition, according to the test, the organizational justice scale has in total an Alpha value higher than 0.70, which is the accepted reliability value in literature.

Table 2. Reliability analysis results of the scales

Scale	Item no	Cronbach's alpha
Organizational justice	Interaction justice 8 Distributive justice 6 Procedural justice 5	19 .87
Organizational cynicism	13	.89

Cronbach's Alpha level of the questionnaires was confident at a high degree ($.70 > \alpha > .85$)

Source: The author dependent on the SPSS output, 2023.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Table 3 gives a summary of the sample and measures of the data. It is clear that the answers of participants associated with each dimension predominantly range in the high level. It shows that the level of organizational cynicism is high, and the scores of the three dimensions of organizational justice interaction, distributive, and procedures are at a modest level as well.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics

Scale	Mean	SD
Organizational cynicism	3.69	.553
Interaction justice	2.42	.622
Distributive justice	2.61	.841
Procedural justice	2.26	.482
Organizational justice	2.43	.550

Source: The author dependent on the SPSS output, 2023.

Correlation and regression analysis

Table 4 presents the correlation between variables. The level of organizational cynicism is high. According to the correlation matrix, a negative and significant relationship has been determined between organizational cynicism and organizational justice ($r = -0.420$; $p < 0.05$). Note: A positive contribution to organizational cynicism signifies an increase in cynicism, while a negative contribution signifies a reduction."

Table 4. Correlation analysis of measures

Scale	Mean	SD	Organizational cynicism	Organizational justice
Organizational cynicism	3.69	.553	1	-.420**
Organizational justice	2.43	.550	-.420**	1

Note: *** — $p < .01$; ** — $p < .05$, * — $p < .10$; Source: The author dependent on the SPSS output, 2023.

Table 5 presents the results of multiple regression analysis for prediction of organizational justice. The first regression analysis indicates a significant negative contribution of organizational justice to organizational cynicism ($\beta = -0.422$; $p < 0.05$), indicating a strong inverse relationship between the two variables. Thus, the Alternative hypothesis regarding the negative contribution of organizational justice on organizational cynicism was supported. This finding is in line with previous findings on the relationship between fairness and cynicism, which indicates that a high level of fairness exerts a valid and sound influence to control and reduce organizational cynicism.

Table 5. Regression analysis for outcomes

Dependent variable	Independent variable (s)	R ²	Adj. R ²	F	p	β	p
Regression model (1)							
Organizational cynicism	Organizational justice	.420	.174	69.104	.000***	-.422	.000***
Regression model (2)							
Organizational cynicism	Interaction justice					-.223	.000
	Distributive justice	.192	.185	25.41	.000***	-.018	.709
	Procedural justice					-.163	.000

Note: *** — $p < .01$; ** — $p < .05$, * — $p < .10$. Source: The Author dependent on the SPSS output, 2023.

On the other hand, as shown in the regression model (2), interactional justice affects organizational cynicism significantly and less significantly influences procedural justice. The disruption of the economic and social structure caused by the war severely affects the influence of distributive justice. Therefore, distributive justice did not influence organizational cynicism significantly.

Table 6. One-way ANOVA test

		One-way ANOVA				
Educational factor	Source:	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
	Between groups	0.640	3	0.213		
	Within groups	97.235	320	0.304	0.702	0.552
	Total	97.875	323			
Experience factor	Source:	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
	Between groups	0.447	3	0.149		
	Within groups	97.427	320	0.304	0.490	0.690
	Total	97.875	323			

Source: The Author dependent on the SPSS output, 2022.

Data in Table 6 shows that educational level and experience as factors did not affect the perception of employees due to participant justice levels. As can be seen, the staff of the Syrian higher

education sector with different levels of education perceive non-significant levels of organizational justice ($p = 0.55$). Similarly, there is no significant difference exists between employees' perceptions of organizational justice according to professional years of experience ($p = 0.69$). These findings could be linked to the prevailing situation in Syria as general cynicism has a strong effect, followed by a negative perception of how employees, in general, are doing and the emotion of disgust with politics, war, dispute, and frustration.

This result sheds light on another factor, which could affect the employee perception of justice and increased cynic attitude; that is a political factor. The political factor manifested itself through 'deep-seated and relatively enduring feelings of estrangement, rejection, and negativism with the political situation', which represents 'alienation and cynicism' concerning the existing government and/or the policies that they pursue' (Dekker, Meijerink, 2013). Political cynicism has increased among almost all employees regardless of their years of experience and educational levels, as the study revealed no difference in their perception of organizational justice.

Discussion

Discussion on the Syrian case

As Syria enters its post-war era, the economic and social structure remains deeply damaged; years of conflict have devastated productive capacity, shattered communities, and caused immense loss of life and displacement, posing profound challenges for recovery and rebuilding. However, beyond the economic and social aftermath, the conflict inflicted profound disruptions on Syria's organizational and institutional structures (Suliman et al., 2023). Such disruptions exceed capital damage reflecting real psychological repercussions on the behavior of individuals, in which cynicism became a distinct phenomenon. The fears and anxieties projected onto the public and private employees' psychological perception have reflected negatively the incentives and motivations and converted into doubts and hesitancy surrounding the efficacy of their work, thus causing a decrease in employee productivity and organizational performance. In such circumstances, one should recognize an important channel through which conflict has manifested itself; it is the negative attitude of employees against their public and private organizations. As a result, the positive psychological climate was reduced, idleness increased, and participation in different activities faded. We argue that growing anxiety, which results from different social and economic factors and other intangible capital, has led to increased cynicism. These factors can be identified through three channels known as organizational cynicism; (i) lack of confidence in the integrity and trust of the organization and prioritize personal interests [Cognitive Dimension], (ii) lack of commitment, and increased unreliability and disrespect towards the organization [Affective Dimension], (iii) frequent complaints backed by pessimistic forecasts for the future events in the organization with strong critical expressions and contempt towards [Behavioural Dimension organization].

Implications and limitations

The study observed cynicism and dimensions of organizational justice in Syria. Interestingly, the main contributor to cynicism within public institutions is an external factor; it is Syria's cynical outlook on life and disillusionment with society. This factor has transformed from being an external to an inherent psychological feature of many Syrian workers, overlapping with the personal approach of cynicism, in response to the failed promise of the society. However, we argue that cynicism at any level can be managed in several ways, especially within the organization, by creating a healthy work environment to counter cynicism, mainly using justice's dimensions, which proved to be significant in alleviating and counter-corporate attitudes. There is a growing concern about

this type of cynicism among citizens, which will produce obstruction and rejection of organizational citizenship behaviors; there will be a need for further research based on qualitative approaches such as in-depth interviews with the respondents to understand this phenomenon. Further research is needed to focus on other variables that are potentially behaviorally influence on lecturers' justice perception such as leadership, organizational trust, job satisfaction, performance, and evaluating all these variables that interact with each other as a whole. Furthermore, a potential limitation is that while the questionnaires were translated into Arabic, they were not subjected to a comprehensive systematic adaptation and validation process specifically for the Syrian higher education context, which may affect the cultural precision of some items.

Conclusion

In this study, the effect of organizational justice on organizational cynicism in Syria in the educational sector was examined. The results of the research suggested that organizational justice contributes negatively to organizational cynicism (i.e. reduces it) — as a high level of fairness has a sound influence on organizational cynicism. Moreover, a service sector concerned with providing intangible services, Higher education sector employees have 'high' levels of perception as to distributive justice, interactional justice, and procedural justice. Thus, the alternative of the first hypothesis regarding the positive contribution of organizational justice on organizational cynicism was supported. This finding is in line with other findings which supported fairness and justice as a source of employees' trust and respect towards their organization, and thus reduce cynicism (Bernerth et al., 2007; Brockner, Wiesenfeld, 1996; Meier, Stiglitz, 2001; Myhill, Bradford, 2013; Robbins et al., 2012).

Analyses on sub-dimensions of variables give some more detailed insights; revealing that sub-dimensions of organizational justice differ in contributing to organizational cynicism. The findings supported that Interaction justice has the most significant contributions to cynicism followed by procedural. This result contrasts with previous studies that found that distributive justice has the least effective (Tayfur et al., 2013; Tyler, Blader, 2005; Tyler, 1994; Loan et al., 2020; Umphress et al., 2003), and supports the previous study by (Frenkel et al., 2012; Nagar, 2012). Another significant predictor of organizational cynicism in the case of the Syrian educational sector turned out to be interactional justice, which stresses more on the quality of interpersonal relations among employees considering their views and opinions. There is no doubt that improving working conditions in the service sector is a vital tool in modifying individuals' behavior, especially considering the weak possibility of improving material incentives as a result of the confusing economic conditions that the government sector in Syria suffers from (Almeshref, Khwanda, 2022). Nevertheless, developing a more realistic and objective approach to empowering behavioral and psychological tools is a crucial factor in improving the general mood and attitudes of employees and thus reducing the state of organizational cynicism in these institutions.

Contribution

To the best of the authors' knowledge, this represents the first study to examine the effects of organizational justice on organizational cynicism in Syria's higher education sector. This study is important as the educational system's needs and challenges often differ significantly across the main hubs of Syria. Thus, it is a must for governments and other bodies to initiate a strong push for a new approach to a more sustainable and quality education system in the post-war era.

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Цинизм в организациях и его связь с воспринимаемой организационной справедливостью: на примере вузов Сирии

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Аннотация. *Цель.* После четырнадцати лет сирийского войны организации страны оказались в значительной степени разрозненными и разрушенными. Примечательно, что наиболее крупная и устоявшаяся система высшего образования понесла серьёзный урон. Сектор высшего образования столкнулся с существенными комплексными вызовами, среди которых цинизм, как концепция, получил широкое признание и стал заметным феноменом. Данное исследование направлено на оценку уровня организационного цинизма и роли организационной справедливости как инструмента снижения цинизма в сирийском высшем образовании. *Методология.* Количественные данные, полученные на основе анкетирования 324 сотрудников из 15 подразделений Дамасского университета, были проанализированы с использованием регрессионного анализа. *Результаты.* Организационная справедливость отрицательно связана с цинизмом ($\beta = -0.422, p < 0.05$), что указывает на её роль в снижении цинизма. При этом межличностная справедливость демонстрирует наибольший отрицательный вклад в организационный цинизм. Политический цинизм нивелирует различия в восприятии среди демографических групп. *Значение результатов.* Результаты исследования представляют значительный интерес для администраций университетов, политиков и практиков, стремящихся внедрить более устойчивую и качественную систему образования. Сирийская война актуализирует вопросы о роли межличностной справедливости в снижении цинизма. Сокращение политизации и развитие позитивного мышления могут улучшить поведение сотрудников.

Ключевые слова: организационный цинизм, организационная справедливость, Сирия, война, высшее образование.