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Big Fish in a New Pond:

How Self-Perceived Status Influences Newcomer Change Oriented Behaviors

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How Self-Perceived Status Influences Newcomer Change Oriented Behaviors

by

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Dedication

To my husband for encouraging me to pursue this goal even though it meant enduring another five years of school and to his parents for helping in innumerable ways. To my daughters for reminding me to have fun in the journey, to laugh whenever possible, and to have faith. To both of my parents for telling me that I could do whatever I wanted to do and to my father in particular for inspiring me to follow my passion because you never know which day will be your last.

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Big Fish in a New Pond:

How Self-Perceived Status Influences Newcomer Change Oriented Behaviors

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My dissertation focuses on self-perceived status as a driver for newcomers to initiate change in the organizations they join, either by trying to modify the tasks they are assigned to do (job crafting), implementing changes that affect how others do their work (taking charge), or making broader suggestions for improvement to the organization (voice). Although research has noted the actions that organizations take to socialize and to assimilate newcomers into the way things are conventionally done, my research centers the focus on the agency that newcomers display. I find that self-perceived status, how much prestige, respect, or admiration a newcomer thinks he/she enjoys in a group, plays an important role in determining newcomer change oriented behaviors. I also examine if newcomer self-perceived status influences the target of change oriented behaviors towards coworkers or supervisors. I find some support for the moderating influences of both individual level differences (e.g., self-monitoring) and organizational contextual factors (e.g., socialization tactics that aim to affirm newcomers' unique values and skills in the new organization) on the relationship between self-perceived status and the propensity to engage in change oriented behaviors. I test my hypotheses with a variety of methods including a field study and two laboratory experiments.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

With employees having worked for many different organizations during their career (an average of 11 for U.S. workers, BLS, 2010), today's organizational newcomers are likely to have years of prior work experience with a variety of employers (Cappelli, 1999). Thus, they have a breadth of skills and knowledge to share. Even though they may have been hired for their expertise, when newcomers join a firm they are bombarded with information about what they need to do and how they need to do it. With limited resources, newcomers face the dilemma of whether to use their existing knowledge and experience to change their new organization or to focus their energies on conforming to how things are currently done. So when are newcomers more likely to try to change how things are done? Understanding when and how this happens may play an important role in helping organizations to capture value from new hires, a task which firms generally perform poorly (Bidwell, 2011; Groysberg, Lee, & Nanda, 2008).

Two streams of research have wrestled with the question of what newcomers do when they join a new firm. Within the organizations literature, socialization research has focused on (a) how firms can best train incoming recruits (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007a; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), or (b) how newcomers proactively get the information that they need to perform their job well (Morrison, 1993a; Morrison, 1993b). For instance, organizations socialize their new hires through the use of various tactics such as formalized, group training programs (Ashforth et al., 2007a; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Newcomers' personality differences affect their learning and adjustment,

with confident employees being more likely to seek out performance information (Morrison, 1993a), and proactive and curious employees adjusting differently to their new environment (Ashforth et al., 2007a; Harrison, Sluss, & Ashforth, 2011). Taken together, much of this work is built on the premise that it is best for the individual and the organization if the newcomer adapts to the new organization and its way of doing things.

A parallel line of research in the small groups literature has looked at newcomers as a source of innovation (Levine, Moreland, Choi, & Hoon, 2008), identifying the conditions under which incumbent group members may be more receptive to newcomer knowledge (see Rink, Kane, Ellemers & Vander Vegt, 2013 for a recent review). In describing group socialization, Levine, Moreland, and Choi (2001) propose an accommodation process whereby groups change to meet the newcomer's needs, such as changing work schedules to provide for the newcomer's work style. However, much of the experimental work investigating newcomer innovation has been based on group receptivity to suggestions offered by incoming (usually confederate) members (Choi & Levine, 2004), focusing on the behavioral reactions of group incumbents rather than the specific efforts of the newcomer.

Although these two streams of research have focused on the conditions and tactics organizations use to socialize newcomers (Ashforth et al., 2007b) or the conditions and tactics that help incumbents be more receptive to newcomer ideas (Rink et al., 2013), neither stream has focused on how and why newcomers proactively initiate positive change within their new organization or on the factors that increase the propensity to display change oriented behaviors. That is, understanding the characteristics of

newcomers that lead them to instigate change – rather than focusing on how newcomers are socialized into existing practices – should lead to important insights into why some organizations capture more value from their new hires.

As a likely driver for newcomer change oriented behaviors, I focus on the newcomer's self-perceived status, defined as how much prestige, respect, or admiration a newcomer thinks he/she enjoys in a group, possibly related to but independent of his or her actual standing in the new group. The introduction of a new member constitutes an external change that will likely alter the status hierarchy of an existing group (e.g., Hambrick & Cannella, 1993). While the group hierarchy becomes established, newcomers may rely on perceptions of what they *think* their status is to decide how to act. Perceived status is important because status judgments change how individuals, both the inventor and the recipient, perceive the value of products or ideas (Thye, 2000). For example, a new invention from a highly admired engineer may be perceived as having higher value than the same invention from someone less well known, regardless of actual quality. Self-perceived status may drive newcomers to offer more ideas and make more changes because they think highly of themselves and the ideas they have to offer. Status also creates expectations individuals hold for themselves about what they should do (Berger, Fisek, Norman, & Zelditch Jr, 1977). Higher status newcomers might want to engage in a set of actions that are consistent with those expected of high status employees—actions that demonstrate competence—in an effort to maintain or attain higher status. They will be more inclined to engage in behaviors that get them noticed and lauded by others. Therefore, self-perceived status influences how newcomers value

their own ideas and skills, and might also drive newcomers to act in ways consistent with what they believe their status to be. For these reasons, self-perceived status might then influence whether newcomers (a) try to craft their job by changing the tasks performed, (b) make changes themselves within their workgroup that will affect how others perform their work, or (c) speak up with suggestions for improvement for the broader organization. When newcomers believe that they hold prominence or prestige in the eyes of their new coworkers, they may be more willing to suggest changes or perform their assigned job in new ways.

In addition to examining the role of newcomer status on the display of change oriented behaviors, I also examine the conditions under which the effects of self-perceived status are enhanced or diminished. First, I examine whether the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors will be enhanced when directed to some types of recipients than others. New employees who believe they have higher status may take more risks by seeking greater changes and targeting their change oriented behaviors to individuals with relatively greater power. Second, I examine whether the effects of status are more pronounced based on individual differences of newcomers. The effects of self-perceived status on change oriented behaviors may be different for individuals who are higher versus lower self-monitors, as differences in the awareness of how their actions impact their relative status may influence whether they choose to engage in the behavior. Finally, I examine the organizational context and argue that the investiture socialization tactics displayed by the

firm are likely to weaken the relationship between self-perceived status and the proposed change oriented behaviors.

I test my hypotheses in a series of three studies, using two laboratory experiments to complement a field study. Study 1 is a field study with ninety-two newcomers to four different offices of a midsize, national, publicly traded company that specializes in workers' compensation solutions. Supervisors and co-workers rate newcomer change oriented behaviors, providing multi-source data of newcomer actions. Newcomers also report to whom they direct their change oriented behaviors and how much they believe their actions will affect those around them. The field setting provides a variety of investiture tactics, levels of self-monitoring, and self-perceived status as newcomers with different individual backgrounds are hired for a variety of positions and work in different locations where managers have the authority to tailor their training programs.

Studies 2 and 3 are experimental studies to test the causal effects of self-perceived status on change oriented behaviors. In Study 1, undergraduate students participate in a scenario-driven experiment where they are told that they are the newest members of a student task force. After completing a recall based self-perceived status manipulation (Lount & Pettit, 2012), participants are asked to review a proposal and provide additional ideas, allowing me to investigate the role of self-perceived status and self-monitoring on voice behaviors. In Study 2, newcomers complete a similar recall based self-perceived status manipulation and then participate in a group production task. I also manipulate the investiture tactics of the groups to test the moderating effects of both investiture and self-monitoring on self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors.

The primary contribution of this dissertation will be to scholarship about newcomers, changing the focus from how organizations train them to how they themselves initiate change in their organizations. I focus on three different methods newcomers use to introduce change: job crafting, taking charge, and voice. The second contribution is an increased understanding of which newcomers are likely to engage in these change oriented behaviors. I explore how self-perceived status can increase the propensity to engage in change oriented behaviors controlling for other individual differences such as proactivity. Finally, I propose that the individual characteristic of self-monitoring and the organizational tactic of investiture also play important roles in influencing how newcomers try to shape their work environments. Newcomers are assumed to be a source of innovation (Levine et al., 2008), but better identification of the behaviors by which newcomers introduce change and which newcomers are likely to do so and when may improve the innovation process.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

With employees having worked for many different organizations during their career (an average of 11 for U.S. workers, BLS, 2010), today's organizational newcomers are likely to have years of prior work experience with a variety of employers (Cappelli, 1999). New hires straight out of college are also likely to have internship and other experience that they could use to benefit the hiring firm. However, even though they may have been hired for their expertise, when newcomers join a firm they are bombarded with information about what they need to do and how they need to do it. With limited resources and social pressures from their new firm, newcomers face the dilemma of whether to use their existing knowledge and experience to make changes in their new organization or to focus their energies on conforming to how things are currently done. Understanding when and how newcomers are more likely to try to change things may play an important role in helping organizations to capture value from new hires, a task which firms generally perform poorly (Bidwell, 2011; Groysberg, Lee, & Nanda, 2008).

The literature on newcomers has focused on two primary questions: what newcomers do, or should do, when they join a new firm and how the groups they join change upon their arrival. Within a stream of research primarily published in management related journals, decades of socialization research have focused on how newcomers learn about their jobs and the organization, either through newcomer proactivity (Morrison, 1993a; Morrison, 1993b) or the actions of the firm (Ashforth et al., 2007a; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Much of this work is built on the premise that it is best for the individual and the organization if the newcomer adapts to the new organization and its way of doing things (e.g., Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

A parallel line of research published in primarily psychology journals on small groups has looked at newcomers as a source of innovation and group change (Levine et al., 2008). In describing group socialization, Levine, Moreland, and Choi (2001) propose an accommodation process whereby the group changes to meet the newcomer's needs. However, much of the experimental work investigating newcomer innovation has been based on group receptivity to suggestions offered by incoming (confederate) members (Choi & Levine, 2004), focusing on the behavioral reactions of group incumbents rather than the specific efforts of the newcomer (see Rink et al., 2013 for a recent review).

The following sections will summarize each of these two streams of research. I will first review how newcomers are assimilated in to the organizations they join, including why newcomers might feel the need to assimilate and the roles that the newcomers themselves play and the tactics of the organization. I will then summarize the existing work on what influences whether groups change and accept new members and/or their knowledge. Finally, I will position my research in the context of these two streams, arguing that neither stream has focused on how and why newcomers proactively initiate positive change within their new organization or on the factors that increase the propensity to display those change oriented behaviors.

ASSIMILATING THE NEWCOMER

A primary goal of socialization is for newcomers to fit in to their new firm so that they may effectively perform their work and benefit the organization (Bauer & Erdogan, 2011). Based on this goal, prior research on newcomers has focused extensively on how to train newcomers (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) and how newcomers learn about their new organization (Ashforth et al., 2007a) and build relationships with their new colleagues to increase task related knowledge and social support (Morrison, 2002). To

better understand why newcomers seek to assimilate, the following section will first summarize findings from the small groups literature on why newcomers try to act as everyone else to fit in to the organizations they join. The next several sections will then cover several commonly researched newcomer behaviors designed to improve assimilation, and the following section will highlight the organizational and individual differences that have been found to improve or hinder these behaviors and/or assimilation.

Importance of Fitting In

When joining a new organization, newcomers seek acceptance in their new groups (Moreland & Levine, 1982). Such a dynamic is not only relevant to organizational settings, but most group situations. For instance, classic child development studies have looked at the behaviors exhibited by newcomers that are more likely to lead to group acceptance, a basic need for most individuals. Looking at children, new group members are more likely to be accepted or thought of favorably when they mimic the behaviors of the children in the groups that they are trying to join rather than drawing attention to themselves or disrupting the group's activities (Dodge, Schlundt, Schocken, & Delugach, 1983). Groups also react more favorably to newcomers who agree with the existing group members (Putallaz & Gottman, 1981). In summary, newcomers to social groups have greater success when they go along with what the group is doing, and these same social rewards for conforming to the group play a role in workgroup assimilation as well (Moreland & Levine, 1989). Given their desire to fit in with the new work group, newcomers distance themselves from their prior group by showing conformity to the new group (Hornsey, Grice, Jetten, Paulsen, & Callan, 2007). Newcomers also gain acceptance by showing that they have similar

interests as existing group members (Kane, Argote, & Levine 2005). Newcomers face pressure to assimilate to the organization to succeed, and these pressures discourage newcomers from doing anything to rock the boat. Based on these pressures to assimilate, newcomers are also motivated to learn about the firm using a variety of tactics.

One activity in which newcomers typically engage to learn about the firm is information seeking and acquisition (Ashforth et al., 2007a). Successful acquisition of necessary information helps the newcomer to learn their role in the organization, leads to better social integration, and greater job satisfaction (Morrison, 1993b). Thus, this newcomer behavior benefits not only the individual as they learn about the organization but also the organization as the newcomer takes an active role in adjusting to their new job. Seeking information about how the group operates from coworkers is particularly important for newcomers upon organizational entry as it helps newcomers to organize discrete pieces of information into usable knowledge (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1992). At a general level, increased information seeking activities positively relate to satisfaction and job performance (Morrison, 1993a). Monitoring for normative information on how to behave positively relates to social integration with coworkers because newcomers learn appropriate behaviors and are able to adjust to new norms and expectations (Morrison, 1993b). Meta-analytic results show a positive relationship between seeking information and role clarity, social acceptance, and organizational commitment (Bauer, Bodner, Erdogan, Truxillo, & Tucker, 2007). These prior findings show that acquired information plays an important role in newcomer adaptation to the firm, influencing future success at both task and social outcomes (Bauer et al., 2007).

In addition to learning about their job and the tasks of the organization, newcomers also try to build relationships and become socially integrated into the organization (Ashford & Black, 1996; Morrison, 2002). In looking at the networks that

newcomers form, Morrison (2002) found that newcomers who were able to build strong network ties with their co-workers were more socially integrated into their organizations. Social integration into the firm is important as meta-analytic results also suggest that newcomers who feel socially accepted, or who have successfully learned how to build relationships in the firm, also have higher job performance and organizational commitment (Bauer et al., 2007). Thus, newcomers are more likely to succeed, both socially and in job performance, when they learn about the firm and how things are typically done.

Role of the Newcomer in Assimilation Activities: Individual Differences

Individual differences influence the likelihood that newcomers will engage in these information seeking and proactive behaviors. Some newcomers take it upon themselves to learn about how the organization does things, regardless of the socialization methods used by the organization (Crant, 2000). This section will first address the role of work experience and then address the influence of several personality differences on the actions newcomers take to assimilate to the firm.

Work Experience

Hiring firms might expect more experienced newcomers to have certain skills, and these expectations might alter newcomer socialization and behaviors. Feldman and Brett (1983) investigated the different actions newcomers took to adjust to their new roles, comparing new hires to a firm and employees within the firm who had changed jobs. Experienced newcomers, in this case, individuals changing jobs within the same organization, generally worked longer hours than other newcomers because they felt they were expected to be competent at their new jobs, and one way to meet this expectation

was to increase their hours (Feldman & Brett, 1983). In contrast, less experienced newcomers were more likely to ask for task help and to seek out social support because they may have believed that it was more acceptable to feel doubt about their abilities in the new company (Feldman & Brett, 1983). These expectations on behalf of newcomers and incumbents also influence newcomer feedback seeking. Brett, Feldman, and Weingart (1990) found that new hires seek feedback to confirm that they are doing well, but job changers seek feedback when they fear that they are doing poorly. Taken together, these findings suggest that more experienced workers might believe that more is expected of them and use their own beliefs about what they should be doing to determine the actions they will take in the new organization.

Self-Efficacy

Perceptions of self-efficacy are also important drivers in newcomer actions to assimilate. Self-efficacy may refer to either perceived self-efficacy as applied to a certain task or general self-efficacy, which refers to individual expectations of mastery across a range of situations (Saks & Ashforth, 2000). Meta-analytic results show that perceptions of self-efficacy positively relate to socialization outcomes such as social acceptance and job performance (Bauer et al., 2007). In addition, Saks and Ashforth (2000) found that increased perceptions of self-efficacy also increased perceptions of control. People with higher general self-efficacy might choose to enter into situations where they feel they can effectively perform, but they may also feel that they can gain control over most situations (Ashforth & Saks, 2000). Thus, these results suggest that when newcomers feel more

confident about their abilities in general, they are more likely to feel more in control even when entering a new organization.

In small groups research, self-efficacy has also been shown to influence relationship building. Newcomers with high general self-efficacy are more likely to expect to be successful, and these expectations help them to feel empowered and to try to build better relationships with incumbents (Chen & Klimoski, 2003). Having prior work experience related to the task of the group also increases the team's expectations for the newcomer, thereby increasing the likelihood that group members will try to build good relationships with the newcomer (Chen & Klimoski, 2003). Thus, self-efficacy may motivate newcomers to learn more about their organizations and enable them to build better relationships with their co-workers.

Proactive Personality

Individuals with proactive personalities are more likely to "initiate and maintain actions that directly alter the surrounding environment" (Bateman & Crant, 1993: 105). Proactive individuals are more likely to innovate, know the formal and informal networks of their organization, and take control of their careers through career planning and skill development (Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001). Even after controlling for human capital and motivation, proactive personality shows a positive relationship with salary, promotions, and career satisfaction (Seibert, Crant, & Kraimer, 1999). Based on these longitudinal outcomes of the benefits of proactive personality, several studies have also looked at how proactive personality influences organizational entry.

Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg (2003) found that newcomers with proactive personalities take more of an active role in the socialization process. For example, proactive individuals are more likely to know what they are doing (task mastery and role clarity), to build better relationships within their work group, and to gain political knowledge about the organization because of the efforts they make in gaining information and building relationships (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). In addition, proactive individuals are more likely to engage in greater amounts of relationship building with their co-workers when they first start at a new organization (Chan & Schmitt, 2000).

In summary, these findings show that the past experience of newcomers and their individual differences play important roles in the actions newcomers take upon organizational entry to learn about the organization and the expectations others hold for them. Past work experience generates expectations, and newcomers change their behaviors to meet these expectations that they hold of themselves (Feldman & Brett, 1983). Personality differences also influence how much individuals seek to learn the roles assigned to them (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003) or to gain control over their new environment (Ashforth & Saks, 2000). These individual differences suggest that some newcomers may be more successful at assimilating to the new firm or have a stronger desire to assimilate than others.

Role of the Organization in Assimilation Activities: Socialization Tactics

In addition to the role that newcomers play in determining the actions they will take upon firm entry, the tactics of the organization to socialize the newcomer also play

an important part. Organizational socialization has been defined as "the process by which employees are transformed from organization outsiders to participating and effective members" (Feldman, 1981: 309). Most socialization research has focused on how newcomers learn new skills (task mastery), acquire new roles (role clarity), adjust to their organization's values and norms, and build relationships within the firm (Feldman, 1981; Morrison, 2002). To accomplish these goals, organizations use a variety of techniques.

Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) theory of organizational socialization set forth six dimensions describing how organizations socialize newcomers. Each dimension addresses a different facet of socialization and describes opposite ways organizations might go about training new recruits. These twelve tactics reliably group together in to two overall approaches (Ashforth, Saks, & Lee, 1997b; Jones, 1986). Further, these dimensions of socialization matter to individuals and organizations as they reliably predict whether newcomers will try to change the roles assigned to them and/or stay with their new firm (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Bauer et al., 2007).

The first dimension addresses how recruits are processed through a boundary crossing such as organizational entry. The organization might take a group of new hires and put them through training together (*collective* socialization) or train new hires individually, creating a unique set of experiences (*individual* socialization). Next, socialization may be either *formal*, when newcomers are "more or less segregated from regular organizational members while being put through a set of experiences tailored explicitly for the newcomer" (p. 236), or *informal*, when newcomers are not socialized

separately from existing firm members or distinguished by labels or uniforms from the other employees. Socialization might also occur *sequentially* when organizations identify a set of steps the newcomer must work through or *randomly* when organizations create ambiguity about the sequence of steps leading to a certain role. *Fixed* socialization refers to how clearly an organization sets a timetable for the socialization steps, with fixed socialization setting clear time tables and *variable* socialization giving few clues about if there is a timetable or what that time table might be. Organizations might also use *serial* socialization, where "experienced members of the organization groom newcomers who are about to assume similar kinds of positions in the organization" (Van Maanen & Schein, p. 247), or *disjunctive* socialization, where newcomers are not provided role models or examples to follow.

The last socialization dimension is *investiture* vs. *divestiture*. Investiture processes "ratify and document for recruits the viability and usefulness of those personal characteristics they bring with them to the organization," and through this process, organizations try to "take advantage of and build upon the skills, values, and attitudes the recruit is thought to possess" (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979: 250). In contrast, divestiture socialization processes try to strip away many of the personal characteristics of the new hire to build the person back up in the image of the organization.

Taken together, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) argued that the first tactic in each pair encourage custodial role orientations, when the newcomer accepts the new role as described, but the second tactic in each pair (including investiture) encourage an innovative role orientation, when the newcomer seeks to redefine or change their role.

Role innovation occurs when newcomers try to shape their work, possibly changing the types of tasks performed or the methods used to perform tasks (Ashford & Taylor, 1990; Ashforth, 2001; Ashforth et al., 2007a). Through role innovation, individuals may change the role to better fit their skills and needs, making either small modifications to how things are done or seeking larger scale changes in organizational work but in direct relation to the newcomer's role (Ashforth, 2001; Nicholson & West, 1988). Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) early theorizing was focused on describing the actions the organization could take to encourage either a custodial role orientation (accepting the job as described) or an innovative role orientation.

Keeping with the bipolar description of processes, Jones (1986) grouped collective, formal, sequential, fixed, serial, and investiture (not divestiture) processes together as institutionalized tactics and individual, informal, random, variable, disjunctive, and divestiture processes together as individualized tactics. Jones (1986) argued that investiture tactics belonged with the other institutionalized tactics, contrary to Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) original propositions, because he interpreted investiture tactics to be those actions by organizational members that give positive support to newcomers. Because these tactics confirmed the incoming skills and talents of newcomers, Jones (1986) reasoned that they would lead newcomers to accept what they were told by the organization. Using his measure of investiture, Jones found that institutionalized tactics (including investiture tactics) encouraged newcomers to accept their new roles as described by the organization rather than seek to change them because these tactics decrease ambiguity for the newcomer (Jones, 1986; Van Maanen & Schein,

1979). Using Jones' (1986) measure, later studies also found that investiture tactics statistically grouped together with the other institutionalized tactics in business student samples (Ashforth et al., 1997b).

Meta-analytic results using Jones' (1986) measure of investiture found a significant negative relationship between investiture tactics and role innovation and further found that these tactics showed the strongest positive relationship of the tactics with job satisfaction, performance, and organizational commitment (Saks, Uggerslev & Fassina, 2007). However, Jones' (1986) classification of investiture as a tactic that would encourage newcomers to accept the status quo rather than question it contradicted Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) original propositions that investiture would encourage newcomers to retain their individual characteristics and values, thereby generating role innovation. Ashforth and Saks (1996) developed a different measure of investiture tactics that they argued better captured the intent of Van Maanen and Schein (1979). They argued that while Jones (1986) defined investiture as the receipt of social support from incumbents, investiture as defined by Van Maanen and Schein (1979) focuses "on the extent to which an organization accepts or challenges a newcomer's incoming identity and personal attributes" (Ashforth & Saks, 1996: 157). Testing both the Jones' (1986) measure and their own measure of investiture, Ashforth and Saks (1996) found no significant relationship between investiture and either attempted role innovation or actual role innovation.

Recent theorizing suggests that the elements of investiture may work against each other as the increased support for the individual may both reduce ambiguity

(discouraging role innovation) but also increase self-confidence (thereby encouraging role innovation) (Perrot, Bauer, & Roussel, 2012). When organizations affirm to the newcomer that their incoming skills and abilities are valued (through investiture tactics), the organization may reduce ambiguity for the newcomer, but may encourage the newcomer to take more risks and change how they complete their work (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Ashforth et al., 2007b). Thus, it is unclear how investiture tactics will influence newcomers to either assimilate and accept things as they are, or seek to make changes to their new job and organization.

In summary, both individual differences and the socialization tactics of the organization influence how newcomers learn about the firm (Ashforth et al., 2007a). Learning about the firm and how things are done is important for the future success of the newcomer (Ashforth et al., 2007a), and newcomers may try to fit in to how things are done to be socially accepted by their new peers (Dodge et al., 1983). However, the firm may also benefit if the newcomer brings in new ideas and suggestions for improvement—in short, if the newcomer tries to change how things are done.

ACCOMMODATING THE NEWCOMER

In describing their model of newcomer group socialization, Moreland and Levine (1982) suggest that during the socialization process, the group may try to assimilate the newcomer by requesting that the newcomer changes to meet the needs of the group, but that the group may also need to change to meet the needs of the newcomer—accommodation (Levine et al., 2001). A key element of this model is the acknowledgement that the newcomer affects the group (accommodation) in addition to

the group acting upon the individual (assimilation). Drawing on this approach, some of small groups research has investigated whether newcomers transfer knowledge to their new groups, how groups change upon the introduction of a new member, and what influences group acceptance of newcomers and/or their knowledge. As evidenced in a recent review, the majority of this work has focused on team receptivity to the newcomer—how the team reflects, uses knowledge, and accepts newcomers (Rink et al., 2013). Very little work has investigated how newcomers might request changes in the groups that they join or what might drive these change oriented behaviors. This section reviews when groups are more likely to accept newcomer knowledge, either based on how knowledge is presented or who presents it.

Accommodation Activities: Role of the Newcomer

Group incumbents react differently, increasing acceptance of newcomer knowledge, based on newcomer actions that show allegiance to the new group. Incumbents more readily accept critique from newcomers who distance themselves from their prior group by showing conformity to the new group (Hornsey et al., 2007). When these newcomers are able to appear attached to the new group, the group is more likely to accept their comments because they see the newcomer as trying to be helpful rather than merely critical (Hornsey et al., 2007). Kane, Argote, and Levine (2005) also showed that when small groups were part of a larger group that shared a superordinate identity, oldtimers were more receptive to newcomer suggestions, thereby increasing the amount of knowledge transfer between groups. When oldtimers and newcomers shared a superordinate identity, oldtimers more thoroughly processed information offered by

newcomers because the shared superordinate identity creates an expectation about the value of the knowledge shared and a psychological motive to find that the knowledge is more valuable (Kane, 2010).

Group members are also more likely to adopt new information when newcomers use an integrating identity strategy (Kane & Rink, 2011). This strategy primarily involves the use of integrating language such as "us" and "we". When newcomers use this strategy, existing group members are more likely to perceive that the newcomer cares about the group and acknowledge the expertise of the newcomer. For these reasons, oldtimers will be more likely to use the knowledge shared by the newcomer, and when the newcomer has better information, group performance will improve (Kane & Rink, 2011). As indicated in the prior section, showing assimilation behaviors is important for the acceptance of the newcomer and his/her information.

More research has focused on the characteristics of the newcomer that encourage team receptivity to newcomer knowledge (Rink et al., 2013), including how long the newcomer is expected to stay with the group, how the newcomer differs from existing group members, and the relative status of newcomers. This section will review each of these characteristics and their impact on the willingness of existing group members to accept and/or use the knowledge of new team members.

Existing team members develop different expectations of newcomers based on whether they expect these newcomers to stay permanently (Rink & Ellemers, 2009). In particular, incumbents expect that it will be more difficult to get along with *temporary* newcomers because they expect these newcomers to differ more from the existing group

than permanent newcomers (Rink & Ellemers, 2009). Temporary newcomers are also less accepted than permanent ones, but these temporary newcomers mention more unique information and have a larger impact on group performance (Rink & Ellemers, 2009). Rink and Ellemers (2009: 774) argue that "newcomers have the most positive influence on group decision making when there is less pressure to assimilate to the group's norms and when their position justifies their deviation from set practices or collective opinions, that is, when they have a temporary status in the group."

Groups are also more willing to listen to different ideas (or accommodate) diverse individuals. When individuals within a group differ on surface-level characteristics, i.e., those that are readily knowable (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998), team members are more willing to listen to and process information from the diverse member (Phillips, Mannix, Neale, & Gruenfeld, 2004). Group members assume that when they share a surface-level characteristic, such as race or gender, they should also look at tasks similarly and hold similar attitudes and beliefs (Phillips & Loyd, 2006). These assumptions make it harder for similar individuals within a group to disagree with the other group members when all the other group members share similar surface level characteristics (Phillips & Loyd, 2006). However, it is easier for individuals to disagree when there is at least one surface-level different member in the group (Phillips et al., 2004).

In respect to newcomers, Phillips, Liljenquist and Neale (2009) found that existing team members felt more socially validated when they agreed with newcomers from a similar social group (same sorority/fraternity), possibly because agreeing with in-group members did not threaten their group membership. However, when existing

members agreed with an out-group newcomer, group performance improved because the group spent more time focusing on the task. In particular, when the group was otherwise homogeneous and an out-group member joined, the group perceived that they were performing worse and felt more anxiety after the addition of the out-group member, but their performance was actually better because they questioned their own routines and processes. Phillips and her colleagues (2009) argue that it was not what the newcomers had to add that changed the group outcome, but it was how the oldtimers reacted to the newcomers by examining their processes and decisions (Phillips et al., 2009).

In addition, diverse newcomers may engage in certain actions to ensure greater acceptance. In the impression formation process of new colleagues, Flynn, Chatman, and Spataro (2001) found that people generally form more negative impressions of individuals who differ from them. However, demographically different individuals who were more extraverted and sought to manage impressions of themselves were able to negate some of the negative stereotypes that resulted in the negative impressions. Thus, these individual personality differences of extraversion and impression management enabled demographically different new group members to reduce out-group bias and increase information sharing within the team, improving team performance and group acceptance (Flynn et al., 2001).

Groups may also be more willing to listen to and accommodate those newcomers whom they perceive to have higher status. Looking at groups of college students, Zander and Cohen (1955) found that groups react to high status newcomers more positively by paying more attention to comments made by high status newcomers and appreciating

their contributions more (Zander & Cohen, 1955). However, there may be a limit to these effects as groups might not accept members who try to dominate the group (Cini, 2001; Sauer, 2011).

Based on social identification and threat appraisal, Menon and Blount (2003) argue that the relationship between the knowledge sender and the knowledge receiver influences how knowledge is perceived, processed, and valued. They argue that "knowledge is evaluated more positively when communicated by messengers with high status, whether it comes from personal or group sources" (Menon & Blount, 2003:150). Menon and Blount (2003) focus on the group identification of the knowledge sender, whether they are in-group or out-group members, and whether they present a threat to the knowledge receiver. If they are perceived as part of the in-group, newcomers may be labeled as deviants when they try to present new information, and their knowledge may be seen as less valuable. The receiver's group-level motivation to protect the group will lead the receiver to devalue the information, thereby protecting the group's identity. In contrast, enemies who are not part of the in-group are seen as valuable sources of information because obtaining enemy knowledge protects the group and may provide higher individual status to the knowledge receiver. In empirical work, Menon and her colleagues (Menon, Thompson, & Choi, 2006) found that individuals were more likely to seek after information from out-group members rather than value information from in-group members, suggesting that out-group members may be more expected to provide different information and ideas.

Overall, groups will accord greater value to the ideas of outside members if the group expects those members to be different and to offer different ideas (Phillips et al., 2004; Menon & Blount, 2003) and when those outside members are not expected to become permanent members of the group (Rink & Ellemers, 2009). But to gain acceptance, newcomers must distance themselves from their prior group (Hornsey et al., 2007) and show that they are part of their new team (Kane & Rink, 2011). Thus, newcomers may be pulled in two directions – they may want to show allegiance to their new firm, but they may also have new ideas to share that could benefit the firm.

SUMMARY

Although these two streams of research have focused on the conditions and tactics organizations use to socialize newcomers (Ashforth et al., 2007b) or the conditions and tactics that help incumbents be more receptive to newcomer ideas (Rink et al., 2013), neither stream has focused on how and why newcomers proactively initiate positive change within their new organization or on the factors that increase the propensity to display those change oriented behaviors. That is, understanding the characteristics of newcomers that lead them to instigate change – rather than focusing on how newcomers are socialized into existing practices or how oldtimers voluntarily accommodate newcomers – should lead to important insights into why some organizations capture more value from their new hires.

Chapter 3: Theory Development and Hypotheses

When newcomers join a new firm, they bring with them their prior knowledge and experiences (Cappelli, 1999). Even though the organization focuses on training the newcomer (Ashforth et al., 2007a), and the newcomer focuses on learning about the organization (Morrison, 1993a), some newcomers may also seek change to change the organization. Change may occur in a variety of ways from the newcomer changing either their own tasks and role, making changes to how their work group operates, or offering suggestions about how the organization should change its ways. How the newcomer thinks of him or herself may direct the degree to which the newcomer seeks changes and the risk that the newcomer perceives from engaging in change oriented behaviors.

Take for example my experiences working at the law firm Elsaesser Jarzabek Anderson Marks Elliott and McHugh. Two years after I joined the firm, we hired James, a new attorney straight out of law school. James had worked in several different businesses prior to returning to law school, but this was his first full-time legal position. As soon as James joined the firm, he wanted a variety of changes made. First, unlike most associate attorneys who perform work assigned by senior partners, he focused on building a name for himself in the community and getting to know local business leaders. Second, James was rather dismayed by the legal research company we were using. He took it upon himself to contact the sales representative of a better legal research company and negotiated a use contract for all the attorneys in the firm. He then took that contract to the managing partner of the firm, and all attorneys in the office started using the new legal research product. Finally, James was also known for regularly commenting on how old and run down our offices were and suggesting that we should move to a new building in town. Many of James' actions and comments for change were beneficial to the firm,

but current research cannot explain what drove him to believe that he should engage in behaviors that aim to change the work environment or to suggest new ways of doing things.

Many newcomers seek to fit in (Dodge et al., 1983)—keeping their heads down and learning the ropes of the new organization (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). This is a logical approach considering the risk involved in speaking up or trying to make changes (Morrison & Phelps, 1999), and the likelihood that these risks may be even greater for newcomers. And yet, there are some newcomers, such as James, who choose to engage in risky change oriented behaviors. While individual differences, such as proactivity, or organizational approaches to socialization, such as investiture tactics, influence the likelihood that newcomers will independently take steps to *learn* about their new firms, I argue that self-perceived status will influence whether newcomers try to *change* their new firm. Self-perceived status is how much prestige, respect, or admiration a newcomer thinks he/she enjoys in a group. Newcomer self-perceived status may be related to but independent of his or her actual standing in the new group (Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006). Self-perceived status may play a particularly important role for newcomers—as they try to make sense of their new organization, they also try to understand their place in it (Louis, 1980). The longer an individual stays with a firm, the more likely they are to have an accurate depiction of what their status is and to act according to that status level (Anderson et al., 2006). As newcomers learn what their new status is in the organization, they may rely more on their self-perceptions of status to guide their actions. Thus, self-perceived status may be an important driver of behavior for newcomers in particular (as compared to longer tenured employees) because their consensually agreed upon status has yet to be determined. Understanding how newcomer

status influences change oriented behaviors may help companies better capture knowledge from all new hires.

This chapter will first review the literature on status and how perceptions of status drive individual actions and perceptions. The second section will propose that the experience of self-perceived status influences the likelihood that newcomers will engage in three different types of change oriented behaviors that each differ in focus—namely job crafting, taking charge, and voice behaviors. The third section will propose that newcomer self-perceived status also influences to whom newcomers direct their behaviors. Finally, I will argue that individual levels of self-monitoring and investiture socialization tactics of the organization moderate the effects of newcomer self-perceived status on the likelihood to engage in change oriented behaviors. Figure 1 depicts my theoretical model.

STATUS

There are several different ways of defining status. First, status may be thought of as the rank that an individual holds in a social hierarchy, with those at the top of the hierarchy holding more status than those at the bottom (Fiske, 2010). Social hierarchies occur as collectives create a "rank order of individuals or groups with respect to a valued social dimension" (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), and in these situations, power and status are tightly coupled (Bunderson & Reagans, 2011). Individuals at the top of the hierarchy generally have a formal role that gives them more prestige and authority over others (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Fiske, 2010).

A second view of status is the definition of status as the "prominence, respect, and influence individuals enjoy in the eyes of other group members" (Anderson et al., 2006:1094). In most situations, individuals size each other up and try to determine the

relative importance or prominence of each individual in a group (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009a). Under this definition, group members come to a consensus of the status ranking of individual group members, and it is this socially constructed ranking that should drive individual behaviors. Individuals are fairly accurate in assessing their standing in the hierarchy, most likely because there are social consequences for failing to do so (Anderson et al., 2006). However, individuals may not know their standing within the current status hierarchy and may engage in efforts to claim their spot (e.g., Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Thus, individuals may develop ideas about what their status is or should be that might differ from the consensually assigned status determined by other group members.

These self-perceptions of status may be important drivers of individual behavior because they are the individual's thoughts and beliefs about what they think their own status is or should be. For instance, Tyler and Blader (2002) looked at two different judgments individuals make about their status. Individuals may either focus on where they stand in comparison to the prototypical values, norms, and customs of their group and how they feel they are treated in comparison to a prototypical member, or they may focus on how they are treated in comparison to specific members of the group. In both cases, there is an individual judgment made about his or her status, and these perceptions of status drive individual action, including both meeting work demands and engaging in extra-role behaviors (Tyler & Blader, 2002).

Individual perceptions of status are likely more important to consider when examining newcomer behaviors because it may be harder for newcomers to know their standing in the consensual status ranking. As newcomers try to make sense of their new organization, they likely assess their relative status to determine how to act or behave. However, newcomers often lack access to other's perceptions of them, what is valued

within the new organization, and consequently, accurate knowledge about their standing in the group may not be available (Louis, 1980). In addition, their entry into the group disrupts the status hierarchy, and it takes time for the hierarchy to re-establish (Owens & Sutton, 2001; Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Therefore, self-perceptions of status, which are more readily available to the newcomer, may be more likely to drive individual behavior during the initial on-boarding period. This section will address how perceptions of status develop and the effects of experiencing higher or lower status.

Sources of Status Perceptions

Prior research has focused extensively on how individuals gain standing in socially constructed status hierarchies (Fiske, 2010) and the different characteristics of the individual and the group that determine status (Bunderson, 2003). Self-perceived status may also be based on similar dynamics. This section will review existing literature on where beliefs about status originate—the individual characteristics and behaviors linked to standings in socially constructed hierarchies.

Surface level demographic characteristics, such as gender and race (Harrison et al., 1998; Phillips, Rothbard, & Dumas, 2009), often studied in the diversity literature are commonly assumed markers of status (Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972). Certain demographic groups are favored over others, granting higher status to members of those favored groups (Berger et al., 1972). Status characteristics theory proposes that individuals may initially enjoy higher or lower status in groups based on characteristics unrelated to the group's task (Berger et al., 1972). A status characteristic is any characteristic about which individuals form beliefs or expectations. Berger and his colleagues distinguish between specific status characteristics, which are features

differentiating individuals in a certain situation, and diffuse status characteristics. Diffuse status characteristics are features by which (a) individuals may be sorted into groups, (b) where status evaluations differ between the groups (granting more prestige and honor to one group over another), and (c) there are expectations formed about the capacities of individuals in these different groups (Berger & Fişek, 2006).

Society may construct status differences, associating any nominal characteristic with differential status (Berger & Fişek, 2006; Ridgeway, 1991), but gender and race are commonly studied as diffuse characteristics. Women are generally perceived as having lower status than men (Ridgeway, 1991), being seen as less likely to hold high status positions (Eagly & Wood, 1982) and are expected to act in non-status capturing ways (Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie, & Reichard, 2008). Racial minorities are also seen as lower status than Whites (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch Jr, 1980; Cohen & Roper, 1972). Individuals may internalize these general beliefs about status (Jost, Pelham, Carvallo, 2002) and assume that their membership in one of these status-(dis)advantaged groups also means that they should have higher or lower status. Thus, to the extent that individuals are members of high status categories, they likely feel that they have higher status in new situations (Berger et al., 1972).

Personality also relates to status with extraverts (Anderson, John, Keltner, & Kring, 2001; Bendersky & Shah, 2013) and high self-monitors (Flynn et al., 2006) obtaining higher status. Extraversion leads to higher status as extraverts are more likely to draw attention to themselves and their accomplishments and may be more socially skilled (Anderson et al., 2001; Kyl-Heku & Buss, 1996; Lund, Tamnes, Moestue, Buss, &

Vollrath, 2007). High self-monitors, who are more likely to attend to the behaviors of others, also gain social status by more accurately assessing exchange relations and being seen as a generous exchange partner—they provide more help than they seek (Flynn et al., 2006). In addition, dominant individuals are more likely to speak up and offer suggestions, signaling greater competence, and these actions result in higher status (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009b). These same personality traits may also increase the likelihood that an individual has higher self-perceived status. If individuals are accustomed to acting in ways that result in greater admiration by others, they may perceive themselves as more respected and as having higher status (Tyler & Blader, 2002), and they may carry these perceptions of higher status with them.

The Experience of Status

Status hierarchies, and beliefs about one's standing in a hierarchy, play an important role in group coordination and individual motivation (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). In addition, holding a certain status level, or otherwise believing that you hold a certain level of respect or admiration, also influences individual beliefs, expectations, and actions. First, status is tightly linked with perceptions of competence—with judgments about status reflecting judgments of competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), and individuals are motivated for others to see them in high regard and as more competent (Pettit, Yong, & Spataro, 2010). Second, status affects the performance expectations that the individual holds for him or herself (Berger et al., 1977) and how individuals expect others to respond (Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012). The experience of status also changes how

people think about others, influencing their actions towards others (Blader & Chen, 2012; Lount & Pettit, 2012). This section reviews each of these points.

Status and competence are perceptually linked (Fiske, 2010; Fiske et al., 2002). Fiske (2010) argues that many people often assume that individuals who hold higher status positions are more competent. Individuals who believe themselves to hold higher status may also believe that they are more competent at a given task and may feel greater self-efficacy. Increased perceptions of competency have been shown to increase the effort that individuals put in to a task (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998), suggesting that higher status perceptions may lead to trying harder to accomplish assigned tasks or individual goals. Those who hold higher status are thought to have better knowledge or skills to offer (Bitektine, 2011; Thye, 2000). If individuals believe that they have better things to offer (Thye, 2000), they might also be more willing to share what they know.

Those higher in status also want to maintain their higher status position and keep the prestige they hold in the eyes of others (Pettit & Lount, 2010; Pettit, Yong, Spataro, 2010). Higher status actors have more to lose in terms of their self-image if they lose status (Marr & Thau, 2013). In order to preserve their self-image, they are willing to put in more effort on given tasks (Pettit & Lount, 2010). They may also believe that they can exert more control over the situation (Berger et al., 1980) to maintain their higher status position.

Status also influences performance expectations held by the self and others. Both the individual and other group members generate performance expectations based on status characteristics, with higher status on external characteristics suggesting higher

performance expectations within the group (Berger et al., 1977). These expectations influence behavior as individuals expecting a performance advantage engage in behaviors to show their competence (Berger, Webster, Ridgeway, & Rosenholtz, 1986). Thus, individuals holding higher status characteristics may expect that they should demonstrate higher performance, and so they will put more time and energy into meeting those expectations (e.g., the Pygmalion effect, Eden, 2003). Likewise, high status actors expect higher amounts of approval from their audience. In a series of studies, Pettit and Sivanathan (2012) found that, controlling for how good high status participants thought that their work was, they expected more approval, both in the form of applause and smiling faces, than their low status counterparts. High status appears to create expectations that others will positively respond to the individual's performance (Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012).

The experience of high status has also been shown to influence how higher status individuals think about others (with an aim towards maintaining status). For example, individuals who attain higher status are more likely to care about the impressions that they make on others (Flynn et al., 2006). Higher status individuals also pay attention to others and are concerned about the outcomes of others (Blader & Chen, 2012). While high power may encourage individuals to seek solely after their own interests by claiming value and moving first against another (Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008), higher status leads to treating others with more fairness (Blader & Chen, 2012). Status also changes how higher status people think others will treat them. Higher status prompts individuals to initially trust others more, expecting that their (lower status) exchange

partners will act more benevolently towards them (Lount & Pettit, 2012). Thus, higher status individuals are more likely to focus on their relationships with others, and be concerned about the impressions they make on others. Those who perceive themselves to have higher status may be driven to act in ways that will reflect well on them and be seen as helpful to those around them.

Individuals who have experienced higher or lower status may construct mental models of this experience, including status associated beliefs and behaviors (Bargh, Chartrand, Reis, & Judd, 2000; Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995). When the concept of status is activated, individuals may change their behavior and act in a higher status way in situations unrelated to those when they initially enjoyed higher status (e.g., Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012). In this way, individuals may carry their experience of status from one situation to another. For example, a celebrity granted higher status in one country might expect similar treatment and privileges when traveling to another country where they are relatively unknown, and therefore lack higher status, because of their experience of status as a celebrity in the first country. The celebrity's individual characteristics have not changed—they are still the same person, so they may expect to have the same respect and admiration and may continue to act in higher status ways. Likewise, being male or female does not change when an individual joins a new group, nor do individuals lose the skills and knowledge they have gained by joining a new firm. Even though these existing characteristics and/or skills may be more or less valued by the new organization, the past experiences of status may create future expectations of status even when individuals join new groups. Thus, how one thinks of their status may be an

important determinant of behavior, particularly where they may not know their actual standing in the new group's status hierarchy.

Summary

Status may be defined as either the position one holds in a hierarchy or the amount of prestige and admiration bestowed on an individual by the group they belong to. In addition, status may be based on internal judgments about how one is treated compared to others (Tyler & Blader, 2002). Whatever the initial source, perceptions of status drive individual beliefs about what they are able to do, what is expected of them, and how others will respond. For these reasons, I argue below that self-perceived status is likely to influence newcomer change oriented behaviors upon firm entry.

CHANGE ORIENTED BEHAVIORS

As newcomers learn about the organization and their role in it, they may face a dilemma. On one hand, they need to learn about the firm (Morrison, 1993a) and they need to adjust and fit in with their new coworkers (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Levine & Moreland, 1994). On the other hand, they may want to show what they already know and how they can benefit the organization. However, demonstrating new knowledge or different ways of doing things poses a risk because newcomers generally face social consequences when they suggest anything contrary to the group (Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). Newcomers must carefully choose what changes to make or suggest and whether to engage in these actions at all.

If newcomers decide to seek change, they might try to take on more task responsibilities, make changes that will affect their immediate work groups, or make suggestions about different ways of doing things. Each of these three behaviors includes

change: change to the job and tasks they perform (job crafting), change to the processes or procedures used by the work group (taking charge), or suggesting change to the organization (voice). Change oriented behaviors refer to "constructive, extra-role efforts by individual…employees to identify and implement organizationally functional changes with respect to work methods, policies, and procedures within the context of" their jobs, work units, or organizations (Bettencourt, 2004: 166).

I focus on three behaviors that seek to introduce change, but differ in the level of change sought. Job crafting focuses on an individual's own role—the tasks that they perform and the people with whom they interact (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). In looking at taking charge behaviors (Morrison & Phelps, 1999), I focus on those actions newcomers take that are intended to affect how other members of their group operate, concentrating changes at the group level. The final change oriented behavior I investigate, voice (LePine & Van Dyne, 1998), affects the broader organization as newcomers may make suggestions that will affect not only themselves or their units, but also those outside their unit. I explore how newcomer self-perceived status influences whether newcomers engage in these behaviors.

Each of these behaviors are risky as others might not want to see changes made (e.g., Berg, Wrzesniewski, & Dutton, 2010; Detert & Burris, 2007; Morrison & Phelps, 1999) or may feel threatened by any suggested changes (Fast, Burris, & Bartel, *in press*). Before engaging in any of these behaviors, newcomers likely consider the potential harm or benefit such actions will have on their image (Dutton & Ashford, 1993). Newcomers may be more likely to engage in these risky behaviors when they believe that they will be more likely to succeed. Perceptions of risk may decrease when individuals believe they are more competent to make the changes or when they believe that the behaviors are more expected. Self-perceptions of status influence both beliefs about competency (Fiske,

2010) and about expected behaviors (Berger et al., 1980). Individuals who perceive themselves to have higher status may therefore see less risk in engaging in these change oriented behaviors.

Newcomer Job Crafting

Job crafting refers to employee attempts to try to change the physical, cognitive, or relational aspects of their job. In defining job crafting, Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001: 179-180) propose that "changing [physical] task boundaries means altering the form or number of activities one engages in while doing the job, whereas changing cognitive task boundaries refers to altering how one sees the job…, and changing relational boundaries means exercising discretion over with whom one interacts while doing the job." Thus, job crafting involves a variety of behaviors that address what a newcomer does as well as with whom they interact.

Prior research has not examined whether newcomers job craft, but socialization research has examined a closely related construct, role innovation. Both of these constructs cover similar behaviors of newcomers changing the tasks performed or the methods of task performance (Nicholson, 1984; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Newcomers may engage in role innovation or job crafting to adapt their new job to their current needs and abilities—responding to the demands of the job by changing it to cover only those tasks that they know they can perform well (Nicholson, 1984; Tims, Bakker, & Derks, 2012). In addition, proactive individuals are likely to engage in job crafting (Bakker, Tims, & Derks, 2012) as well as newcomer role innovation (Ashforth et al., 2007b).

Even though these two constructs share similar behaviors and similar individuals may be driven to engage in either role innovation or job crafting, there are distinguishing features. First, job crafting encompasses a broader range of behaviors including not only the tasks that an individual performs but also with whom they interact and what meaning they attribute to their work (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). I chose to focus on job crafting rather than role innovation because I will look at both what the individual does and to whom they direct their change oriented behaviors. Second, job crafting focuses on independent, *internally* driven, individual actions to redefine work rather than changing the work or individual role in response to *external* forces, as is the case for role innovation (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Prior research on role innovation has focused on how hiring firms encourage role innovation through their use of individualized socialization tactics emphasizing the uniqueness and strengths of the newcomer (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Ashforth & Saks, 1996), seeing role innovation as a response behavior to what the firm does.

Job crafting is driven by an individual's desire to change their self-image or to assert control over their work (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Newcomers may feel that they can make a job their own by changing how they perform certain tasks or increasing the number of tasks they perform (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Employees also change the tasks of their job "to enable a more positive sense of self to be expressed and confirmed by others" (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001: 183). In addition to individual motivations, individual expectations also influence job crafting.

In a qualitative study of employees, Berg, Wrzesniewski, and Dutton (2010) found that incumbent employees located in higher positions within organizations felt constrained from changing their jobs even though they held greater formal power. Higher ranking employees often self-imposed constraints on changing their job based on their expectations for themselves about how they should spend their time. In contrast, they found that lower ranking employees felt more freedom to craft their jobs, even though it meant trying to change the expectations they believed that others held of them. Thus, both expectations individuals have of themselves and the expectations they believe others hold of them influence the likelihood of job crafting. Self-perceptions of status might play a particularly important role in newcomer job crafting because it affects both what individuals think that they can do (Frank, 1985) and the expectations they hold for themselves and believe that others hold for them (Berger et al., 1977).

Newcomers with higher self-perceived status may be highly motivated to show control over their new situation and to visibly demonstrate their competence for their new job (Berger et al., 1980). Higher status individuals are often thought to be more competent (Fiske, 2010; Fiske et al., 2002), and newcomers perceiving themselves to have higher status may also assume that they have higher competence. In an effort to confirm and demonstrate this competence, these newcomers may change the tasks they perform. Higher status newcomers might also believe that others expect them to take on additional tasks (Berger et al., 1977), and these expectations may drive newcomers to job craft.

Finally, higher status newcomers might be motivated to change their task boundaries to maintain their self-image as a higher status person. Higher status individuals are more likely to put forth greater effort to keep their higher status position when their performance is compared to lower status actors (Pettit et al., 2010). These findings suggest that threat to their positive image might encourage newcomers with higher self-perceived status to try harder, either taking on more tasks or more important tasks, to keep their view of themselves as higher status. Considering both individual motivations and expectations leads to the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: Newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to change the number or type of tasks performed for their job than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.

Newcomer Taking Charge Behaviors

Morrison and Phelps (1999: 403) define taking charge as "voluntary and constructive efforts, by individual employees, to effect organizationally functional change with respect to how work is executed." When individuals take charge to implement changes, they do so in an effort to improve the functioning of the organization and with the intent to introduce positive changes. In addition, taking charge, as the name implies, denotes active efforts by the individual to make changes, possibly done unilaterally, that will affect more than just the person taking charge. These behaviors are challenging behaviors because they seek to change the status quo and can create risk for the individual actor as these actions might generate conflict (Van Dyne, Cummings, & McLean Parks, 1995; McAllister, Kamdar, Morrison, & Turban, 2007). To distinguish taking charge from job crafting, I focus on those taking charge behaviors that are meant

to directly impact how the workgroup operates, not just the newcomer's job. Further, taking charge differs from voice in that taking charge are *actions* designed to change organizational processes and procedures, not only communications suggesting avenues for change (Thomas, Whitman, & Viswesvaran, 2010).

Individuals engage in taking charge behaviors when they identify problems with the current way of doing things and believe that they can successfully change how things are done (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). Further, if employees see a benefit to engaging in this challenging-promotive behavior, then they are more likely to exert the effort to make changes in their work group (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). Employees are only likely to take charge if they think that it will be worth the effort.

Both individual differences and contextual factors influence the likelihood that individuals will engage in taking charge (Li, Chiaburu, Kirkman, & Xie, 2013). At the individual level, employees are more likely to take charge when they have higher general self-efficacy (McAllister et al., 2007) and felt responsibility for change (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). Morrison and Phelps (1999) argue that these individual differences are likely to influence the cost-benefit analysis, and those employees who feel they will be more successful at taking charge, because they feel more competent or more responsible, are more likely to engage in these behaviors. Looking at a variety of factors, McAllister and colleagues (2007) found that self-efficacy was the strongest predictor of taking charge. Further, employees are less likely to take charge if they do not believe that they will receive anything in return (Chiaburu & Baker, 2006).

Contextual factors also shape the extent to which employees take charge at work. Morrison and Phelps (1999) found that individuals were more likely to take charge when they believed that the top management team was open to such behaviors. Further, employees are more likely to take charge when they perceive some support, but not too

much support for change (Burnett, Chiaburu, Shapiro, & Li, 2013). Employees must believe that it is acceptable to try to change the organization, but if they believe that they are receiving too much positive feedback from the firm, they may actually believe that they are less competent, possibly making their change efforts less likely to succeed (Burnett et al., 2013). Looking at several different kinds of change oriented behaviors together (e.g., taking charge, voice, creative performance, etc.), meta-analytic findings further suggest that leader, coworker, and organizational support all positively relate to engagement in change oriented behaviors (Chiaburu, Lornikova, Van Dyne, 2013).

Newcomers with higher self-perceived status might engage in taking charge behaviors both because they believe they have beneficial changes to make and because they believe they will be more likely to succeed at making those changes. First, self-perceived status influences both perceptions of competence and efficacy. Newcomer with higher self-perceived status may believe that they have better processes to share with their new work group (Thye, 2000). Further, employees who perceive themselves to have higher status may also likewise expect that they will be better able to change the processes and procedures of their workgroups because they also believe themselves to have higher competency and to be more self-efficacious (Fiske, 2010; Fiske et al., 2002). Such newcomers also believe that they can exert more control over the situation (Berger, et al., 1980), and may exert this control to make changes that affect the workgroup.

In considering the context, individuals experiencing higher status may assume that others expect them to make more changes (Berger, et al., 1977) and also expect more approval for their actions (Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012). These expectations may translate into perceptions that there is more support for their taking charge behaviors. For these reasons, newcomers who perceive themselves to have higher status may believe they will

be more successful in taking charge, and therefore, more likely to engage in these behaviors.

Hypothesis 2: Newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to take charge than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.

Newcomer Voice Behaviors

Voice is "the discretionary provision of information intended to improve organizational functioning to someone inside an organization with the perceived authority to act, even though such information may challenge and upset the status quo of the organization" (Detert & Burris, 2007: 869). In its most simple form, voice includes suggestions about how things could be done differently to improve the given situation (LePine & Van Dyne, 1998). By making suggestions for improvements, newcomers may change how the organization operates. Both individual and situational characteristics promote (or hinder) individual voice.

Employees engage in voice behaviors because they notice a problem in the organization or have an idea or suggestion for improvement (Morrison, 2014). In general, voice is a pro-social behavior that employees do to benefit the organization (Van Dyne, Ang, Botero, 2003). The more an individual wants to help the organization or feels a sense of obligation to do so, the more driven an employee is to speak up with ideas or suggestions (Morrison, 2011). Thus, people who prioritize the needs of the group and care about the outcomes of others are more likely to voice (Tangirala, Kamdar, Venkataramani, & Parke, 2013).

Individuals with certain personality characteristics are more likely to speak up. In particular, extraverted employees are more likely to suggest changes as extraverts are generally more assertive and may feel more comfortable expressing different opinions (LePine & Van Dyne, 2001). Proactive individuals are also more likely to voice as they are more willing to seek changes in their environment (Detert & Burris, 2007; Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001). Second, individual attitudes about the organization or work group influence voice behaviors. Individuals who feel detached from their work environment, i.e., those who are intending to leave, are less likely to voice (Burris, Detert, & Chiaburu, 2008). Complementing these findings, employees with greater job satisfaction and those who identify with their work group are more likely to voice (Morrison, Wheeler-Smith, & Kamdar, 2011). LePine and Van Dyne (1998) also found a weak relationship between global self-esteem, how well individuals think they do things, and voice behaviors. Tangirala and Ramanujam (2008) found that employees were more likely to voice when they felt they either had very little control over their work (voicing to change this lack of control) or quite a bit of control (voicing because it will be successful). Recent work suggests that employees might speak up more when they believe that they have more influence with their supervisor, particularly where the supervisor has sought their advice (Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2012).

Finally, contextual factors also influence voice behaviors. Employees are more likely to speak up when they believe that their supervisor will be open to their suggestions (Detert & Burris, 2007), and less likely to speak up to abusive supervisors who express negativity towards them (Burris et al., 2008). Similarly, when work groups

create an environment where members believe that it is safe to offer suggestions, employees are more likely to speak up (Morrison et al., 2011). Employees may also be more likely to speak up when they believe that the organization may implement their suggested changes (Milliken, Morrison, & Hewlin, 2003; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2012).

The subjective experience of status may also lead individuals to believe that it is acceptable to speak up. In terms of having ideas in the first place, higher status newcomers may value their knowledge and information more (Thye, 2000), giving them more confidence to share. For example, when individuals come from better reputation firms, the procedures of these firms may be considered more valuable because of the higher status of these firms in the marketplace (Bitektine, 2011; Thye, 2000). Thus, newcomers may believe that they have something of high value to share with their new firm and be more willing to voice.

Further, newcomers with higher self-perceived status may be concerned about their relationships with their co-workers (Blader & Chen, 2012). They may also be more aware of their exchange relationships with others inside the organization (Flynn et al., 2006). For these reasons, these newcomers may feel more obligated to share their suggestions and ideas (e.g., Tangirala et al., 2013). Higher status newcomers may also expect more positive responses to their suggestions. Pettit and Sivanathan (2012) found that individuals experiencing higher status expected more favorable responses to their actions. These expectations may drive higher status newcomers to speak up more because they expect favorable responses (Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2012). Newcomers with

higher self-perceived status may thus feel that it is safer and more worthwhile to speak up.

Hypothesis 3: Newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to voice than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.

RELATIVE POWER OF ORGANIZATIONAL TARGET OF CHANGE ORIENTED BEHAVIORS

In addition to influencing whether newcomers seek to change their job, their group, or their organization, self-perceived status may also influence to whom newcomers direct their behaviors or who may be affected by their attempts to change how things are done. Even job crafting, which focuses on what the newcomer does and how, may affect the newcomer's co-workers or supervisor to varying degrees. Likewise, newcomers may only try to make minor changes to how their team operates or, like James changing the firm's legal research provider, they may seek changes that will affect how their colleagues work on a daily basis. Finally, newcomers have a choice in whom they offer ideas and suggestions to—they can speak up to their supervisors or they can speak sideways by making suggestions to their work peers. Thus, not only do newcomers make the choice of whether to engage in change oriented behaviors (Morrison, 2014; Morrison & Phelps, 1999), they also decide the magnitude of the changes they seek. Self-perceived status likely influences this decision process as well.

In particular, self-perceived status may influence the breadth and targets of change oriented behaviors because of how status affects perceptions of competence (Fiske et al., 2002) and attention to exchange relationships (Flynn et al., 2006). Status is perceptually linked with competence as higher status individuals are thought to have

higher competence (Fiske et al., 2002). Higher status individual may also work harder to demonstrate their competence (Lount, Pettit, & Brion, 2012; Pettit & Lount, 2010). Because of their desire to exhibit higher competence, higher status newcomers may be more willing to show what they know to higher ups and take on more challenging tasks. Second, status by definition also includes more recognition in the eyes of others (Fiske, 2010). While perceptions of competence may drive change oriented behaviors, newcomers may engage in these behaviors in differing ways in an attempt to maintain or gain recognition from members of the new organization. Newcomers with higher perceptions of status may expect more recognition from their colleagues and supervisors, and believe that they need to offer something of value to higher ups in exchange for their respect (e.g., Flynn et al., 2006). As newcomers make sense of their new environment and their role within it (Louis, 1980), they may engage in actions to capture the attention of others (Pettit & Lount, 2010). Such actions may include performing extra-role or in-role behaviors in more visible ways, making sure that those in roles of authority see their contributions to the organization. Thus, newcomer status may influence the scope of what tasks they take on, how much their changes affect others, and whom they speak up to as they try to demonstrate their competency and seek more visibility for their actions.

Breadth of Job Crafting Behaviors

When employees job craft, they seek to change the tasks they perform or the people with whom they interact (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Job crafting may be seen as a tool employees use to align their job with their own preferences and needs (Tims et al., 2012). One such need may include creating a positive self-image

(Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001), but another need may be to receive recognition from co-workers or supervisors for providing value to the organization. Newcomers who perceive themselves to have higher status may seek to craft their jobs in an effort to display their competencies and to receive recognition from their peers and supervisors. These job crafting goals may therefore drive higher status newcomers to select types of tasks that are more likely to lead to increased recognition by possibly affecting higher power individuals in the organization.

Newcomers may choose to either take on tasks that require interaction with higher-ups in the organization or tasks that only affect how the individual completes his or her job. In either event, the job crafter increases and/or changes the types of tasks performed, but the scope and skills required for such crafting may differ. First, when employees change their responsibilities to include more challenging job demands these new tasks may require more advanced skills or knowledge (Tims et al., 2012). Challenging job demands include increased workload and pressures (LePine, Podsakoff, & LePine, 2005) and may lead to higher responsibility (Tims et al., 2012). Examples may include seeking out new projects or making changes based on advancements in the field (Tims et al., 2012). These types of tasks might require more contact with supervisors and might also create opportunities for the job crafter to display their abilities. In contrast to tasks requiring greater interaction with higher-ups, employees may also take on more menial tasks that may change the job but do not demand notice by others.

Prior research finds that employees who seek challenging job demands tend to be more proactive and to take more personal initiative (Bakker et al., 2012; Tims et al.,

2012). Employees may also engage in these activities when they believe they are more competent in their abilities as challenging job demands require more from the employee, either in terms of time or ability (LePine et al., 2005). Thus, employees may job craft by increasing the breadth of whom they deal with when they believe they have the skills to do so and possibly when they seek more recognition for their skills.

Higher status individuals are more likely to perceive themselves as having higher competence (Berger & Conner, 1974; Fiske et al., 2002). These perceptions may drive newcomers with higher perceived status to seek out greater interaction with those higher in the organizational hierarchy. In addition, higher status individuals expect that their actions will be favorably received (Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012), possibly decreasing the perceived risk of interacting with higher ups. Higher status newcomers may seek out tasks that require greater contact (or visibility) with co-workers and supervisors, thereby enabling them to achieve greater recognition and prominence by performing these tasks.

Hypothesis 4: Newcomers with higher self-perceived status will be more likely to job craft by seeking out tasks that require interaction with individuals higher in the power structure than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.

Breadth of Taking Charge Behaviors

Just as newcomers with higher self-perceived status may seek to craft their jobs in ways that enable them to interact and influence their higher ups, they also may try to implement changes for their work groups that they believe will be noticed by those higher in the organization. Similar to the arguments above, newcomers with higher self-perceived status may believe that they are more competent and that more is expected of

them (Berger et al., 1980) and that their actions will be better received (Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012). They may also believe that their supervisors expect them to make changes to their group's processes and procedures (Berger et al., 1974) and therefore try to demonstrate that they have met these expectations by making changes that they believe will affect their supervisors and other higher ups.

Taking charge behaviors are also driven by an individual's exchange ideology (Chiaburu & Baker, 2006). Chiaburu and Baker (2006) found that individuals were less likely to engage in taking charge behaviors when they held a strong exchange ideology—when they expected things in return for engaging in extra-role behaviors. On the flip side, individuals who perceive themselves has having higher status may focus *less* on receiving something in exchange for engaging in these extra-role behaviors. People are more likely to have achieved higher status in the past by being more aware of exchange relationships and seeking to be perceived as more generous in their exchange relationships (Flynn et al., 2006). Further, higher status individuals want to be seen as generous and as concerned about the outcomes of others (Blader & Chen, 2012). For these reasons, newcomers who perceive themselves as having higher status may not focus on what they will get in return for changing the groups procedures, but focus on what they can give to the group by improving their processes. This focus coupled with the belief that they are more competent and expected to make changes may drive newcomers with higher self-perceived status to try to give more to their groups and to make bigger changes that are more likely to affect and/or be noticed by their supervisors.

> *Hypothesis 5: Newcomers with higher self-perceived status will be more likely to take charge in ways that will affect individuals higher in the power structure than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.*

Targets of Voice Behaviors

As noted above, voice is generally defined as those ideas and suggestions made to individuals within the organization with the authority to act on the suggestions (Detert & Burris, 2007). Employees may choose whether to speak up to their co-workers, to their direct superior (LePine & Van Dyne, 1998), or to individuals higher up the chain of command (Detert & Edmondson, 2011; Liu, Tangirala, Ramanujam, 2013). Even though all voice carries some degree of risk that others will take the suggestions poorly, individual and contextual factors mitigate some risks or perceptions of risk (Klaas, Olson-Buchanan, & Ward, 2012). Individual beliefs about the supervisor encourage or deter upwards directed voice behaviors (Detert & Burris, 2007; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2012) as do beliefs about group acceptance of voice (Morrison et al., 2011) and dyadic relationships with the supervisor (Liu et al., 2013). Individual implicit theories about the riskiness of voice also drive behavior (Detert & Edmondson, 2011).

Detert and Edmondson (2011) identify several implicit theories that employees hold limiting voice, the most common of which is a belief that one needs solid data or a polished proposal before offering suggestions for change. In describing this type of concern, employees perceive that they need extensive preparation and in depth knowledge of a topic to correctly answer any questions they may receive regarding their suggestions (Detert & Edmondson, 2011). Concerns about individual competence may underlie this implicit theory of voice. When newcomers perceive that they have higher competence, they may consequently believe they have more knowledge of the subject and ability to offer a valid solution and see voice as less risky.

Employees may also refrain from speaking up when they fear negative career consequences for doing so (Detert & Edmondson, 2011). Employees may fear negative reactions from their boss as well as retaliation, particularly from abusive supervisors (Detert & Burris, 2007). Employees believe that to disagree with the boss and suggest that something should be done differently may limit future advancement in the organization (Detert & Edmondson, 2011). Employees also consider speaking up to skip level bosses as even more risky because they must consider the evaluations of the skip level boss as well as the possible interpretation of their actions by their direct boss that they are undermining their direct boss (Detert & Edmondson, 2011; Morrison & Milliken, 2000). At the heart of these concerns is a belief that direct and skip-level supervisors will negatively react. Employees may choose to offer suggestions to coworkers rather than supervisors because their actions will be less visible to the supervisors and therefore less likely to incur negative consequences. In contrast, offering suggestions to a boss or a skip-level boss becomes increasingly more visible to the organization and those in charge, resulting in more recognition of the employee's actions.

Newcomers who believe they have higher status may also hold higher opinions about their task competencies (Fiske et al., 2002). In addition, newcomers with higher self-perceived status may believe that they have been hired because of their skills developed at prior firms and that their boss values their experience and may expect them to share (Berger & Conner, 1974). Thus, perceptions of competence may increase voice behaviors directed towards direct and skip level supervisors by newcomers with higher self-perceived status.

Higher status newcomers may also seek more recognition through their voice behaviors by speaking up to direct and skip level supervisors because they expect more favorable responses to their actions. The subjective experience of status leads individuals to expect more positive feedback for their behaviors (Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012). In addition, correlational results showed that more assertive employees, those who sought to take charge or influence others, were less likely to report the above fears about speaking up to their supervisors or other higher ups (Detert & Edmondson, 2011). Likewise, newcomers with higher subjective experiences of status may hold fewer of these fears and speak up more to their supervisors.

Hypothesis 6: Newcomers with higher self-perceived status will be more likely to offer suggestions to their supervisors and other higher level individuals than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.

Individual and Organizational Influences on Change Oriented Behaviors

The subjective experience of status held by newcomers may drive their change oriented behaviors upon organizational entry. In addition, individual personality characteristics and organizational socialization tactics may further moderate the effect of newcomer self-perceived status on change oriented behaviors. At the individual level, the extent to which one uses interpersonal or social cues to regulate behavior (e.g., self-monitoring, Snyder, 1987), may strengthen the effects of newcomer self-perceived status on change oriented behavior. At the organizational level, socialization tactics to affirm the skills, abilities, and values of the newcomer (e.g., investiture, Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), may reduce the effects of newcomer self-perceived status.

The Role of Self-Monitoring

Self-monitoring is the extent to which individuals, "out of a concern for the situational appropriateness of their expressive self-presentation, have come to monitor their expressive behavior and accordingly regulate their self-presentation for the sake of desired public appearances" (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000: 530). High self-monitors are more likely to adjust their behavior to act in accordance with what they believe a given situation requires. In contrast, low self-monitors are less likely to adjust their behavior and more likely to act according to their internal values and desires. High self-monitors pay attention to contextual cues as a guide for their behavior, making the context of the situation and their beliefs about what is appropriate and expected key determinants in their actions (Snyder, 1987). High self-monitors are more aware of their surroundings and more attune to the informal networks of a new organization (Fang, Duffy, & Shaw, 2011; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 2001). Because of differing levels of contextual awareness and behavioral adjustment, a newcomer's level of self-monitoring may play an important role in changing behavior based on his or her self-perceptions of status.

Self-Monitoring and Job Crafting

Employees are motivated to craft their jobs to have more control over their job and to create a positive self-image (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Newcomers with higher self-perceived status may be more likely to job craft because they seek tasks that will help them maintain their view of themselves as a high status person, and may believe that these changes will help others to see them as higher status (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Focusing on the outward impressions job crafters seek to create by changing their

tasks, self-monitoring is likely to play an important role as higher self-monitors will be more attuned to making changes to control the images others hold of them, exacerbating the effects of status for high self-monitors.

Higher self-monitors may be more likely to focus on their image, including status based expectancies about their competencies (Berger et al., 1977). When newcomers perceive themselves to have higher status, and they are also higher self-monitors (making them more concerned about meeting the expectations others hold of them) they may seek out ways to demonstrate their competence by changing the tasks they perform. In contrast, higher self-monitoring newcomers with lower self-perceived status are more likely to try to meet expectations by performing their jobs exactly as prescribed, reducing job crafting behaviors, because others do not expect them to do any more than what they have been told to do.

Hypothesis 7: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and job crafting such that the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and job crafting will be stronger for higher self-monitors.

Self-Monitoring and Taking Charge

Taking charge behaviors challenge the status quo of the organization by implementing changes to how the firm currently operates (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). In describing the motivations for taking charge, Morrison and Phelps (1999: 406) argue that "effortful, discretionary behavior such as taking charge reflects a calculated, deliberate decision process." The key elements of this decision are how successful the employee

believes his or her actions will be and the individual consequences for engaging in these behaviors. At the individual level, beliefs about self-efficacy (Morrison & Phelps, 1999) influence the likelihood of taking charge. In addition, beliefs about anticipated costs influence how carefully individuals monitor contextual cues for the appropriateness of taking charge (Burnett et al., 2013).

Higher self-monitors are more inclined to carefully observe their environment for clues on the acceptability of their actions (Snyder, 1987). For newcomers who perceive themselves to have higher status, they may believe that their actions to take charge will receive greater approval (Pettit & Sivanathan, 2012). Self-monitoring will amplify these effects such that newcomers with higher self-perceived status will believe even more strongly that they will successfully implement changes in their groups and that there is support for them to do so. In contrast, lower self-monitors will pay less attention to contextual cues and may engage in taking charge behaviors regardless of their levels of self-perceived status.

> *Hypothesis 8: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and taking charge such that the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and taking charge will be stronger for higher self-monitors.*

Self-Monitoring and Voice

I propose above that newcomers perceiving themselves to have higher levels of status are more likely to voice and suggest changes to their new organization because they believe they have more to offer and that they will receive more approval for their actions. Self-monitoring newcomers may be especially attuned to the situational appropriateness of speaking up. Prior research has not shown a direct relationship

between self-monitoring and voice behaviors (Crant, Kim, & Wang, 2011; Fuller, Barnett, Hester, Relyea, & Frey, 2007; Premeaux & Bedeian, 2003). However, higher self-monitors are more likely to speak up when their past performance is high because they are taking advantage of their past performance to enhance their status by suggesting further improvements (Fuller et al., 2007). Considering that the behaviors of higher self-monitors generally depend on the situation and interpersonal cues, they may view voice as appropriate and/or expected in some situations and therefore voice more. Individual beliefs about one's skills and abilities may influence the perceptions of high-self monitors for when voice may be more appropriate or rewarded.

Perceptions of status create expectations about behavior (Berger et al., 1977), and newcomers who perceive themselves to have higher status might believe that others expect them to offer suggestions for improvement. Wanting to meet (or emboldened by) these expectations, higher self-monitors will be even more likely to speak up when they perceive that they have higher status but less likely to speak up when they perceive lower personal status. In contrast, lower self-monitors are less likely to change their behaviors even upon organizational entry. Rather than trying to ascertain appropriate behaviors, lower self-monitors may seek to share what they know regardless of their beliefs about their status. Therefore, self-monitoring will amplify the effects of self-perceived status on newcomer likelihood to voice.

Hypothesis 9: Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and voice behaviors such that the relationship between

newcomer self-perceived status and voice will be stronger for higher self-monitors.

The Role of Investiture Tactics

In addition to individual personality differences, socialization tactics used by the hiring organization may influence the effects of self-perceived status on newcomer change oriented behaviors. Investiture tactics, which "ratify and document for recruits the viability and usefulness of those personal characteristics they bring with them to the organization" (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979: 250), are particularly likely to influence newcomer behavior and adjustment (Saks et al., 2007). By affirming who the newcomer is, organizations may reduce uncertainty for the newcomer regarding what they are supposed to do (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Ashforth et al., 2007a). Newcomers are more likely to identify with and feel committed to organizations that use investiture tactics (Saks et al., 2007; Van Dick, 2004).

The firm's use of investiture tactics could also create a strong situation diminishing the effects of individual differences such as self-perceived status (Mischel, 1977). As defined by Mischel, strong situations are those that "lead everyone to construe the particular events the same way, induce uniform expectances regarding the most appropriate response pattern, provide adequate incentives for the performance of that response pattern and require skills that everyone has to the same extent" (Mischel, 1977: 347). To the extent that firms using investiture tactics affirm to all newcomers that they are welcome and encouraged to use their individual strengths, it could also be argued that these tactics create a strong situation where self-perceived status plays less of a role in

driving change oriented behaviors. For these reasons, when firms use investiture tactics affirming the newcomer, self-perceptions of status may play a less important role in driving newcomers to seek change as all newcomers feel more competent and expect more approval for their actions.

Investiture Tactics and Job Crafting

Investiture tactics suggest to the individual that members of the organization believe that they have the skills needed to succeed (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). As newcomers feel more competent in their abilities, status, which also impacts perceptions of competence (Fiske et al., 2002), may have less of an effect on the likelihood of newcomers to job craft. Further, investiture tactics may help newcomers create more positive self-images of themselves, whether high or low status, decreasing the personal need to job craft to maintain their view of themselves as high status (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001).

When hiring organizations use more investiture tactics, self-perceived status becomes a weaker driver of job crafting because all newcomers, not just those who perceive themselves to have higher status, will feel more competent and secure in making changes, making self-perceived status a less important driver of job crafting. In contrast, in firms that do not use investiture tactics, the newcomers' incoming beliefs about their status (and therefore, their competence) continues to play a large role in driving their behaviors because they are not receiving any kind of message from the firm about their value to the firm. In these cases, newcomers will act in ways consistent with their

perceived status—increasing the likelihood of engaging in job crafting when self-perceived status is high.

Hypothesis 10: The relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and job crafting is weaker for newcomers at firms that use investiture tactics than for newcomers at firms that do not use these tactics.

Investiture Tactics and Taking Charge

Employee perceptions of their environments also influence individual decisions of whether to take charge (Burnett et al., 2013). In particular, employees are more likely to take charge when they believe managers are open to their actions (Morrison & Phelps, 1999) and when they perceive coworker and organizational support for their actions (Chiaburu et al., 2013). When employees perceive greater support for taking charge, they evaluate the action of taking charge as less risky, and they may be more likely to engage in these behaviors (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). Investiture tactics are likely to have similar effects as perceived organizational support because these tactics indicate to newcomers that they are accepted (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

When newcomers join the organization and are told that they are valued and accepted for who they are, newcomers may perceive greater support from the organization. All newcomers are likely to perceive this greater support regardless of their level of self-perceived status because the organization's message to all newcomers should be similar (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). These messages may convey to all newcomers that their efforts to take charge will be met with greater approval. When all newcomers expect more approval for taking charge, the role of self-perceived status should be diminished (Morrison & Phelps, 1999; Chiaburu et al., 2013).

Hypothesis 11: The relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and taking charge is weaker for newcomers at firms that use investiture tactics than for newcomers at firms that do not use these tactics.

Investiture Tactics and Voice

Individuals are more likely to speak up and offer suggestions for improvement when they identify more strongly with their group (Morrison et al., 2011) or feel more committed to their organization (Withey & Cooper, 1989). In addition, when supervisors encourage employees to voice and create perceptions that it is safe to do so, employees are more likely to speak up (Detert & Burris, 2007; Detert & Edmondson, 2011). Thus, feelings of safety and belongingness are likely to increase voice behaviors. Investiture tactics that affirm the skills and characteristics of newcomers may also increase perceptions that the organization will value their suggestions (e.g., Saks et al, 2007), making it appear safer to voice. Thus, previous findings regarding contextual factors influencing employee voice suggest that newcomers may believe that voice is more welcome at firms that use investiture tactics.

Newcomer status also influences the degree to which employees feel comfortable speaking up. Higher status newcomers are more likely to value the information they hold (Thye, 2000). Investiture tactics affirming the identity of the newcomer (Ashforth & Saks, 1996) and indicating appreciation of their skills and talents (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), may make all newcomers feel as though they have valuable ideas and suggestions to offer. When all newcomers believe that they have good ideas, the role of self-perceived status on perceptions of value becomes less important in driving voice behaviors. Thus,

the effects of newcomer status on voice may be less pronounced for newcomers in firms using investiture tactics.

Hypothesis 12: The relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and voice behaviors is weaker for newcomers at firms that use investiture tactics than for newcomers at firms that do not use these tactics.

Chapter 4: Study 1 – Field Study

This study investigates the relationships between newcomer self-perceived status, organizational investiture tactics, individual self-monitoring, and change oriented behaviors in a field setting. I conducted a two-wave study of new employees hired by MedCo Corporation (a pseudonym) in two geographic regions of the organization. MedCo is a publicly traded corporation with approximately 3,000 employees located at local branches throughout the United States. The company provides healthcare management services, which include managing and reviewing workers compensation claims, medical bill reviews, and case management.

Using MedCo as a field site had several advantages for studying newcomers who may have various levels of self-perceived status. First, the newcomers included in the study hold a variety of roles, including bill review, professional review nurse, and customer service. In addition, many of MedCo's hires do not come straight out of college and have different work experiences and individual backgrounds. The variety of job roles and individual backgrounds should increase the range of self-perceived status among these newcomers. Second, MedCo is a nationwide company that has numerous offices in different locations. These offices are responsible for training their employees and the individual units have authority to adjust training requirements and styles. Thus, there is a variety in the investiture tactics used by each office even though they are all part of the same organization and are performing similar work. I was able to investigate differences in investiture tactics while keeping the type of work performed by the company similar between offices. Third, the newcomers that are part of the sample were

each hired for specific roles with detailed role expectations. The specificity of these jobs should make it easier for employees to recognize when they are changing their own roles or going beyond their job description to suggest or make changes to how things are done at work. Finally, the organization has a clear hierarchical organization between employees and supervisors enabling me to see how and to what level change oriented behaviors were directed.

METHOD

Participants

The sample included 150 employees identified by two Regional Vice Presidents as having been employed by MedCo for less than one year as of August 1, 2013.[1] Starting with a sample of employees hired in the prior year, I was able to test for a relationship between tenure and change oriented behaviors, which information would be harder to capture if I started with a new cohort of employees all hired at the same time. Of the identified employees, 127 of them completed the first survey, resulting in a response rate of 85%. Of these 127 employees, 95 completed the second survey, a response rate of 75% for wave 2.

Each newcomer was also evaluated by their direct supervisor and between one and three colleagues. Twenty-seven supervisors rated their new employees (response rate = 100%). Between 2 and 3 colleagues were identified by each supervisor to rate each

[1] Previous experiments by Pettit and Sivanathan (2012) found a medium effect size for perceived status on individual perceptions of approval with F values ranging between 3 and 5.10. Given these prior effect sizes and an alpha level of .05, a sample size of at least 210 individuals would have been ideal (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009).

newcomer, for a total of 206 identified colleagues, 149 of whom completed the ratings of newcomer behaviors (72% response rate).

The definition of newcomer differs in each organization (Rollag, 2004). MedCo, as an organization, considers new hires to be newcomers for the first year. Based on MedCo's policies, I defined newcomers as employees with tenures of 365 days or less. This definition resulted in a total of 135 possible participants, 104 of whom had complete sets of data at wave 1 (response rate of 83%) and 80 of whom completed both waves.[2] Non-responders had slightly shorter tenure than responders (non-responders tenure mean = 168.61, responders tenure mean = 171.7).

Procedure

I collected two waves of data, surveying newcomers, their co-workers, and their supervisors at time 1 and just the newcomers again at time 2. Each participant received a unique survey link via their company e-mail, and they were asked to complete the survey at their convenience. At time 1, newcomers responded to questions regarding personal work history and background, personality, perceptions of their work environment, self-perceived status, and self-ratings of change oriented behaviors. Approximately six weeks after the first survey, time 2, newcomers again rated self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors and responded to items about job satisfaction. The time 2 surveys also included the names of their direct supervisor, their regional vice president, and 6

[2] Defining newcomers as employees with less than 270 days tenure (N = 89) generates similar main effects results to those reported below (with the exception of co-worker reported voice, for which self-perceived status becomes marginally significant). Results remain unchanged when defining newcomers as employees with tenures less than 300 days (N = 92) or 330 days (N = 102).

randomly selected co-workers to ask participants to whom they directed their change oriented behaviors and how affected they thought others were by their actions.

At time 1, each supervisor received a unique survey listing each of their employees identified as a newcomer, whom they were asked to rate for change oriented behaviors and status. Co-workers also each received a unique survey listing the newcomers they were asked to rated for change oriented behaviors and status. For those newcomers who were also identified as co-workers, they first completed the newcomer survey and were then asked to evaluate their co-workers. Newcomers, colleagues and supervisors were not required to complete the surveys, but participation was encouraged by their regional vice presidents. Finally, the company also provided human resource data on pay grade.

Dependent Variables[3]

Job Crafting. Job crafting was measured based on Wrzesniewski and Dutton's (2001) definition of job crafting using three items adapted from Tims, Bakker and Derks (2012) that focus on increasing the number of tasks (α = .72, wave 2). Coworkers and supervisors responded to the same three items on a 5-point Likert-type scale. However, the reliability ratings for this three-item measure were unacceptable (co-workers, α = .59; supervisors, α = .73), and so one item ("tries to change what he/she is responsible for at work") was dropped from all three ratings of job crafting (wave 2 self-rating, α = .73; co-worker rating, α = .83; supervisor rating, α = .90).

Taking Charge. As originally defined by Morrison and Phelps (1999), taking charge includes behaviors focused outwards to the group or organization. I adapted three items

[3] Please see Appendix A for the dependent, independent, and variable items.

from Morrison and Phelps' (1999) measure to focus on group-directed taking charge, including items such as "I have tried to bring about improved procedures for my department by making these changes myself." These items were measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale and showed good reliability (self-rating at time 2, α = .93; co-worker rating, α = .92; supervisor rating, α = .91).

Voice. Newcomers were asked to indicate the frequency with which they made suggestions to both their supervisors and co-workers. I used a three-item measure from Detert and Burris (2007) to measure voice to supervisors and a three-item measure adapted from Van Dyne and LePine (1998) to measure voice to coworkers. Newcomers responded to all voice items to capture voice to supervisors vis-à-vis voice to co-workers. Both co-workers and supervisors rated newcomers on the three-items from Detert and Burris (2007), including such items as "gives suggestions to you about how to improve this organization." All scale items were measured on a 5-point frequency scale from "never" to "very often." These scales again showed good reliability (self-rating at time 2, voice to supervisor, α =.93 ; self-rating at time 2, voice to co-workers, α = .90; co-worker rating, α = .94; supervisor rating, α = .94).

Each newcomer was evaluated by between 1 and 3 co-workers in addition to being rated by their direct supervisor. For the co-worker ratings of each of the change oriented behaviors, I first computed the $r_{WG(J)}$ value to determine whether it was reasonable to average the scale scores provided by each of the raters. This calculation of interrater agreement is appropriate because there are multiple judges rating each target using an interval scale of measurement (James, Demaree, & Wolf, 1993; LeBreton &

Senter, 2007). I calculated the $r_{WG(J)}$ using both the uniform distribution and the slightly skewed distribution, and I report the results assuming a uniform distribution. For all ratings of change oriented behaviors, the median $r_{WG(J)}$ indicated strong agreement across all participants (job crafting, Median $r_{WG(J)}$ = 0.86; taking charge, Median $r_{WG(J)}$ = 0.90; voice, Median $r_{WG(J)}$ = 0.87). For perceptions of the newcomer's status, the median score showed very strong agreement ($r_{WG(J)}$ = 0.97). Based on these levels of agreement, I created an average score on each scale across all the raters.

Job Crafting and Taking Charge Scope. Hypothesis 4 proposes that newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to job craft in a way that they believe will have a greater impact on those higher in the organization's hierarchy. Hypothesis 5 further proposes that newcomers with higher self-perceived status will take charge in ways that will also affect those holding higher formal power. To measure these behaviors, in the second survey, newcomers were given a list of six randomly selected immediate coworkers, their immediate supervisor, and their Regional Vice President. They were first asked to indicate whom from this list they worked with or were familiar with, and then the names from this list were used for the following questions. For job crafting, they were asked how much, on a scale from 1 = "not at all" to 5 = "a lot", it affected each of the persons listed when they made changes to their job of the things they were responsible for. For taking charge, they were asked to rate on the same five-point scale how much it affected each person when they made changes to their unit and how

their group operated. Because newcomers could rate how their behaviors affected up to six different colleagues, I created an average score across all selected coworkers.

Voice Behaviors. Using the same list of supervisors and co-workers, newcomers indicated how frequently they spoke up to each person with "ideas or proposals to help the *work group* function more efficiently" and "with ideas or proposals to attract business, improve customer satisfaction or improve effectiveness for the *company*." Frequency was measured on a five-point scale from 1 = "never" to 5 = "often."

Discriminant Validity – Pilot Study

The change oriented behaviors of job crafting, taking charge, and voice all involve some element of change—either changing the tasks one performs, unilaterally making changes that might affect others, or suggesting changes that might affect the broader organization. Because of their similarities, it was first necessary to determine whether individual employees and supervisors made distinctions between these behaviors. Ninety-two managers from an executive MBA course were asked to select one of their subordinates or colleagues and to rate this individual on the frequency of each of the change oriented behaviors. The sample of managers was 78.3% male, 60.9% white, with an average age of 30.44 years, and an average of 5 years tenure in their current organization. Each behavior was described using three items, such as "speaks up to you with ideas to address employee's needs and concerns" (voice), "has tried to institute new work methods for others that are more effective for the company" (taking charge), and "has tried to redefine what he or she is responsible for at work" (job crafting). The Voice and Taking Charge scales showed good reliability with alphas of

.81 and .80 respectively. The Job Crafting scale had slightly lower reliability with an alpha of .74. The three scales also show moderately strong correlations ranging from .51 to .53.

I ran confirmatory factor analysis to determine whether these three sets of behaviors were sufficiently distinct. As shown in Table 1, the data fit a one-factor solution poorly. The fit improved slightly with a two factor solution, when voice and one of the taking charge items were set to load on one factor and the other taking charge items and the job crafting items were set to load on the second factor. I also tested a second two factor model based on correlations between the items, loading the most highly correlated factors on one factor or another. This model showed worse fit, as did a similar three factor model mixing the job crafting, voice, and taking charge items. However, the data fit a three factor model with each set of items set to load on an independent factor the best (χ^2 = 18.75, df = 24, *n.s.*; SRMR = .04, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00) (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Thus, the data provide some evidence that the behaviors of job crafting, voice, and taking charge are related but distinct.

Independent Variables

Self-Perceived Status. The newcomer surveys included a 3-item measure of self-perceived status adapted from Lount and Pettit (2012). Newcomers rated on a seven point scale from "much less" (1) to "much more" (7), relative to their colleagues, how much status, prestige, or admiration they enjoy (α = .90). Supervisors and co-workers also rated each newcomer's status on the same scale (supervisor, α = .90, average co-worker α = .90).

Self-Monitoring. Self-monitoring was measured on the first newcomer survey using items such as "I have the ability to control the way I come across to people, depending on the impression I wish to give them" from Lennox and Wolfe's (1984) 13-item measure on a Likert-type scale from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7) ($\alpha = .92$).

Investiture Tactics. Newcomers also completed Ashforth and Sak's (1996) five-item measure of investiture tactics, which includes items such as "The organization does not try to change the values and beliefs of newcomers." These items were measured on a five-point Likert-type scale on the first newcomer survey ($\alpha = .89$). Newcomers reported significantly different levels of investiture tactics between the four different offices included in the sample ($F_{(4,112)} = 2.57$, $p < .05$).

Control Variables

The propensity to engage in change oriented behaviors may be influenced by both individual characteristics as well as characteristics of the environment. Looking at the individual, it is likely that demographics, personality, and work attitudes may all play a role in establishing how comfortable a new employee feels trying to change things in their new organization. Elements of the situation, including relationships with management, have also been shown to influence change oriented behaviors.

Background characteristics, such as age, race, and gender are diffuse status characteristics that may influence perceptions of status (Berger et al., 1977). In addition, educational attainment may also impact how an individual thinks of him or herself (Bunderson, 2003). Newcomers provided this basic background information on the first survey. Personality differences may also influence both perceptions of status as well as

likelihood of engaging in change oriented behaviors. The Big-5 personality traits of openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism are relatively stable (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003) and extraversion in particular has been shown to influence a variety of behaviors including voice (LePine & Van Dyne, 2001). I used the ten-item personality inventory (Gosling et al., 2003) to measure extraversion. Proactive personality has also been related to voice behaviors (Detert & Burris, 2007) and job crafting (Bakker et al., 2012). A shortened 10-item version of Bateman and Crant's (1993) original 17-item measure was included (Seibert, Crant, & Kraimer, 1999).

Prior research has also shown a relationship between perceptions of self-efficacy and proactive newcomer behaviors (Major & Kozlowski, 1997; Morrison & Phelps, 1999). Perceptions of self-efficacy may drive newcomers to expect higher performance of themselves, possibly influencing the degree to which they engage in job crafting, voice, and taking charge. Thus, I included a 4-item measure of self-efficacy (Major & Kozlowski, 1997) that directly references past experience, including items such as "I am prepared to function effectively on this job because of my past experiences."

Perceptions of the environment may also influence newcomer change oriented behaviors as employees generally feel more comfortable challenging the status quo when they believe it is acceptable to do so (Burris et al., 2008; Detert & Edmondson, 2011). I thus included a five-item measure of managerial openness adapted from Ashford et al. (1998) and Detert and Burris (2007). All scale items for the above control variables were measured on a seven-point scale from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (7).

Analytic Approach

Colleagues and supervisors provided ratings of change oriented behaviors for each newcomer, and these ratings were used to test Hypotheses 1-3 and 7-12. Colleagues and newcomers were supervised by the same supervisors, creating non-independence in the data as employees are nested within groups headed by the same supervisor. I first tested to see if it was necessary to use multi-level models using supervisor as the level 2 grouping variable. For each change oriented behavior, whether rated by supervisor or colleague, a significant amount of variance was explained by the supervisor at level 2 (job crafting as rated by supervisor, $ICC(1) = .31$, $F = 3.15$, $p < .01$; taking charge as rated by supervisor, $ICC(1) = .61$, $F = 7.27$, $p < .01$; voice as rated by supervisor, $ICC(1) = .36$, $F = 3.56$, $p < .01$; job crafting as rated by co-workers, $ICC(1) = .25$, $F = 2.42$, $p < .01$; taking charge as rated by co-workers, $ICC(1) = .23$, $F = 2.49$, $p < .01$). The only exception was voice as rated by co-workers—a significant amount of variance was not explained by supervisors at level 2 ($ICC(1) = .10$, $F = 1.68$, $p = .055$). Overall, for both empirical and theoretical reasons, it was appropriate to test the majority of hypotheses using multi-level modeling. All variables were grand-mean centered as suggested by Raudenbush and Bryk (2002) to improve interpretation.

Hypotheses 4, 5, and 6 propose that self-perceived status will influence the scope and targets of job crafting, voice, and taking charge behaviors. I tested these hypotheses using repeated-measures ANOVA with self-perceived status as the primary between-subjects variable and the person affected by the behaviors as within-subjects.

RESULTS

To assess whether supervisors and co-workers made distinctions between the three change oriented behaviors, I conducted confirmatory factor analysis testing three-factor models with one factor per each change oriented behavior. For supervisor ratings, the data fit a three-factor model well (χ^2 = 57.07, df = 24, $p < .01$; SRMR = .03, CFI = .98, TLI = .96) (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). I conducted a second confirmatory factor analysis using the co-worker ratings of all the newcomers change oriented behaviors. The data again fit a three-factor model well (χ^2 = 63.12, df = 24, $p < .01$; SRMR = .03, CFI = .98, TLI = .97). These results suggest that both supervisors and co-workers distinguish between these three types of change oriented behaviors.

Table 2 provides descriptive statistics and correlations between the primary variables. Of note, self-perceived status negatively correlates with being female ($r = -.20$, $p < .05$). Self-perceived status significantly and positively correlates with self-rated proactivity ($r = .40$, $p < .01$), extraversion ($r = .22$, $p < .05$), narcissism ($r = .41$, $p < .01$) and self-monitoring ($r = .41$, $p < .01$).

As shown in Tables 3, 4 and 5, after accounting for demographics, context, and individual personality, self-perceived status is a significant predictor of all three change oriented behaviors as rated by supervisors. These results support the main effects of Hypotheses 1 – 3. For job crafting, self-perceived status significantly and positively relates to supervisor ratings of the behavior ($t[90] = 2.41$, $p < .05$). Looking at supervisor rated taking charge, self-perceived status again positively and significantly relates ($t[90] = 2.39$, $p < .01$). For voice to the supervisor, self-perceived status also shows a significant

and positive relationship (t[90] = 2.27, p < .05), and investiture marginally negatively relates (t[90] = -1.70, p < .05) while being white positively relates (t[90] = 2.12, p < .05). The effect sizes for self-perceived status range from Cohen's *d* of .48 to .51, which suggest a medium size relationship between self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors.

The ratings of change oriented behaviors from co-workers tell a similar story and also support Hypotheses 1 – 3 (see Tables 6, 7, & 8). For co-worker rated job crafting, self-perceived status significantly and positively relates (t[90] = 3.73, p < .01). Co-worker ratings of taking charge show similar results with self-perceived status positively relating to taking charge (t[90] = 4.68, p < .01). For voice to co-workers, self-perceived status also shows a positive relationship (t[90] = 2.13, p < .05). For co-worker ratings, there is a larger effect size relationship between self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors as the Cohen's *d* values range from .45 to .99.

Hypothesis 4 – 6 proposed that newcomers with higher self-perceived status would be more likely to direct their change oriented behaviors towards individuals higher in the formal organizational hierarchy. I used repeated measures ANOVA to test whether self-perceived status (measured at time 1) plays a role in whom newcomers direct their behaviors towards (measured at time 2). The sample size for these analyses is 65 newcomers. The majority of newcomers report that they do not know or interact with their regional vice presidents, and so these RVPs are assigned a score of zero. Because of the smaller sample size, I include only personality controls of self monitoring, self-efficacy, and proactivity along with perceptions of investiture socialization tactics. For

each of the behaviors, there is a main effect of hierarchy, but there is not a significant interaction between self-perceived status and hierarchy or a main effect of self-perceived status. For example, participants report that their job crafting behaviors are more likely to affect their direct supervisors (mean = 3.06) significantly more than either their regional vice president (mean = .8) or coworkers, on average (mean = 2.41; Wilks' lambda $F_{(2,58)}$ = 56.55, $p < .01$). Perceptions of self-efficacy are significantly related to the belief that job crafting behaviors will affect one's supervisor ($t[65] = 2.05$, $p < .05$), and proactivity is negatively related to perceptions that a newcomer's actions would affect his/her co-workers ($t[65] = -2.36$, $p < .05$). Overall, the results do not offer any support for Hypotheses 4 – 6.

Hypotheses 7 – 9 propose that self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors such that newcomers with higher self-perceived status who are higher self-monitors will be even more likely to engage in change oriented behaviors. I did not find support for any of these hypotheses. Hypotheses 10 – 12 propose that the organization's use of investiture socialization tactics will dampen the effects of self-perceived status on change oriented behaviors. Only the interaction between self-perceived status and investiture was marginally significant for co-worker ratings of job crafting ($t[89] = -1.72$, $p < .09$), supporting Hypothesis 10. As suggested by Aiken and West (1991), Figure 2 was created by graphing estimated values of job crafting as rated by co-workers at one standard deviation above and below the mean for self-perceived status and investiture. Figure 2 illustrates that self-perceived

status plays a weaker role when investiture is higher and a stronger role when investiture is lower.

Supplementary Analyses

Other Measures of Status

In addition to self-perceived status, status may be measured based on the agreement of others. To test the relationships with other-rated, or consensually agreed upon status, supervisors and co-workers also provided ratings of each newcomer's status. After including other-rated status, self-perceived status remains a significant predictor of change oriented behaviors. For the supervisor's ratings of change oriented behaviors, I included the average co-worker rated status. For co-worker ratings of change oriented behaviors, I included the supervisor's rating of status to provide an alternative definition of status.

For supervisor rated job crafting, self-perceived status becomes marginally significant after the inclusion of co-worker rated status ($t[88] = 1.73$, $p = .09$), but co-worker rated status is not a significant predictor ($t[88] = 1.20$, *n.s.*). For taking charge, co-worker rated status is significantly related ($t[88] = 3.33$, $p < .01$), but self-perceived status is no longer significant after including other-rated status ($t[88] = .87$, *n.s.*). Finally, self-perceived status no longer significantly relates to supervisor rated voice after including other-related status ($t[88] = 1.34$, *n.s.*), but co-worker rated status marginally relates to supervisor rated voice to supervisors (co-worker rated status, $t[88] = 1.91$, $p < .10$).

For co-worker rated job crafting, both self-perceived status and supervisor rated status are significant predictors (self-perceived status, $t[88] = 2.98$, $p < .01$; supervisor

rated status, t[88] = 2.74, p < .05). For co-worker rated taking charge, self-perceived status is significantly related (t[88] = 4.25, p < .01), but supervisor-rated status is not (t[88] = 1.01, *n.s.*). Finally, self-perceived status positively and significantly relates to voice to co-workers (t[88] = 2.09, p < .05) even after accounting for other-rated status, which does not significantly relate to voice to co-workers (supervisor rated status, t[88] = -.16, *n.s.*). Overall, when including both self-perceived status and consensual markers of status, self-perceived status remains a (marginally) significant predictor for four out of the six tested relationships, but consensually based status is a significant predictor for only three out of the six relationships.

In addition to consensually agreed upon status, one's formal position in the status hierarchy may influence behaviors. To investigate this kind of status, I obtained salary grade information for each newcomer. Unfortunately, this salary data was not very detailed—each employee was assigned a score from 0 to 5, with 0 representing the CEO of the company and 5 representing the lowest grade of pay. I reverse scored these data so that higher scores represented higher pay. I then re-ran the main effects models to test whether self-perceived status remained a significant predictor after including salary information. I find that self-perceived status is a significant predictor for a majority of the different ratings of change oriented behaviors even after including the salary information. For example, when including salary grade, self-perceived status remains a significant predictor of supervisor rated voice (t[85] = 2.67, p < .01), but salary grade is not significantly related (t[85] = -.63, *n.s.*). Even though salary grade is a weak measure of actual authority in the organization because the data lack detail, analyses including this

variable provide suggestive evidence that self-perceived status is an important predictor of change oriented behaviors even after including this alternative measure of status.

Narcissism

One possible alternative explanation for the relationship between self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors is that narcissism may cause both. Narcissism is positively linked to self-enhancement and to thinking more highly of one's abilities (Robins & Beer, 2001). Narcissists also perform better when they think that others will notice (Wallace & Baumeister, 2002). For these reasons, more narcissistic individuals might believe that they are more competent and perceive themselves to have higher status. They may also seek to draw attention to themselves by engaging in change oriented behaviors. In wave 2, newcomers completed the sixteen-item narcissism measure from Ames, Rose, and Anderson (2006), which requires participants to choose between pairs of statements such as "I am apt to show off if I get the chance" (scored as 1) and "I try not to be a show off" (scored as 0). This measure shows good reliability in this sample ($\alpha = .80$). At time 2, newcomers also rated how frequently they engaged in each of the change oriented behaviors. The sample size for these tests is limited to those 87 employees who completed wave 2. Self-perceived status measured at time 1 and narcissism measured at time 2 show a strong correlation ($r = .41$, $p < .01$), but the correlation is not high enough to suggest that these scales are tapping the same underlying construct. Narcissism also positively correlated with self-rated job crafting ($r = .33$, $p < .01$), taking charge ($r = .26$, $p < .05$), voice to supervisors ($r = .33$, $p < .01$), and voice to co-workers ($r = .38$, $p < .01$).

Because of the limited sample, I only included the personality controls of self-efficacy, proactivity, extraversion, and self-monitoring along with two environmental perception measures—managerial openness and investiture in testing the relationships between narcissism, self-perceived status, and change oriented behaviors. I used ordinary least squares regression to assess these relationships because the variance explained by grouping at the supervisor level was not significant for any of the change oriented behaviors. Even after including narcissism, self-perceived status remains a significant and positive predictor for job crafting ($t[77] = 2.56$, $p < .05$), taking charge ($t[77] = 3.04$, $p < .01$), voice to co-workers ($t[77] = 2.4859$, $p < .05$), and voice to supervisor ($t[77] = 3.12$, $p < .01$), and narcissism was not a significant predictor of any of these behaviors.

These results provide some suggestive evidence that even though narcissism and self-perceived status may be linked, self-perceived status is more strongly linked to change oriented behaviors. These tests were also conservative ways of testing these relationships as narcissism was collected at the same time as the self-rated change oriented behaviors, but self-perceived status was collected at a prior time point. Because narcissism and the change oriented behaviors were collected at the same time from the same source, common source bias suggests that these items would show stronger correlations (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003), so it is somewhat surprising that self-perceived status shows greater predictive ability. However, self-perceived status was still collected from the same source, albeit at an earlier time point.

DISCUSSION

Using field data from a mid-size company, I tested how self-perceived status related to job crafting, taking charge, and voice to both co-workers and supervisors. I also tested how these relationships were moderated by self-monitoring and investiture socialization tactics. I found that self-perceived status significantly and positively relates to all three change oriented behaviors, and with the exception of supervisor rated taking-charge and voice, these relationships hold even after accounting for other's ratings of the newcomer's status. The results of this study provide support for all three main effects hypothesis.

However, Hypotheses 7 – 12 were largely unsupported as self-monitoring did not moderate any of the relationships between self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors. I did find a marginally significant interaction between investiture tactics and self-perceived status for co-worker rated job crafting, supporting my hypothesis 10 that self-perceived status plays a larger role in encouraging change oriented behaviors in organizations with lower investiture tactics. The small sample size of 104 participants may have made it more difficult to find moderating effects (McClelland & Judd, 1993).

I found suggestive evidence that self-perceived status remains a significant predictor of change oriented behaviors even when controlling for narcissism, which also relates to perceptions of competence (Wallace & Baumeister, 2002). However, having collected narcissism from an even smaller subset of participants precludes ruling out narcissism as an alternative explanation for change oriented behaviors. In regards to the role of investiture, I was only able to survey employees from four different offices, which

may not provide enough variation in investiture tactics. Finally, the cross-sectional nature of this field study does not allow me to make causal arguments about self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors.

To address these concerns, I developed two laboratory experiments that permit greater control of the context and increased ability to determine causality. In Study 2, I manipulate self-perceived status to test whether self-perceived status increases the likelihood of newcomers to voice their concerns and ideas, and I also test the moderating effects of self-monitoring. In Study 3, I manipulate both self-perceived status and investiture to test the role of self-perceived status for newcomers in interacting groups.

Chapter 5: Study 2 – Lab Experiment

In this first laboratory experiment, I sought to test the causal effects of newcomer self-perceived status on job crafting and voice behaviors using undergraduate students at a large, public university. I used a between-subject manipulation of self-perceived status and measured individual levels of self-monitoring.

METHOD

Participants

Participants for this study included 401 undergraduate students who received course extra-credit in exchange for their participation.[4] Three people did not complete the status manipulation, decreasing the sample size to 398. Out of this original sample, 24 individuals did not complete the task, ten of whom were in the low status condition. Finally, upon reviewing the survey responses and status manipulations, nineteen cases (11 in the low status condition and 8 in the high status condition) were dropped for failing to pay attention to the survey materials (e.g., giving the same response for all survey questions or typing less than 250 characters for the status manipulation). The final sample size was 355 individuals with an average age of 20.95, 64.2% of whom were women, 82.8% of whom were American, and 76.9% of whom spoke English as a first language. The participants who were not included in the analyses, either for failing to complete the task or failing to pay attention to the task, were similar to the main sample in terms of demographics.

[4] Based on the correlations from Study 1 between self-perceived status and supervisor and co-worker ratings of change oriented behaviors that ranged from .29 to .48, indicating a medium effect size, a sample size of approximately 134 participants is appropriate to find possible relationships at the alpha level of .05 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009).

Procedures

Participants first completed background demographic questions and individual difference measures. They then completed other unrelated tasks on computers in a behavioral lab prior to starting the experiment. They were given a few minutes to complete the status manipulation, and they were then directed to the task materials. Participants were told that a student group, the Business Efficiency Student Task Force (BEST-Force), had asked the behavioral lab to collect student ideas for a proposal written by the group, and that the group would evaluate these ideas and enter participants into a drawing for a $100 gift card if the group liked their ideas.

This task related to a recent report presented to the university community by a committee appointed by the university President to evaluate the efficiency of the university. Participants were given background information that a group of business students had asked the researchers at the Behavioral Lab to collect student ideas about how to increase revenue to the University. To better define the role of participants, they were told that their role was to only suggest ideas for increasing revenue, and that other students would review the grammar and spelling of the proposal, decide which ideas to include, and present the proposal to the President. Participants were given a letter from the president of the BEST-Force, which indicated that the group was looking for ways to generate more income for the university, not ways to cut expenses. The letter also stated that participants would earn one entry into the drawing for the $100 gift card for each idea they gave, and that if the group liked the idea, they would get 3 entries. Finally, they were told that if the group included the participant's idea in the final proposal, the participant would receive 5 entries into the drawing. The drawing entries were designed to encourage participants to take the task seriously as well as to provide an element of risk (losing out on chances to win the gift card) if they offered ideas that the group did

not like. Participants were also given an additional sheet of information that reportedly summarized research a prior group of students had completed but that had yet to be reviewed by the BEST-Force. This sheet provided information that two of the ideas included in the BEST-Force proposal had been used at different universities with very little financial return and also provided two cost-saving ideas that had been very successful. Finally, the sheet also provided a summary of how to best persuade others so that participants could offer other alternatives on how to present the final proposal to the President of the university.

Participants then reviewed a draft version of the student proposal, which draft included grammatical errors and some ideas that would be detrimental to most students (e.g., raising the cost of on-campus housing). At the end of the proposal, there was also information given for how the group planned to present the proposal to the President. Participants were given hard copies of the proposal to give them more opportunity to make handwritten changes to correct the proposal. Participants were then asked: "What are your suggestions for generating revenue at the University? How could the University make more money?" Participants were instructed to give at least 2 ideas, but there were 6 areas where they could offer ideas. Finally, they were asked three yes/no questions about future participation in the project.

The task materials were designed to clearly indicate to participants the scope of their job and the status quo for the positions the BEST-Force sought to take. By telling students that their job was to generate 2 or more ideas for generating revenue for the University, job crafting would include any behaviors that changed "the form or number of activities" (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001: 179) they engaged in. Voice behaviors would include any suggestions made by participants that went against the expressed goal of the group to present revenue-generating suggestions or against the ideas given in the

proposal (Van Dyne & LePine, 1998). The extra sheet of information was designed to give participants the fodder to disagree with the status-quo. In addition, the materials emphasized to participants that the rest of the BEST-Force had been meeting regularly, and that they were a new member to the group. Appendix B contains the task materials.

Dependent Measures

Job Crafting. Job crafting behaviors include changing the tasks in which one engages (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). In the setting of this task, job crafting was coded as having occurred when participants spent time doing things other than generating ideas for the proposal. In particular, for a subset of participants who completed the task by pencil and paper (N = 167), I counted the number of spelling and grammar corrections participants made as participants were specifically instructed that these tasks were outside their job description to generate ideas for the proposal. I created a dichotomous measure of whether they made any written corrections. All participants were asked whether they would be interested in passing out surveys to other students to gather their ideas.

Voice. Individuals engage in voice when they offer information or make suggestions contrary to the status quo that are intended to improve the situation (Detert & Burris, 2007). In this case, participants were instructed to provide ideas about generating income for the university. I and a trained coder blind to my hypotheses first coded the ideas for whether they offered cost saving suggestions, which participants were told were *not* the focus of the proposal. We agreed on 93.63% of the idea codes and all disagreements were resolved through discussion. Suggestions were also coded as voice if they offered

other suggestions that critiqued anything in the current proposal, including how the proposal was to be presented to the President. We agreed on 95.51% of the critiquing proposal codes and all disagreements were resolved through discussion.

Independent Variables

Status Manipulation. Prior to receiving the task materials, participants completed a short writing task in which they described a situation when they felt they had either high or low status (Lount & Pettit, 2012). This status manipulation asks participants to think about a prior time when they held either high or low status, which activates status perceptions even though they are not assigned a high/low status position (e.g., Bargh et al., 2000; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). This type of recall task should activate perceptions rather than actual status and was designed to trigger only those concepts related to status. Because status is related to power (Magee & Galinsky, 2008) and recent work on having a personal sense of power also draws on status concepts (Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012), I wanted to clearly target status concepts and not power or other related concepts. In addition, I wanted to draw on self-perceptions of status rather than actual status, so I could not assign participants to high/low status roles such as manager/subordinate because these would be actual status positions that also trigger power.

The status manipulation, previously developed and used by Lount and Pettit (2012) was as follows:

> Please recall a particular situation where you had high [low] status in the eyes of others. By high [low] status we mean that you had a lot [no] prestige, and were [not] respected and [not] admired by others. Take at

least 3 minutes to describe this situation in which you had high [low] status—what happened, how you felt, etc.

Self-Monitoring. Self-monitoring was measured prior to participants completing the task using Lennox and Wolfe's (1984) 13-item measure ($\alpha = .84$) on a Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). Sample items include, "When I feel that the image I am portraying isn't working, I can readily change it to something that does."

Controls

Both elements of the situation and individual differences affect the likelihood that individuals will engage in job crafting and voice behaviors (Leana, Appelbaum & Shevchuk, 2009; LePine & Van Dyne, 2001). In terms of the context of this experiment, participants did not interact with one another or with the group to whom they made suggestions. However, the experiment was based on current events from the university, making perceptions of the organization possible influences on the participants' choice to job craft or voice (e.g., Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2008). I therefore controlled for organizational identification with the university by including six items from Mael and Ashforth (1992) such as "When someone criticizes [university], it feels like a personal insult." Items were measured on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) scale.

At the individual level, I controlled for characteristics that would affect participation in the task as well as possibly influence self-perceived status. Given the emphasis of the task on reading and writing, I controlled for whether participants were native English speakers and whether they were American citizens. I also controlled for age and gender as these demographic markers may influence perceptions of status

(Berger et al., 1977). Individual personality may also increase the likelihood that participants will engage in change oriented behaviors. In particular, proactivity has been shown to increase the likelihood that individuals will engage in voice behaviors (Detert & Burris, 2007). Therefore, I included a four-item measure of proactive personality adapted by Detert and Burris (2007) from Bateman and Crant (1993; $\alpha = .77$) that was measured on a five-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) and included items such as "If I see something I don't like, I fix it."

RESULTS

Manipulation Check

Approximately one half of the participants responded to a manipulation check after completing the task (N = 167). Participants were asked, "based on the situation you wrote about prior to working on the proposal, how much did you have each of the following: respect; prestige; status," which was adapted from Pettit and Sivanathan (2012). Participants responded on a scale from 1 (none or very little) to 7 (a lot). Participants in the high status condition report having significantly higher status than participants in the low status condition (High Mean = 5.67, Low Mean = 3.33; $F_{(1,165)} = 146.44$, $p < .01$).

Table 9 presents descriptive statistics and correlations for the study variables included in this study. Even though participants were randomly assigned to condition, which should make controls for individual differences unnecessary, I found that the controls provided some explanatory value. Manipulated status did not significantly correlate with any of the dependent variables, nor did self-monitoring.

To test Hypothesis 1, which proposes that newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to job craft, I investigated two different operationalizations of job crafting. A subset of the total sample (N = 167) was provided with hard copies of the materials to see if participants would make handwritten corrections to the mistakes contained in the proposal. Of these participants, only seventeen made corrections (10.2%). I used logistic regression including all controls to test for the relationships between status, self-monitoring, and corrections made because it was a binary dependent variable of whether participants made corrections or did not. Neither status, self-monitoring, nor the interaction of the two are significantly related to the likelihood to make corrections. Second, I used logistic regression to test whether individuals are more likely to want to help pass out surveys to other UT students to get their ideas for improving the fiscal efficiency of the University. Only 13.3% of participants indicated that they wanted to help pass out surveys. Neither status nor self-monitoring predict greater likelihood of passing out surveys after including all control variables, nor is the interaction of status and self-monitoring significant (Hypothesis 7). Thus, Study 2 fails to provide support for Hypothesis 1 or Hypothesis 7. Table 10 displays these results.

Next, I looked at the relationships between self-perceived status and self-monitoring on voice behaviors, which included suggesting cost-saving ideas and directly critiquing the contents of the proposal. Hypothesis 3 proposes that newcomers with higher self-perceived status will be more likely to voice, and Hypothesis 9 proposes that self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between self-perceived status and voice behaviors. Before testing these hypotheses, I first determined that it was necessary to

analyze the data using Poisson regression because participants were given a maximum of six spaces to offer suggestions. On average, participants gave 1.72 cost-saving ideas, with the majority of participants (45.9%) giving two cost-saving ideas and only 15.7% giving three of more cost-saving based suggestions. As this dependent variable is a count variable and the mean is close to the amount of variance (mean = 1.72, variance = 1.05), it is appropriate to use Poisson regression (Cameron & Trivedi, 2010). I ran three models: Model 1 included the main effects for being American, having English as a first language, gender, age, organizational identification, proactivity, and self-monitoring; Model 2 added the main effect for the self-perceived status manipulation; and Model 3 included the interaction of self-perceived status and self-monitoring (see Table 11). None of these models were significant as the likelihood ratio chi-square for each model in comparison to the null model was not significant (Model 1 $\chi^2(7) = 3.18$, $p = .87$, Model 2 $\chi^2(8) = 3.43$, $p = .91$, Model 3 $\chi^2(9) = 5.95$, $p = .75$). Even though the overall model including the self-perceived status by self-monitoring interaction was not significant, this term was significant ($B = -.18$, $\exp(B) = .83$, $SE = .09$, Wald Chi-Square = 3.87, $p < .05$).

I also looked at the direct critiques that participants made of the proposal, counting the number of critical suggestions. Again, I first looked to see whether ordinary least square regression would be an appropriate method to use or whether a different type of regression was necessary given the limited range of my dependent variable. The majority of participants (83.9%) did not critique the proposal, with 13.2% of the sample making one critical comment and 2.9% making two or more critical comments (one person made 4 critical comments and one person made 5). Given this distribution of the

data (Mean = .20, Variance = .30), Poisson regression was again appropriate.[5] I ran the same three models described above (see Table 11 giving the results from the last two models). Looking at just the main effects (without the inclusion of the self-perceived status manipulation), self-monitoring significantly and negatively relates to the likelihood of critiquing the proposal (B = -.40, exp(B) = .67, p = .04), suggesting that higher self-monitors are less likely to critique the proposal. After including the status manipulation, self-monitoring remains a significant and negative predictor, but self-perceived status does not significantly relate to the likelihood of critiquing the proposal. Finally, in model 3, the interaction between self-perceived status and self-monitoring is significant (B = .82, exp(B) = 2.27, p = .05), which means that as self-monitoring increases, participants in the high self-perceived status condition are more likely to critique the proposal. Following the suggestions of Aiken and West (1991), Figure 3 graphs the relationship between self-perceived status and the likelihood to voice as moderated by self-monitoring at plus/minus 1 standard deviation for self-monitoring. I proposed that individuals with higher self-perceived status who were also higher self-monitors would be even more likely to voice. It does appear that higher self-monitors who also have high self-perceived status are more likely to voice than higher self-monitors with low status. Thus, there is some support for Hypothesis 9 in that higher self-monitors regulate their voice behaviors based on their self-perceived status. Further, self-perceived status plays less of a role for low self-monitors, who are more likely to voice regardless of status condition.

[5] I also ran negative binomial models because the variance is greater than the mean, suggesting some overdispersion (Allison & Waterman, 2002). The third model including the interaction was marginally significant, and the interaction term was significant.

DISCUSSION

The goals of Study 2 were to test the main effects relationships between self-perceived status and the change oriented behaviors of job crafting and voice as well as the moderating effects of self-monitoring. Overall, I did not find much support for any of my hypotheses. Out of the four hypotheses tested, only Hypothesis 9 was supported, which was a moderating hypothesis.

One primary reason for the lack of results may have been the weakness of the status manipulation. Even though the manipulation check was significant, this check asked participants to essentially recall which manipulation they had received. It is possible that the manipulation did not have the effects intended, particularly for participants in the low self-perceived status condition who may have reacted to the status manipulation by being more critical as a means of repairing their mood (Bower, 1991; Forgas & Ciarrochi, 2002). Just as individuals may seek out information that matches their mood state at the time (Bower, 1991), it is possible that participants asked to recall a low status event where they may have felt critiqued may have been more likely to react by critiquing the information and ideas given to them. In Study 3, I use a different status manipulation that focuses more on status position in addition to feelings of respect to try to avoid this type of mood management. I also change the wording of the status manipulation check and include the manipulation check immediately after the manipulation to try to better capture the effects of the manipulation on perceptions of status.

In this study, the measures for job crafting had a very low base rate—most people were unlikely to engage in any of those behaviors, making it more difficult to find variance between participants. Even though the task was designed to limit the potential behaviors of the participants, this type of task made it difficult to detect change oriented behaviors other than voice. Study 3 attempts to address this shortcoming by giving participants more freedom to choose their interactions and video-recording participant actions.

Finally, this study did test whether participants engaged in certain behaviors, increasing the realism of the task over a standard vignette exercise. However, participants did not interact with other group members during the task. In addition, even though participants were told that they were "the newest members of the BEST-Force," they may not have realized that they were new members of this group or otherwise felt like newcomers. Study 3 remedies both of these points by using interacting groups and introducing newcomers to their groups after the group has completed three rounds of the exercise.

Chapter 6: Study 3 – Lab Experiment

In a controlled laboratory setting, this third study examines the relationships between group level investiture tactics, individual-level newcomer self-monitoring, and self-perceived status with newcomer change oriented behaviors of taking charge and voice. Undergraduate students participated in teams of three people on a group production task. All participants in the same groups received the same investiture socialization manipulation, but only newcomers received the status manipulation, making this study a 2 x 2 between-subjects design. Levels of self-monitoring were measured for all newcomer participants. Newcomers joined their group after the group had performed the assigned task for three rounds of work, emphasizing that newcomers were entering the group as a new member. After the task, all group members rated themselves and others for taking charge behaviors, voice, and status during the group task. Groups were also videotaped during the task, allowing for greater examination of group dynamics.

METHOD

Participants

Participants for this study included 372 undergraduate students who made up 124 groups of three people each.[6] Each team was assigned a work area and participated in five three-minute rounds of folding and organizing as many t-shirts as possible. Sixteen groups had to be excluded from analysis because of technical difficulties, which included failure to capture group activities by video (1 group), failure of newcomers to complete both the status and investiture manipulations (13 groups), and the group's use of the new

[6] Again, based on the correlations from Study 1 between self-perceived status and supervisor and co-worker ratings of change oriented behaviors that ranged from .29 to .48, indicating a medium effect size, a sample size of approximately 134 participants is appropriate to find possible relationships at the alpha level of .05 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009).

Japanese folding method prior to the entry of the newcomer (2 groups). In the cases where newcomers did not complete both manipulations, this failure was due to the need to keep groups on a uniform time schedule. In these cases, one of the manipulations was omitted to make sure that groups were able to complete the five rounds of folding. Finally, five groups were excluded from analysis because the newcomer's status manipulation text was shorter than 300 characters (mean = 673.99, s.d. = 280.93), suggesting non-commitment to the exercise. The final sample size was 103 groups, including 309 individuals with an average age of 20.66 years, 62.9% of whom were women.

Procedures[7]

Upon arriving at the lab, participants were randomly assigned participant identification numbers that were later used to assign them roles as either team leader, incumbent team member, or newcomer. All newcomers were taken to a separate room while the other participants were taken to the main task room. Newcomers completed filler task materials until beginning the actual task. All participants (including newcomers) completed a leadership assessment to determine who would be the team leader. In reality, team leaders were randomly selected from the non-newcomer participants. Participants were not told who would be on their team until after reviewing all the task instructions, but they were told after completing the leadership assessment whether they were a team leader or a team member. All participants then reviewed information about the task, which included both reviewing a video recording of how to complete the task as well as written instructions.

[7] Appendix C contains the full protocol for this study.

Non-newcomer participants reviewed a video on how to fold t-shirts (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HADHCxEbQPs) and then reviewed written instructions. These participants were instructed to: 1) hold a t-shirt by the collar with one hand on each side, 2) use their thumbs to grasp each side of the collar, 3) use their extra fingers to sweep the sides of the t-shirt, including the sleeves back and out of the way, 4) lay the t-shirt on their chest, 5) take the bottom of the t-shirt and make a 3 inch fold towards the top, and 6) fold the remainder of the t-shirt in half upward. They were also given pictures for each step. In contrast, newcomers were taught the Japanese origami way to fold a t-shirt. Newcomers learned this method by watching a video (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=An0mFZ3enhM) and then reviewing written instructions. Newcomers were told that this method of folding t-shirts was a little tricky to learn but was much faster than more traditional methods and that Martha Stewart promotes this method of folding. In the written instructions, they were told to: 1) lay the t-shirt out flat with the neck to their right and the bottom to their left, 2) draw an imaginary line across the middle of the t-shirt, running the width of the shirt, 3) pinch the fabric at a point on the line a few inches in from the edge—pinching the front and back of the t-shirt between their thumb and index finger, 4) draw an imaginary line from the pinch point to the shoulder seam (running parallel with the length of the t-shirt), 5) use their free hand to pinch the t-shirt at the point on the shoulder seam, again pinching the front and back of the t-shirt between their thumb and index finger, 6) bring the pinched shoulder seam to the bottom of the t-shirt, keeping the first pinch in place, and pulling the other hand behind it so that the pinched point of the shoulder seam is lined up with the bottom of the t-shirt, directly below the first pinch (arms should be crossed), 7) use the hand pinching the shoulder seam to pinch the fabric at the bottom of the t-shirt, 8) uncross their hands and lift the shirt off the surface—the t-shirt should be hanging down

from their hands with a loose sleeve dangling at the bottom, and 9) lower the t-shirt back down on to the table folding the loose sleeve under.

All team members were instructed that shirts must be folded and stacked in piles of ten with two shirts of each size (small, medium, large, extra-large, and extra-extra-large). No shirts of the same size could be the same color. Participants also needed to mark the shirts by size using stickers or cardstock separators. All participants were told that the team leader would win a $50 Amazon gift card if their team correctly folded and stacked the most complete stacks across all the lab sessions ran and that at the end of the lab session the leader would nominate one of the team members to be entered into a drawing for a second $50 Amazon gift card. The gift cards were meant to encourage participants to take the task seriously and to present an element of risk for the team members and newcomers because the leader had a choice on whom to nominate to be entered in to the drawing for this gift card.

After reviewing folding methods, all participants received the investiture tactics manipulation. After completing the instructions and investiture manipulations, the non-newcomer participants were divided into teams of one team leader and one team member. They then had 2 minutes to discuss strategy before starting the first round of folding. Teams completed three rounds of folding (with one minute strategy sessions between each round) before newcomers were introduced to the team. While team leaders and incumbent team members completed the first three rounds of folding, newcomers reviewed the task materials and completed the status manipulation. After the newcomer joined the team, the team had three minutes to discuss strategy before completing two more rounds of folding. Upon completion of the last round, participants responded to a post-task survey including round-robin ratings of the change oriented behaviors and status of each team member.

Dependent Measures

Taking Charge. I measured taking charge behaviors in two ways. First, all interactions were video-recorded and coded for newcomer actions. Trained coders looked for whether newcomers took over the group's activities as an operationalization of taking charge behaviors. Evidence of taking over included exerting themselves as the group's leader, which is an extreme form of taking charge behaviors.

Second, during the post-task questionnaire, both the leader and the other team member rated the newcomer for taking charge behaviors using a three-item scale similar to the scale used in Study 1. These behaviors were rated on a five-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The reliabilities for this scale were good for both the leader ratings ($\alpha = .89$) and team member ratings ($\alpha = .89$) of the newcomer's taking charge behaviors.

Voice. Voice behaviors were also captured through coding of recorded newcomer actions and post-task questionnaire ratings provided by leaders and team members. Videos were coded for whether newcomers introduced the Japanese method of folding, which is a novel way of folding to the other group members. Introduction of this method was deemed to have occurred if the newcomer showed the other group members how to fold t-shirts using this new method. Second, the trained coders coded whether newcomers made other suggestions on how to improve the group's performance.

After the task, each team leader and team member also rated the newcomer's voice behaviors on a five-item scale. These items were the same as those used for voice ratings in Study 1. These items were measured on a five-point scale from strongly

disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Both scales of leader ratings of newcomer voice (α = .91) and team member of newcomer voice (α = .93) showed good reliability.

Direct Observation Coding. One measure of taking charge and two measures of voice were based on coding of the video interactions of each team. Two coders, blind to hypotheses, were trained on how to code each video. Appendix D includes the coding scheme for each coder. Coders were trained on a subset of videos for groups not included in this analysis. They then coded the videos of five groups included in these analyses. They agreed 100% on whether newcomers introduced the Japanese method or made other suggestions (Guetzkow's U of 0; Guetzkow, 1950; Weingart, 1997). However, they disagreed on two of the groups for whether newcomers had taken over the groups (60% agreement). Coders were then re-calibrated by discussing their differences on this matter and independently coded the remaining videos. Direct observation coding was available for ninety of the groups.

Independent Variables

Self-Perceived Status Manipulation[8]

As part of the task materials, all newcomers completed an eleven-item leadership assessment and were told that based on this assessment, they were not selected as their group's leader. Just prior to joining their groups, newcomers were asked to complete a written exercise that included the status manipulation. For this manipulation, all newcomers were reminded that they had not been selected as their group's leader. In the high status condition, participants were then told:

> "This assessment may not accurately capture your leadership abilities. There may have been times in your past when you were a leader at work or at school or when you were otherwise respected and admired by your peers. Please think of a time when you received the respect or admiration of your peers. Think of how you felt in this situation when you had higher status and had to interact with other people. You may have held more authority and felt more respected by others. Take at least 3 minutes to describe this situation in which you had higher status—why you had higher status and how you felt being respected or admired by others—focusing on how you felt in this situation."

In the low status condition, participants were told the following:

> "There may have been other times in your past when you were not in a position of authority or overlooked for leadership positions at work or at school or when you otherwise were not respected nor admired by your peers. Please think of a time when you did not receive the respect or admiration of your peers. Think of how you felt in this situation when you

[8] Prior to conducting this study, I pre-tested two similar status manipulations on Amazon's Mechanical Turk to determine the effectiveness of the different manipulations. Using the same three-item manipulation check, these manipulations did influence perceptions of status with participants in the high self-perceived status conditions reporting significantly higher status than those in the low self-perceived status condition (Version A, high mean = 4.83, low mean = 3.29, $F_{(1,96)} = 31.06$, $p < .01$; Version B, high mean = 4.95, low mean = 3.55, $F_{(1,85)} = 22.36$, $p < .01$). Version A of the status manipulation asked participants to "write 4 to 5 sentences that best capture the way(s) you have relatively more [low] status, respect, and prestige than others…" Version B had participants complete the leadership assessment. They were then told that they either were or were not likely to fulfill leadership roles. They were then asked to "think of a time when you were in a higher [lower] level positions or otherwise [did not] received the respect or admiration of your peers. Think of how you felt in this situation when you had high [low] status. Take at least 3 minutes to describe this situation in which you had high [low] status…"

> had lower status and had to interact with people with higher status than you. You may have held no authority and felt disrespected by others. Take at least 3 minutes to describe this situation in which you had lower status—why you had lower status and how you felt not being respected or admired by others—focusing on how you felt in this situation."

These written prompts are adapted from status manipulations previously used by Lount and Pettit (2012). After completing the manipulation, all newcomers completed a three-item measure of self-perceived status responding on a seven-point scale from none (1) to quite a lot (7) how much respect, prestige, and status they felt they had ($\alpha = .80$).

Investiture Manipulation

Through investiture tactics, organizations affirm the incoming identity of the newcomer, and try to show that the newcomer's skills and characteristics are valued by the organization (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Jones 1986; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). In contrast, organizations using divestiture tactics attempt to strip away elements of the newcomer to build the newcomer up in the image of the organization (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Prior studies measuring investiture tactics have almost exclusively focused on the perceptions of newcomers—how they interpret the actions of the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Ashforth, Saks & Lee, 1998; Jones, 1986), but these perceptions have not been manipulated in a laboratory setting. A recent study by Cable, Gino, and Staats (2013) successfully manipulated newcomer perceptions of the organization's promotion of authentic self-expression using a writing task that gave newcomers information about the organization they were joining and asking them to respond to several questions. Building off this manipulation, I created a similar writing task to manipulate perceptions of investiture tactics.

First, all participants read a brief paragraph about the Behavioral Lab where they participated in the experiment, including the values of the Lab. On this same page, they were asked to respond to three different questions. The values of the lab were also reinforced during verbal instructions given prior to starting the task and immediately after newcomers joined their groups. In the high investiture condition, participants were told that they were coming to the lab with their "own strengths and skills" and that "members of the behavioral lab value each person who comes in to the lab, and they do not seek to change the values or beliefs of any members of the lab." Participants were then asked to write about: 1) three ways they can use their strengths and skills during the task, 2) why it is important to value each team member during the task, and 3) why it is important to encourage others to be themselves during the task. For the low investiture condition, participants read that they were coming to the lab to "accomplish your assigned task as uniformly as possible" and that "members of the behavioral lab emphasize strong training to bring each member up to the same standards regardless of their incoming values or beliefs…sometimes, this means making changes to how you would normally do things in order to work in the same ways as others in the lab." Participants in the low investiture condition then wrote about: 1) three ways they can work more efficiently and uniformly during the task, 2) why it is important to have each team member work in a uniform manner during the task, and 3) why it is important to encourage others to work in a uniform manner during the task.[9]

Self-Monitoring. Self-monitoring was measured for all newcomers prior to participants reviewing the task instructions using the same measure from Studies

[9] This manipulation was pre-tested on a separate sample of 78 individuals, and it was found to significantly affect individual perceptions of investiture tactics ($F_{(1,77)} = 6.69$, $p < .05$; high investiture condition mean = 4.03, low investiture condition mean = 3.60).

1 and 2, Lennox and Wolfe's (1984) thirteen-item measure (α = .86), on a Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

Controls

Similar to Study 2, I controlled for individual differences that might influence the likelihood to engage in taking charge and/or voice behaviors. I controlled for newcomer familiarity with the Japanese method as more familiarity may have increased the likelihood to suggest this method. I also controlled for characteristics that may affect perceptions of status. Age and gender were included as controls because these demographic differences might influence perceptions of status (Berger et al., 1977). Given the relationship between proactivity and voice (Detert & Burris, 2007), I included a four-item measure of proactive personality adapted from Bateman and Crant (1993, α = .83) that was measured on a five-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Another reason newcomers may be more likely to think that they have good ideas to offer is due to the individual difference of narcissism (Goncalo, Flynn, & Kim, 2010). Therefore, all newcomers completed the sixteen-item narcissistic personality inventory from Ames, Rose, and Anderson (2006), which asks participants to choose between pairs of statements such as "I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling me so" (scored as 1) versus "when people compliment me I sometimes get embarrassed," (scored as 0) (α = .68).

RESULTS

Self-Perceived Status Manipulation Check

As stated above, after completing the self-perceived status manipulation, all newcomers responded to three-items asking how much respect, prestige, and status they felt they had, which was measured on a seven-point scale from none (1) to quite a lot (7). A one-way analysis of variance showed that participants in both the high and low status conditions reported similar levels of self-perceived status (High mean = 4.98, Low mean = 4.95; $F_{(1,100)} = 0.02$, n.s.). Thus, it is very likely that the status manipulation had little effect on changing self-perceived status.

Investiture Manipulation Check

To test the effectiveness of the investiture manipulation, all participants completed a five-item measure ($\alpha = .85$) adapted from Ashforth and Saks (1996) with items such as "The Behavioral Lab accepts people for who they are." These items were measured on a five-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Participants in the high investiture condition reported that the Behavioral Lab used stronger investiture tactics than participants in the low investiture condition (High mean = 4.31, Low mean = 3.89; $F_{(1,307)} = 29.59$, $p < .01$).

Table 12 presents descriptive statistics and correlations for the study variables. I tested the relationships between status manipulation condition and the different operationalizations of taking charge and voice behaviors, and I find no significant main effects for any of these variables. However, I do find two significant interactions.

For taking charge behaviors as rated by team members, I find a significant interaction for status condition and investiture ($B = -.70$, $t[92] = -2.05$, $p < .05$), providing some support for Hypothesis 11. I graphed this interaction as suggested by Dawson (2014). Figure 4 illustrates that investiture tactics operate differently for individuals in the low versus high status conditions. Similar to the interaction results from Study 1 for investiture and co-worker ratings of job crafting, individuals with higher self-perceived status are more likely to take charge when low investiture tactics are used to disaffirm the incoming identity of the newcomer. Contrary to expectations, higher investiture tactics do not result in more taking charge behaviors, but do appear to dampen the likelihood to take charge for newcomers with higher self-perceived status.

For voice behaviors as rated by the team leaders, I find a significant interaction between self-perceived status condition and self-monitoring ($B = -.44$, $t[92] = -2.10$, $p < .05$). Figure 5 shows the graph of this interaction indicating that self-monitoring influences newcomer voice behaviors particularly for newcomers in the low perceived status condition, which is similar to the significant interaction from Study 2. However, unlike Study 2, in this case, it is the higher self-monitors with low self-perceived status that are more likely to speak up instead of the lower self-monitors as in Study 2.

DISCUSSION

In Study 3, I attempted to test the effects of manipulated self-perceived status, manipulated investiture tactics, and self-reported self-monitoring on

newcomer change oriented behaviors of taking charge and voice. Even though I based my manipulations on previously used status manipulations (Lount & Pettit, 2012), and I pre-tested these manipulations with success using an online sample, it is very likely that the self-perceived status manipulation did not alter the self-perceptions of status held by the undergraduate participants. The manipulation check was not significant, and there were no significant effects between conditions for the influence of self-perceived status on change oriented behaviors. However, two of the interactions were significant.

To explore possible reasons for the failure of the self-perceived status manipulation, I looked at participants who reported higher levels of self-perceived status on the manipulation check in the high status condition. I did not find that the manipulation was more or less likely to work based on gender, year in school, or having English as a first language. Instead, I found that higher scores on the manipulation check positively correlated with openness to experience, extraversion and narcissism. I also looked at participants in the low self-perceived status condition. I found that the status manipulation in the low condition "worked" for participants who were low on openness to experience, more introverted, less narcissistic, and lower self-monitors. It appears that narcissistic extraverts are more amenable to think of themselves as having higher status, and less narcissistic, lower self-monitoring introverts are more willing to think of themselves as having lower status. These findings are consistent with the correlations from Study 1 as well where self-perceived status positively correlated

with extraversion, narcissism, and self-monitoring. These (non)results suggest that a strong manipulation must be used to change perceptions of status.

In Study 2, which used a similar recall manipulation, I did find significant differences between conditions. However, the manipulation check question differed between these two studies – in Study 2, participants were asked how much status, prestige or admiration they had in the situation that they wrote about, essentially asking them to recall the manipulation prompt. In this study, I asked participants after completing the written manipulation how much status they felt they had. It is possible that the recall manipulation did not have any effect on current feelings of status because the situations they recalled were too temporally distant to affect their current status perceptions. Many participants wrote about situations in high school when they had been admired, such as being class valedictorian (high status), or when they had done something that upset their parents or their friends (low status). Recalling these situations might not have been enough to trigger perceptions of status. And based on the exploratory correlations, this manipulation task merely exacerbated individual personality differences related to perceptions of status but not actual feelings of status.

Even with these problems with the self-perceived status manipulation, the interaction for investiture and self-perceived status on team member ratings of newcomer change oriented behaviors was very similar in form to the investiture by self-perceived status interaction of job crafting from Study 1. In both cases,

self perceived status plays a larger role for those experiencing low investiture tactics. These results provide some support for Hypothesis 11.

The interaction for self-monitoring and self-perceived status on voice behaviors is the opposite in this study from the results seen in Study 2. In Study 2, those higher in self-monitoring were less likely to critique the proposal in the low self-perceived status condition than their lower self-monitoring counterparts. In Study 3, higher self-monitors were more likely to voice in the lower status condition than their lower self-monitoring counterparts. One possible explanation might be participant beliefs about what was expected of them. Self-monitors strive to meet the expectations that others hold of them (Snyder, 1987). In this experimental condition when newcomers were introduced after several rounds of folding, they may have believed that it was expected that they would speak up more. In any event, the findings of this Study 3 make it difficult to make any conclusions about the interactive effects of self-perceived status and self-monitoring.

The direct observations drawn from coding of the videos also failed to provide any further information to test my hypotheses. The ability to detect taking charge behaviors proved especially difficult. As noted above, the only direct observation measure of taking charge was whether newcomers took over control of their groups. This is an extreme form of taking charge as the newcomer must assert themselves as the leader of the group. Many taking charge behaviors occur well below this threshold, but developing a coding scheme for these behaviors

proved difficult as newcomers were more likely to suggest changes to the process (examples of voice) rather than unilaterally trying to implement change. A greater variety in the number of tasks to be performed and more time to perform the task may have permitted more taking charge behaviors as the newcomer would have more opportunity to see what was working/not working and to try to implement changes.

Overall, Study 3 failed to provide much support for any of my hypotheses.

Chapter 7: General Discussion and Implications

DISCUSSION

New employees face a dilemma upon organizational entry—should they focus on only learning about the organization and conforming to how things are currently done or should they try to change how the firm operates? Socialization research has focused on how newcomers can be taught about the firm (Ashforth et al., 2007a) or can proactively seek to learn about the firm (Morrison, 1993a). However, not all newcomers accept their roles as described (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), and some newcomers may seek to change not only their job but also the broader organization. The changes sought by newcomers may help introduce new ideas and ways of doing things to the organization.

When newcomers seek to introduce change to their new firms, both the newcomer and the organization benefit. By crafting their jobs to better fit their needs, newcomers reduce the stress of taking on a new job (Bakker, Tims, & Derks, 2012). Speaking up also allows newcomers to make suggestions about how things should be done, permitting them to feel more in control of their work environment (Avery, McKay, Wilson, Volpone, & Killham, 2011). In addition to benefiting the individual, the organization also benefits when newcomers seek to introduce change. When newcomers try to introduce new processes and procedures for the group, the work group may learn a more efficient way of performing their work. Suggestions for improvement may also shed light on additional changes that the firm may make to improve functionality (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). Thus, performance benefits accrue to firms that are able to create conditions where newcomers attempt to introduce and implement change (Choi & Thompson, 2005).

In this dissertation, I focused on how self-perceived status drives newcomers to engage in change oriented behaviors. In a field study, I found that many newcomers do seek to change their organization, and those newcomers who perceive themselves to hold

higher status are more likely to seek change. I further found in two laboratory experiments that newcomers are willing to try to change the status quo by making suggestions about how things may be done. Table 13 summarizes the findings across all three studies. The main effects of positive relationships between self-perceived status and all three change oriented behaviors were particularly robust in the field study. However, self-perceived status proved difficult to manipulate in lab settings with undergraduate students, making it hard to detect the main effects of self-perceived status. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Study 3 provided some suggestive evidence that investiture tactics dampen the effects of self-perceived status on change oriented behaviors, consistent with the significant interaction of investiture tactics and self-perceived status for job crafting in Study 1. Further, the effects of self-perceived status on voice behaviors appear to be moderated by self-monitoring, but further investigations are necessary to fully understand these relationships.

THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The primary goal of this research is to shift the focus from viewing newcomers as clay to be molded by the firm to seeing them as sculptors capable of reshaping the firm. Even though some work has highlighted how newcomers may spur creativity in the groups they join (Choi & Thompson, 2005), very little work has looked at the actions that newcomers may take to introduce change. I focus on three change oriented behaviors, each differing in scope, and find that newcomers do engage in these behaviors. Further, after controlling for demographic markers of status, such as gender and education (Berger et al., 1977; Bunderson, 2003) and for consensually agreed upon status based on supervisor and co-worker ratings of status, I find that self-perceived status significantly

related to the likelihood of engaging in these change oriented behaviors. Thus, as newcomers enter the firm, it is not just their proactivity that may drive them to try to change things (e.g., Ashforth et al., 2007b), but also their perceptions of what they believe their status is. Perceptions of status may in turn affect what newcomers believe is expected of them and what they think they are competent in doing. Newcomers are willing to disrupt the status quo and introduce change to the organizations they join when they believe that they are respected by their peers and supervisors.

By showing the role of newcomer self-perceived status, this work also contributes to the status literature by providing suggestive evidence that self-perceptions of status, in contrast to consensually agreed upon status, are particularly important for explaining the change oriented behaviors of newcomers. Even though status hierarchies form fairly quickly and remain relatively stable (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009a), individuals do engage in conflict about the status order (Bendersky & Hays, 2012), suggesting that there may be some confusion about where one stands. As newcomers try to make sense of their new environment, they generally lack access to the opinions that others may hold of them (Louis, 1980) and need to learn about the politics and social structure of the organization (Morrison, 1995). As they learn their place in the group, they draw on their perceptions of what their status should be to guide their actions. The longer the newcomer remains with the firm, the bigger the role that consensual status hierarchies may play for newcomers. But at the beginning, their perceptions of their own status may be the only information they have to guide their actions. The results from the field study support this idea that

self-perceived status is a strong and consistent predictor of change oriented behaviors, even when controlling for consensually agreed upon status.

Instilling in all newcomers that their diverse opinions and incoming strengths are valued by the firm, however, is not enough to bring about more change. In both the field and in the laboratory, I found that investiture tactics negatively related to voice. There has been debate about the role of investiture tactics in encouraging role innovation (Ashforth & Saks, 1996). Prior work using Ashforth and Saks'(1996) measure, which emphasizes whether the organization affirms the incoming identity of the newcomer, has shown mixed effects (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Perrot et al., 2012). However, work using Jones' (1986) measure, which focuses on social support, has found a negative relationship between investiture tactics and role innovation (Saks et al., 2007). Even though these tactics may help to affirm the newcomer, possibly making newcomers feel more comfortable and confident (Perrot et al., 2012), merely affirming to newcomers that their strengths and skills are valued does not appear to encourage newcomers to suggest change.

Even though investiture tactics emphasize how the firm values the newcomer by either affirming the identity of the newcomer (Ashforth and Saks, 1996) or providing social support (Jones, 1986), newcomer perceptions of investiture tactics may also relate to how well newcomers feel they understand their new environment and their place in it (Perrot et al., 2012). This clarity should reduce the risk to newcomers of engaging in change oriented behaviors. If newcomers believe that they are affirmed by the organization, I argued that they should be more willing to try to change the organization

because they may believe that these actions will be more welcomed. However, I found that investiture tactics negatively related to voice in particular—individuals who perceived that they were more welcomed by the organization were less likely to suggest changes. Instead of feeling encouraged to share differences of opinion, these investiture tactics may encourage newcomers to believe that they are more similar to the existing firm members. Based on these perceived similarities, newcomers may seek to go along with the ways of the current group (Phillips, Mannix, Neal, & Gruenfeld, 2004).

The negative interaction between self-perceived status and investiture tactics on change oriented behaviors also suggests that clarity about their standing in the organization may have reduced the benefit of engaging in change oriented behaviors—even though there was less risk in engaging in these behaviors there was also less to be gained. If newcomers believe that the organization affirms their higher status perceptions of themselves, they may be less motivated to engage in additional behaviors because they believe that their standing is more secure (Pettit, Yong, & Spataro, 2010). However, when the context is more ambiguous, when they are unsure how well their status perceptions match those of their co-workers, newcomers may desire to confirm their status perceptions by engaging in change oriented behaviors.

These findings regarding investiture tactics present an interesting problem for organizations. On the one hand, investiture tactics are positively related to job satisfaction and the likelihood of staying with the organization (Saks, Gruman, Cooper-Thomas, 2007). In addition, leaving status positions ambiguous for groups of employees may increase the amount of status contests, leading to decreased performance (Bendersky &

Shah, 2012) and decreased information sharing (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). However, to encourage newcomers to share innovative ideas, organizations may want to encourage some ambiguity about what status newcomers hold—motivating them to demonstrate why they should have a certain level of status.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There are many limitations in the current set of studies. In Study 1, I was able to collect multi-source data from not only supervisors but also colleagues of newcomers. Even though these data provided an in-depth view of the newcomer's behaviors, the sample size was fairly small. This limited size made it difficult to detect interaction effects (McClelland & Judd, 1993). In addition, this data was collected at one time point several months after most newcomers had joined the firm. Thus, I was not able to investigate newcomer behaviors immediately upon entry. Future research could follow a larger sample of newcomers from entry throughout their first year, tracking whether their self-perceived status changes over time and looking at some of the events or individual differences that may influence these changes. In addition, collection of peer and supervisor reports of change oriented behaviors over time could also identify whether there are patterns in when individuals engage in change oriented behaviors and whether the timing of these behaviors influences how the newcomer is accepted by their colleagues and/or whether newcomers choose to leave the firm. This longitudinal study would build on the strengths of Study 1 and contribute to the fairly robust main effect finding that newcomer self-perceived status positively relates to newcomer change oriented behaviors.

Another limitation of the field study was that I only studied one organization. Even though employees reported significantly different levels of investiture tactics between offices, a wider sample of organizations would have provided even more variance in investiture tactics. It is quite possible that I was unable to detect the moderating effects of investiture because of this limited sample for the range of investiture tactics. Including a greater variety of firms would strengthen the generalizability of my findings.

The laboratory experiments also had their own limitations. In both laboratory experiments, I failed to find main effects of the self-perceived status manipulation, and the manipulation check in Study 3 failed to detect differences between conditions. The ineffectiveness of the status manipulations highlights the need to consider all the possible sources of self-perceived status and how beliefs about status are formed. Self-perceived status is likely based on individual differences in personality, prior experiences, and the salience of reference points for status comparisons (e.g., Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012).

First, looking at individual differences, the positive correlations between self-perceived status, extraversion, self-monitoring, and narcissism in Study 1 suggest that some individuals are more likely to perceive themselves as having higher status. In addition, the exploratory findings from Study 3 that individuals higher in narcissism and extraversion were more likely to perceive themselves as higher status when receiving the high self-perceived status manipulation suggest that self-perceived status may at least be partially based in individual personality differences. However, understanding whether

self-perceived status is based on individual personality differences or based on differences in experiences can become a chicken and egg problem. Extraverts are more likely to take on leadership positions (Bono & Judge, 2004), giving them higher actual status. In addition, high self-monitors are also more likely to understand status hierarchies and to act in ways that will help them to obtain higher status (Flynn et al., 2006). Thus, it is possible that these personality differences lead to actual differences in status attainment, and it is these differences in status attainment that create differences in self-perceived status, making it difficult to disentangle whether self-perceived status is based primarily on individual personality differences or differences in prior experience.

Taking a more structural view of status, perceptions of status are also based on the salience of comparison points—an individual can only be lower status in comparison to a higher status other (Fiske, 2010). A newcomer may feel like they have higher status than other students in the general undergraduate student population, but if they believe that the other newcomers in the room are all MBA students, they may feel that they have lower status. To effectively change status perceptions, any manipulation must be strong enough to temper the effects of incoming individual differences and clarify the reference point for the newcomers' status.

A successful manipulation of self-perceived status should draw on the contextual cues and situations that create status perceptions without changing actual status of participants or their feelings of power. These requirements eliminate the possibility of putting participants into either official leader or subordinate roles (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). In the field study, newcomers were asked to compare their status to the other

members of their group. To mimic this dynamic in the behavioral lab with undergraduate students, one possibility is to put participants into groups of 3 individuals with the other 2 individuals being simulated by computer. In both the high and low conditions, participants would be asked to describe their major and other hobbies and told that the task is to get to know their other teammates. In the high self-perceived status condition, the 2 simulated others would be sophomores who had yet to declare their majors and who participate in few extra-curricular activities. They would provide feedback to the participants that they admire and respect their major choice and extra-curricular activities. In the low self-perceived status condition, the simulated others would be seniors majoring in Finance and Pre-Med who participate in a variety of extra-curricular activities. These simulated others would provide neutral to no feedback to the participants to show a lack of admiration and respect. After completing this first task, the participants would then be asked to join another group to complete a second group task similar to the task used in Study 2.

Future research should also examine how the different bases upon which individuals build their self-perceived status—either personality traits or past experiences, influence group interactions. Disentangling the sources of status beliefs (both by the newcomer and by group incumbents) may play an important role in explaining how individuals react when they do not believe that their status perceptions are affirmed by other team members. In future research, I would like to examine what happens *after* newcomers engage in change oriented behaviors. In particular, the source of self-perceived status may influence how changes are received by incumbents. When

incumbents believe that newcomers have higher status based on prior experiences, they may be more willing to listen to what these newcomers have to say. In contrast, when incumbents believe that the newcomer's perceptions of themselves as higher status is unwarranted (possibly because it is based on personality differences), they may be more likely to ignore newcomer suggestions and/or refuse to accept their changes. As a result, more conflict may occur, possibly leading to higher turnover and other negative group consequences.

Another limitation of the field study and the first laboratory experiment was the measures I created for job crafting behaviors. The two-item measure from Study 1 used one item from an existing job crafting scale (Tims et al., 2012) and one new item based on Wrzesniewski and Dutton's (2001) definition of physical job crafting, but both items focused on job expansion—extra tasks that a newcomer may take on. Study 2 also focused on whether participants engaged in additional tasks. Even though job crafting includes taking on additional tasks (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001), it may also include refusing to do certain tasks, and it is this type of job crafting that might generate the most risk for new employees. When employees take on additional tasks, others see them as being more engaged in their work and reward them with higher performance ratings (Bakker et al., 2012). However, if new employees, who were presumably hired to perform given tasks, decide that they will not perform certain tasks, upsetting the status quo, it is very likely that they may suffer negative repercussions. Future research should examine the relationship between self-perceived status and these negative forms of job crafting.

Finally, I argued that self-perceived status played an important role for newcomers in the decision making process of whether to engage in change oriented behaviors because of how status may change perceptions of the riskiness of these behaviors. However, I did not test risk perceptions as a mediator between self-perceived status and change oriented behaviors. I also did not measure the perceived riskiness of the different change oriented behaviors. Future research could assess whether self-perceived status does alter risk perceptions of change oriented behaviors (e.g., Weber, Blais, & Betz, 2002), thereby increasing the likelihood that newcomers will engage in these behaviors.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Trying to introduce change can be risky for any employee (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). Even though organizations may benefit from new ideas, individual employees believe that they may suffer negative consequences if they upset their bosses by suggesting changes or trying to implement those changes (Detert & Edmondson, 2011). These risks may be particularly salient for new employees who have yet to fully learn the political landscape of the organization (Louis, 1980) and may still be in a probationary state with the organization. However, it is at the time of entry that newcomers have the most unique information to share—they have yet to be indoctrinated in to the firm's way of doing things and can offer different perspectives (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

For organizations to hear the most from their new hires about possible changes to organizational processes and procedures, it may be less about whom they hire and more about the conditions they provide for their new employees. Newcomers are more willing to take the risk and engage in change oriented behaviors when they have higher self-

perceived status. These status beliefs may include beliefs that they are more respected by their new co-workers and supervisor and that others expect them to try to make changes. However, newcomers with higher self-perceived status are less likely to take charge or try to change their job when they believe that the organization affirms their incoming strengths and skills. Thus, newcomers are more likely to engage in change oriented behaviors when they believe that others respect them, but there is some element of doubt about whether the organization accepts them for who they are.

New employees may only believe that it is worth the risk of engaging in taking charge behaviors when they believe that they personally have something to gain. Thus, organizations face a difficult balancing act. They must show respect for incoming hires but not affirm their identities as high status individuals. To accomplish these goals, companies may need to praise newcomers for their prior experiences (highlighting more contextual features of self-perceived status) while also indicating that they have a lot to learn about the firm and the way the firm operates. Emphasizing that there are differences between what the newcomer knows and how the firm operates might spur new employees to look for possible ways to apply their existing knowledge and gain more respect from incumbents.

Table 1: Study 1 Pilot Results Supporting Discriminant Validity of Change Oriented Behaviors.

Model	χ^2	$\Delta \chi^2$	**SRMR**	**CFI**	**TLI/NNFI**
One Factor	82.81, df=27, p < .01	--	.08	.91	.88
Two Factor	66.51, df=26, p < .01	16.3	.08	.94	.91
Two Factor based on correlations	80.76, df=26, p < .01	1.5	.09	.91	.88
Three Factor based on correlations	58.21, df=24, p <.01	8.3	.09	.94	.91
Three Factor	18.75, df=24, p > .1	47.76	.04	1.00	1.00

Table 2: Study 1 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations.

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Gender (Female)	.75	.44									
2. Race (White)	.57	.50	-0.01								
3. Education (4-year Degree)	.51	.50	0.01	0.35**							
4. Tenure	173.68	90.38	.10	0.04	0.20*						
5. Salary Grade	2.21	.54	-0.04	0.01	0.41**	0.23*					
6. Self-Efficacy	6.21	.82	0.06	-0.03	-0.06	0.06	-0.01				
7. Proactivity	5.39	.95	-0.16	-0.25*	-0.27**	-0.10	-0.12	0.25*			
8. Extraversion	4.44	1.47	-0.14	0.10	0.16	-0.10	-0.01	-0.13	0.16		
9. Narcissism	.28	.21	-0.37**	-0.03	-0.07	-0.19	-0.10	0.04	0.37**	0.46**	
10. Self-Monitoring	5.06	.86	-0.29**	0.01	-0.08	0.10	-0.04	0.31**	0.49**	0.18	0.39**
11. Managerial Openness	5.36	1.39	-0.15	-0.05	-0.17	0.01	0.01	0.31**	0.12	-0.03	0.01
12. Investiture	3.63	.84	-0.08	0.10	0.02	-0.05	0.10	0.23*	-0.06	-0.07	-0.03
13. Self-Perceived Status	4.30	.85	-0.20*	0.08	-0.07	0.01	0.07	0.14	0.40**	0.22*	0.41**
14. Supervisor Rated Status	3.27	.68	0.07	0.00	-0.05	-0.02	0.06	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.00
15. Co-Worker Rated Status	3.18	.54	-0.15	0.01	-0.07	0.02	0.06	0.08	0.14	0.06	0.28*
16. Supervisor Rated Job Crafting	3.02	1.19	-0.09	-0.02	-0.22*	-0.14	-0.05	-0.02	0.22*	0.10	0.15
17. Supervisor Rated Taking Charge	2.51	1.06	0.08	-0.03	-0.31**	-0.08	-0.19	0.02	0.26**	0.16	0.09
18. Supervisor Rated Voice to Supervisor	2.13	1.08	0.08	0.16	-0.09	0.05	-0.10	0.00	0.20	0.19	0.06
19. Co-Worker Rated Job Crafting	3.27	.77	-0.25*	0.05	0.06	0.01	0.18	0.07	0.06	0.13	0.45**
20. Co-Worker Rated Taking Charge	2.89	.68	-0.22*	0.20*	0.16	0.06	0.26*	-0.03	0.05	0.21*	0.22*
21. Co-Worker Rated Voice to Co-Workers	2.32	.85	-0.08	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.03	-0.02	0.09	0.24*	0.23*

	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Gender (Female)											
2. Age											
3. Race (White)											
4. Education (4-year Degree)											
5. Salary Grade											
6. Self-Efficacy											
7. Proactivity											
8. Extraversion											
9. Narcissism											
10. Self-Monitoring											
11. Managerial Openness	0.07										
12. Investiture	-0.04	0.57**									
13. Self-Perceived Status	0.39**	0.07	0.08								
14. Supervisor Rated Status	0.16	0.09	0.01	0.24*							
15. Co-Worker Rated Status	0.12	0.19	0.15	0.37**	0.40**						
16. Supervisor Rated Job Crafting	0.11	0.11	0.02	0.29**	0.48**	0.24*					
17. Supervisor Rated Taking Charge	0.10	-0.07	-0.19	0.25*	0.40**	0.32**	0.62**				
18. Supervisor Rated Voice to Supervisor	0.13	0.06	-0.14	0.22*	0.35**	0.19	0.64**	0.75**			
19. Co-Worker Rated Job Crafting	0.21*	0.07	0.05	0.36**	0.35**	0.66**	0.23*	0.12	0.09		
20. Co-Worker Rated Taking Charge	0.22*	0.06	0.11	0.48**	0.27*	0.60**	0.27**	0.21*	0.17	0.67**	
21. Co-Worker Rated Voice to Co-Workers	0.09	-0.06	-0.15	0.28**	0.08	0.49**	0.18	0.34**	0.28*	0.49**	0.54**

Note: N = 104 except correlations with narcissism and salary grade when N = 80.
* p < .05, ** p < 01

Table 3: Study 1 Multilevel Modeling Results for Supervisor Rated Job Crafting.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S. E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
Gender (Female)	-.01	.29	-.02	.26	-.06	.27	-.01	.26
Race (White)	.24	.26	.10	.23	.09	.23	.08	.23
Education (4-Yr Degree)	-.46†	.27	.16	.29	.12	.29	.17	.29
Tenure	-.00	.00	-.00	.00	-.00	.00	-.00	.00
Self-Efficacy	-.13	.16	-.10	.15	-.10	.15	-.09	.15
Proactivity	.28†	.16	.15	.15	.16	.15	.14	.15
Extraversion	.05	.09	.03	.08	.03	.08	.04	.08
Self-Monitoring	-.06	.18	-.09	.16	-.08	.16	-.08	.16
Managerial Openness	.09	.10	.12	.09	.11	.09	.12	.09
Investiture Tactics	-.03	.17	-.01	.15	-.01	.15	-.02	.15
Self-Perceived Status			.31*	.13	.28*	.14	.31*	.13
SP Status * Investiture								
SP Status * Self-Monitoring					-.14	.14	.07	.10
AIC	351.60		335.69		336.81		338.01	
-2 Log Likelihood	349.60		331.69		332.81		334.01	
Δ -2 Log Likelihood			17.91**		-1.12		-2.32	

Note: N = 104, † p < .10, * p < .05

Table 4: Study 1 Multilevel Modeling Results for Supervisor Rated Taking Charge.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S. E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
Gender (Female)	.31	.24	.08	.20	.06	.20	.10	.20
Race (White)	.32	.22	.16	.18	.15	.18	.14	.18
Education (4-Yr Degree)	-.72*	.23	.08	.23	.06	.23	.08	.23
Tenure	-.00	.00	-.00	.00	-.00	.00	-.00	.00
Self-Efficacy	.02	.14	-.08	.11	-.08	.11	-.06	.11
Proactivity	.22	.14	.06	.11	.07	.11	.05	.11
Extraversion	.12	.07	.02	.06	.02	.06	.02	.06
Self-Monitoring	-.04	.15	.02	.12	.03	.12	.03	.12
Managerial Openness	-.00	.09	.05	.07	.05	.07	.06	.07
Investiture Tactics	-.22	.14	-.15	.11	-.15	.11	-.16	.11
Self-Perceived Status			.24*	.10	.21*	.10	.23*	.10
SP Status * Investiture					-.10	.11		
SP Status * Self-Monitoring							.07	.08
AIC	319.37		292.34		294.10		294.85	
-2 Log Likelihood	317.37		288.34		290.10		290.85	
Δ -2 Log Likelihood			29.03**		-1.76		-2.51	

Note: N = 104, † p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 5: Study 1 Multilevel Modeling Results for Supervisor Rated Voice.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S. E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
Gender (Female)	.39	.25	.23	.23	.22	.23	.26	.23
Race (White)	.58*	.22	.43*	.20	.42*	.20	.40*	.20
Education (4-Yr Degree)	-.28	.24	.17	.25	.15	.25	.19	.25
Tenure	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Self-Efficacy	-.08	.14	-.13	.13	-.13	.13	-.11	.13
Proactivity	.22	.14	.16	.13	.17	.13	.15	.13
Extraversion	.12	.07	.05	.07	.05	.07	.05	.07
Self-Monitoring	.02	.16	-.00	.13	.00	.14	.02	.13
Managerial Openness	.15	.09	.13†	.08	.13†	.08	.15†	.08
Investiture Tactics	-.28†	.15	-.22†	.13	-.22†	.13	-.24†	.13
Self-Perceived Status			.26*	.11	.24*	.12	.25*	.11
SP Status * Investiture					-.06	.12		
SP Status * Self-Monitoring							.11	.09
AIC	325.75		309.82		311.95		311.17	
-2 Log Likelihood	323.75		305.82		307.95		307.17	
Δ -2 Log Likelihood			17.93**		-2.13		-1.35	

Note: N = 104, † p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 6: Study 1 Multilevel Modeling Results for Co-Worker Rated Job Crafting.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S. E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
Gender (Female)	-.33†	.20	-.09	.17	-.13	.17	-.09	.17
Race (White)	.03	.17	-.14	.15	-.15	.15	-.14	.15
Education (4-Yr Degree)	.08	.18	.32†	.19	.29	.19	.31	.19
Tenure	-.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Self-Efficacy	.05	.11	.00	.09	-.00	.09	-.00	.10
Proactivity	-.08	.11	-.11	.09	-.09	.09	-.11	.10
Extraversion	.04	.06	.02	.05	.01	.05	.02	.05
Self-Monitoring	.17	.12	.10	.10	.11	.10	.10	.10
Managerial Openness	.05	.07	.05	.06	.05	.06	.05	.06
Investiture Tactics	-.03	.11	-.07	.10	-.07	.09	-.07	.10
Self-Perceived Status			.31**	.08	.28**	.09	.32**	.09
SP Status * Investiture					-.16†	.09		
SP Status * Self-Monitoring							-.01	.07
AIC	272.95		256.31		256.34		259.88	
-2 Log Likelihood	270.95		252.31		252.34		255.88	
Δ -2 Log Likelihood			18.64**		-.03		-3.57	

Note: N = 104, † p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 7: Study 1 Multilevel Modeling Results for Co-Worker Rated Taking Charge.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S. E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
Gender (Female)	-.19	.16	-.05	.14	-.06	.14	-.05	.14
Race (White)	.20	.14	.07	.13	.07	.13	.07	.13
Education (4-Yr Degree)	.13	.15	.28†	.15	.27†	.15	.28†	.17
Tenure	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Self-Efficacy	-.07	.09	-.10	.08	-.10	.08	-.10	.08
Proactivity	.02	.09	-.06	.08	-.05	.08	-.06	.08
Extraversion	.06	.05	.02	.04	.02	.04	.02	.04
Self-Monitoring	.12	.10	.06	.08	.07	.08	.06	.08
Managerial Openness	.03	.06	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03	.05
Investiture Tactics	.07	.10	.04	.08	.04	.08	.03	.08
Self-Perceived Status			.33**	.07	.32**	.07	.33**	.07
SP Status * Investiture					-.05	.08		
SP Status * Self-Monitoring							.00	.06
AIC	242.10		220.94		223.75		224.89	
-2 Log Likelihood	240.10		216.94		219.75		220.89	
Δ -2 Log Likelihood			23.16**		-2.81		-3.95	

Note: N = 104, † p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 8: Study 1 Multilevel Modeling Results for Co-Worker Rated Voice.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S. E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
Gender (Female)	-.10	.21	-.02	.21	-.01	.21	.01	.21
Race (White)	.13	.19	-.02	.18	-.02	.18	-.04	.18
Education (4-Yr Degree)	-.03	.20	.18	.21	.19	.21	.21	.21
Tenure	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Self-Efficacy	.02	.12	-.01	.11	-.01	.12	.00	.11
Proactivity	.02	.12	-.02	.12	-.03	.12	-.04	.12
Extraversion	.12†	.06	.09	.06	.09	.06	.10	.06
Self-Monitoring	.00	.13	-.02	.12	-.02	.13	.00	.12
Managerial Openness	.01	.08	.01	.07	.02	.07	.03	.07
Investiture Tactics	-.17	.12	-.18	.12	-.18	.12	-.21†	.12
Self-Perceived Status			.22*	.10	.23*	.11	.21*	.10
SP Status * Investiture					.04	.11		
SP Status * Self-Monitoring							.13	.08
AIC	290.40		288.26		290.72		288.74	
-2 Log Likelihood	288.40		284.26		286.72		284.74	
Δ -2 Log Likelihood			4.14*		-2.46		-.48	

Note: N = 104, † p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 9: Study 2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations.

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. American	0.83	0.38											
2. English First Language	0.77	0.42	0.51**										
3. Gender (Female)	0.64	0.48	0.02	0.08									
4. Age	20.95	1.77	-0.09	-0.16**	-0.20**								
5. Organizational Identification	3.74	0.71	-0.06	-0.06	0.05	-0.02							
6. Proactivity	5.61	0.80	0.06	0.02	0.03	-0.03	0.07						
7. Self-Monitoring	5.16	0.70	0.03	0.06	0.07	-0.04	0.12	0.37**					
8. High Status Manipulation	0.50	0.50	0.00	-0.11*	-0.06	0.05	-0.02	-0.04	0.00				
9. Correct Typos	0.10	0.30	-0.03	0.08	0.07	-0.04	0.02	0.08	0.03	0.07			
10. Pass Out Surveys	0.13	0.34	-0.20**	-0.11*	-0.06	0.18**	0.02	0.05	-0.03	-0.01	0.07		
11. Voice - Revenue Ideas	1.72	1.02	-0.04	0.03	-0.08	0.03	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	0.03	-0.11	0.10	
12. Voice - Critique Proposal	0.20	0.55	0.09	0.06	0.01	-0.06	0.06	0.06	-0.06	0.01	0.22**	0.04	-0.16**

Note: N = 355, except for correlations with "Correct Typos" when N = 167 and "Pass Out Surveys" when N = 346.
*p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 10: Study 2 Logistic Regression Results for Job Crafting.

	Likelihood to Correct Typos				Likelihood to Pass Out Surveys			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	**Exp B**	**S.E.**	**Exp B**	**S.E.**	**Exp B**	**S. E.**	**Exp B**	**S.E.**
American	.42	.79	.42	.79	.26**	.45	.26**	.45
English as First Language	3.06	.88	3.05	.88	1.20	.46	1.21	.46
Gender (Being Female)	1.38	.58	1.38	.58	.81	.35	.80	.35
Age	.96	.17	.96	.17	1.20*	.07	1.20*	.07
Organizational Identification	1.17	.39	1.15	.39	1.07	.24	1.06	.24
Proactivity	1.50	.36	1.49	.36	1.38	.22	1.39	.22
Self-Monitoring	.91	.41	1.01	.62	.80	.26	.90	.38
Status Manipulation (High)	1.80	.53	4.28	4.05	.93	.34	2.60	2.47
Status x Self-Monitoring			.85	.77			.82	.48
-2 Log Likelihood	104.67		104.63		249.73		249.56	
Δ -2 Log Likelihood			.04				.17	
Model χ^2	5.22		5.27		21.50**		21.68*	

Note: N = 167 for Models 1 and 2 and N = 346 for Models 3 and 4; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 11: Study 2 Poisson Regression Results for Voice.

	Cost Saving Ideas				Critical Suggestions			
	Model 2		Model 3		Model 5		Model 6	
Variables	**Exp B**	**S.E.**	**Exp B**	**S.E.**	**Exp B**	**S. E.**	**Exp B**	**S.E.**
American	1.14	.09	1.14	.09	.48	.47	.48	.46
English as First Language	.89	.09	.89	.09	.88	.35	.87	.35
Gender (Being Female)	1.09	.07	1.10	.07	1.02	.27	1.02	.27
Age	1.01	.01	1.01	.02	.89	.08	.90	.08
Organizational Identification	.97	.05	.97	.05	1.34	.21	1.36	.21
Proactivity	.98	.04	.98	.04	1.35†	.16	1.37*	.16
Self-Monitoring	.99	.05	1.10	.08	.67*	.20	.40**	.35
Status Manipulation (High)	.96	.06	.37*	.48	.90	.28	55.28†	2.19
Status x Self-Monitoring			.83*	.09			2.27*	.42
AIC	1066.94		1066.41		403.56		400.41	
Log Likelihood	-524.47		-523.21		-192.78		-190.21	
Δ Log Likelihood			1.26				2.57	
Omnibus Model χ^2	3.43		5.95		15.20†		20.36*	

Note: N = 355; * p < .05; ** p < .01

Table 12: Study 3 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations.

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Familiarity with Jap. Method	1.78	1.17						
2. Gender (Female)	0.61	0.51	-0.16					
3. Age	20.44	2.25	-0.12	-0.03				
4. Proactivity	5.59	0.87	0.21*	-0.24*	0.02			
5. Narcissism	0.32	0.19	-0.03	-0.09	-0.02	0.30**		
6. Self-Monitoring	5.18	0.75	0.01	0.10	-0.19*	0.29**	0.40**	
7. Investiture Tactics (High)	0.50	0.50	0.02	-0.03	-0.08	0.05	0.11	-0.08
8. High Status Manipulation	0.51	0.50	-0.09	0.02	0.22*	0.01	0.03	-0.01
9. Takes Over	0.12	0.32	0.00	-0.03	0.15	0.18	-0.16	0.15
10. Leader Rated Taking Charge	4.04	0.79	-0.11	0.05	-0.03	-0.02	0.16	0.17†
11. Member Rated Taking Charge	3.96	0.81	-0.08	-0.02	0.15	0.05	0.11	0.15
12. Introduces Jap. Method	0.43	0.50	-0.11	0.15	-0.11	-0.28*	-0.09	-0.15
13. Other Suggestions	0.58	0.50	0.00	0.05	-0.02	0.05	0.19†	0.20†
14. Leader Rated Voice	3.94	0.87	-0.12	0.01	0.07	-0.05	0.06	0.21*
15. Member Rated Voice	3.96	0.89	-0.08	0.03	0.11	0.00	0.07	0.14

	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Familiarity with Jap. Method								
2. Gender (Female)								
3. Age								
4. Proactivity								
5. Narcissism								
6. Self-Monitoring								
7. Investiture Tactics (High)								
8. High Status Manipulation	0.13							
9. Takes Over	-0.06	0.01						
10. Leader Rated Taking Charge	0.03	0.08	0.10					
11. Member Rated Taking Charge	-0.14	0.01	0.09	0.30**				
12. Introduces Jap. Method	0.00	-0.16	-0.18	0.31**	0.32**			
13. Other Suggestions	-0.15	0.09	0.31**	0.33**	0.13	-0.16		
14. Leader Rated Voice	-0.04	0.12	0.23*	0.79**	0.31**	0.15	0.39**	
15. Member Rated Voice	-0.03	0.04	0.15	0.30**	0.74**	0.27*	0.18†	0.32**

Note: N = 103, except for correlations with "Takes Over" when N = 86 and "Introduces Jap. Method" and "Other Suggestions" when N = 90.

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 13: Summary of Results.

	Hypothesis	Field	Lab 1	Lab 2
H1	*Newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to change the number or type of tasks performed for their job than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.*	Yes	No	No
H2	*Newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to take charge than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.*	Yes	No	No
H3	*Newcomers with higher self-perceived status are more likely to voice than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.*	Yes	No	No
H4	*Newcomers with higher self-perceived status will be more likely to job craft by seeking out tasks that require interaction with individuals higher in the power structure than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.*	No	--	--
H5	*Newcomers with higher self-perceived status will be more likely to take charge in ways that will affect individuals higher in the power structure than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.*	No	--	--
H6	*Newcomers with higher self-perceived status will be more likely to offer suggestions to their supervisors and other higher level individuals than newcomers with lower self-perceived status.*	No	--	--
H7	*Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and job crafting such that the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and job crafting will be stronger for higher self-monitors.*	No	No	--
H8	*Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and taking charge such that the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and taking charge will be stronger for higher self-monitors.*	No	No	No
H9	*Self-monitoring will moderate the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and voice behaviors such that the relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and voice will be stronger for higher self-monitors.*	No	Yes	Yes (Op)

H10	*The relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and job crafting is weaker for newcomers at firms that use investiture tactics than for newcomers at firms that do not use these tactics.*	Yes	--	--
H11	*The relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and taking charge is weaker for newcomers at firms that use investiture tactics than for newcomers at firms that do not use these tactics.*	No	--	Yes
H12	*The relationship between newcomer self-perceived status and voice behaviors is weaker for newcomers at firms that use investiture tactics than for newcomers at firms that do not use these tactics.*	No	--	No

Figure 1: Theoretical Model

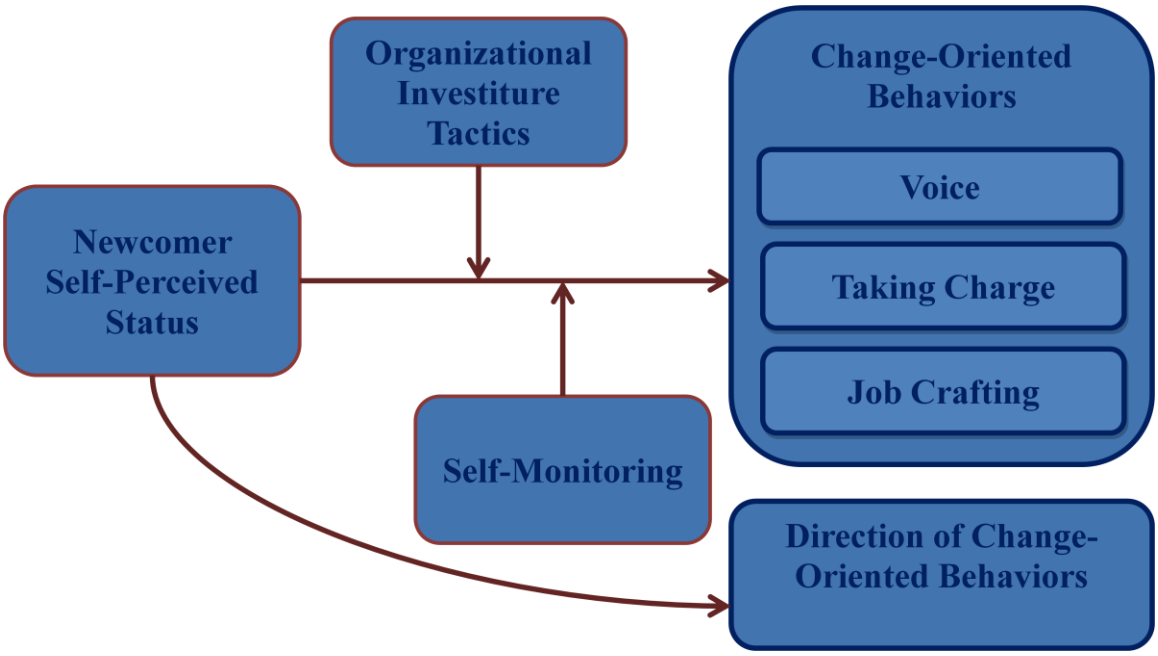


Figure 2: Study 1 Interaction Graph for Co-Worker Rated Job Crafting.

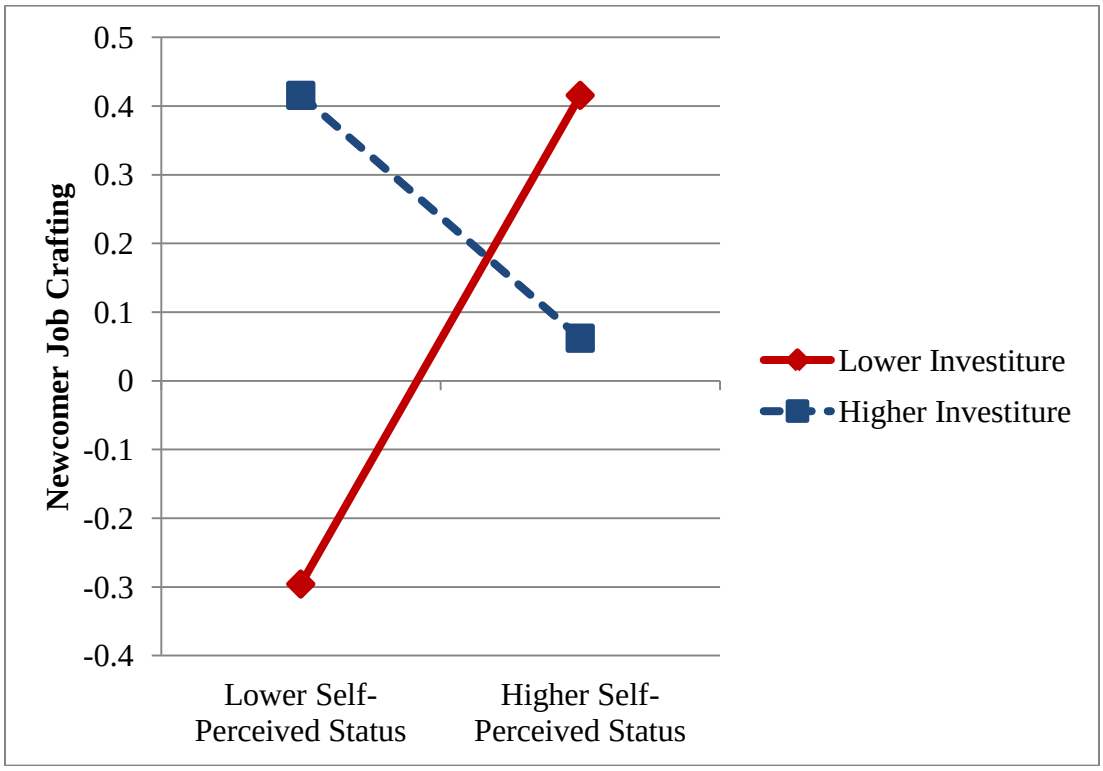


Figure 3: Study 2 Interaction Graph for Likelihood to Voice

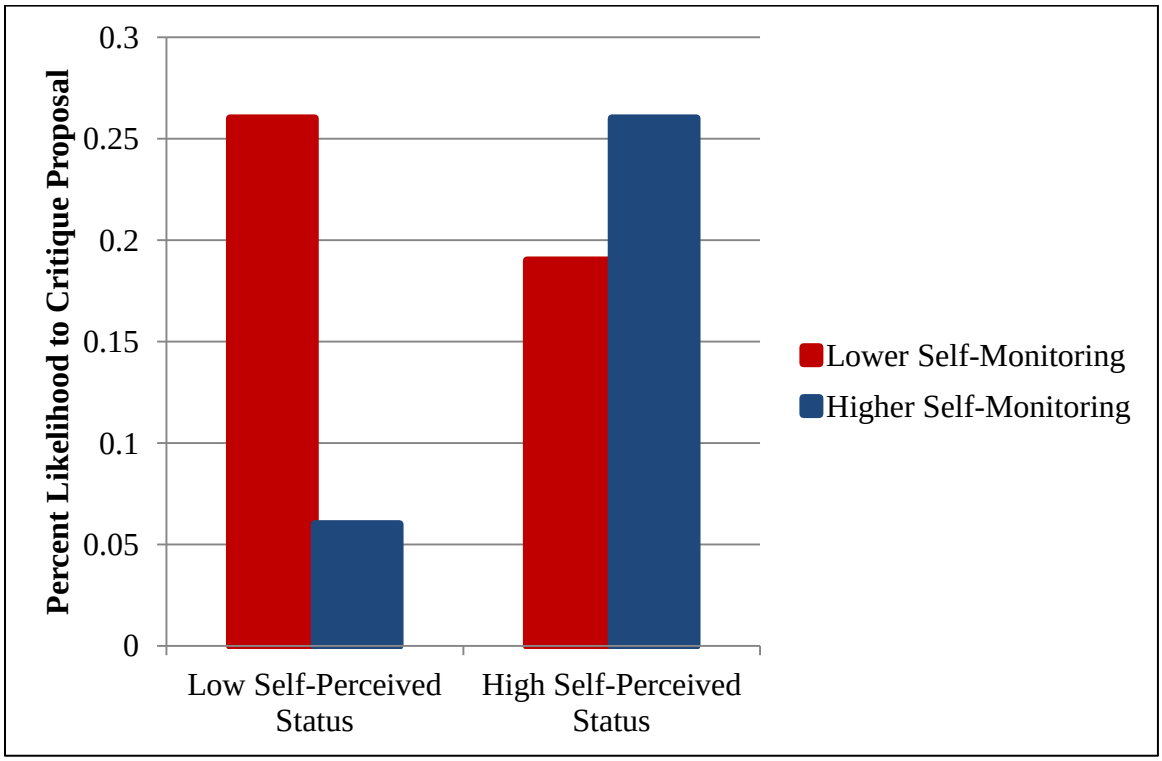


Figure 4: Study 3 Interaction for Newcomer Taking Charge Behaviors (Co-Worker Rated).

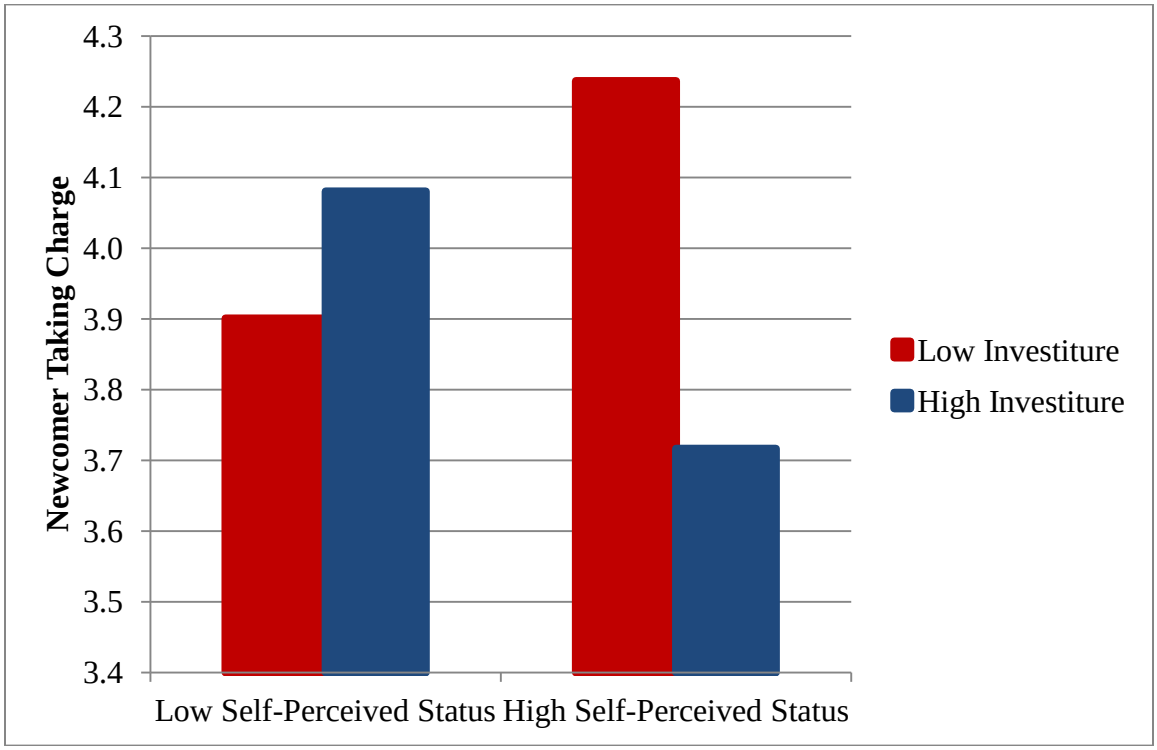
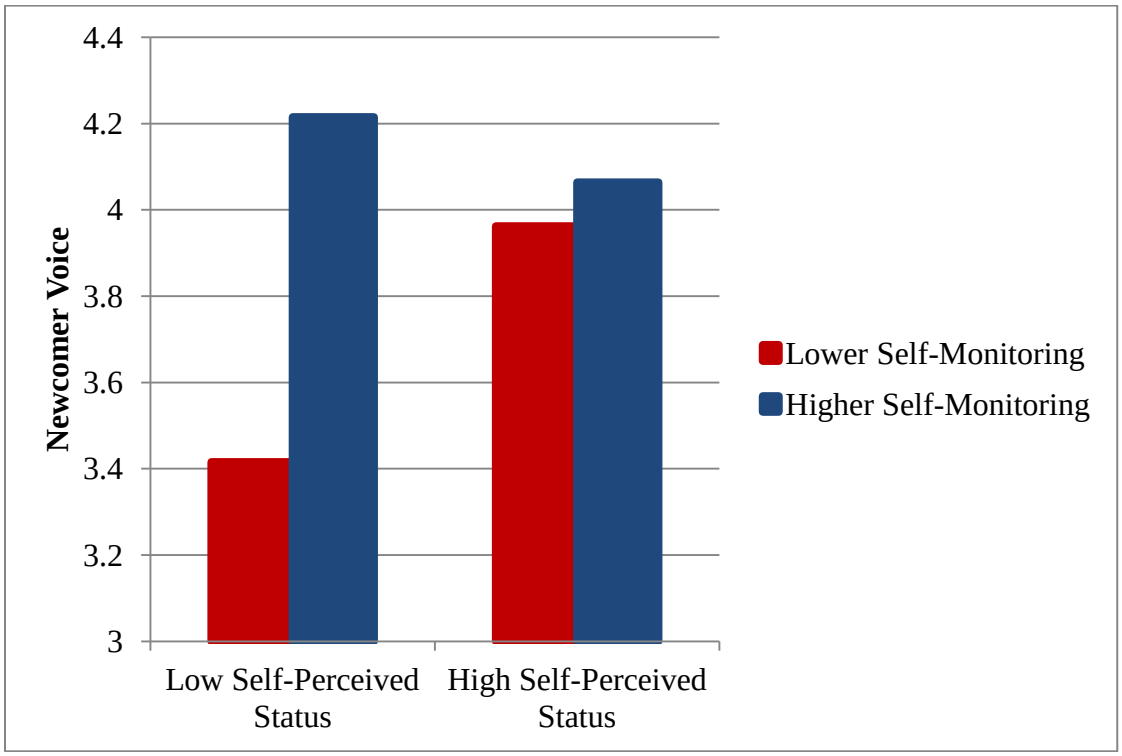


Figure 5: Study 3 Interaction for Newcomer Voice Behaviors (Leader Rated).



Appendix A: Study 1 Measures

Job Crafting: Measured on a Likert Scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; item 1 adapted from unpublished scale by Wrzesniewski; items 2 and 3 adapted from Tims et al. (2012).

1. I have tried to change what I am responsible for at work.
2. I am looking for interesting projects or committees to join.
3. I look for extra tasks to take on even though I do not receive extra salary for them.

Taking Charge: Measured on a Likert Scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; items adapted from Morrison and Phelps (1999).

1. I have tried to bring about improved procedures for my work unit or department by making these changes myself.
2. I have tried to institute new work methods that are more effective for the company.
3. I have tried to introduce new structures, technologies, or approaches to improve efficiency.

Voice: Measured on a 5-point scale from Never to Very Often; items 1 to 3 adapted from Detert and Burris (2007) and answered by newcomers, colleagues and supervisors; items 4 to 7 adapted from Van Dyne and LePine (1998) and answered only by newcomers.

1. Speak up to your direct supervisor with ideas for new processes or policies.
2. Give suggestions to your direct supervisor about how to improve the organization.
3. Point out to your direct supervisor how you or your group could make changes that would make your organization better.
4. Develop and make recommendations concerning issues that affect your work group.
5. Communicate your opinions about work issues to others in your group even if your opinion is different and others in the group disagree with you.
6. Get involved in issues that affect the quality of work life in your group.
7. Speak up in your group with ideas for new projects or changes in procedures.

Self-Perceived Status: Measured on a 7-point scale from Much Less to Much More relative to co-workers; items from Lount and Pettit (2012). Participants asked, relative to your co-workers how much do you have each of the following:

1. Status
2. Prestige
3. Admiration

Self-Monitoring: Measured on a 5-point Likert scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; items from Lennox and Wolfe (1984).

1. In social situations, I have the ability to alter my behavior if I feel that something else is called for.
2. I have the ability to control the way I come across to people, depending on the impression I wish to give them.
3. When I feel that the image I am portraying isn't working, I can readily change it to something that does.
4. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations (R).
5. I have found that I can adjust my behavior to meet the requirements of any situation I find myself in.
6. Even when it might be to my advantage, I have difficulty putting up a good front. (R)
7. Once I know what the situation calls for, it's easy for me to regulate my actions accordingly.
8. I am often able to read people's true emotions correctly through their eyes.
9. In conversations, I am sensitive to even the slightest change in the facial expression of the person I'm conversing with.
10. My powers of intuition are quite good when it comes to understanding other's emotions and motives.
11. I can usually tell when others consider a joke to be in bad taste even though they may laugh convincingly.
12. I can usually tell when I've said something inappropriate by reading it in the listener's eyes.
13. If someone is lying to me, I usually know it at once from that person's manner of expression.

Investiture Tactics: Measured on a five-point Likert scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; items from Ashforth and Saks (1996).

1. My organization accepts newcomers for who they are.
2. The organization does not try to change the values and beliefs of newcomers.
3. The following statement describes the attitude of my organization towards newcomers: “We like you as you are; don’t change.”
4. My organization tries to transform newcomers into a different kind of person. (R)
5. In this organization, you must “pay your dues” before you are fully accepted. (R)

Big-5 Personality Traits: measured on a seven-point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; items from Gosling, Rentfrow, and Swann (2003). Participants asked to “rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.”

1. Reserved, quiet.
2. Sympathetic, warm.

3. Calm, emotionally stable.
4. Dependable, self-disciplined.
5. Disorganized, careless.
6. Open to new experiences, complex.
7. Conventional, uncreative.
8. Anxious, easily upset.
9. Extroverted, enthusiastic.
10. Critical, quarrelsome.

Proactive Personality: measured on a seven-point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; ten items from Seibert et al.'s (1999) adaptation of Bateman and Crant's (1993) measure.

1. I am constantly on the lookout for new ways to improve my life.
2. Wherever I have been, I have been a powerful force for constructive change.
3. Nothing is more exciting than seeing my ideas turn into reality.
4. If I see something I don't like, I fix it.
5. No matter what the odds, if I believe in something I will make it happen.
6. I love being a champion for my ideas, even against others' opposition.
7. I excel at identifying opportunities.
8. I am always looking for better ways to do things.
9. If I believe in an idea, no obstacle will prevent me from making it happen.
11. I can spot a good opportunity long before others can.

Self-Efficacy: measured on a seven-point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; four items from Major and Kozlowski (1997).

1. I am prepared to function effectively on this job because of my past experience.
2. Previous experience has taught me that I can meet my current work responsibilities.
3. My past experiences and accomplishments increase my confidence that I can perform successfully in this organization.
4. Prior training and experience give me assurance that I can accomplish my work.

Managerial Openness: measured on a seven-point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree; five items adapted from Ashford et al. (1998) and Detert and Burris (2007). Participants asked to "indicate how much you agree or disagree that each of the following statements applies to your direct supervisor."

1. Open to new ideas.
2. Receptive to suggestions.
3. Interested in our ideas.
4. Rejects new ideas. (R)
5. Dismisses suggestions. (R)

Appendix B: Study 2 Experiment Materials

Dear Lab Participant,

Thanks for taking the time to think of some ways to help make UT financially stronger! We are a task force at the Business School, and we are excited to have you as a new member of our team. We read the Business Committee's proposal to President Powers, and we thought that we could generate some good solutions too. We have already gathered many ideas from other students throughout the business school and compiled the best ideas so far into the proposal below. We are really trying to focus on ways to **generate more income** for the university rather than focusing on just cutting expenses. We believe that income generation is more sustainable and more likely to continue to generate income well in to the future. We present our best ideas below and our plan for presenting these ideas to President Powers. We welcome your ideas about how to increase revenues for UT.

To make sure we get lots of ideas, we are holding a drawing for a **$50 gift card** at the end of this semester. For every idea you give us, you will get 1 entry in the drawing. If we like your ideas, we will give you 3 entries per idea. If we chose to include your idea in the final proposal, we will give you 5 entries. We will hold the drawing by the end of the semester and email you if you have won.

Thanks again for your help,
Sandy Thompson
President, Business Efficiency Student Task Force

Results for similar proposals/changes made at other universities

- Texas A&M recently sold many of its oil and gas holdings and invested the proceeds from these sales in the development of wind energy production. The initial cost of switching to wind energy production consumed the majority of the profits from the sales. A&M anticipates that it will not see any revenue from the new wind energy project until at least 2035. The sale of its oil and gas holdings has not generated any immediate revenue. When revenue does begin to roll in, they forecast that the new energy project will produce approximately 75% of the revenue previously generated by the oil and gas holdings, adjusted for inflation. This change will ultimately bring in $75 Million in annual revenue compared to the approximately $100 Million in revenue that would have been generated by oil and gas, amounting to a loss of $25 Million per year.
- The University of South Carolina, which has about half the number of undergraduate students as UT, has recently increased the number of its online courses allowing many students to complete introductory courses in an online setting. USC has seen a substantial decrease in the costs of offering their introductory courses, but it has seen lower student interest in taking the courses. The online format appears to be saving money, but not generating revenue for the university as fewer students are signing up for the online courses. Considering the added savings but decreased tuition, this change generated approximately $150,000 per year in increased revenue.
- As a cost saving measure, the University of California in Los Angeles now requires that all maintenance workers use bicycles and human powered transportation to tour the university and make repairs. Bicycles are retrofitted to carry all necessary supplies. Even considering the costs of buying specially fitted bikes, UCLA has seen a substantial decrease in costs for the maintenance functions of the university, saving the university approximately $2 Million per year in fuel and vehicle maintenance costs. The UCLA campus is about half the area of the UT main campus, and the number of maintenance workers is also about half the number.
- Texas A&M has also implemented a new online computer program to handle routine reimbursement and ordering requests. The program has decreased the need for employees to handle these requests, reducing the number of administrative employees at the University by approximately 30% and saving A&M approximately $1.5 Million per year.

Research on Persuading Others

The following suggestions are based on decades of research on how to best persuade others:

1. Establish Credibility
   a. Demonstrate that you are an expert in the field and have the knowledge necessary to support your arguments
   b. Develop relationships with the people you are trying to persuade
2. Frame for Common Ground: know what your audience is interested in and show that you are both working towards similar goals.

3. Provide Evidence: give examples that have an emotional impact and are supported by hard facts and data.
4. Connect Emotionally
    a. Show emotional commitment to your position
    b. Adjust your tone to the audience's emotional state

Preliminary Proposal

The University of Texas in Austin is a great university with the lofty goal of changing the world. Through its educational programs, the the university trains future loaders in many areas. Over the years, the University has been able to get many assets, and has grown in size. However changes in the greater economy know require UT to be more self-sufficient and to generate more and to generate more revenue to keep tuition costs low.

To keep the University of Texas at Austin one of the top public universities in the country, if not the world, we, the Business Efficiency Student Task Force of the University of Texas, make the following recommendations:

Asset Utilizations

1. The university should sell its oil and gas holdings and invest the proceeds from the sales of these assets in renewable energy sources such as wind and solar energy. We foresee greater demand for these types of wind resources, as the country tries to become more independent of oil. We anticipate that this changes in focus will generate approximately 50% more revenue per year, or an increase of $500 Million per year.
2. The university currently charges less than market rates for housing, including dormitories and graduate student apartments. Rates all hosing should be increased to match market rates for the areas and neighborhoods where these dormitories and apartments are located. This change could increase revenues by approximately $2 Million per year.

Technology Commercialization

3. To encourage faculty members to develop more patentable ideas, fewer courses should be offered in science and technological areas. Facility in science and technology should spend their additional time working on technological innovations that may be patented and generate about $5 Million in revenue for UT per year.
4. Faculty members should involve more student in generating ideas for commercialization. The proceeds from this projects can be

directed back to UT possibly increasing revenue by as much as $2 Million per year.

Curriculum Changes

5. Introductory classes should all be offered online. The content for these classes may be recorded advance, and reused over several semesters. This approach decrease the costs associated with offering class and allow greater access to courses that typically fill up quickly. UT will be able to generate more tuition dollars for each course without paying more in salary to lecturers or hiring more professors or other instructors. This change could generate $10 Million per year in revenue.

By implementing these changes, UT will be able to generate more income. This increased income can then be used to offset the increasing tuition costs.

Plan for Presenting the Proposal to President Powers

To present our proposal to President Powers, we plan to do the following;

- First, we will contact local media including the Daily Texan, the Austin American-Statesman, and all the local news stations. We give them the date we plan to present the proposal to President Powers so they can cover our proposal on the news. We will also the Daily Texan to give notice of the event in advance so that more students will participate.
- Second we will plan a very public event to give our ideas to President Powers. We will organize a demonstration in the courtyard in front of the UT Tower. We will make posters with our ideas and posters demanding that President Powers listen to the students of UT.
- Third, a small group of students will hand deliver our full proposal to President Powers. We will demand that President Powers consider the interest and needs of the students as UT makes changes to become more fiscally viable. By making a lot of noise and getting the attention of the media, President Powers will be forced to acknowledge our ideas and pressure from students will force the University to implement at least some of our ideas.

Appendix C: Study 3 Protocol

Upon arrival at the lab, all participants will check in with the experimenter and complete the consent form, which includes consent to be videotaped. The experimenter will randomly assign participants to groups, and within each group, randomly assign one member as the leader, one member as team member 1, and one member as team member 2 (the newcomer). The leader will be given a participant ID with the number 2 in it. Once all participants for the session have arrived, 3 digit participant ID numbers will be assigned. Experimenter 1 will take the leaders and team member 1s into the large study room and Experimenter 2 will take the team member 2s/newcomers into the smaller work station room.

Experimenter 1 – Leaders and Team Member 1s

E1: During today's lab session, you will participate in a group activity folding t-shirts. There are 3 [2] groups during today's session. Each group will have a team leader and 1 to 2 team members. The team leader will be selected based on responses to the first set of surveys you will complete on the computers. The leader will have additional responsibilities in today's task. Before beginning today's group activity, please complete a survey on the computer and review the information about today's task. The survey will ask for your participant ID number, which you were given when you arrived. The survey will also tell you whether you are the Team Leader or the Team Member. Please remember this role assignment.

Participants will complete a background survey including demographic and personality questions (Pre-Task Questionnaire). Participants will then receive background information about the task, including the investiture manipulation (see Manipulations section below). After all participants have completed reading their materials, E1 will begin the first round of t-shirt folding.

E1: Based on the surveys you just filled out, who are the Team Leaders? [Hand out team leader name tags and team member name tags and put them in groups]. As a group, you will complete several rounds that are each 3 minutes to see how many shirts you can fold and organize as required by the instructions you just read. Each group has an assigned pile of shirts to fold. The Leader is in charge of making sure that the t-shirts are folded to specifications and organized properly. Shirts must be folded, marked by size, stacked correctly in piles of 10. As a part of this study, there are 2 chances to win a $50 Amazon gift card. For the leaders, you have a chance to win a $50 Amazon gift card if your team completes the highest number of correctly stacked t-shirts. For team members, you have a chance to be entered into a drawing to win a separate $50 Amazon gift card based on your individual performance—each team leader will select one team member to be entered. You will have 2 minutes to discuss how you will proceed. [Take teams to their areas. Start video recording. After groups are ready to start—start 2 minute timer]. **When you start your group discussion, I will turn on the video camera. Remember, it is important for each team to encourage all team members *to be themselves* [work as uniformly as**

possible]. Please give your TEAM NUMBER and participant ID when I start the video. You may now begin discussing.
E1: Your 2 minutes are up. You now have 3 minutes to fold and organize as many shirts as possible for Round 1.
E1 will stop the group after 3 minutes and count the number of correct piles and write it up on the board.
E1: You now have 1 minute to discuss your group task before starting the next round.
E1: Your minute is up. You now have 3 minutes to fold and organize as many shirts as possible for Round 2.
E1 will stop the group after 3 minutes and count the number of correct piles and write it up on the board.
E1: You now have 1 minute to discuss your group task before starting the next round.
E1: Your minute is up. You now have 3 minutes to fold and organize as many shirts as possible for Round 3.
E1 will stop the group after 3 minutes and count the number of correct piles and write it up on the board.

E2 will bring in the newcomers at the end of Round 3.

Experimenter 2 – Newcomers

Take the newcomers into the smaller work station room and say the following:

E2: During today's lab session, you will participate in two studies. First, you will need to complete a few surveys on the computers. We are pre-testing a few study materials for studies to run next semester, and we needed a few of you to complete these extra materials. After all of you have completed these surveys and reviewed the instructions for today's task, I will take you in to the other room to join your groups in a group t-shirt folding task. Your teams will have already completed 3 rounds of folding before you join them. The survey will ask you for your participant ID number, which you were given when you arrived.

When you get to the video about t-shirt folding, please use the t-shirts next to your station to follow along with the video.

Participants will complete a background survey including demographic and personality questions (Pre-Task Questionnaire), complete a filler task (Filler Task). Participants will receive background information about the task, including the investiture manipulation, and then receive instructions on the Japanese way of folding t-shirts and techniques to organize the shirts once they are folded. Newcomers will receive the same investiture manipulation as the Leaders and Team Members after reading their task materials, but they will not answer the written questions. Participants will then have 5 minutes to practice the Japanese way of folding. Prior to joining the participants in the other room, Newcomers will be told the following:

E2: after they have finished watching the video say the following: **If you have finished watching the video, please take a few minutes to practice the Japanese method of t-shirt folding. This is a much faster way of folding t-shirts.**

E1 will come in and tell you when it is time to start the last task. You will need to make sure that the last task is pulled up on the computer.

E2: We have a little bit more time before you can join your teams in the other room. Please complete one last survey on the computer. It is really important that you spend some time thinking about this task so that we can get good information.

Experimenter 2 will pull up the status manipulation on each of the screens.

Experimenter 1 will coordinate with Experimenter 2 to bring in the newcomers after the groups have completed three rounds of folding.

E2: Now that everyone has completed the extra materials, please follow me into the other room to join your teams.

Once everyone is in the same room, E1 will assign the newcomers to their groups.

E1: Part of what we are looking at today is how groups of different sizes perform. Each team will now get a new member. In your groups, you will now complete two more rounds of folding. You will once again need to fold and properly organize as many shirts as possible. ***It is really important to the members of the Behavioral Lab that you, as a team, value each team member and their individual skills and strengths. We have found that students in the Behavioral Lab all have valuable skills and good values. Your team has been doing a great job by valuing each team member.*** **[It is really important to the researchers of the Behavioral Lab that you, as a team, try to function as uniformly as possible. We have found that students in the Behavioral Lab can be trained to all work in similar ways. Your team has been doing a great job by working so efficiently and uniformly.]**

At the end of the two rounds, the leader will designate one of the team members to be entered into a drawing for a $50 Amazon gift card. Across all the lab sessions, the Leader whose group folds the highest number of correct stacks will win a separate $50 Amazon gift card. In the event of a tie between leaders, one winner will be randomly selected. So, only one team member per team will be entered into the drawing and only one leader out of all the groups will win based on his/her team's performance. Researchers will review the video of each team to look for behaviors indicating that you are *valuing each member* [working uniformly]. You now have 3 minutes to discuss how your group would like to proceed. You may not begin folding until instructed to do so. Please give your participant ID numbers for the video one more time. Your 3 minutes to discuss the task begins now.

E1: Your 3 minutes are up. You now have 3 minutes to fold and organize as many shirts as possible.

E1 will stop the group after 3 minutes and count the number of correct piles and write it up on the board.

E1: You now have 2 minutes to discuss your group task before starting the next round.

E1: Your 2 minutes are up. You now have 3 minutes to fold and organize as many shirts as possible.

E1 will stop the group after 3 minutes and count the number of correct piles and write it up on the board.

E1 stops the video recording.

E1 directs them to complete the post-task questionnaire.

E1: Your time is now up. Please go back to the computers and complete the final questionnaire. If you started in the other room, please return to the computers in the other room. Leaders, please designate which team member will be entered into the drawing [hand leaders slip of paper to assign points].

After completing the post-task questionnaire, E1 gives the participants the debrief sheet and participants are free to leave.

Appendix D: Study 3 Video Code Book

General Suggestions: watch the beginning of the video, code for group cohesiveness/coordination/interdependence in round 3, then code for newbie intro information. Then, use the tally sheet and mark on that while watching the rest of the video (pausing occasionally). After finishing the video, code for group cohesiveness, coordination, etc. Then use the tally sheet to fill out the rest of the Excel sheet.

- Background Information
    - Group Number (Group_ID)
    - Leader's ID Number (Leader_ID)
    - Team Member 1's ID Number (TeamMem1_ID)
- Folding method used by Group prior to newcomer entry (Grp_FoldingMethod, 1=Standard, 0 = Japanese method)
- Introduction of the Newcomer
    - Time when newcomer enters group (Newbie_Entrance_Time)
    - Does the newcomer mention the Japanese Method of folding? (Newbie_MentionsJapMethod, 1=Yes/0=No
    - Does newcomer introduce new folding method –do they show the team how to do the new folding method? (Newbie_IntroJapMethod, 1=Yes/0=No)
        - Time when newcomer introduces new method, if they do (Newbie_IntroJapTime)
- Does newcomer make any suggestions for improvement? (Newbie_Suggest, 1=Yes/0=No)
    - Text entry for the suggestions they offer (Newbie_Suggest_Text)
- Does newcomer try to take over—exert themselves as leader of the group? (Newbie_TakeOver, 1=Yes/0=No)
    - How—what are the specific behaviors that make it seem to you like they are trying to take over (Newbie_TakeOver_Text)

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