ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE IMPACT OF RACE ON NEWCOMER
KNOWLEDGE UTILIZATION

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The experiences of newcomers in groups and organizations have been studied for decades in organizational psychology. Touted for their abilities to produce innovation and give outside perspectives, successful newcomers are highly sought-after by many organizations. Unfortunately, newcomers are often met with resistance when attempting to influence more established group members. While this has been studied in organizational psychology, the literature has largely ignored the potential role of race in these interactions. This research sought to fill this void by examining the effects of race on the ability to influence established group members. This research hypothesized that the relationships between race and knowledge utilization would be explained by trust, as White newcomers are expected to be more trusted on an affective and cognitive level. In addition, these studies examined the role of selection as a moderator. Selecting a

newcomer may make a newcomer appear more trustworthy and desirable and may balance out the effects of race. In Study 1, the race of the newcomer had no impact on how much they were trusted, nor the participants' willingness to utilize the information they provided. In Study 2, White newcomers were trusted more and were more likely to get the participants to change their minds. Finally, Study 3 found that participants were more likely to be persuaded by a White newcomer as compared to a Black newcomer. However, when the group selected a Black newcomer, they were just as likely as the White newcomer to influence the established group members. These findings show that the act of choosing a newcomer may ameliorate ingroup or racial biases against minority newcomers.

THE IMPACT OF RACE ON NEWCOMER KNOWLEDGE UTILIZATION

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Overview

Organizations are constantly changing and evolving. In order to survive, organizations must continually add people in order to fulfill new roles, address new challenges or replace exiting members. Newcomers are particularly valuable because they can do more than simply fill vacant positions. In fact, they can provide a novel source of original and unique ideas (Argote & Ingram, 2000). Due to the potential of successful newcomers, organizations often attempt to ensure that they will get the most out of their new members (Ployhart, 2006).

However, newcomers encounter challenges when attempting to make an impact in their new surroundings. Research has shown that organizations and groups are often resistant to change and may attempt to get newcomers to conform to the norms established by the organization (Cimino & Delton, 2010). Groups and individuals are often hesitant to change their established strategies or behaviors, especially if they feel as though they do not need to change in order to succeed (West, 1990). Recent research has illustrated, however, several factors that can facilitate newcomer acceptance, including the nature and consistency of newcomers' messages, their perceived commitment to the group, and their status (Rink, Kane, Ellemers, & Van Der Vegt, 2013). This work has not only been important for the advancement of theory, but also practice given that newcomers can hold important information, which if utilized by the group, can influence its performance.

Nevertheless, the literature on newcomer influence is highly limited. Most notably, much if not all of this research is based on White Americans and it has yet to examine how the race of newcomers affects their acceptance and influence on groups. Scholars have found that minorities have a more difficult time advancing through their jobs due to factors such as a difficulty in finding high quality mentors, harsher penalties for deviant behavior and underrepresentation in high status positions (Dreher & Cox, 1996; Bowles & Gelfand, 2010; DiTomaso, Post, & Parks-Yancy, 2007). In the context of newcomers, racial minorities may be placed in a unique status known as a double minority, where they can incur penalties for being a racial minority, as well as a newcomer (Tajfel, 2010). Newcomers often face challenges when attempting to be accepted into a group, and these may be compounded by one's racial status. Yet to date we have little knowledge about the experiences of racial newcomer minorities.

It is also important to understand the role of race in newcomer acceptance as the racial landscape of the United States changes over time. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014), the American workforce is projected to get more diverse as the demographics of the country changes. The research on diversity in the workplace has consistently shown ways in which one's race can have an impact on their career. These difficulties faced by minorities may hinder them from attaining top positions within their workplace. Given the effects of race on many organizational experiences, it is likely that racial minorities may encounter significant resistance when they are new to an organization compared to their White counterparts.

This research was the first in depth analysis of the effects of race on newcomer acceptance. In this research project, I proposed that groups and teams will be more hesitant to utilize the knowledge of newcomers when they are racial minorities. I posited that these racial differences will be largely due to negative stereotypes surrounding racial minorities as well as a hesitation to trust minority newcomers. Minorities are often perceived to be less competent and less committed to the group due to their perceived dissimilarity (Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002). In addition, newcomers often face challenges when attempting to influence their groups, so racial minorities may have to contend with the compound effects of being racially diverse and a newcomer. Integrating diversity research with research on newcomer acceptance, I advanced hypotheses regarding how a lack of trust in minorities can have a detrimental effect on how the group perceives a minority newcomer. Specifically, I proposed that due to stereotypes surrounding racial minorities, groups will have less faith in their ability to produce competent ideas and solutions. In addition, I hypothesized that groups perceive racial minorities as less similar to the established group members, and would trust them less on an affective level. As a result, groups would be more hesitant to utilize their ideas. This can be particularly damaging to minorities who might be able to provide novel solutions and perspectives.

While I expected to find main effects of race on newcomer acceptance, I examined the impact of a potentially powerful moderator of these effects, namely variation in how the newcomer has been selected. I argued that newcomers who are chosen by the group versus assigned will have more success with influencing their teammates. I posited that groups that had a voice in choosing a new member will see the newcomer as more competent and more similar to the established group members. On the other hand,

newcomers who were assigned to a group would not be seen as positively because the established group may consider them to be outgroup members who are less competent. These assigned members must also prove their commitment to the group. I proposed that when newcomers are selected, their ideas will be more readily accepted regardless of race. On the other hand, when the group does not have a choice when selecting a new member, the race of the newcomer would still influence the perceptions of the newcomer.

This research project aimed to make several theoretical and practical contributions. As stated, this project contributed to research on both diversity and newcomer acceptance by providing the first in depth examination of the effects of race on newcomer receptivity. In doing so, it integrated these two literatures which have remained separate to date. This work also further examined the effects of race on trust, and how trust plays a significant role in the interactions between coworkers, and thereby integrated research on diversity with trust. The project can contribute practically by examining the barriers faced by minority newcomers and may help identify methods that can allow racial minorities to be more innovative within their new jobs or positions.

In what follows, I will first review the literature on newcomer acceptance, tracing its roots from research on minority influence research in social psychology to the present day focus on newcomer socialization in organizational psychology. I will then discuss the effects of race on organizational experiences and outline how race can affect the experiences of being a newcomer. My hypotheses were tested in three studies that together systematically examined the role of race and selection on newcomer acceptance. Study 1 focused on the main effects of race on knowledge utilization as well as the possible mediating processes through which race exerts its effects using an online study. Study 2 was also an online study that examined the impact of selection on the relationship of newcomer race and newcomer acceptance. Finally, Study 3 examined these factors in a controlled lab experiment, which detailed how established group members interacted with a newcomer who was either been selected by a group or assigned to them. In this experiment, the newcomer had knowledge that is necessary for the group to succeed. I examined the group's willingness to utilize the knowledge provided by the newcomer by evaluating the group's performance.

Chapter 2: Minority and Newcomer Influence

Groups and organizations are both consistently changing, as they must adapt to new circumstances and situations. One of the most consistent challenges faced by these groups is member turnover and the introduction of newcomers. From business to politics or academia, the cycle of exiting members and the acceptance of newcomers can be found in many contexts throughout history. Within the business world, newcomers are sought out not only to maintain a consistent number of members, but also to spur innovation by providing new perspectives. Indeed, organizations tend to desire newcomers due to their reputation of improving team performance and preventing groups from becoming too stagnant (Ployhart, 2006; Hansen & Levine, 2009).

Organizations are also interested in understanding newcomers due to nature of the workforce. Within the United States, the study of newcomers has become more important than ever, as data shows that employees are unlikely to stay in one job for the majority of their careers. In fact, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014), the median number of years that Americans stay with their current employer is only 4.6 years. Given this economic environment, it is imperative for organizations as well as psychologists to better understand how newcomers can become beneficial full members of a group or a team.

Fortunately, research has examined the experiences of newcomers for the past five decades. From newcomer socialization to newcomer acceptance, theories, studies and experiments have been produced examine these phenomena. Much of this research was borne out of work on the impact of minority influence, which sought to understand how numerical minorities could influence the group as a whole. This research, along with the work conducted by organizational psychologists focusing on newcomer socialization has been immensely valuable in examining how newcomers adjust and influence their teams and organizations.

However, the research has been tested largely on White Americans and has largely neglected to take racial differences into consideration. Research has shown that race can impact many experiences in the workplace, ranging from promotions to compensation (Proudford & Nkomo, 2006). It is very likely, therefore, that race could impact the experience of newcomers as well. Newcomer research has already shown that newcomers are treated differently based on their history with a group as well as how the

newcomer is expected to perform (Crano & Seyranian, 2009). Moreover, diversity researchers have discussed how stereotypes, prejudices and biases may create different environments for different groups (Ridgeway, 2001). Yet to date there has been no integration of the diversity and newcomer literatures.

Given the tendency of Americans to move to new jobs and the ever-growing diversity of the workforce, we can no longer ignore the potentially large effects of race on the experiences of newcomers. The present line of research plans to begin examining these theorized effects. By investigating the experiences of group members in situations where a newcomer is brought in, I will be able to investigate the effect that race has on newcomer acceptance. Specifically, I will see if White newcomers are more readily accepted than their Black counterparts and I will examine the mediating processes through which this occurs and also moderating variables that might enable racial minority newcomers to be more accepted. In order to better understand these potential mediators and moderators, I will discuss the history of newcomer socialization research, beginning with its roots in minority influence research.

Historical Foundations of Newcomer Socialization Research

As stated, research on newcomers emerged from work done on the role of minority influence. Throughout history, significant progress in academia, politics and civil rights has been made due to the efforts of certain minorities. While their views or ideas were often met with resistance, many were able to influence their peers despite being outnumbered. Many of these minorities have become historical household names: Galileo Galilei, Dr. John Snow and Martin Luther King Jr. Each of these people, as well as other famous minorities, were able to affect major change in their societies while overcoming the views and opinions of the majority.

Early Research on Minority Influence

Social psychologists have long noted that people or groups that attempt to influence the majority are often met with resistance. This phenomenon spurred scholars to ask the question, "How and when are minorities able to successfully influence the majority?" In psychology, this question was first examined by a French social psychologist, Serge Moscovici. At the time of his research, social psychology was still heavily focused on the role of majority influence (Crano & Seyranian, 2009). Famous research such as Asch's (1956) conformity studies were showing the weaknesses of groupthink and the dangers of conformity. While Asch showed that it was difficult to overcome the influence of the majority, Moscovici

wanted to know how minorities were able to change the views of their peers. He argued that in order for society to consistently change and develop, it is necessary for some people or groups to resist the pressure to always conform to the positions of the majority (Mosvovici & Faucheux, 1972).

Moscovici's seminal work on minority influence began in the late 1960s, where he was able to show that minorities with a consistent, unified message were able to influence those in a majority (Moscovici, Lage, & Naffrechoux, 1969). This was found using a color perception task that resembled several studies done on conformity and majority influence. In this version of the task, participants were asked to correctly identify the color of a slide in the presence of other participants. While the color was actually blue, a minority of the participants (who were confederates) in the room would consistently say the color was green. This led some of the participants to call the color green as well (Moscovici, Lage, & Naffrechoux, 1969). These studies, along with others like it, showed that minorities could be a potentially powerful force in changing the views of the majority.

After showing the plausibility of minority influence, researchers such as Moscovici began to focus more on the cognitive process that underlines the process. Moscovici's own contribution became one of the most famous and widely accepted. He called it *conversion theory*, wherein he theorized that members of the minority are able to change the views or opinions of the majority by consistently and effectively communicating their arguments. He named this process *conversion*. At the same time, the members of the majority often get others to conform by using their abilities to punish or reward those that follow them. This process was called *compliance*. Moscovici argued that whenever a minority attempts to convert members of the majority, they were met with pressures from the majority to comply with their views (Moscovici, 1980). This brought in a new wave of research on minority influence that showed that both majorities and minorities could influence the thoughts and behaviors of others.

By the late 1980s, research began to understand how these strategies impacted individuals on a cognitive level. Nemeth (1986) proposed a new theory, convergent-divergent theory, which stated that the exposure to persistent minority viewpoints leads individuals to think more complexly about the issue than majority influence or what she called "*divergent thinking*, which involves finding multiple novel solutions to a problem. By contrast, majority influence tends to stimulate "*convergent thinking*", meaning that individuals focus on finding one single solution to a problem.

In one test of the theory, groups of participants were shown a series of five slides with a string of five letters with the middle three letters in capitals. For example, tDOGe was one of the strings provided. Each participant was then asked to name the first three-letter word they saw after seeing the letter string for one second. All participants stated that the first word they noted was the three-letter word in capitals (i.e., dog). Participants in the majority influence condition were told that 3 of the 4 participants stated that the word they saw was formed by the backward sequencing of the capital letters (i.e. god), while one saw the word formed by forward sequencing (i.e. dog). However, in the minority influence condition, they were told the reverse, where one of the four utilized backwards sequencing (i.e., god) while three of the four utilized forward sequencing (i.e. dog). After this information, they were shown ten more letter strings and were asked to form all the words they could after viewing each letter string for 15 seconds. Nemeth found that those in the minority influence condition found more words overall, and were more likely to use forward sequencing, backward sequencing as well as mixed sequencing of letters. In the majority condition, participants were more likely to use backwards sequencing, without utilizing other strategies to find words. As a result, these participants found less words. Nemeth (1986) argued that since those in the majority influence condition had observed a popular strategy that had worked, they stuck to it. This demonstrated convergent thinking. On the other hand, those in the minority influence condition had seen one novel strategy and decided to see if there were other strategies to find words. This demonstrated divergent thinking. Nemeth (1986) argued that this demonstrated the usefulness of minority influence. Even if the minority is incorrect, they at least allow individuals to think of more solutions to a problem.

Research on Newcomer Socialization

While literature on minority influence was beginning to focus more on the cognitive processes of minority influence in the mid-1980s, other researchers began to focus more on newcomer socialization in the context of the lifecycles of groups (Levine, Choi, & Moreland, 2003; Levine & Choi, 2010). Groups are constantly changing as the relationships between members evolve. Group membership also undergoes changes as members leave and join. These issues inspired researchers to examine the experiences of newcomers as they enter groups. Louis (1980) was among the first to examine the interplay between newcomers and established members, and they focused on how newcomers build expectations of the groups they are entering and how they adapt to these met and unmet expectations. In this seminal work,

Louis described how newcomers could become disillusioned in their new, unfamiliar settings. This problem is exacerbated when the group does not live up to the high expectations of a newcomer. This situation is likely to occur and can lead to turnover among the newcomers or a process of sense making where they attempt to cope with these new experiences. For example, Wanous (1976) examined how individuals entering MBA programs and entry-level jobs faired when entering the organization. He found that if newcomers felt as though their schools or jobs were significantly different from what they expected, they developed negative perceptions of the organization and had higher intents to quit.

Moreland & Levine (1982) furthered studied the process of newcomers entering an organization and developed the *newcomer socialization model.* According to the model, groups introduce newcomers to their new roles while simultaneously evaluating the newcomers' position in the group. This process was formed through three steps, namely evaluation, commitment and role transition. The first step, *evaluation*, occurs when a newcomer first joins a group and they assess the group's ability to fulfill their needs. Likewise, the group assesses the newcomer in order to understand the newcomer's value to the group. As a result of the evaluation, the two parties may become more *committed* each other. When newcomers become more committed to the group, they accept the group's values and attempt to aid the group in achieving their goals. Similarly, group members begin to accept the newcomer's values, while attempting ensure the newcomer remains a member of the group. Thereafter, the group and the newcomers engage in *role transition,* where both parties reassess their position and the commitment may change between the parties. This creates a cycle of socialization, which allows the newcomer to become a full member.

Other research has likewise examined the processes through which newcomers come to influence the group and be a major source of innovation and creativity due to their ability to bring outside experiences and novel ideas (Crano & Seyranian, 2009). While much of the research on minority influence focused on how numerical minorities affect the cognitive dynamics of majority members, research on newcomer influence has focused more on the social dynamics of groups when newcomers attempt to assert themselves (Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme, & Blackstone, 1994). These social dynamics are key to understanding how newcomers are able to influence their group. Below, I will discuss the literature on newcomer acceptance, and detail the different factors that influence how groups treat newcomers.

Newcomer Acceptance

Scholars in newcomer socialization literature have focused heavily on the elements necessary for newcomer acceptance. In order for newcomers to be influential within their groups, established members must have a positive perception of the new members. Rink et al. (2013) posited that there were three components of the *group acceptance* of newcomers: Group reflection, psychological acceptance, and knowledge utilization. These three components shape how newcomers are treated and their ability to be influential in their groups.

The first component, *group reflection*, can occur even before a newcomer is introduced to the group. Rink and colleagues (2013) describe this component as the tendency of groups to revisit and reflect upon their group processes, strategies and mindsets when introduced to a newcomer. The mere presence of a newcomer can allow oldtimers to think differently about their past behaviors and mindset. During the socialization process, newcomers can impact groups by allowing them to reassess their established practices and relationships. Newcomers who aim to proactively socialize by learning about the group's history and establishing relationships can allow oldtimers to revisit their established practices and relationship with each other (Sutton & Louis, 1987; Feldman, 1994). For example, in their study of membership change and group creativity, Choi & Thompson (2005) assigned participants to either closed groups (where membership never changed) or open groups (where a new member replaced a group member midway through the study). By assessing how many creative ways the groups could categorize a list of fruit, the scholars found that open groups were more creative, even if the newcomer did not contribute any new ideas. Findings such as this study demonstrate that the mere presence of newcomers can lead to more creativity through the process of group reflection.

The next component of newcomer influence described by Rink and colleagues revolves around the ability of group members to perceive the newcomer as a full, trustworthy member of the group or what they termed *psychological acceptance*. When newcomers are accepted by the group, they are seen as full members and receive the same benefits as the members who entered the group before them. However, newcomers often experience more stress than established members due to a lack of comfort with other members, low status and power as well as anxiety about being accepted into the group (Levine & Moreland, 1999; Louis, 1980; Moreland & Levine, 1982). At the same time, groups are also hesitant to

accept newcomers due to their general distrust of them. For example, Cimino & Delton (2012) found that observers often believe that newcomers are not as trustworthy as oldtimers. In this experiment, the researchers asked participants to read about a fictional group of artic specialists who worked in an environment that required intense cooperation (e.g., climbing and hunting). Participants were asked to give their impressions of eight of these specialists who each had different levels of tenure. Compared to veterans of the group, newcomers were seen as less trustworthy, less competent, less entitled to benefits of group membership and more deserving of punishment in the event of negative behavior. These perceptions were apparent even when the participants had no other information about the group members besides the length of time they had been a group member.

The final component of newcomer influence described by Rink and colleagues is *knowledge utilization*. This is defined as the group's willingness to use the potentially novel information or experience of the newcomer. As noted, this can be a difficult process for the established group, as well as the newcomer, who may find it difficult to have their ideas accepted by the group. In a study illustrating this notion, Hornsey, Grice, Jetten, Paulsen & Callan (2007) showed how group members react differently to newcomers and oldtimers who are critical of the group. In their experiments, participants read scenarios that described a coworker expressing concerns about the group's workplace and profession. While critical, the coworker also made suggestions for what could be done in order to improve the group. The coworker was either a newcomer or someone who had been working for the company for nearly two decades. The researchers found that the participants were more receptive to the oldtimers, partially because they believed the oldtimers were more attached to the group. They also believed that oldtimers were more interested in the success of the group. These findings are consistent with other studies in the field that show that oldtimers often question the commitment of newcomers (Hornsey et al., 2007; Rink et al., 2013). This, along with their minority status, often leads newcomers to be marginalized within their group until they are perceived as full members.

Indeed, Rink et al. (2013)'s extensive meta-analysis of research publications from organizational psychology and organizational behavior showed that established members of groups often believe newcomers are less competent. In addition, they may also react negatively to the newcomer if they do not

approve of the newcomer's contributions.   Nevertheless, there are several ways in which newcomers can get their voices heard in their groups, which is discussed next.

Factors Affecting Newcomer Acceptance

Levine, Choi, & Moreland (2003) identified two conditions necessary for newcomers to influence their workgroup: (1) newcomers must create novel ideas and present them to the group and (2) oldtimers must be willing to accept and utilize these ideas. It was mentioned above that newcomers may be marginalized as group members, however, reviews of the literature show that this largely depends on the perceived characteristics and behaviors of the newcomers as well as the characteristics of the group itself (Rink et al., 2013). Below, I review research that examined the factors that impact the group's willingness to accept the ideas of newcomers. These factors include group characteristics, such as size of the group, their willingness to change, and the goals of the group. They also include the actions and characteristics of the newcomer, including their reputation, competence, and assertiveness.

Group characteristics that impact newcomer receptivity

Groups may have vastly different stances on *membership change*, as some groups are more resistant to turnover or unstable relationships (Ziller, Behringer, & Goodchilds, 1960). Aptly named "open" groups are characterized by high turnover and more unstable memberships, whereas "closed" groups experience less membership change and have generally stable relationships. Open groups work quickly and are more likely to accept new ideas, so it is unsurprising that newcomers are more likely to find success in these groups (Ziller, Behringer, & Goodchilds, 1960). Closed groups typically take longer to make decisions and focus more on socializing newcomers, which can lead their voices to be stifled.

The *size of the group* may also impact the effectiveness of a newcomer. Larger groups tend to have more resources and a more diverse membership, which both lead to an increase in innovation as well as a means to implement their ideas. However, they may also stifle innovation with more directed leadership than smaller groups (Brian, Symons, Hu, & Salas, 1989). Likewise, the group's desired size will also play a part. Groups that wish to expand will be more willing to retain new members, and as a result, might be more willing to be influenced by a newcomer (Cini, Moreland, & Levine, 1993). On the other hand, groups that wish to downsize will see newcomers as more expendable, and newcomers who are trying to make undesired changes will be under greater scrutiny (Ziller, Behringer, & Goodchilds, 1960).

Another important group characteristic is the *level of cohesion* between group members. Cohesive groups generally have lower turnover, stronger interpersonal relationships and greater pressures to conform (Levine, Moreland, & Ryan, 1998). These groups aim to reduce conflict and typically resist dissent. As a result, any form of influence led by minority influence is highly scrutinized and discouraged (Festinger, 1950). Being a newcomer may exacerbate this resistance, as they may not be considered full members of the group. If a newcomer is seen as a dissenting force who wishes to disrupt the cohesion of the group, they may incur strong backlash in order to separate them from the group or pressure them into assimilating in the group (Brian, Symons, Hu, & Salas, 1989).

Along with group cohesion, the *group's climate* can also determine the effectiveness of newcomers. Groups with clear objectives, expectations of creativity and supportive atmospheres are more likely to be influenced by a newcomer (West, 1990). However, groups have norms and climates that discourage dissent and creativity (Janis, 1982). Much like cohesive groups, these oldtimers will be less susceptible to minority influence, and newcomers will experience strong pressures to assimilate. In these situations, newcomers will not be able to make strong innovations.

The characteristics of the group have significant ramifications for the influence of newcomers. These groups provide environments that can help or hinder a group member's ability to be a change agent. However, the newcomer may behave in ways that will allow their voices to be heard. The newcomer must also balance their behavior with the expectations from the group and their assertiveness. While behavior will be a driving factor in this perception, group members will often make a judgment about a newcomer based on their characteristics and behaviors. I will now describe how these perceived characteristics can have a large impact on the group's willingness to receive newcomers.

Newcomer Behaviors and Perceptions

When attempting to influence oldtimers, newcomers have more success when their arguments are organized, well timed and appropriately presented (Moscovici, 1985). As a result, newcomers must be careful to balance their behavior so that they appear helpful as well as loyal to the group. However, the success of newcomers is not only determined by their behavior. The effectiveness of these behaviors is also strongly impacted by the how the group perceives the characteristics of the newcomers. These can either be the newcomer's ability, experience with the task or the group, or the newcomer's personality.

One of the most powerful characteristics is the *newcomer's competence*. Hansen and Levine (2009) found that if oldtimers view the newcomer as more competent, then they will be more willing to be influenced. These researchers found that participants were more willing to be influenced by a newcomer they found to be assertive and competent. Participants were asked to complete a computer based air-surveillance task for three rounds. After two rounds, a low-status team member was replaced by a newcomer (a confederate) who either behaved in an assertive or non-assertive manner. This team member suggested that the team adopt a new strategy. The competent and assertive newcomers were more likely to be received by the group.

Assertive newcomers who are *consistent with their proposals* typically have more success when attempting to influence group members (Jentsch & Smith-Jentsch, 2001). By communicating in an assertive manner, newcomers are able to express their ideas in a clear and direct manner without appearing too hostile or too passive. Moreover, their ability to do this is greatly bolstered when they have the support of oldtimers. When oldtimers voice their agreement with a newcomer, the views and ideas of the newcomer have a greater chance of being supported by the group (Wood et al., 1994). Newcomers also must properly time their attempts as well. When first entering a group, newcomers should be wary of trying to influence the group too quickly because oldtimers will be more likely to reject their suggestions and they may resent the newcomers' behavior (Hollander, 1960).

Newcomers can also use more risky tactics of employing punishment and reward conditions for their ideas (Levine & Kaarbo, 2001). To clarify, newcomers may inform oldtimers that they plan to sabotage or leave the group if their positions are not met. They may in turn say they will be more committed to the group if they get their way. While these tactics are potentially powerful, they could lead to significant backlash where oldtimers may resent the newcomer's behavior or attitude. In order to mitigate these risks, newcomers can get the support of oldtimers with high status or demonstrate their value to the group (Levine & Kaarbo, 2001).

When first joining a group, oldtimers assess the newcomers in order to determine the newcomers' *level of commitment* (Moreland & Levine, 1989). Newcomers who are not seen as committed will be ignored or marganizalized, so when attempting to influence group members they must show that they are motivated to help the group. When proposing their ideas to a group, newcomers must be able to employ

impression-management tactics to persuade oldtimers that they are competent and sincere in their attempts to aid the group (Levine & Kaarbo, 2001). When proposing, they must demonstrate that their ideas are sound and well researched, because they will be more heavily scrutinized than those of established members.

Newcomers are more influential when they are seen as being from the *same ingroup* as established oldtimers. Often, oldtimers are more willing to consider the thoughts and opinions of people that they feel they are similar to (Jackson, Stone, & Alvarez, 1992). If newcomers are perceived as too dissimilar, they will have a more difficult time being accepted as legitimate members. Unfortunately, newcomers can often fall victim to ingroup favoritism. Generally, people either implicitly or explicitly prefer the company and opinions of ingroup members (Otten & Wentura, 2001). In terms of newcomers, multiple scholars have found that newcomers have more success when influencing ingroup members rather than outgroup members (Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg, & Turner, 1990; Crano & Seyranian, 2009). This favoritism can begin even before the newcomer enters a group as oldtimers will likely seek out a similar person to be a group member. However, if an outgroup member does join a group, often they will be less effective and will unfortunately be marginalized.

The determination of belonging to an ingroup or outgroup is not simply limited to belonging to another work group or different organizations, as membership can also apply to social categories. This was outlined in Tajfel's famous social identity theory (S.I.T.) (Tajfel, 2010). The theory posits that individuals who are seen as belonging to different social categories (i.e. race or gender), will lead individuals to ingroup favoritism. While there has been little research on how this applies to different social groups, most scholars agree that this has a potentially strong affect (Clark & Maass, 1988; Ridgeway, 2001; Levine & Choi, 2010). Discrimination is common with ingroup favoritism, and group members can experience this regardless of status or tenure in their group. However, this is exacerbated for minorities and newcomers. Minorities who are also seen as social outgroup members may experience double the negative effects because they are marginalized within the group, but also in the broader social context of society. Oldtimers will view them not only as newcomers of lower social status, but also individuals who are fundamentally different (Clark & Maass, 1988).

As stated, the status of newcomers will have a large impact on how oldtimers view them. While their reputation may have been garnered through their history of work or information provided by a trusted source, newcomers may also be judged based on their personal characteristics, such as race and gender (Ridgeway, 2001). While people judge others based on their appearance or social status often, for minorities this could be particularly prevalent because oldtimers generally have less personal experience interacting with their new colleague or teammate. Social categories are often used when making initial judgments with little information (Healey & O'Brien, 2014). This line of research leads to the expectation that the experiences of newcomers will differ based on their race or other social categories. The present research will propose that race can have a large impact on the influential abilities of newcomers as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: The Impact of the Race of the Newcomer

The experience of racial minorities in the workplace has been extensively studied in the fields of social and organizational psychology. Researchers have examined how race can negatively affect access to social networks, quality of mentorship, assessment of performance, and salary and advancement (Ensher & Murphy, 1997; Avery, Lerman, & Volpone, 2010). Given the powerful effects of race on other workplace behaviors, one could expect that racial status could impact one's ability to influence others in workgroups.

This research aims to understand how race impacts how newcomers are able to influence their groups. Below, I will discuss how the additive effects of one's race and one's newcomer status can create problems for newcomer acceptance. I discuss how race can be a particularly strong factor in social influence because one's race can dictate one's social status. I will explain this further below by discussing research that shows how racial minorities are stereotyped to be less competent and less similar to their fellow group members. This perceived incompetence and dissimilarity may lead to lower competence and affective-based trust, which I expect will negatively affect knowledge utilization by racial minority newcomers.

Race and Social Influence

Individuals or groups need to be able to meet several requirements to influence their peers. They must appear to be competent and genuinely interested in what is best for their group (Nemeth, 1986). Newcomers may be able to change the way their peers perceive them by consistently performing well along demonstrating commitment to the group, which in turn will allow them to be a source of influence. However, racial minorities may have a more difficult time with being fully trusted by their group. This could be a result of racial minorities experiencing the combined negative consequences of being a new member as well as a racial minority.

In particular, the racial status of newcomers could compound the issues faced by newcomers because of the assumed status of newer group members. Newcomers are generally thought of as low status

members who will gain status and power through prolonged group membership and commitment to the group; however, this may be even more of a challenge for newcomers who are also racial minorities (Levine & Kaarbo, 2001). For decades, psychologists have explored the concept of being a double or outgroup minority (Tajfel, 2010). Beale (1970) proposed the idea of Black women as experiencing "double jeopardy" where they incur the additive penalties for being Black and female (Beale, 1970; Settles, 2006). While this concept has been applied to Black women, the intersectionality of being in multiple marginalized groups has been consistently shown to have additive effects (Shields, 2008; Monro, 2010; Simien, 2007). It may be possible for racial minorities to experience the negative effects of being a newcomer compounded with deleterious effects of racial discrimination and stereotyping.

The compound effect of race and newcomer status can influence the social standing of minority newcomers. One's race tends to have an impact on perceived status, as White men are assumed to be of higher status than their female and minority counterparts (Ridgeway, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). This difference in social status can have a large impact on social influence for several reasons. First, high status individuals may be less willing to be influenced by low status individuals because they do not wish to grant a low status individual the power of social influence. In addition, those in lower status positions tend to experience greater pressures to conform, and in turn are more likely to adhere to social norms (Kohn, 1977; Galinsky, Magee, Gruenfeld, Whitson, & Liljenquist, 2008, Bowles & Gelfand, 2010). Unfortunately, due to their double minority status, racial minorities may experience stronger pressures to conform, and may even incur harsher penalties for challenging group norms (Ridgeway, 2001; Bowles & Gelfand, 2010). These low status individuals may be thus less likely to provide innovative ideas due to their pressures to conform.

In addition to being perceived as low status, racial minorities may also be treated differently for their visible demographic differences. When information about a newcomer is scarce, group members may be more likely to rely on stereotypes or preconceived expectations (Fiske & Lee, 2008; Harrison, Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998). Harrison et al. (1998) found that groups who were diverse on a surface level (i.e. appearance, race or gender) suffered from poor cohesion. However, these effects dissipated over time as group members focused more on deep-level characteristics (i.e. beliefs and attitudes). Surface level diversity has since been examined in many contexts, and scholars have consistently found that time

moderates the effects of surface level diversity on group level cohesion (Phillips & Loyd, 2006). However, the effect of surface level diversity has not been examined in the context of minority newcomers. Before group members learn more about each other, they often base their opinions on readily available information, such as surface level attributes. For newcomers, these surface level attributes, such as race, may have a negative effect on their ability to influence their group members because they may be tied to negative expectations. Since newcomers are often judged on their surface-level attributes, this could likely have an effect on how they are received by their group. Below, I will discuss how minority newcomers' surface-level attributes and perceived low status can negatively affect how their group trusts them as well as utilizes their knowledge.

Hypotheses

As I discuss below, I propose that racial minorities will have a more difficult time getting groups members to utilize their knowledge. This relationship between newcomer's race and the group's willingness to accept their ideas can be partially explained by their trust in the newcomer. Groups may be hesitant to accept the novel ideas of a minority newcomer because they do not believe that minorities possess the same level of abilities as their majority counterparts.

Competence trust is defined as "the confidence in the abilities of another party to perform its share of workload in an exchange" (Lui, 2009, p. 334). In other words, it is the expectation that one has the knowledge and/or abilities to successfully complete a task or provide useful assistance. Competence trust is key when attempting to create a collaborative environment, because when one party has faith in another's abilities, they are more likely to successfully share information and learn from each other (Lui, 2009). In the context of newcomers, when oldtimers believe in the abilities of the new member, they will likely utilize the ideas of the newcomer. For racial minorities, they may not elicit the same level of competency trust as their majority counterparts due to lowered expectations and racial stereotypes.

For example, Blacks and Hispanics are often viewed as being less competent than others on academic or difficult tasks (Fiske, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Bobo & Johnson, 2000). Stereotypes such as these can lead to blatant discrimination as well as more subtle instances of differential treatment (Fiske & Lee, 2008). In addition, Biernat & Kobrynowciz (1997) found that participants held women and minorities to lower standards in terms of competence. The perceived competence of newcomers allows them to

influence their group. In the context of social influence, the lack of perceived competence can be particularly harmful because they can negatively impact group members' trust of newcomers' ideas. Since minority newcomers are expected to be less competent, group members will be less likely to trust their ability to create viable ideas.

In addition to trusting the competency of a minority member, oldtimers may be more concerned about the intentions and commitment of the racial minority newcomer, which pertains not to competence-based trust but to affective trust. This affective trust is defined as "the confidence one places in a partner on the basis of feelings generated by the level of care and concern the partner demonstrates" (Johnson & Grayson, 2005, pg. 501). In other words, affective trust is created by the belief that another individual has an intrinsic motivation to help the group succeed.   Affective trust is often developed over time and can be built through the newcomer's commitment to the group as well as behaviors that reinforce positive perceptions of the newcomer. However, one's trust in another can also be dictated by their group membership. As in many social situations, ingroup bias can impact how one is perceived and trusted. Unfortunately, individuals often view members of different groups with distrust, suspicion and animosity (Cox, 1993). The perceived dissimilarity between group members may have a strong deleterious effect on the affective trust placed in a newcomer.

Minority newcomers are particularly susceptible to being viewed as dissimilar to the established group members. As discussed, research on surface level diversity stresses that salient, visible differences between individuals such as race, gender and age can lead to poor group cohesion and decreased trust (Harrison, Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998; Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002). While over time these negative effects can dissipate, newcomers who are still building relationships with oldtimers will have to contend with these issues. Minorities may be particularly susceptible to this due to status issues as well. Due to the visibility and saliency of one's racial status, a minority newcomer may be seen as dissimilar to their group and as a consequence, less trustworthy at an affective level. Racial minorities, who will elicit less affective trust, will in turn have issues with contributing to the group. The mediating relationship between race, trust and knowledge utilization is modeled in Figure 1.

Hypothesis 1: Group members will be less willing to utilize the knowledge of racial minorities as compared to their White counterparts.

Hypothesis 2: This relationship between race and knowledge utilization will be partially mediated by the competence trust and affective trust of the newcomer.

Overview of Study 1

I will now discuss the first study in this research plan, which was aimed to examine the effects of race on newcomer knowledge utilization. I also investigated the mediating roles of competence and affective trust, and examining how they explain the relationship between race and newcomer knowledge utilization. Using online survey methodology, I examined how participants view racial minority newcomers when they attempt to influence their groups.

Chapter 4: The Impact of Race on Newcomer Acceptance (Study 1)

Method

Participants. Participants were recruited through Mechanical Turk panel service. The study invited citizens of the United States to participate by asking them to read the scenario and answering survey questions. As the aim of this study was to examine how racial minorities are viewed by members of the majority, the participants in this study will all be White. In addition, there may be gender effects that will affect the findings of these studies. Specifically, the gender composition of groups may affect how men and women interact with their fellow group members. Men and women may perceive a socially distinct newcomer differently depending if they are in a group with more members of the opposite sex. To avoid this issue, all the participants in this study were males. Although I have no hypotheses about gender in my theory, I explored whether it has any effects. In order to see what the appropriate number of participants would be, a power analysis was conducted. The results indicated that with a statistical power of .80, and a small effect size, 600 participants would be needed for the appropriate analysis. 600 White male participants were included in the study, but 25 needed to be dropped due to various issues including failure to completing the survey properly (e.g. every response was '1') and being able to guess the true nature of the study.

Design and Materials. This study was an online methodology where participants were led to believe they are interacting with other group members. In reality, the other individuals did not exist, and the survey was programmed to give timed chat messages to make the participant believe they are actually reading the responses of other people. The participants were asked to complete two tasks with two other "individuals", when they were led to believe that a newcomer joined the group. This was a 2 x 3 study where the race (Black, White, or not given) and gender (male, female or not given) of the newcomer was manipulated.

In the first task, participants completed a creativity task where they listed creative uses for a paper clip. In the second task, participants were asked to choose and discuss one item that they would use if the group were stranded on a remote island. The goal of these tasks was to build a sense of cohesion in the group as well as to ensure that they believed that they were working with other participants. The next task involved participants reading information about a fictional company, ACME Inc. Here, participants were

asked to choose a company for ACME to acquire. It appeared as though the original group members agreed, but the newcomer attempted to persuade them to use a different plan. Finally, the participants were told that there was one more task they had to complete, but the task required only three group members. Participants were asked to vote one member off the team. After this vote, they were told they were disconnected from the other participants, and they now had to complete a survey about their experience.

Procedure.

Part I: Introductions and Team Building

The first task was designed to build group cohesion and provide multiple examples of the teammates responding in realistic ways. This would allow participants to believe that they were actually interacting with other people who were trying to complete the tasks to the best of their abilities.

After completing the consent form, the participants read that they would be completing three tasks with the help of other people. They were first asked to answer a few questions about themselves including their name, race, gender, and the state where they were currently located. They were told that this information would be shown to the other participants who are currently logged on. The participants were asked to give their first name, their gender, their race and their current state of residence. After completing these questions, the participants were shown the answers of their fellow group members. Their first group member was a White man named Mike who was listed as being from Illinois. The other member was a white man named John who was listed as being from Texas. After viewing the profile of each of the other members, participants were told that they would be able to send an introductory message to the other members. The participant was then able to write a short message, and viewed the messages made by their fellow group members. Mike's message simply said "hey", and John's message was, "hi…hope we do well on this". In the control condition, participants did not see the names, race, gender nor the state of residence of the other group members. Instead, each participant was assigned a number (i.e. Participant #275, Participant #506 and Participant #112).

After reading the introductory messages, the participants were then told that their group members were to brainstorm about creative uses for a paperclip. This task would allow the participants build cohesion with the other group members, and further enhance the realism of the simulation by providing realistic responses to the task. After one minute, the participants had the opportunity to tell other

participants their ideas in the chat in a random order. John always went first, followed by Mike, and the participant was assigned to go third. John described his idea; after one minute, the Mike commented positively on John's idea and would provide his own. The participant then had one minute to message the group with another idea. The text of the first two messages read as follows:

John: hey, so I've used paperclips as extra keychains…like i keep a spare house key and just put it on a paperclip.

Mike: yea I like the keychain idea. I knew a guy who used a paperclip for a guitar pick. Idk how well it worked, but its creative lol

At this point, the participant was given one minute to write out their idea to show the other group members. After writing to the other group members, the participants were able to send a final message to the other participants about the task. They also saw final messages from their fellow group members. The messages read as follows:

John: these were all great ideas...you guys are good at this

Mike: I guess I need to buy more paperclips lol

Part II: Lost at Sea

After the participant viewed these messages, they read the instructions for the next task. The task featured a scenario developed by Knox (2009), about a group on a sinking yacht in the middle of the ocean. The boat has several items that could be useful for being lost at sea. The participants were told that they have to choose what they believe to be the most important item to take with them. The full scenario is included in Appendix A. Group members needed to select one item and explain why they made their choice to the others. Each of the fictitious participants presented an item with a well-reasoned explanation of their choice. As in the first task, the participants were told that would have the opportunity to tell other participants their ideas in the chat in a random order. Mike always went first, followed by the participant, and finally John always went third. After Mike gave their answer, the participant had one minute to explain their answer. Finally, after one minute John will gave their answer. The text of the messages read as follows:

Mike: I chose the rations, cuz we'll def need food

John: yea both your choices are good…i picked the mirror cuz we could reflect light like a signal

It should be noted that John's message would change depending on the participant's choice. John would usually pick the mirror; however, if the participant already chose the mirror, the survey was programmed to make John choose the water. John's response will show this change, and his message will read that he picked the water because water is necessary for survival. After reading John's message, the participants were told that each group member had the opportunity to make one final comment about the previous task. They also saw final messages from their fellow group members. The messages read as follows:

John: i think we'd make out well with our choices, good job team

Mike: let's hope we never actually get stranded lol

Part III: Introduction to the newcomer and the ACME task

The third portion of the study introduced the participants to a new member of the team and allowed them to work on a task together. The participants were told that the next task would require four people, and since there were only three people in the current group, a new participant would be added. The new group member was introduced in the same manner as the previous team members and worked on the ACME task with the team.

The participants were able to see the profile of the new member, just as they had seen the profiles of their current group member. The new member also sent an introductory message to the others. The newcomer was either a White man named Jacob, a Black man named Jamal, a White woman named Julia or a Black woman named Keisha. In the control condition, the participants did not see this profile, and were simply told that a fourth participant (labeled "Participant #640") would be joining the group for the next task. After reading the profile of the new member, the participant read the details of the final task.

Participants were told to read about a task where they assumed role of a member of the top management team at the fictional ACME Inc. They were asked to read about an investment plan that is being created by ACME. They were told that ACME is interested in acquiring one of three available companies. The management team needed to decide which company they would like to choose. Company A is an up and coming electronics company. Company B is a well-established energy company. Finally, Company C is an industrial production company. Given the information provided to the participant,

Company B would appear to be the correct answer because this company was the market leader and had the greatest chance to have a sizable return on the company's investment. The full scenario and information provided to the participant in Appendix B.

As in the previous tasks, the participants were told that they would explain their choice to the other group members in a random order. This time, the participant always went first, followed by Mike, then John, and finally the newcomer. The participant would choose one of the three options, and then had one minute to write an explanation for their decision. Mike and John always chose Company B, but the newcomer chose Company C. The messages read as follows:

Mike: b made the most sense. they dominate the market share in energy

John: yea i picked company b too. they have a high probability to return our

investment

Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia/Participant #4: i choose A actually. idk if B is better because my

info said that A has a better chance of return and B's growth in slates are declining.

After reading these exchanges, the participants were told that they have the opportunity to vote for their choice (either Company A, B or C). They were told that the vote was private and served as a way to measure whether or not the participant was convinced by the newcomer.

Part IV: Reactions to the newcomer

After this task was completed, participants were told that they needed to complete one final task. However, this next task requires that each group have only three members. As a result, the team would have to vote for one member of the group to leave. This member, when voted off, would be moved to another group to continue the study. The participant then had to choose which team member to vote off. This would serve as another way of measuring how much the participant accepted the newcomer. However, after the vote, the participant was shown an error message that said that they were disconnected from the group server. The participant was informed that they could still be compensated if they completed the survey about their experience in the study.

The survey asked participants to answer questions about their fellow group members. Finally, the participants completed three manipulation check questions, which asked the participants to correctly

indicate the race and gender of each of their fellow group members, as well as asking them what they thought the study was about.

Measures

Participants were asked to answer the following questions about each group member, including the newcomer.

Trust. An extensive review of the literature was conducted in order to find suitable measures of competence and affective trust. However, the measures in this literature would not be suitable for the present research. Often, measures on affective trust were based on more personal relationships that would not be appropriate for the present research. For example, a scale created by Yang, Mossholder & Peng (2009) was focused on affective trust in supervisors. Their measure contained items such as "I'm sure I could openly communicate my feelings to my supervisor", which could not be used for this study. Likewise, many competence trust measures were based on ongoing or longstanding relationships with group members. For example, in a measure developed by Mayer and Davis (1999), items such as "Top management has much knowledge about the work that needs to be done" were included. While this item may be appropriate in another context of measuring competence trust, it would not fit the present study, or studies 2 or 3.

As a result of insufficient scales for this study, a scale for was designed to better measure participants' competence and affective trust in the present study. The scales were developed based on how they were defined in this study. As stated, competence trust was defined as "the confidence in the abilities of another party to perform its share of workload in an exchange" (Lui, 2009, p. 334). The items designed to measured competence trust focused on asking the participants to identify their level of confidence with the newcomer's ability, as well as their grasp on the task that needed to be completed by the group. Likewise, the items measuring affective trust were based on the definition given by Johnson & Grayson (2005): "the confidence one places in a partner on the basis of feelings generated by the level of care and concern the partner demonstrates" (pg. 501). To fit this definition, the items developed for affective trust focused on asking the participants to demonstrate how much they believe the newcomer is committed to the group's success.

Factor analysis results (using Principal Axis factoring and Direct Oblimin rotation) are reported in Table 1. The results show that one distinct factor was extracted, as 10 of the 11 items loaded onto the same factor. This single factor accounted for 70.78% of the variance and had an Eigenvalue of 8.49. The single factor solution for this measure was unexpected, as it was theorized that there would be two types of trust: competence trust and affective trust. Accordingly, I averaged the items for an overall score of trust (α = .948). Each participant was asked to indicate how much he agreed with the following statements. Each item below is on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree):

1. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] respects the ideas and contributions of everyone in this group.
2. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] wants this group to succeed.
3. [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] is dedicated to the group's success.
4. I can count on [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] to help the group.
5. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] is committed to this group.
6. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] fits in well with this group.
7. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] is similar to my other group members.
8. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] has ideas that can benefit this group.
9. I feel confident about [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s knowledge of the situation.
10. [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] has the ability to help this group.
11. I do not think [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] can be trusted to make good decisions for the group. (reversed)

Group Acceptance. As stated, group members are more likely to utilize the knowledge of newcomer when they are accepted by the group. Participants were asked to answer the following questions about how well they accept each participant. This scale is adapted from Smith et al. (2012), and was shown to have acceptable reliability (α = .928). To investigate the number of factors present in this scale, a factor analysis using Principal Axis factoring and Direct Oblimin rotation was conducted. The results show that, as expected, one distinct factor was extracted, all of the items loading onto the same factor. This single factor accounted for 75.16% of the variance and had an Eigenvalue of 4.51. The full results are available in Table 2. Each question is on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree):

1. I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s opinions were valid.
2. I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s behavior was appropriate.
3. I feel as through [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s opinions were shared by the team.
4. I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] was a good team player.
5. I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] performed well as a teammate.

Knowledge Utilization. Knowledge Utilization was measured via several questions I developed about the choices made by the newcomer as well as a qualitative question about the newcomer:

1. Did anyone disagree with your initial choice?
   a. If so, please indicate how you feel about this group member.
   b. Did you change your mind after reading the response from this group member?
      i. If so, why?

Qualitative Responses. The responses from these questions were analyzed using Pennebaker's Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count Program (LIWC; Pennebaker, Francis & Booth, 2001). These responses served as exploratory, as there were no hypotheses surrounding these qualitative responses. LIWC is a computer program that calculates how often certain words are utilized in a portion of text. The words correspond to pre-defined categories that are present in the computer program. To date, LIWC has over 70 categories including psychological (e.g., positive and negative emotion), function words (e.g., pronouns) and words related to social categories (e.g., family, friends). I have included a complete list of categories and information on the reliability of LIWC measures in Table 3. As the qualitative analyses from this studies are exploratory, the results for LIWC analyses are available in Appendix G.

Demographics. The participants were asked to state their age, household income, employment status and highest level of education.

Manipulation check. Each participant was asked to recall the name, race, and gender of the newcomer. 20 participants were dropped for failing this manipulation check.

Suspicion check. After completing the study, each participant was asked "Do you have any comments about this study? Any feedback about the task or questions would be appreciated." If any participant remarked that they didn't believe RLK was a real company or if they showed that they believed that the newcomer was a research assistant, they were marked as suspicious or removed (N=3).

Results

Descriptive Statistics. The means, standard deviations and bivariate correlations for the demographic variables are available in Table 4. None of the demographic variables were correlated with the outcome variables.

Manipulation Check and Data Exclusion. Each participant was asked to recall the name, race, and gender of the newcomer. 20 participants answered these questions incorrectly. Furthermore, 5 participants were dropped from analysis for answering each question the same or writing gibberish for the qualitative responses. The data from these responses were subsequently removed from analyses.

Main Effects of Race. My first hypothesis posited that group members would be less willing to utilize the knowledge of racial minorities as compared to their White counterparts. I developed several

measures to study how participants would utilize the knowledge provided by the newcomers. The first was asking participants if they changed their mind after reading the reasoning provided by the newcomer. A logistic regression was performed to examine the relationship between newcomer race and the likelihood that participants would change their minds about which company ACME should acquire. The logistic regression model was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(2) = .476$, $p = .476$. The Wald criterion showed that compared to the control condition, neither the Black newcomers ($p = .381$) nor the White newcomers ($p = .257$) were more likely to change the minds of the participants. When running the analysis again using Black newcomers as the reference, the Wald criterion showed that White newcomers were not more likely to change the minds of the participants than Black newcomers ($p = .489$).

Hypothesis 2 stated that the relationship between newcomer race and knowledge utilization would be partially mediated by trust of the newcomer. Since there was no relationship between race and knowledge utilization, Hypothesis 2 cannot be supported. However, I still examined the relationship between race and trust. Results from regression analyses show that race did not impact trust ($F(1, 572) = .009$, $p = .923$). Compared to the control condition, neither the White newcomers ($t(575)=.507$, $p=.612$) nor the Black newcomers ($t(575)=.605$, $p=.612$) were trusted more. There was also no difference between Black newcomers and White newcomers ($t(575)=-.512$, $p=.609$).

Along with directly measuring trust, I also examined the effects of race to see whether participants would vote to remove the newcomer from the group. After completing the ACME task, participants were informed that they would have to vote to remove one member from their group in order to proceed. A logistic regression was performed to examine if the newcomer's race would influence the likelihood of the participant voting the newcomer out. The logistic regression model was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(2) = .264$, $p = .876$. The Wald criterion showed that compared to the control condition, neither the Black newcomers ($p = .607$) nor the White newcomers ($p = .818$) were more likely to be voted out of the group. When running the analysis again using Black newcomers as the reference, the Wald criterion showed that White newcomers were not more likely to be voted out of the group ($p = .742$).

Main Effects of Gender. While this study focuses on the race, it is entirely possible that gender could influence how participants receive the newcomer. The effect of newcomer gender on the participants' willingness to change their minds was examined using a logistic regression model. The model

was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(2) = 1.702$, p = .427. The Wald criterion showed that compared to the control condition, neither the female newcomers (p = .349) nor the male newcomers (p = .945) were more likely to change the minds of the participants. When running the analysis again using female newcomers as the reference, the Wald criterion showed that male newcomers were not more likely to change the minds of the participants than female newcomers (p = .224)

The effect of gender on trust was also examined using regression analysis. Results show that gender did not impact trust (F(1, 572) = .010, p = .921).   Compared to the control condition, neither male newcomers (t(575)=.216, p=.829) nor the female newcomers (t(575)=.896, p=.371) were trusted more. Results also showed that gender did not affect the participants' willingness to vote off the newcomer. The logistic regression model was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(2) = .682$, p = .711. The Wald criterion showed that compared to the control condition, neither the male newcomers (p = .417) nor the female newcomers (p = .650) were more likely to be voted out of the group. Running the analysis with female newcomers as a reference revealed that male newcomers were not more likely to be voted off than female ones (p = .712).

Interaction Effects. After examining the main effects of race and gender on the outcomes of interest, I turned my attention to the interaction of these predictors.   The results showed that there was no interaction between race and gender for the trust placed in the newcomer (F(1, 506) = .685, p =.603). Likewise, there was no interaction for the participants' willingness to change their minds about which company ACME should acquire (F(1, 506) = .803, p =.524). Lastly, race and gender did not interact to impact the likelihood of voting the newcomer out of the group (F(1, 506) = .208, p =.934).

Discussion

Study 1 did not provide support for either of the hypotheses investigated. The race of the newcomer did not have an impact on the participants' willingness to utilize the knowledge provided by the newcomer. Furthermore, there were no effects of newcomer race on trust. Likewise, there were no gender effects on either trust variable or knowledge utilization.

Surprisingly, the scale for trust only loaded on one factor. Though it was theorized that trust would be split between two dimensions, participant responses did not differentiate between affective trust

and competence trust. It's possible that the two dimensions were so closely linked that there would be no discernible difference when participants were answering the survey questions.

The lack of results in this study may be a result of the methodology. While the simulation was extensive, participants may not have felt truly connected to their fellow group members. The results of the manipulation check and the qualitative responses indicate that the large majority of participants believed that the simulation was a legitimate multi-user experience, but they may not have made real connections with other members. They may not have been able to form a true ingroup-outgroup distinction through the limited interactions with their simulated teammates. This could also extend to the race of the newcomer. With such an extensive methodology, participants may not have focused on the newcomer's race or gender.

The ACME task may also not have functioned well in this simulation. Without a true discussion, participants may not have been able judge the reasoning of the newcomer. Participants may have been less likely to want to change their minds without the opportunity to discuss their thoughts. With only 15% of participants changing their minds, it is unlikely that there would be any meaningful racial or gender differences. In retrospect, there was little opportunity for a newcomer to change the mind of the participants.

There was perhaps also not enough interaction to form opinions of trust. These limitations were addressed in studies 2 and 3, which gave participants more information about the newcomer and their opinions to form more complete opinions. The next studies also focus on the possibility that there could be another factor that could impact the relationship between newcomer race and trust, namely how they were selected into the group.

Chapter 5: The Role of Selection (Studies 2 & 3)

In the previous study, I proposed that race is a potentially powerful predictor of newcomer acceptance, and in the next studies, I proposed that there is a powerful moderator on this relationship. I posit that this moderator is the process of how newcomers are introduced to the group: either by selection or by assignment. In many situations, groups decide to introduce a new member who needs to fill an important role. These groups often undergo a process of recruiting new members and evaluating potential prospective newcomers through various processes (Levine & Moreland, 1999). While the recruitment and selection process can vary depending on the group, organization or industry, the goal of these processes is nearly always the same: find a newcomer who will be a positive addition. Through this selection process, group members may be able to have a more positive view of newcomers. However, when groups are assigned a new member, they do not have the opportunity to evaluate the newcomer before they enter the group. In these situations, the groups will be unsure or even weary of their new addition. The newcomers who have not been selected may be perceived as outgroup members who must prove themselves. With the absence of a selection process, oldtimers will not be familiar with the newcomer's attributes or attitudes, and may be wary of trusting an unknown quantity. Below, I will expand on this argument by explaining how selection can build trust in newcomers.

Selection and the Perception of the Newcomer

Established members may be more receptive of these new members if they underwent the selection process. As discussed, Rink and colleagues (2013) proposed three components of group receptivity: psychological acceptance, group reflection and knowledge utilization. It is possible that the selection process can influence each of these three components in various ways. Firstly, the selection process can have a direct impact on the group's ability to reflect. As part of the recruitment and selection process, the group or organization undergoes a period of assessment. The group is aiming to find a newcomer who fits in with the group and can fulfill a certain role (Kristof-Brown, 2000). Groups and organizations also undergo a selection process in order to assess potential newcomers who may be positive additions (Schneider, 1987). The chosen newcomers are often those that are seen as most qualified for the job by possessing the abilities necessary to aid the group. Therefore, groups assess their own needs as well as the role that needs to be filled by a new member.

As part of the process, groups and organizations are likely to select newcomers based on their job-relevant abilities and their personality traits (Kristof-Brown, 2000). This has been referred to as person-organization fit (how well their personalities will mesh with the established members) as well person-job fit (how well their skills and abilities will allow them to perform the job itself) (Bowen, Ledford, & Nathan, 1991). Groups desire newcomers who have the necessary skills and will be compatible with others. Through the selection process, newcomers may be seen as more competent and more compatible than those that were not selected.

Selection, which is often partially determined by the perceived similarity of the potential newcomer, allows established members to evaluate these individuals and determine that they will fit in the group. As a result, these groups may have a stronger sense of affective trust with the newcomer, which will then produce greater psychological acceptance of a newcomer. Established groups tend to prefer similar individuals, and this preference influences the selection process, as group members tend to choose newcomers who are similar to oldtimers (Kristof-Brown, 2000; Bowen, Ledford, & Nathan, 1991). This perceived similarity is important to the development of affective trust between newcomers and established members. When group members have mutual trust, they feel more connected to the group and view each other as full members.

I expected that the effect of selection on the perception of the newcomer may actually alleviate the effect of race on competence trust. As discussed, racial minority newcomers may be seen as less competent and more dissimilar to their other group members. While this can hinder the ability of newcomer minorities to be received positively, if they are selected to be in the group, they may be seen as competent, trustworthy individuals. When individuals have little information about newcomers, they may base their expectations on readily available information such as demographic differences (Phillips & Loyd, 2006). These surface level differences also prevent minority newcomers from gaining affective trust, due to their perceived dissimilarity. However, with the added information gained from a selection process, established members will likely have greater faith in the abilities and competence of chosen newcomers. They will also perceive a selected newcomer as more similar.

As shown in Figure 2, while race can have a direct negative effect on how much oldtimers trust the newcomers, selection can serve as a potential moderator. Minority newcomers who have been selected

may be seen as just as competent as their majority counterparts. In addition, the oldtimers will be more likely to trust that the newcomer is legitimately committed to the group's wellbeing. As a result of this trustworthiness, the oldtimers will be more willing to utilize the information, knowledge and skills provided by the newcomer.

Hypothesis 3: Selection will moderate the relationship between newcomer race and both competence and affective trust. When selected, there will be no racial differences in terms of competence trust and affective trust.

Hypothesis 4: As a result of the effect of selection on the relationships between race competence trust, and affective trust, there will be no racial differences in knowledge utilization.

More formally, I aimed to examine a moderated mediated model of the relationship wherein the effect of race on knowledge utilization as mediated by competence and affective trust will be moderated by selection or assignment of the newcomer to the group.

Overview of the Studies

I will now present two complementary studies that examined how selection moderates the impact of newcomer race on the utilization of newcomer knowledge. First, I discuss the study of the role of selection in these situations. This was explored in Study 2, which was a scenario based online study that benefitted from a simpler methodological approach from the dynamic, but flawed, simulation present in Study 1. Finally, I examined how selection and newcomer race impact the group's receptivity to the innovations of a new member in an actual laboratory study (Study 3).

Chapter 6: The Impact of Selection (Study 2)

While the purpose of Study 1 was to investigate the role of race in the evaluation of newcomers, Study 2 focused on the potential moderating factor of selection. As stated, newcomers may be assigned to an establish group, but there are situations where oldtimers are able to choose new members. The following study was an adaptation of Phillip's (2003) study on dissent. However, it was modified to examine the role of selection.

Method

Participants. Study 2 was also an online scenario study that recruits through Mechanical Turk's panel service. As in Study 1, all the participants were White men, as the study focuses on how racial minority newcomers are perceived by members of the majority. In order to see what the appropriate number of participants would be, a power analysis was conducted. The results indicated with a statistical power of .80, and a small effect size, 780 participants would be needed for the appropriate analysis. 780 participants were originally in the data, but 9 needed to be dropped due to various issues including not properly completing the survey (e.g. every response was '1') or failing to complete over two-thirds of the survey.

Design and Materials. As in Study 1, participants read about a situation where they and three other members of their group have been working on a project where they must decide which company their firm should acquire. While the project is going well with the group, they believe they need another member to help them with the heavy workload. The study was a 2 x 3 x 3 design where the race of the newcomer was manipulated along with how the newcomer entered the group. The factors included in this design were selection (two levels: selected or not selected), the race of the newcomer (three levels: Black, White or not mentioned) and the gender of the newcomer (three levels: male, female or not mentioned). In addition, as in Study 1, the gender composition of the groups may have a strong impact on the way participants view the newcomers. In the scenario, the newcomer was either be chosen by the group or assigned from their company. Before the newcomer arrives, the group discusses which company to acquire. The group is leaning towards targeting Company B, though they have not made a commitment. When the new member was brought up to speed, they suggest that they target Company A.

Procedure. After each participant provides consent, they were asked to read a version of the following scenario and consider how they would react if they were actually faced with the issue. Each participant read the following:

"You, an MBA, and two of your fellow colleagues are working as members of the board of directors at ACME Investments. ACME is planning to acquire one of three companies to make an investment. You are all committed to working on this investment plan and you have put in a lot of time. ACME is facing pressure to expand, so you need to be careful about choosing the right market to target."

"You and your group members have compiled information from each of the companies and have meet multiple times to discuss a number of issues surrounding the potential investment. After a few meetings, your group collectively concludes that you need a new member to help with the heavy workload. You inform your managers about this, and they agree.

[Selection condition] Your group is given a choice from three potential candidates, and you each agree to bring in the same person. They appear to have the most impressive background, and they have an extensive background that could be useful to the project.

[No selection condition] The managers in your company assign you a new group member to aid you with the project."

After the participants read the above passage, they were shown the profile of the new member, whose race and gender was manipulated. The newcomer was either a White man named Jacob, a Black man named Jamal, a White woman named Julia or a Black woman named Keisha. For those in the control condition, they did not see the name, ethnicity or gender of the newcomer. Each profile also showed additional information about the newcomer. Each newcomer was listed as being form Philadelphia, had been with the company for 5 years, had an MBA, and enjoyed biking and reading. After the participants viewed the profiles, they continued to read the following text:

"The new member joins your team and is quickly brought up to speed with the situation. After much research, you believe Company B is the best company to acquire because internal and external consultants believe that it has the greatest chance of having a return on investment. Company B also is the market leader and has an opportunity to grow as the years go on. Two others in your group agree with your opinion to target Company B, but [Jacob/Jamal/Keisha/Julia/the new member], disagrees with the

group and says you should target Company A instead. He/she argues that consultants He/she has

communicated with have told him/her that Company B is experiencing a massive internal shift and many of

the employees have left the company due to dissatisfaction with the management. He/she points out that

while Company B is the market leader, it has been steadily losing its market share for the past 5 years.

He/she suggests acquiring Company C instead because it is a growing company that has steadily increased

its presence in the market."

Measures

At this point, participants were asked to complete various measures outlined below.

Trust. The trust scale from Study 1 was also utilized in this study. While this scale only loaded

on one dimension in Study 1, I examined it in this study to see if there was a distinction made in Study 2.

The scale was reliable, with a Cronbach's alpha of .920. Factor analysis results (using Principal Axis

factoring and Direct Oblimin rotation) are reported in Table 5. Two distinct factors were extracted, with 8

of the 11 items loading onto one factor that seemed to capture competence trust, while 3 of the items loaded

onto another factor that seemed to capture affective trust. The first factor captured 57% of the variance and

had an eigenvalue of 6.84. The second factor captured 8.70% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of

1.04. While this may appear to be an acceptable two-factor solution, I wished to further examine the

legitimacy of the second factor. To decide the appropriate number of factors to retain, a parallel analysis

was conducted.

Parallel analysis has been shown to be an accurate method of determining factor retention

(Hayton, Allen, & Scarpello, 2004). The procedure involved the construction of 100 random data matrices

with the same sample size, number of variables and scale ranges as this sample data. The parallel

eigenvalues were drawn from random matrices and compared to the sample data. As suggested by Glorfeld

(1995), the eigenvalues from the sample data were compared with the 95th percentile value of the parallel

eigenvalues that were produced from the random data matrices. Only factors that have higher eigenvalues

than those from the randomly generated sample would be retained. The results showed that only one factor

should be retained (see Figure 3), which is consistent with the scree plot plateauing after the first factor.

The results of the parallel analysis, along with the high reliability of the scale (α=.920) point to this scale as

having a single factor solution. Participants were asked to answer the following questions. Each question is

on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree):

1. I believe [/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] has ideas that can benefit this group.
2. I feel confident about [/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s knowledge of the situation.
3. [/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] has the ability to help this group.
4. I do not think [/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] can be trusted to make good decisions for the group. (reversed)
5. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] wants this group to succeed.
6. [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] is dedicated to the group's success.
7. I can count on [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] to help the group.
8. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] is committed to this group.
9. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] fits in well with this group.
10. I believe [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] is similar to my other group members.

Knowledge Utilization. The participants were asked to indicate which business they believe

ACME should acquire. This would demonstrate how well they received the information provided by the

newcomer. A 4-item scale was also developed to investigate how willing they were to utilize the

knowledge provided by the newcomer. This initial scale did not have acceptable reliability (α=.192).

However, when one item was removed, ("To what extent would you like to have another meeting to discuss

your options?"), the Cronbach's alpha improved to .701. These questions were on a 7-point scale ranging

from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much).

1. To what extent do you agree with the reasoning of the newcomer?
2. To what extent would you like to hear more about their reasoning?
3. To what extent would you like to make your decision now, without further meetings?

As in the first study, the participants were also asked several qualitative questions that served as

exploratory questions that could provide more insight into their opinions of the newcomer:

1. Did you change your mind about which company to choose?
   If so, why?

2. Please indicate how you feel about [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia].

Demographics. The participants were asked to state their age, household income, employment

status and highest level of education.

Manipulation check. Each participant was asked to recall the name, race, and gender of the

newcomer. 12 participants forgot the name of the newcomer. 21 failed to recall the race and/or the gender

of the newcomer. The results were analyzed with and without these participants. Their removal did not

have any effects on the findings.

Suspicion check. After completing the study, each participant was asked "What do you think the

purpose of this study was?" Also, the qualitative responses of each participant were investigated to see if

they believed the simulation was real. If the responses indicated that they believed the study was about race or gender, or if they showed that they did not believe that the simulation, they were marked as suspicious. Their removal from the data did not affect the findings.

Results

Descriptive Statistics. Table 6 presents that means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for demographics and the outcome measures. Participant age correlated significantly with knowledge utilization (r(771)= .090, p=.013). Likewise, participant income was also significantly correlated to knowledge utilization (r(771)= .093, p =.010). When conducting analyses concerning these two outcome variables, I controlled for age and income. The results were the same for both sets of analyses, and the analyses presented below are those that were not controlled for age or income. Table 7 shows the means and standard deviations across race, gender and selection condition for trust and knowledge utilization

Main Effects of Race.

Race and Knowledge Utilization

Hypothesis 1 proposed that participants would be less willing to utilize the knowledge of racial minorities as compared to their White counterparts. To compare various levels of knowledge utilization, I developed several measures. The first was the knowledge utilization scale developed for this study. Results showed that participants were not more willing to utilize the knowledge of White newcomers (M = 4.73, SD = .852) than newcomers in the control condition (M = 4.69, SD = .841; t(771)= .447, p=.655). There was no difference between Black newcomers (M = 4.68, SD = .814) and newcomers in the control condition (t(773)= -.193, p=.847). The difference between Black newcomers and White newcomers was also not significant, (t(773)= -.797, p=.426). These results are summarized in Table 8.

Race and Participant Mind Change

The other knowledge utilization measured asked if participants changed their mind about which company ACME should acquire. Overall, 69% of participants in the control condition changed their minds, 64% of participants in the condition with a Black newcomer changed their mind, and 75% of the participants in the condition with a White newcomer changed their mind. Since this is a dichotomous outcome, a logistic regression analysis was conducted. Using the control condition as a reference, a test of

the full model against a constant only model was statistically significant. This showed that the newcomer's race reliably distinguished between participants who changed their mind and those that did not (chi square = 8.030, p = .018 with df = 2). The Wald criterion showed that compared to the control condition, neither the Black newcomers (p = .201) nor the White newcomers (p = .311) were more likely to change the minds of the participants. However, when running the analysis again using Black newcomers as the reference, the Wald criterion showed that White newcomers were more likely to change the minds of the participants (p = .005). These results are presented in Table 9.

Race and Trust

Utilizing regression analyses, results showed that White newcomers (M = 5.65, SD = .848) were trusted more than those in the control group (M = 5.46, SD = .839; t(752)= 2.28, p=.023). There was also a marginal difference between White and Black newcomers where Whites were trusted slightly more than Black newcomers (M = 5.53, SD = .732; t(752)= -1.77, p=.079), though the difference was not significant. There were no differences between Black newcomers and newcomers from the control group (t(749)= .860, p=.390). These results are presented in Table 8.

Main Effects of Gender.

Gender and Knowledge Utilization

I also examined potential gender effects on the knowledge utilization scale. The regression results showed that participants were not more likely to utilize the knowledge provided by those in the control condition (M = 4.69, SD = .841) than female newcomers (M = 4.69, SD = .895; t(771)= -.036, p=.972) or male newcomers (M = 4.72, SD = .769; t(771)= .286, p=.775). Likewise, there were no differences between male newcomers and female newcomers (t(771)= 1.09, p=.279). These results are presented in Table 8.

Gender and Participant Mind Change

There were no gender effects on the participants' willingness to change their minds (chi square = .297, p = .862 with df =2). Overall, 69% of participants in the control condition changed their minds, while 70% of participants in the condition with a female newcomer changed their mind, and 69% of the participants in the condition with a male newcomer changed their mind. Compared to the control

condition, neither men (p = .910) nor women (p = .750) were more likely to change the minds of the participants. There were also no differences between men and women (p = .593). (See Table 9)

Gender and Trust

After examining the effect of race on trust, I analyzed the effects of the newcomers' gender. Men (M = 5.58, SD = .684) were not trusted more than those in the control condition (M = 5.47, SD = .839; t(752)= 1.424, p=.155). Female newcomers (M = 5.60, SD = .894) were also not trusted more than those in the control condition (t(752)= 1.729, p=.084). There was no difference between male newcomers and female newcomers (t(749)= -.385, p=.700). The results are presented in Table 8.

Main Effects of Selection.

Selection and Knowledge Utilization.

Results showed that selection had no impact on knowledge utilization. Participants were no more receptive to newcomers who were selected by the group (M = 4.74, SD = .795) than those who were assigned to the group (M = 4.66, SD = .873; F(1, 768) = 1.707, p =.192).

Selection and Trust

There was no main effect of selection on trust. There were no differences between newcomers who were assigned to the group (M = 5.53, SD = .807) and newcomers who were selected by the group (M = 5.60, SD = .801; F(1, 749)= 1.519, p=.218).

Selection and Participant Mind Change

Selection did not impact whether or not participants changed their minds about which company to acquire (Wald = .212; p = .645). 69% of participants in the assignment condition changed their minds compared to 70% of participants from the selection condition.

Interaction Effects.

Knowledge Utilization

Results showed that there was an interaction between race and gender for the knowledge utilization scale (F(1, 604) = 4.242, p = .040). Participants were least likely to utilize the knowledge provided by the Black women (M = 4.59, SD = .901) than Black men (M = 4.76, SD = .714), White men

(M = 4.67, SD = .821) or White women (M = 4.79, SD = .880). (See Table 12 for full results). This is also visualized in Figure 4.

Two-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine possible interactions between selection and race on knowledge utilization. There was no interaction between selection and race on the knowledge utilization measure (F(2, 604) = .251, p =.778).

Two-way ANOVAs also showed that there was no interaction with selection and newcomer gender on the knowledge utilization scale (F(2, 774) = .563, p =.569). These results are presented in Table 10.

Participant Mind Change

There was no interaction for the participants' willingness to change their minds about which company ACME should acquire (F(1, 506) = .803, p =.524; see Table 11).

The interaction between race and selection for participants' willingness to change their minds was investigated using logistic regression (due to the dichotomous dependent variable. The results showed that there was no interaction (Wald = 2.468, p = .291; see Table 11 for full results).

Results from logistic regression also showed that there was no interaction between newcomer gender and selection on the participants' willingness to change their minds (Wald = 1.677, p =.432; see Table 11 for full results).

Trust

The results showed that there was no interaction between race and gender for the trust placed in the newcomer (F(1, 506) = .685, p =.603). Black men (M = 5.55, SD = .700), White men (M = 5.62, SD = .698), Black women (M = 5.53, SD = .795) and White women (M = 5.57, SD = .804) all received similar levels of trust from the participants. These results are available in Table 10.

Furthermore, Two-Way ANOVAs showed that there was no interaction between selection and race (F(2, 752)= .576, p=.563; see Table 10). Likewise, there was no interaction between selection and gender (F(2, 752)= .613, p=.542; see Table 10).

Discussion

Unlike the results from Study 1, several hypotheses were supported. Participants were more likely to utilize the knowledge of White as compared to Black newcomers (Hypothesis 1). However, there was no significant difference in trust between the White and Black newcomers, so hypothesis 2 was not supported. Furthermore, selection did not moderate the relationship between newcomer race and trust, and thus, both hypotheses 3 and 4 were not supported.

One reason why hypothesis 1 was supported in Study 2 as opposed to Study 1 may be the nature of the methodology. Study 1 was a significantly longer, more complex and more taxing study. Participants may experience greater fatigue or a lack of interest and race may not have been as salient as it was in Study 2. With this increased salience, it is s possible that participants felt more comfortable with a White newcomer as opposed to a Black newcomer. Through there were no significant differences in trust, it may be that participants experienced more ingroup bias, which would further support research showing that individuals are more likely to be influenced by members of their ingroup (Otten & Wentura, 2001). Put differently, the White newcomers may have benefitted from ingroup favoritism that made their reasoning more appealing.

One interesting finding was that participants indicated that they utilized the knowledge of the newcomers equally, regardless of their race. However, when it came time to make a decision based on the newcomer's suggestion, they were more likely to agree with the White newcomer. It is possible that participants may feel as though they value the opinions of outgroup members to the same extent as ingroup members, but their actions do not reflect this. It is also possible that the scale may capture the participants' acknowledgement that the newcomer may bring good information, but not necessarily enough for them to change their minds.

Contrary to what I proposed, selection did not serve as a moderator for the relationship between race and trust. Participants trusted the newcomers to the same extent regardless of whether the group selected them or if they were assigned to them. It is possible that the scenario nature of the study was simply not salient enough to impact their perceptions of the newcomer. After all, these participants were not actually choosing a newcomer, and as far as they were concerned, they were simply reading a situation that they had no control over anyway. This limitation was addressed in the final study.

Along with my hypotheses surrounding race, I also briefly discussed possible gender effects. I found no significant effect of gender on trust. Likewise, gender did not moderate the effects of race on trust. However, there was an interaction between race and gender on the participants' willingness to utilize knowledge provided by the newcomer. Specifically, participants were least receptive to the knowledge provided by the Black female newcomers. It is possible that Black women, who were different from the White male sample in terms of both race and gender, faced the strongest ingroup bias.

I asked participants to answer several open-ended questions, so that I could evaluate their responses in an open-ended nature. Using LIWC to analyze their usage of pronouns, positive and negative verbiage, I found some significant findings. When asked about their general reactions to the newcomer, those in the control condition were far more likely to utilize 3rd person plural pronouns. This is unsurprising given that these pronouns are useful for referring to someone whose name or gender you do not know (i.e. 'They made a good point', as opposed to 'He made a good point' or 'James made a good point.').

There were no such differences between participants reacting to Black newcomers and those reacting to White newcomers in the LIWC results. However, there was a racial difference when discussing why participants changed their minds. Participants were more likely to use 3rd person pronouns with Black newcomers when explaining why they changed their minds on which company to choose. This may be a result of participants viewing Black newcomers as outgroup members. This may support the notion that there is ingroup bias operating, though this needs to be verified in future research.

While this study provided interesting findings, there were limitations. The most pressing one would be the fact that it was an online scenario study. Instead of having the opportunity to truly be involved in a group setting and decision-making process, participants simply read about a hypothetical situation. While this methodology has been used in previous studies, I wanted to also include a study where participants would be able to operate in a group setting and interact with a real newcomer.

Chapter 7: Race, Selection and Knowledge Utilization (Study 3)

The final study was an investigation of the role of race and selection within a controlled environment. Study 3 aimed to create a scenario where participants were placed in groups where they either had the chance to select a newcomer or were assigned one. In addition, the groups needed to use the knowledge given by the newcomer to succeed. While each of the participants had valuable information for the situation, the newcomer's information was necessary for the group to select the best option.

Method

Participants. Study 3 was a lab study where three participants enter the lab at a time. The participants were all males from the University of Maryland, College Park. As previously discussed, gender composition could have major effects on how participants interact with others in their group. As a result, it was decided that all the group members would be of one gender. The confederates were also male. In order to see what the appropriate number of participants would be, a power analysis was conducted. The results indicated with an effect size of .20, 276 participants (92 groups of three) would be needed for the appropriate analysis.

The sample included 276 men from the University of Maryland, College Park, with a mean age of $M=20.51$, $SD=2.21$. The racial background of the sample was as follows: 67.05% Caucasian, 22.54% Asian, 2.31% Black/African-American, 3.47% Hispanic/Latino, 2.31% Multiracial, .58% Pacific Islander, and 1.73% other.

Design and Materials. Study 3 was a 2 x 2 (race by selection) lab study where participants were asked to enter the lab and complete a variety of tasks. Recruited participants were asked to sign up for the study along with 2 friends, in order to ensure that the groups would have a pre-existing bond. The study was designed to be an office simulation to enhance the realism of the situation. Each group was told that they would be taking the role of a management team, and that there were other roles being played in the simulation. Research assistants assumed the roles as secretaries/assistants, wore nametags, and dressed in professional clothing. The lab itself was designed to resemble an office space with signs by each room, decorations including nameplates and office supplies. Participants were required to complete several tasks that were presented as inbasket tasks that were all to be completed in the participants' work schedule that was provided by the research assistant.

The participants were told that they had three tasks to complete as a part of the study. The first task was based on Bailey & Alexander (1993), and required participants to assume the role as a manager in a consulting company where they would make various business decisions and explain why they made their choices. The second task was a group task where each member of the team would provide feedback on a team building exercise. This would reinforce the bond between group members and would also allow them to work together in this managerial simulation. The final task was the ACME task, where they worked with the confederate to decide which company ACME should acquire.

Procedure

When individuals entered the lab, they were taken to a room where they met the research assistants who informed them about the office simulation. Participants were told that the study was a collaboration between the University of Maryland, College Park, and a local fictional company named RLK consulting. Each participant was provided with information about RLK in the form of a printout from a fictional website, *The Insider Scoop*. The website was described as a site that reviews different companies in the Washington, D.C. area similar to *Glassdoor* or *SimplyHired* (found in Appendix C). The participants were told that the experiment was designed to study how participants behave in a professional setting, and as such, they would henceforth be referred to as a management team. Each participant was told that they would be receiving an office, which was a lab room adorned with office supplies, a computer and an inbasket that contained a schedule of their tasks. They were also told that there were other people working in the laboratory as other employees. These were other research assistants who appeared to be working on other professional tasks.

After the introduction, each participant was informed of their first task and escorted to their office. The first task required participants to complete three decision making scenarios where they would read about an organizational situation and decide the best course of action. There were no wrong answers, but the participants had to write down how they came to each decision. An example of the task can be found in Appendix D.

When each participant completed this first task, they were brought to a conference room where they were told about the next task on their schedule. They were told that their company had developed a team building exercise, and were looking for the managerial team to provide feedback. The exercise is

called "Common Uncommon" (Scannell & Scannell, 2010), and can be found in Appendix E. Each participant was given a sheet of paper and a pen or pencil. For ten minutes, team members discussed and wrote down everything they have in common. To make the list, the commonalities had to apply to everyone on the team and must have been something they could not identify by simply looking at each other (e.g. working at the same place, having the major, all living in the same apartment). Each group tried to list as much as they can in in the time given.

After completing Common Uncommon, the participants were told that about their final task. This task, adapted from McLeod et al. (1997), is a scenario where participants take the role of the board of directors at ACME Investments, Inc. In the scenario, ACME is interested in acquiring one of three companies, and the group must decide which company ACME should choose. At this point, the participants were told that their final task required a fourth participant.

They were told that there are currently three other participants working on individual projects in the lab, and one of these participants would become the fourth member. In the assignment condition, participants were told that the fourth member has been selected by the company, meaning officials who were overseeing the study decided to add the confederate to the group based on the confederates performance on other tasks. In the selection condition, the participants were told that they would choose one of the three other participants who are in the lab. They were informed that each of these participants had filled out an application explaining how they were qualified to join the management team and why they wanted to join the group. Out of the three applications, one explained how the applicant just wants to leave the lab. Another applicant explained that they do not really care about the task. Finally, the last application explained that the applicant is very enthusiastic about the task, and actually may be helpful because they minor in business administration. These are all available in Appendix F. The participants were told to read each of these paragraphs, and vote on who they want to be in the group based on the application. Participants voted privately by individually telling their choice to the research assistant, and the experimenter tallied their votes. The experimenter told the group that the majority of the participants chose the candidate that was eager about joining the team. Of the 129 participants in the selection condition, 89% chose the candidate that wanted to join the team. In every group, this application received the majority of votes.

Regardless of the condition, the newcomer was a confederate for the lab who was blind to the selection condition. The confederate was either a black male or a white male. The confederate entered the room with the participants and introduced himself. After this, the researcher gave the group the instructions to the task. Each participant received incomplete information about the three companies ACME wished to acquire, and the management team was assigned to rank the companies from most desirable to least desirable. The members of the team were given information about each company in the form of a packet and were given 10 minutes to read each packet in their respective offices. After they read the information, they were returned to the conference room to discuss their ideas. The information provided to the participants were designed to lead them to believe that Company B is the best investment, then Company A, and finally Company C as the least desirable choice. However, the confederate had the complete information of each business. The confederate's information revealed that Company A was actually the best investment, with Company C as the next best and Company B as the least desirable. In this situation, the confederate had a different opinion than the rest of the group. In addition, the confederate's information was accurate, meaning that the team members needed to agree with the newcomer in order to successfully complete the task. The full task instructions and information on each company are included in Appendix F. The confederates were both trained to really push for their opinion, and persistently attempted to get their group to rank the companies from A to C to B. The confederates also practiced together and ensured that their responses and behaviors were as similar to each other as possible.

Each discussion was audio recorded and the dialogue will be transcribed. Each group had 30 minutes to reach a consensus. The average time needed to reach a consensus was 13:29, with the quickest discussion being 3:57 and the longest discussion being 19:09. After one was reached, the groups informed the researcher about the rankings they chose for the companies. After the groups made their choice, they returned to their offices fill out a survey about each of their fellow participants. In this survey, participants indicated how close they felt to their friends in the group, and how much they trusted the newcomer. After completing this survey, the participants were debriefed. The environment and methodology was piloted with 10 groups who went through the entire process and were interviewed upon completion of the study.

Each of the groups indicated that the task was believable and that the simulation made the office appear to be a professional setting.

       Confederate Similarities and Training. As stated, each group of participants interacted with a confederate in order to complete the ACME task. Two confederates, one Black male and one White male, were chosen for this study. These confederates were chosen on the basis of their similar appearances, age and demeanor. Both confederates were 20 years old, were of similar height and similar weight.

       While the appearance of the confederates were similar, they needed to be trained in order behave similarly when completing the ACME task. Both confederates were given a false backstory that they were to use if the participants asked them about their participation in the study. If asked, the confederates told the participants that they were psychology majors who volunteered for the study because they were interested in a psychology study about business. The confederates were also extensively trained to discuss the ACME task in the exact same manner. The ACME task is designed so that all of the fictional companies have their own strengths and weaknesses. However, the confederates had information that often contradicts the information given the participants. The research team reviewed the information given to the participants and the confederate and highlighted each time the confederates' information on the companies contradicted the participants' information. The team then created talking points and counterpoints based on this information to give to the confederates. The confederates then worked together to create scripts for each of these discussion points. These scripts were memorized by the confederates and were designed to seem like natural speech and not rehearsed talking points.

       For example, for Company A – "Whiz-Bang Electronics", the participants have information from the packet saying that the company has very high labor costs that comprise a very large chunk of the company's operating budget. While these operating costs may seem to be a negative, the confederate's information goes into greater detail and reveals that these high labor costs cover a variety of training in business-related skills as well as fitness facilities and on-site child care. The confederates were trained to argue that the money spent on training would improve the management of the organization. Likewise, the fitness facilities and child-care centers would be more attractive to prospective employees and would bring in more qualified applicants.

A brief pilot study of 10 groups (5 with each confederate) was run in order to examine how alike the confederates seemed, and if groups would be suspicious of their true roles as confederates. None of the groups believed that the confederates were a part of the study and the confederates received similar ratings on friendliness and agreeableness.

Measures

Decision Quality:

As in McLeod et al. (1997), the group must listen to the newcomer in order to reach the correct decision for ACME. To evaluate the decision of the group, McLeod et al. (1997) created a six-level variable using correct order of the three companies. Specifically, Company A is superior to Company B, which in turn is superior to Company C (A > C > B). This variable is thus described by that logic. Groups that ranked the companies in the correct order (A > C > B) will receive a value of 6 on this variable. Groups that ranked the companies in the order A > B > C will receive a value of 5. Groups that place Company C first (C > A > B and C > B > A) will receive values of 4 and 3, respectively. Finally, groups that place Company B first (B > A > C and B > C > A) will receive values of 2 and 1, respectively.

Group Closeness. It is possible that groups that are closely linked may be more resistant to the addition of a newcomer. As this may vary from group to group, participants were asked to complete a measure of group closeness (taken from Beadnell, et al., 2007), which could serve as a control variable. The measure consists of 5 items that asks participants about their friendship with the group members that entered the lab with them. Participants were instructed to , "Think about the two friends that entered the lab with you today. Answer the following questions about these two individuals." The Cronbach's α for the scale was .795. Each question was on a 6 point response scale.

1. How often do you share your thoughts and feelings with your teammates?
2. How often do you and your teammates do fun things together outside of school?
3. How often do you and your teammates talk on the phone or via computer together?
4. How often do you tell your teammates things you don't tell others?
5. How close do you feel to the people in this group?

Trust. Participants were asked to answer the following questions about how much they trusted the confederate. The participants were asked, "For your final task today, a fourth member joined your group. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements pertaining to this new member." This scale demonstrated appropriate reliability with a Cronbach's α of .942. Factor analysis

results (utilizing principal axis factoring and direct Oblimin rotation) are reported in Table 1. The results

show that one factor was extracted, as 10 of the 11 items loaded together on the same factor. This factor

accounted for 69.59% of the variance, and had an Eigenvalue of 7.66.   Each question is on a 7-point scale

(1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree):

    1. I believe this person has ideas that can benefit this group.

    2. I feel confident about this person's knowledge of the situation.

    3. This person has the ability to help this group.

    4. I do not think this person can be trusted to make good decisions for the group.

    5. I believe this person respects the ideas and contributions of everyone in this group.

    6. I believe this person wants this group to succeed.

    7. This person is dedicated to the group's success.

    8. I can count on this person to help the group.

    9. I believe this person is committed to this group.

    10. I believe this person fits in well with this group.

    11. I believe this person is similar to my other group members.

Aggregation Process. For the trust measure, I utilized an additive composition model, meaning

that the group level constructs are a summation of the individual responses (Chan, 1998). This method of

aggregation was chosen because I had no theoretical expectation that the group would have the same

perceptions of the newcomer because the group members did not have a chance to come together and form

a collective evaluation of the newcomer (Schneider & Reichers, 1983). While each of the groups did

experience the same discussion, they may not have a shared view of the newcomer. An ANOVA with team

as the independent variable and the trust measure as a dependent variable was significant ($F(85, 173) = .64$,

$p =. 01$) with an ICC (1) value of .062, indicating significant differences in average trust scores between

teams. However, the reliability of the means (ICC(2)) value was low (.292) and the average within-unit

agreement (r_{wg}) was also low (.420).

Racial Composition of the Groups. The racial makeup of each group may have had an impact

on how much the newcomers were trusted, and how well they performed in the group. Racial minorities

entering a group with only White established members may have a more difficult time persuading the group because they are seen as an outgroup member to all members. Racial minorities may not have seen another person of color as an outgroup member, and may have trusted these newcomers more. As a result, the racial makeup of the group may impact the trust evaluations of the newcomer, as well as the performance of the group. The racial makeup of the groups was coded for having all White participants, or having groups with racial minorities (0 for all White, 1 for racial minorities). Of the 86 total groups, 37 contained solely White members. Each of the other 49 groups contained at least one racial minority.

Manipulation check. Each participant was asked to recall the name, race, and gender of the newcomer. All participants passed this manipulation check.

Suspicion check. After completing the study, each participant was asked, "Do you have any comments about this study? Any feedback about the task or questions would be appreciated." If any participant remarked that they didn't believe RLK was a real company or if they showed that they believed that the newcomer was a research assistant, the entire group was marked as suspicious or removed (N=3).

Task understanding. Before participants joined with the newcomer to discuss the ACME task as a group, they were asked to give a private rank order of the companies. The information given to each participant should lead them to believe that company A is the best choice and company B as the worst choice. Participants who did not privately rank the company in this order may not have understood the task. Furthermore, the group members needed to all agree about the ranking of the companies before the discussion so that the newcomer could be the sole dissenter. To clarify, if one participant agreed with the newcomer while the other two group members disagreed, then the group dynamic changes to that of "two vs. two" where there is no minority opinion. Of the 92 groups recruited for this study, 6 had to be dropped due to participants not understanding the ACME task. Their removal did not impact the results.

Technical Issues. Two groups do not have qualitative data due to technical issues with the audio recorder. These groups were excluded from all LIWC analyses, but were retained for all other analyses.

Results

Descriptive Statistics. The means, standard deviations and bivariate correlations for each measure are presented in Table 14. Group closeness was marginally negatively correlated with trust in the

newcomer (r(86) = -.193, p=.076). As mentioned, tighter knit groups may be more resistant to accepting a newcomer. However, none of the results changed after controlling for group closeness, so the analyses reported below were all conducted without controlling for group closeness.

Tests of Hypotheses.

Effect of Race and Selection on Group Performance. The main effects of both race and selection were examined using an ANOVA. These results are available in Table 15. Group performance was measured by the quality of the decision reached by the group. The only way that the group could reach a quality decision in this task was if they took the information from the minority newcomer into account. Results showed that there was a main effect of race on group performance (F(1, 86) = 7.586, p = .036). Groups were more likely to get the correct answer to the task when they had a White newcomer (M = 4.41, SD = 1.38) as compared to Black newcomers (M = 3.81, SD = 1.42). The data also showed that groups that selection had a main effect on group performance (F(1, 86) = 6.114, p = .016). The groups with a selected newcomer performed better (M = 4.46, SD = 1.26) than groups that were assigned a newcomer (M = 3.75, SD = 1.26). Examining the interaction between these two variables showed there was an interaction between race and selection on group performance (*F(1, 86)* = 6.716, *p* = .048; see Table 15).   Groups with White newcomers performed similarly well whether the newcomer was assigned (M = 4.35, SD = .258) or selected (M = 4.48, SD = .288). However, Black newcomers were selected, the group performed much better (M=4.44, SD = .304) than when the Black newcomer was assigned to the group (M=3.18). In other words, when participants selected the Black newcomers, the group utilized their information as much as they did with White newcomers. This is shown in Figure 5.

Effect of Race and Selection on Trust. The effects of race and selection on trust were examined with an ANOVA (results in Table 16). Results show that the race of the newcomer had no effect on the trust in the newcomer (*F(1, 86)* = 4.957, *p* = .571). Both White newcomers (M= 30.39, SD = 3.45) and Black newcomers (M= 30.69, SD = 3.77) received similar amounts of trust from the participants. However, selection did have a main effect on trust (F(1, 86) = 4.184, p = .044), as groups that selected newcomers (M= 31.36, SD = 3.43) had more trust in them than groups that were assigned newcomers (M= 29.61, SD = 4.33). There was no interaction between race and selection on trust (F(1, 86) = 1.049, p = .309).

The main effect of the racial composition of the groups on trust was also examined using an ANOVA. Results showed that racial composition did not have an impact on the how much trust was placed in the newcomer ($F(1, 86)$ = 2.483, p = .883). Groups with solely White members (M= 29.16, SD = 3.43) trusted the newcomers to the same extent as groups with racial minorities (M= 30.42, SD = 2.94). Furthermore, there was no interaction between the race of the newcomer and the racial composition of the group ($F(1, 86)$ = .009, p = .924.

Effect of Group Members' Race on Group Performance. The main effect of the racial composition on group performance of the groups was also examined using an ANOVA. Teams with at least one minority group member (M = 4.21, SD = 1.28) performed just as well as groups with only White members (M = 4.02, SD = 1.47; $F(1, 86)$ = .547, p = ..462). There was no interaction between the race of the newcomer and the racial composition of the group $F(1, 86)$ = .765, p = .384.

Discussion

The results showed that groups were less likely to utilize the knowledge of Black newcomers than White ones. As expected, these groups were less persuaded by the Black newcomers and thus performed worst on the ACME task. I proposed that this discrepancy in knowledge utilization would be due to group members trusting White newcomers more than Black newcomers. However, results show that this was not the case, as the newcomer's race was not related to trust. This suggests that there may be other mechanisms explaining why group members would be less likely to listen to a Black newcomer than a White newcomer. This reflects findings from Study 2, which found that while White newcomers were more likely to change the minds of the participants.

The racial differences on knowledge utilization may be more reflective of another form of ingroup bias or racial preferences that manifest themselves in different ways besides trust. While group members may place the same amount of trust in both Black and White newcomers, White newcomers may more easily persuade them. Previous research has shown that White men are more likely to be evaluated positively for being leaders and assertive (Rosette, Phillips, & Leonardelli, 2008). Perhaps this perceived authority aided the White newcomer when attempting to persuade the group.

It is possible that they viewed the Black newcomers as a less legitimate voice in the discussion and may have discounted their opinions. This perceived lack of legitimacy may have led them to believe that

an assertive Black male may be violating group norms by speaking out of line or attempting to be an authority figure when he did not earn or deserve the distinction. As another alternative, it is also possible that the Black confederate was actually less assertive during the discussion and that is what caused the differences in the utilization of their knowledge. While this possibility cannot be ruled out, the confederates were trained and calibrated to behave the certain way and present identical arguments to the group. Likewise, even if participants did behave differently, it does not explain the interaction between race and selection. If the Black newcomer consistently behaved differently from the White newcomer, he would receive similar ratings on the measures regardless of the selection condition.

While the hypotheses surrounding race and trust were not supported, selection significantly impacted the groups' view of the newcomer and the groups' performance. Selected newcomers received more trust than newcomers who were assigned to the group. Furthermore, groups were more likely to utilize the knowledge provided by selected newcomers. Selection also ameliorated the effect of newcomer race on knowledge utilization, such that group members were more likely to listen to selected newcomers regardless of race. As expected, group members who chose their newcomers were more trusting of them and more likely to be persuaded by them.

As proposed, selected newcomers may appear to be qualified and more connected to the group, leading them to be trusted more than assigned newcomers. This may alleviate any racial preferences by perceiving all selected newcomers as being equally qualified. However, selection did not moderate the effect of newcomer race on trust. This again points to the idea that there may be another factor that leads to group members' willingness to agree with a dissenting newcomer. While selection increases the amount of trust placed in a newcomer, trust was not the reason that selected newcomers were more successful in persuading their fellow group members.

Chapter 8: General Discussion

Taken together, the results from suggest that race can have an impact on the reception to newcomers. Though there were no effects in Study 1, participants in Studies 2 and 3 were more likely to change their minds due to the White as compared to Black newcomers' reasoning. Also, Study 3 provided support for selection being a potential moderator on the relationship between race and newcomer knowledge utilization. Newcomers who were selected were more likely to change the minds of the group members and were also trusted more. These findings show that group members who are familiar with newcomers' qualifications or skills may be more receptive to them, regardless of race.

The final two studies both found that Black newcomers are less successful at persuading established group members to change their minds. As discussed, this may be a result of ingroup biases or negative perceptions due to stereotyping. It was theorized that participants would be more willing to trust participants who were similar to them, but this was not supported. However, it is possible that other processes are mediating the effects of newcomer acceptance.

One possibility is ingroup bias. Study 3 found that participants placed the same amount of trust in newcomers regardless of race, but were still more accepting of the knowledge provided by the White newcomer. It is possible that ingroup bias manifests in other ways aside from trust. Participants may have felt the same amount of trust in either newcomer, but when it came down to make a decision, they felt more comfortable agreeing with the White newcomer. This may not be tied to trust, and may be tied to another outcome such as a bias to information given by another ingroup member. Participants may also feel as though ingroup members have a greater right to disagree with the group, and an outgroup member doing so may be violating the group's norms.

Also, results from Study 2 found that participants were least receptive of the knowledge provided by Black women. As the participants of this study were all White males, Black female newcomers differed from the sample in terms of race and gender. This may have created a situation where Black women were a type of double-outgroup that would be the least accepted of all the newcomers. However, there was no difference between Black women and the other newcomers in terms of trust.

Selection was also shown to be a powerful factor in accepting the newcomer, but only in Study 3. Findings from this study showed that selected newcomers were more likely persuade the group members.

Furthermore, when newcomers were selected, race no longer impacted how well newcomers persuaded their group members to change their minds. Group members that were able to choose their new group members were able to evaluate them versus other choices and possibly expected them to be well versed and qualified to discuss the topic at hand. This allowed them to be more receptive to the arguments made by the newcomer. This process may also have alleviated whatever ingroup biases exist when accepting a newcomer. Group members that understand that a new member can complete a task may be more receptive regardless of their race.

As stated, ingroup bias may explain why Black newcomers are initially less likely to persuade their group members than White newcomers. This bias may also explain why selection ameliorated the impact of newcomer race on the willingness to listen to the newcomer. When the newcomer was selected, participants may have been more likely to view them as members of the group. On the other hand, when newcomers were assigned, they may have still been regarded as outgroup members. Furthermore, being a perceived outgroup member was more damaging to Black newcomers. White newcomers, regardless of being selected, may have been seen as more legitimate sources of information. This implies that even White outgroup members can persuade groups. This may be explained by the perception that White newcomers had more authority to speak and provide meaningful information. This finding would be similar to that of Rosette, Leonardelli & Phillips (2006), who found that White men were more likely to be categorized as leaders in their organization. Due to perceptions of expected leadership, group members may have been more comfortable with following the arguments of a White newcomer than a Black newcomer.

Limitations

There were several key limitations to each of these studies that may be rectified in future research, and may have impacted the results. Firstly, the online format of the first two studies may have had a major impact on the findings. Study 1 was a complicated simulation that may have effectively properly engaged participants, but may have failed to effectively study the outcomes of interest. While the majority of participants in this study truly believed that they were interacting with other real people, this was the only study with no effects of race and gender on trust or knowledge utilization. It is possible that participants simply did not connect with the other participants to form group cohesion with their teammates. This could

create a situation where participants did not truly view the newcomer as a new member, and more so just another player in a game. This study recruited participants from Mechanical Turk, where people complete surveys or other tasks alone. The chance to interact with others and complete a series of simulated tasks may have been so markedly different from other available projects on Mechanical Turk that participants may have focused more on the format, and less on the dynamics of their group. Lastly, of the three studies, participants were least likely to change their minds in Study 1. The format of this study prevented participants from having in depth discussions about the task and it may have simply shown to be more difficult for any newcomer to change the minds of the participant, regardless of race or gender.

Study 2 also suffered from the lack of discussion with the participant. While participants were more likely to be persuaded by newcomers in this study, they may have been less invested in their choice. Study 2 was a scenario study, and participants simply read about the situation instead of having direct input. Also, the scenario in this study framed the issue as a group of MBA's discussing an important acquisition, which is a situation that the majority of participants are probably not familiar with. The idea that a well-educated and qualified newcomer has a different perspective on this complicated business issue may have been seen as acceptable and possibly more attractive to a sample of people who have not been in that situation. Likewise, the participants may have viewed all the newcomers as being equally qualified regardless of whether or not the group selected the newcomer.

The first two studies also were not able to create real groups, where the dynamics of outnumbering a newcomer would be more realistic. Study 3 rectified this by recruiting participants who were already friends with their fellow group members. However, Study 3 was not without its faults. Unlike studies 1 and 2, Study 3 did not investigate the role of gender as a factor. Previous research has outlined challenges women face when attempting to persuade men, and these may have become more apparent in a laboratory setting.

Another limitation that possibly impacted each of the three studies was the measurement of newcomer trust. The trust measure was originally designed to be two separate scales: one measuring affective trust, and another measuring competence trust. Factor analyses showed that all of the items loaded onto one factor, and should be combined into one single trust measure. This complicates the

findings, because it is difficult to discern how well the participants trusted the newcomers on an affective level or on the basis of the newcomers' competence.

As stated, there were no suitable trust measures in the literature, as established scales on affective trust and competence trust either focused on personal relationships or dealt with contexts that were not appropriate for the present research. As a result, a scale for affective and competence trust was created for this study. While the scale was shown to be reliable in each of the three studies, it may have had issues with validity. The items were designed to fit the scenarios developed for this research, but may not have properly captured how much the participants trusted the newcomers. The items were designed to assess the participants' confidence in the newcomer's cognitive abilities as well as the newcomer's affective commitment to the group. However, items such as "I believe the newcomer is similar to my other group members" and "I believe the newcomer fits in well with the group" may not capture the newcomer's commitment. The former item is more concerned with the newcomer's similarity with the group, and the latter item may capture how well the newcomer gets along with the group, but not necessarily their commitment to the group. These validity concerns may explain lack of findings with the trust measure, because it's possible that trust simply was not measured well.

This research may have an issue with generalizability, as each study focused on the differences the perceptions between Black newcomers and White newcomers. The experiences of these racial groups do not represent how all people are treated or perceived in the workplace. For example, Asian or Latino newcomers may have been perceived differently. As stated, newcomers may be judged based on preconceived stereotypes, and it's possible that group members would have different stereotypes for different racial groups. Asian newcomers may have been perceived as more trustworthy on the ACME task since it involved math and accounting, which are two topics that Asians are stereotyped to be proficient in. It is possible that different racial groups may get a boost in trust or acceptance if they are asked to complete a task that their race is stereotyped to perform well. If a racial group is stereotyped to perform a certain task poorly, then they may receive less trust. The stereotypes surrounding different tasks as well as the different stereotypes surrounding different racial groups should be studied further in future research. Unfortunately, the present study was not able to examine these variables, and as a result, the generalizability of this study is limited.

The present research shows that the act of selecting a newcomer may ameliorate racial biases when the newcomer has joined the group, but research on personnel selection has shown that is not without flaws. While in the present study, participants were not aware of the newcomer's race until they joined the team, in the real world, employees and selection committees are most likely aware of the person's race, gender and other demographic characteristics. Research shows that racial bias exists in many different aspects of the selection process, from testing to evaluations of applicants (Aguinis, Culpepper & Pierce, 2010; Giuliano, Levine & Leonard, 2007). These racial biases in personnel selection limit the generalizability of the study to different organizations. It's possible, however, that the results of this study could be more applicable to other social group aside from formal companies or work groups. Social groups such as fraternities, student work groups or other, less formal, groups may benefit more from this research. For these social groups, selection processes such as testing are not available, and there would be less opportunities for racial biases to hinder minorities from joining the group.

Future Directions

While these studies revealed some promising results, there are multiple related topics that could be explored in future research. As stated, gender was not studied in the laboratory setting, and this may be rectified in a future study. Future studies could focus more on why participants are more accepting of members of their own ingroup. While there has been extensive research on ingroup biases and their role in persuasion, there may be interesting ways that selection affects this relationship. Furthermore, these studies focused on White males, and it is possible that ingroup bias occurs for other groups as well. Research in the future could investigate if members of different races and genders are more accepting of others from their respective racial and gender groups.

This research could also be expanded to diverse types of tasks. All three studies were focused on the ACME task, which is concerned with a company looking to acquire another company for financial gain. In future research, other tasks that focus on things such as creativity, innovation or other valuable skills may be investigated. Since the ACME task had objective right and wrong responses, it would be interesting to see how newcomers would fare on a task with a more subjective focus.

Practical Implications

This research was aimed to investigate how minority newcomers would be treated in professional environments. The results show that racial minorities may be less persuasive when entering established groups. This may be due to ingroup bias, a lack of trust, a perceived lack of authority or a combination of all these factors. Unfortunately, this may hinder racial minorities from climbing through the ranks of their groups or organizations, and may prevent them from being received as leaders. Organizations must consider this when adding minorities to established groups, and may want to investigate ways to better allow newcomers to demonstrate their expertise and authority. While research shows that ingroup bias may dissipate over time, newcomers often provide innovative ideas and may be valuable sources of information and perspective that could aid established groups.

Organizations may also benefit with the knowledge that newcomers are better received when they are selected by group members that will be working with them. Selection may make newcomers appear more like experts, and this may allow them to be more persuasive. Furthermore, the act of selecting newcomers could reduce the amount of ingroup bias that may prevent minorities from being influential group members. As stated, however, the selection process at many organizations also suffer from racial biases. The results of this research add further motivation for organizations to eliminate these racial biases, given the potentially beneficial results of selection. Minority newcomers may benefit more from being perceived as well qualified experts because it may reduce the perceptions of negative stereotypes or lower expectations sometimes placed on minorities.

Conclusion

This dissertation advances the research on group dynamics, race and newcomer influence, while also providing several theoretical and practical contributions. Theoretically, the research examines the experiences of minority newcomers and adds the key moderator of selection as an explanation between racial identity and knowledge utilization. When minorities are selected, established group members may learn more about them besides their physical attributes (such as race or gender), and may facilitate the exchange of knowledge by reducing ingroup bias or other barriers to intergroup communication.

Tables

Table 1

Pattern Matrix for Study 1 Trust Measure Factor Analysis

Item

	Trust
I believe [the newcomer] has ideas that can benefit this group.	**0.893**
I believe [the newcomer] is competent.	**0.858**
I feel confident about [the newcomer]'s knowledge of the situation.	**0.837**
[The newcomer] has the ability to help this group.	**0.869**
I do not think [the newcomer] can be trusted to make good decisions for the group.	*0.137*
I believe [the newcomer] respects the ideas and contributions of everyone in this group	**0.865**
I believe [the newcomer] fits in well with this group.	**0.854**
I believe [the newcomer] is similar to my other group members.	**0.769**
I believe [the newcomer] wants this group to succeed.	**0.874**
[The newcomer] is dedicated to the group's success.	**0.903**
I can count on [the newcomer] to help the group.	**0.907**
I believe [the newcomer] is committed to this group.	**0.876**

Note. N=281. Bolded numbers indicate the highest loading for a given item. Italicized items are those that

did not load at more than .30 on a factor.

Table 2

Pattern Matrix for Study 1 Group Acceptance Measure Factor Analysis

Item

	Trust
I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s opinions were valid.	.875
I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s behavior was appropriate.	.767
I feel as through [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia]'s opinions were shared by the team.	.614
I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] was a good team player.	.928
I feel as though [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] performed well as a teammate.	.917
I believe that [John/Mike/Jamal/Jacob/Keisha/Julia] was committed to this group.	.909

Note. N=281. Bolded numbers indicate the highest loading for a given item. Italicized items are those that did not load at more than .30 on a factor.

Table 3

LIWC Categories and Psychometric Properties

Category	Abbrev	Examples	Words in category	Validity (judges)	Alpha: Binary/raw
Linguistic Processes					
Word count	wc				
words/sentence	wps				
Dictionary words	dic				
Words>6 letters	sixltr				
Total function words	funct		464		.97/.40
Total pronouns	pronoun	I, them, itself	116		.91/.38
Personal pronouns	ppron	I, them, her	70		.88/.20
1st pers singular	i	I, me, mine	12	.52	.62/.44
1st pers plural	we	We, us, our	12		.66/.47
2nd person	you	You, your, thou	20		.73/.34
3rd pers singular	shehe	She, her, him	17		.75/.52
3rd pers plural	they	They, their, they'd	10		.50/.36
Impersonal pronouns	ipron	It, it's, those	46		.78/.46
Articles	article	A, an, the	3		.14/.14
[Common verbs][a]	verb	Walk, went, see	383		.97/.42
Auxiliary verbs	auxverb	Am, will, have	144		.91/.23
Past tense [a]	past	Went, ran, had	145	.79	.94/.75
Present tense [a]	present	Is, does, hear	169		.91/.74
Future tense [a]	future	Will, gonna	48		.75/.02
Adverbs	adverb	Very, really, quickly	69		.84/.48
Prepositions	prep	To, with, above	60		.88/.35
Conjunctions	conj	And, but, whereas	28		.70/.21
Negations	negate	No, not, never	57		.80/.28
Quantifiers	quant	Few, many, much	89		.88/.12
Numbers	number	Second, thousand	34		.87/.61
Swear words	swear	Damn, piss, fuck	53		.65/.48
Psychological Processes					
Social processes[b]	social	Mate, talk, they, child	455		.97/.59
Family	family	Daughter, husband, aunt	64	.87	.81/.65
Friends	friend	Buddy, friend, neighbor	37	.70	.53/.12
Humans	human	Adult, baby, boy	61		.86/.26
Affective processes	affect	Happy, cried, abandon	915		.97/.36
Positive emotion	posemo	Love, nice, sweet	406	.41	.97/.40
Negative emotion	negemo	Hurt, ugly, nasty	499	.31	.97/.61
Anxiety	anx	Worried, fearful, nervous	91	.38	.89/.33
Anger	anger	Hate, kill, annoyed	184	.22	.92/.55
Sadness	sad	Crying, grief, sad	101	.07	.91/.45
Cognitive processes	cogmech	cause, know, ought	730		.97/.37
Insight	insight	think, know, consider	195		.94/.51
Causation	cause	because, effect, hence	108	.44	.88/.26
Discrepancy	discrep	should, would, could	76	.21	.80/.28
Tentative	tentat	maybe, perhaps, guess	155		.87/.13
Certainty	certain	always, never	83		.85/.29
Inhibition	inhib	block, constrain, stop	111		.91/.20
Inclusive	incl	And, with, include	18		.66/.32

"Words in category" refers to the number of different dictionary words that make up the variable category; "Validity judges" reflect the simple correlations between judges' ratings of the category with the LIWC variable (from Pennebaker & Francis, 1996). "Alphas" refer to the Cronbach alphas for the internal reliability of the specific words within each category. The binary alphas are computed on the occurrence/non-occurrence of each dictionary word whereas the raw or uncorrected alphas are based on the percentage of use of each of the category words within the texts. All alphas were computed on a sample of 2800 randomly selected text files from our language corpus.

The LIWC dictionary generally arranges categories hierachically. For example, all pronouns are included in the overarching category of function words. The category of pronouns is the sum of personal and impersonal pronouns. There are some exceptions to the hierarchy rules:

[a] Common verbs are not included in the function word category. Similarly, common verbs (as opposed to auxiliary verbs) that are tagged by verb tense are included in the past, present, and future tense categories but not in the overall function word categories.

[b] Social processes include a large group of words (originally used in LIWC2001) that denote social processes, including all non-first-person-singular personal pronouns as well as verbs that suggest human interaction (talking, sharing).

[c] Perceptual processes include the entire dictionary of the Qualia category (which is a separate dictionary), which includes multiple sensory and perceptual dimensions associated with the five senses.

Table 4

Study 1 Correlation Matrix

Measure	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Income	5.95	3.053	-					
2. Education	4.34	1.384	0.290**	-				
3. Age	34.55	10.174	.067	.064	-			
4. Trust	4.654	1.255	.041	-.003	-.025	-	.837	
5. Group Acceptance	4.862	1.366	.056	-.024	-.080	.940**	-	.948
6. Mind Change[a]	.07	.260	-.035	.050	-.068	.059	.044	-

Note. N=575. Cronbach's α values are displayed on the diagonal.

[a]Mind Change was coded as Didn't change mind = 0, Changed mind = 1

*p<.05. **p<.001.

Table 5

Pattern Matrix for Study 2 Trust Measure Factor Analysis

Item	*Trust*	*Similarit*
I believe [the newcomer] has ideas that can benefit this group.	**0.887**	-0.095
I believe [the newcomer] is competent.	**0.818**	-0.046
I feel confident about [the newcomer]'s knowledge of the situation.	**0.571**	0.204
[The newcomer] has the ability to help this group.	**0.806**	-0.004
I do not think [the newcomer] can be trusted to make good decisions for the group.	**0.447**	-0.052
I believe [the newcomer] respects the ideas and contributions of everyone in this group	0.356	**0.492**
I believe [the newcomer] fits in well with this group.	0.141	**0.731**
I believe [the newcomer] is similar to my other group members.	-0.053	**0.754**
I believe [the newcomer] wants this group to succeed.	**0.79**	0.005
[The newcomer] is dedicated to the group's success.	**0.76**	0.094
I can count on [the newcomer] to help the group.	**0.611**	0.251
I believe [the newcomer] is committed to this group.	**0.71**	0.16

Note. N=281. Bolded numbers indicate the highest loading for a given item. Italicized items are those that

did not load at more than .30 on any factor.

Table 6

Study 2 Correlation Matrix

Measure	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Age	35.54	11.099	-					
2. Education	4.13	1.335	0.060	-				
3. Income	5.66	2.89	.044	.282**	-			
4. Trust	5.57	.804	.041	-.072	.036	-		
5. Knowledge Utilization	4.70	.834	.013	-.005	.039	.643**	-	
6. Participant Mind Change[a]	.69	.462	.018	.025	.043	.385**	.494**	-

Note. N= 771.
[a]Mind changed by newcomer was coded as Yes=0, No=1
*p<.05. **p<.001.

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations for Trust and Knowledge Utilization of Newcomers in Study 2

DV	Race	Selection Condition	Mean	SD
Trust				
	Control	Assigned	5.48	.867
		Select	5.45	.817
		Total	5.46	.834
	Black	Assigned	5.49	.713
		Select	5.58	.751
		Total	5.53	.732
	White	Assigned	5.95	.870
		Select	5.70	.828
		Total	5.65	.848
Knowledge Utilization				
	Control	Assigned	4.62	.985
		Select	4.78	.682
		Total	4.69	.846
	Black	Assigned	4.62	.844
		Select	4.73	.744
		Total	4.68	.796
	White	Assigned	4.69	.860
		Select	4.75	.835
		Total	4.72	.846

Note. N= 771.

Table 8

Results of Regression Examining Effects of Race and Gender on Knowledge Utilization and Trust

				Race				
Participant Mind Change								
Predictor	t	p	β	F	df	p		Adj. R^2
Control Group as Reference								
				.327	(2,771)	.721		-.002
Black_Dummy	-.193	.847	-.009					
White_Dummy	.447	.655	.037					
White Newcomers as Reference								
				.327	(2, 773)	.721		-.002
Black_Dummy	-.797	.426	-.031					
Control_Dummy	-.447	.655	-.037					
Trust								
Predictor	t	p	β	F	df	p		Adj. R^2
Control Group as Reference								
				3.031	(2,752)	.049*		.005
Black_Dummy	.860	.390	.042					
White_Dummy	2.283	.023*	.037					
White Newcomers as Reference								
				3.031	(2,752)	.049*		.005
Black_Dummy	-1.76	.079	-.070					
Control_Dummy	-2.283	.023*	-.037					
				Gender				
Participant Mind Change								
Predictor	t	p	β	F	df	p		Adj. R^2
Control Group as Reference								
				.090	(2,771)	.090		-.002
Male_Dummy	.286	.775	.024					
Female_Dummy	-.036	.972	-.003					
Female Newcomers as Reference								
				.090	(2,771)	.090		-.002

	.400	.689	.027				
Male_Dummy	.400	.689	.027				
Control_Dummy	.036	.972	.003				

Trust

Predictor	t	p	β	F	df	p	Adj. R^2
Control Group as Reference							
				1.555	(2,752)	.212	.001
Male_Dummy	1.424	.155	.070				
Female_Dummy	1.729	.084	.085				
Female Newcomers as Reference							
				1.555	(2,752)	.212	.001
Male_Dummy	-.385	.700	-.015				
Control_Dummy	-1.729	.084	-.069				

Note. [†]$p<.10$. [*]$p<.05$. [**]$p<.001$.

Table 9

Results of Logistic Regression Examining Effects of Gender and Race on Participants Mind Change

Race								
Predictor		*β*	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*Sig*	*Exp (B)*	*Chi-Square.*
Control Group as Reference								8.03
	Black_Dummy	-.214	.212	1.026	1	.311	.807	
	White_Dummy	.279	.218	1.634	1	.201	1.322	
White Newcomers as Reference								
								8.03
	Black_Dummy	-.493	.175	7.932	1	.005	.611	
	Control_Dummy	-.279	.218	1.634	1	.201	.757	
Gender								
Predictor								
Control Group as Reference								
								.297
	Male_Dummy	.068	.215	.101	1	.750	.934	
	Female_Dummy	-.024	.213	.013	1	.910	.976	
Female Newcomers as Reference								
								.297
	Male_Dummy_	-.068	.215	.101	1	.750	.934	
	Control_Dummy	-.093	.173	.285	1	.593	.912	

Note. [†]$p<.10$. [*]$p<.05$. [**]$p<.001$.

Table 10

Interaction Effects of Newcomer Race and Gender.

Source	DV	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Race					
	Trust	1	2.051	3.247	.072
	Knowledge Utilization	1	.375	.557	.456
	Participant Mind Change	1	1.586	7.468	.006
Gender					
	Trust	1	.100	.159	.690
	Knowledge Utilization	1	.220	.327	.568
	Participant Mind Change	1	.031	.147	.702
Race x Gender					
	Trust	1	.100	.159	.643
	Knowledge Utilization	1	2.771	4.117	.043
	Participant Mind Change	1	.106	.497	.481

Table 11

Main Effects and Interactions of Race, Gender and Selection on Knowledge Utilization and Trust

Knowledge Utilization				
Race and Selection				
IV	*df*	*Mean Square*	F	Sig.
Selection	1	1.210	1.735	.188
Race	2	.236	.338	.713
Race x Selection	2	.175	.251	.778
Gender and Selection				
IV	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Selection	1	1.229	1.762	.185
Gender	2	.072	.103	.903
Gender x Selection	2	.393	.563	.569
Trust				
Race				
IV	*df*	*Mean Square*	F	Sig.
Selection	1	.377	.586	.444
Race	2	1.872	2.909	.055
Race x Selection	2	.370	.576	.563
Gender				
IV	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Selection	1	.410	.635	.426
Gender	2	.983	1.522	.219
Gender x Selection	2	.396	.613	.542

Note. N= 774

Table 12

Results of Logistic Regression Examining Effects of Race, Gender and Selection on Participants Mind Change

Predictor	β	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig	Exp (B)	Chi-Square.
Race							
							9.957
Race			3.459	2	.177		
Black	-.438	.316	1.926	1	.165	.645	
White	-.024	.324	.005	1	.941	.976	
Selection	-.465	.356	1.702	1	.192	.628	
Race * Selection			1.677	2	.432		
Black by Selection	.413	.427	.935	1	.334	1.512	
White by Selection	.567	.440	1.659	1	.198	1.764	
Gender							
Predictor	β	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig	Exp (B)	Chi-Square.
							.297
Gender			.777	2	.678		
Male	-.200	.320	.393	1	.531	.818	
Female	-.281	.319	.777	1	.378	.755	
Selection	-.465	.356	1.702	1	.192	.628	
Gender * Selection			2.468	2	.291		
Male by Selection	.323	.431	.562	1	.454	1.381	
Female by Selection	.662	.435	2.320	1	.128	1.939	

Note. [†]$p<.10$. [*]$p<.05$. [**]$p<.001$.

Note. N= 774

Table 13

Pattern Matrix for Study 3 Trust Measure Factor Analysis

Item	*Trust*
I believe [the newcomer] has ideas that can benefit this group.	**.921**
I feel confident about [the newcomer]'s knowledge of the situation.	**.913**
[The newcomer] has the ability to help this group.	**.895**
I do not think [the newcomer] can be trusted to make good decisions for the group.	**.950**
I believe [the newcomer] respects the ideas and contributions of everyone in this group	**.705**
I believe [the newcomer] fits in well with this group.	**.896**
I believe [the newcomer] is similar to my other group members.	**.917**
I believe [the newcomer] wants this group to succeed.	**.905**
[The newcomer] is dedicated to the group's success.	**.916**
I can count on [the newcomer] to help the group.	**.525**
I believe [the newcomer] is committed to this group.	-.076

Note. N=86. Bolded numbers indicate the highest loading for a given item. Italicized items are those that did not load at more than .30 on a factor.

Table 14

Study 3 Correlation Matrix

Measure	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Selection[a]	.51	.50	-				
2. Newcomer Race[b]	.53	.50	.105	-			
3. Group Closeness	13.05	1.05	-.134	-.012	-		
4. Trust	30.53	3.97	.221*	-.037	-.193	-	
5. Decision Quality	4.11	1.38	.265*	.245*	.080	-.044	-

Note. N= 258. (86 groups)
[a]Selection was coded as Assigned=0, Selected=1
[b]Newcomer Race was coded as Black=0, White=1
*p<.05. **p<.001.

Table 15

Main Effects and Interactions of Race and Selection on Group Performance and Trust

Group Performance				
IV	*df*	*Mean Square*	F	Sig.
Race	1	7.58	4.57	.036
Selection	1	10.15	6.11	.016
Race x Selection	1	6.72	4.04	.048
Trust				
IV	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Race	1	4.96	.323	.571
Selection	1	64.18	4.18	.044
Race x Selection	1	16.09	1.05	.309

Note. N= 86 groups

Figures
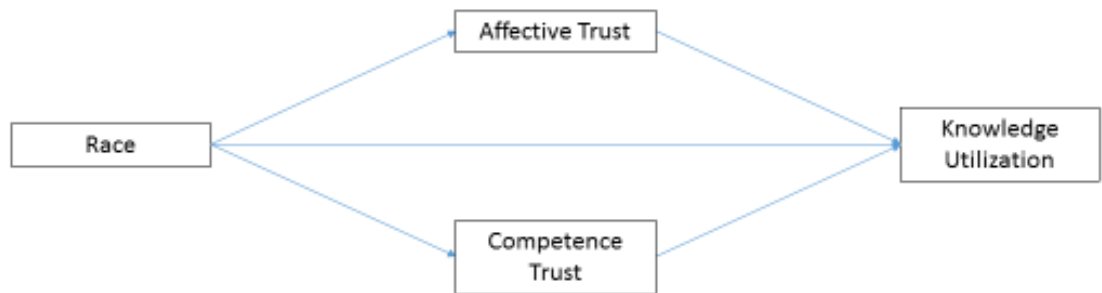
Figure 1. The mediating relationship between race, trust and knowledge utilization.
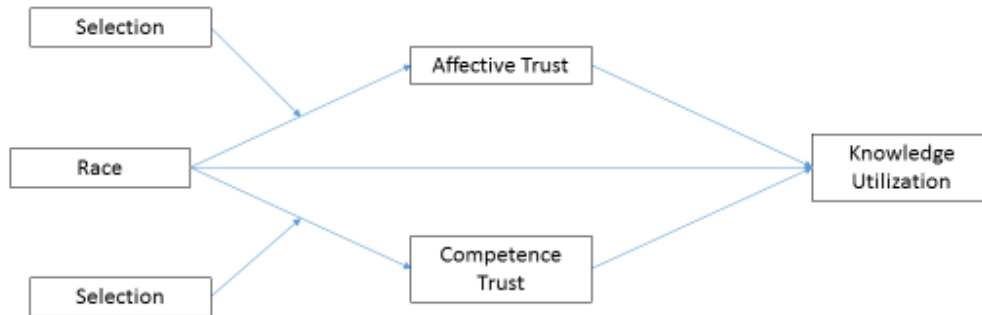
Figure 2. Selection as a moderator of the relationship between race and the trust variables.
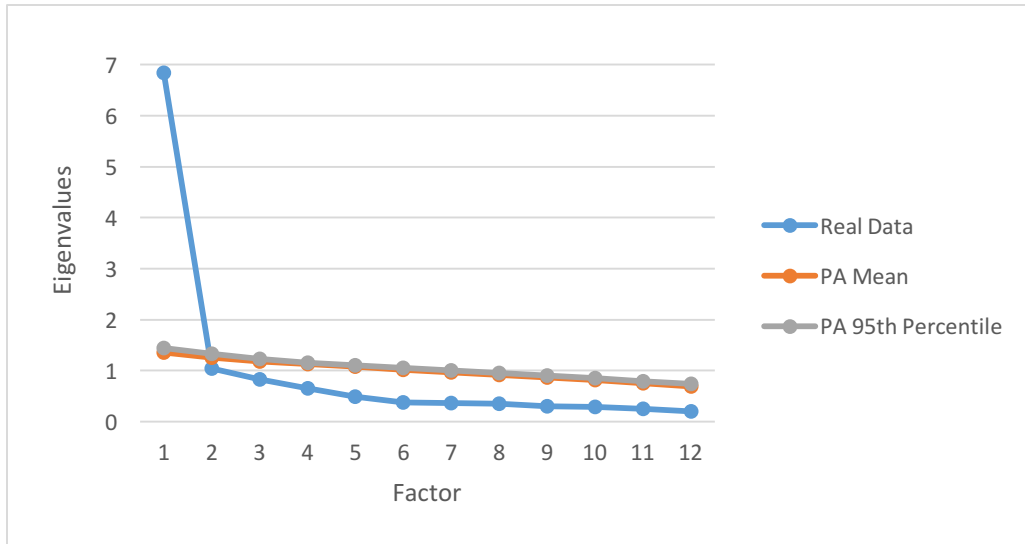
Figure 3. Plot of actual versus randomly generated eigenvalues.
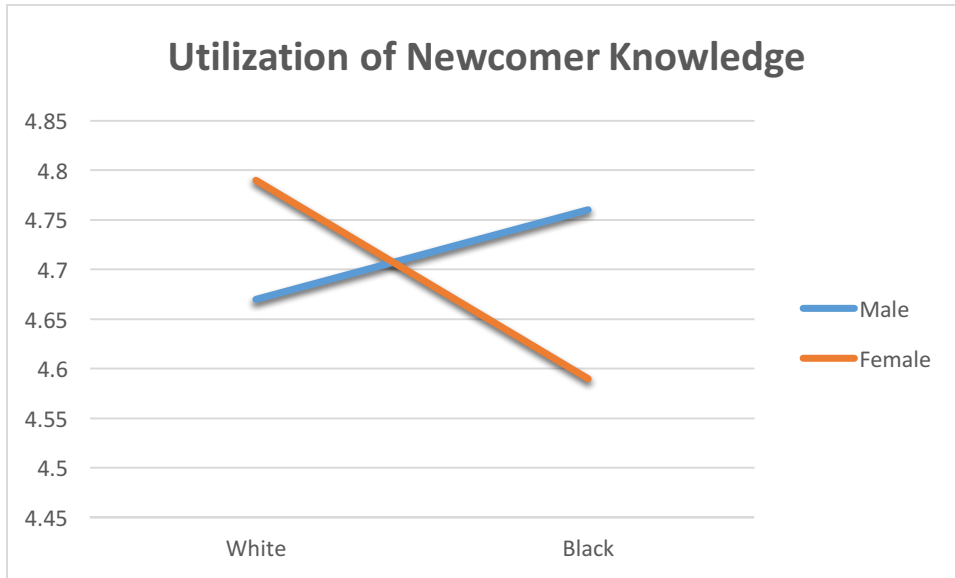
Figure 4. Interaction of race and gender on Study 2's knowledge utilization

measure

Figure 5. Interaction of Race and Selection on Group Performance

Appendices

Appendix A

Lost at Sea

You have chartered a yacht with your friends, for the holiday trip of a lifetime across the Atlantic Ocean. Because none of you have any previous sailing experience, you have hired an experienced skipper and two-person crew.

Unfortunately, in mid Atlantic a fierce fire breaks out in the ships galley and the skipper and crew have been lost whilst trying to fight the blaze. Much of the yacht is destroyed and is slowly sinking.

Your location is unclear because vital navigational and radio equipment have been damaged in the fire. Your best estimate is that you are many hundreds of miles from the nearest landfall.

As the ship sinks, you and your friends notice 15 items, undamaged and intact after the fire. In addition, you have can see a rubber life craft and a box of matches.

Each of you can grab one item to take with you on the life craft. Your task is to choose one item each and explain why you made your choice to your fellow group members. The items are listed below:

One Sextant	A small transistor radio
A shaving mirror sheeting	20 square feet of opaque plastic
Mosquito netting	A can of shark repellent
A 25-liter container of water	One bottle of 160 proof rum
A case of army rations	15 feet of nylon rope
Maps of the Atlantic Ocean	2 boxes of chocolate bars
A floating seat cushion	An ocean fishing kit & pole
A liter can of oil/petrol mixture	

Appendix B

ACME Task Materials

Instructions Provided to All Participants

Most companies make important investment decisions using a team approach. Your group here today represents the top management team of ACME ("Acquiring Companies Means Employment"), Inc. Your company has been presented with the opportunity to acquire three smaller companies. ACME has $100 million to invest, which will allow it to invest in only one of these companies. The Chairperson of the Board has appointed you to research the three companies and to recommend which one of them would be best for ACME.

There are a number of key factors that you should consider carefully in evaluating these companies.

- First, ACME prefers to invest in a company that will maximize wealth over the long term. Which of these companies has the most promising future? Therefore, you should consider the potential **return on your investment**.
- A second consideration is the likelihood of you actually getting that return, in the long run. That is, **how precise is the estimate and what is the probability that you will actually get this return?**
- Third, you should also consider the **growth potential of each company's market**. You would prefer to invest in a company that competes in a growing market.
- A fourth consideration is the **quality of the company's management team.** You would prefer to invest in companies whose management team can achieve the profitability you desire.
- Finally, you should judge each company's **general strategy and business policies**. Do they seem like policies that will lead the company to profitability in the future?

In order to help you evaluate these companies, your in-house financial analyst has researched each company. Further, you have retained the consulting services of Smith, Barney & Howe, a highly respected and successful investment consulting firm, also to analyze these three companies. The results appear in the reports contained in your information packets. You should review all of this information, and based upon it, come to a conclusion about which of these three companies would be the right acquisition for ACME.

The Chair of the Board wants each of you individually to submit your personal recommendation. After you have studied the material and recorded your personal recommendation (on the last page of this packet), you will decide as a team which of the three companies ACME should acquire. You are to rank order the three companies from most to least desirable. **At the end of this packet, you will be asked to enter your**

personal preliminary recommendation. However, you must reach consensus as a group on the top ranked company for the final decision.

Company A- Incomplete Information (provided to each participant)

"Whiz-Bang Electronics"

Industry: Industrial Electronics
Products: Electronic manufacturing control devices
Location: Metropol, California
Size: $50 million in sales; 200 employees
Age: Established 5 years ago

I. Financial

Your internal financial analyst estimates that the return on investment will be 15% annually over the next 10 years. Further, the analyst estimates that there is a 15% chance that ACME will have a zero return. The Smith, Barney & Howe consultants agree with the conclusions of your in-house analyst. Both analysts agree that there is a near certain probability that ACME will suffer a loss during the first year, and that you would not achieve any return until after that time. This company's growth in sales has been halting, hovering around 5% annually from the beginning.

II. Strategic

Whiz-Bang Electronics is young, and was founded by a group whose management experience was limited. The inexperience of the management team led to some early mistakes in marketing and distribution such that customer awareness of the products is low, and so are perceptions of service. Furthermore, the pricing structure is not suitable for their target customers. As a result, the company has been lagging in the market, averaging only a 6% market share. The company leadership has been trying to address these issues head-on.

III. Labor

Whiz-Bang Electronics has very high labor costs. It spends a lot of money on employee development, such as providing on-site fitness facilities. Their recruiting processes are drawn-out. These expenditures represent a very large chunk of the company's operating budget.

Company B- Incomplete Information (provided to each participant)

"Power Energy"

Industry: Energy
Products: Power for heavy manufacturing
Location: Bigtown, Texas
Size: $50.5 million in sales; 225 employees
Age: Established 25 years ago

I. Financial

Your internal financial analyst estimates that the return on your investment will be 25% annually over the next 10 years. This analyst believes the chances of you actually getting this return is 70%. Further, the analyst estimates that there is a 15% chance that ACME will double this return (thereby providing a 50% return). The Smith, Barney & Howe consultants estimated a lower rate of return than did your internal analyst, and they believed there would be a 30% chance of doubling their estimated return. Power Energy historically has experienced growth in sales averaging 10% annually. It experienced record growth of 15% five years ago. Last year's growth was 8%.

II. Strategic

Power Energy has been the market leader for over two decades. It dominates the market with 30% share. The company enjoys strong name recognition among the public. The current management team is responsible for moving this company to the top of its market.

The company has been involved in risky field of off-shore oil drilling and exploration, and has made significant profits. A recent problem, however, resulted in the company receiving a fine and being responsible for some clean-up costs.

III. Labor

Power Energy's labor force consists primarily of semi-skilled workers and engineers. The company has had the reputation of offering job security and generous compensation and benefit packages.

Company C- Information Provided to All Participants

"Quality Tool & Die"

Industry: Industrial Products
Products: Tool & Die for heavy manufacturing
Location: Midville, Indiana
Size: $50.2 million in sales; 175 employees
Age: Established 17 years ago

I. Financial

Your internal financial analyst estimates that the return on your investment will be 8% annually over the next 10 years. This analyst believes the chance of you actually getting this return is 60%. However, the analyst also estimates that there is a 20% chance that ACME will have zero return. The analysis indicates further that there is a near certain probability that you will suffer a loss during the first year, and that you would not achieve any return until after that time. The Smith, Barney & Howe consultants agree with your analyst's conclusions. Growth in sales has been averaging around 6% annually.

II. Strategic

Quality Tool & Die is in a mature industry with very little change forecasted for the foreseeable future. They have managed to maintain their 12% market share in an environment which is expected to remain in a competitive equilibrium in the near future. Their management team is solid and respectable. They have not been known to make any major mistakes, nor have they contributed major innovations to their industry.

III. Labor

Their labor force is composed mostly of unskilled workers employed in assembly line jobs who receive their training on-the-job. The company's labor turnover has been low.

Appendix C

RLK Information

RLK Consulting

We are a boutique human capital consultancy firm specializing in senior level executive search.

Our core sectors of expertise are professional services, financial services markets, technology and outsourcing.

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Company Overview   About   Contact   Information   Salaries   Reviews of RLK

About

RLK Consulting

Since our inception, RLK has been totally focused on building a strategic, quality search practice.

RLK Consulting is a midsized Consulting agency that specializes in product promotion. The company was founded in 1985 when the first office was opened in Washington, D.C. While the company has remained local, we have since opened offices in Baltimore, MD, Arlington, VA and most recently in Chevy Chase, MD. The company began as a team of 20 consultants but by the mid-1990s it reached the current size of over 400 employees. Although RLK Consulting accepts promotion projects that span a diverse range of industries, the company specializes in the promotion of Quick service (fast food) companies and consumable commodities. All employees of RLK work in one of four departments. Each department primarily handles projects falling into only one of these four categories. RLK Consulting also gives back to the community by offering pro-bono services to some nonprofit organizations. Roughly 5% of the company's projects are dedicated to pro-bono work.

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f in ⅴ

"We are always pleased to hear from high-calibre individuals, although we would stress that we are executive headhunters and not a high-volume recruitment agency."

Notable Clients

Clients

Quick Service Industries:
Point Chaud
Ben's Chili Bowl

Casual Dining Industries:
The 19th Bar & Restaurant
Rogue States
Arthur Treacher's Fish & Chips

Consumable Products:
UTZ of Hanover
Deer Park

Departmental Breakdown

Search

Department	Number of Vice Pres.	Number of Directors	Number of Managers	Number of Senior Assoc.	Number of Assoc.	Number of Admin. Assists.	Total
Strategy	1	2	27	45	88	34	197
Organization	1	2	17	28	54	21	123
Technology	1	2	8	11	26	9	57
Operations	1	2	8	11	24	8	54

Appendix D

Example of Organizational Decision Making Task:

FROM: foley@RLKConsult.com
RE: Hiring Decision

As you may know, one of the associates in our group had to resign last month because of medical problems. Due to the high volume of business our group has been handling recently, we need to fill the position immediately. Human resources has sent me the resumes of 72 applicants for the position. Due to the tight economy, it seems that we have an abundance of highly qualified applicants. We do not have time to interview all of these candidates. Realistically, we can only interview 20 people if we want to fill the position within the month. In determining which of these candidates will receive interviews we need to decide whether we want to emphasize either performance in business school or past experience in the consulting industry. Please let me know which strategy you recommend.

J. Foley, Senior Associate

I MUST NOW CHOOSE BETWEEN THE FOLLOWING TWO OPTIONS:

- I believe that individuals with a lot of experience in the field have a wider source of knowledge about the industry and know more about the day-to-day life of a consultant. We want to hire people that will be able to hit the ground running. It is my opinion that experience is the key to success as a consultant. I will recommend that we emphasize experience over performance in business school when ranking the candidates.

- I believe that performance in business school is the best indication of pure intellect. While experience helps to develop a consultant, intelligence is what determines a consultant's ultimate success. It is my opinion that in the long run the candidates who were the most successful in business school will make the best consultants. I will recommend that we emphasize performance in business school over experience when ranking the candidates.

- In a few sentences, explain why you made your choice:

Appendix E

Common Uncommon

Common Uncommon

OBJECTIVES
- To discover the ways in which we are similar to and different from other team members
- To begin the process of building trust within the team

Group Size
Any
Materials
Paper, pens, or pencils
Time
10 to 20 minutes

Procedure

Split large groups into teams of five to eight people. Give each team a sheet of paper and a pen or pencil. For the first part of the activity, team members find out and write down what they have in common. To make the list, the commonalities must apply to everyone on the team and must be something you could not identify by simply looking at them (we all work at the same place, we all have brown hair, we are all wearing shoes). After five minutes, have someone from each team read their list.

If working with a large group, for the second part of the activity, you can either have half of each smaller team rotate to another team or have participants remain in their original teams. On the back side of the paper,

have the team write down what is unique about each team member. That would be something that applies to only one team member (again, going beyond the superficial). Challenge teams to discover at least two things for each person. After seven minutes, have each person say one of the ways in which they are unique.

This is an excellent activity for conflict resolution as it builds awareness that team members have more in common than they may realize. The discovery and recognition of each other's unique characteristics is beneficial as knowledge that we all have something different to offer the team.

Variations

Have participants partner with someone they don't know and discover something they have in common that is not visible. This technique can be used over and over again.

Discussion Questions

1. Were you surprised at how many things you had in common?
2. How does this promote unity on the team?
3. How does discovering commonalities benefit the relationships within the team?
4. How does an awareness of our unique characteristics benefit the relationships within the team?
5. What are some other benefits to the team?
6. How does this influence the level of trust in each other?
7. How does this impact our ability to communicate effectively and resolve conflicts?

Appendix F

RLK CONSULTING
Employment Application

NOTE: The "applicant information" section will be identical for each application. However, each "employment questionnaire" section will have different responses.

Applicant Information							
Position Applied for	Director						
Are you a citizen of the United States?	YES ☐	NO ☐	If no, are you authorized to work in the U.S.?		YES ☐		NO ☐
Have you ever worked for this company?	YES ☐	NO ☐	If so, when?				
Have you ever been convicted of a felony?	YES ☐	NO ☐	If yes, explain				

Questionnaire from Candidate #1.

Employment Questionnaire:
• What are your key strengths?
I am a big people person. I have a lot of friends and always work well with others. I also can deal with change easily. I learn from my mistakes and can come up with effective changes.
• What are your strongest skills as a teammate?

I am a very strong communicator. I also am a good listener and am willing to compromise in many situations.

- Why do you want to join the investment task?

The task sounds really interesting from what I've heard. I would like to participate because I'm a business minor and have studied investments and acquisitions in the past. This task could be useful for me.

Disclaimer and Signature

I certify that my answers are true and complete to the best of my knowledge.

If this application leads to employment, I understand that false or misleading information in my application or interview may result in my release. Checking the box below confirms this.

Are all of your answers true and complete? ☐   Date

Questionnaire from Candidate #2.

Employment Questionnaire:

- What are your key strengths?

I'm flexible and good at problem solving and multitasking.

- What are your strongest skills as a teammate?

I am willing to work hard.

- Why do you want to join the investment task?

I've never worked on something like that before but it looks more interesting.

Disclaimer and Signature

I certify that my answers are true and complete to the best of my knowledge.

If this application leads to employment, I understand that false or misleading information in my application or interview may result in my release. Checking the box below confirms this.

| Are all of your answers true and complete? ☐ | Date |

Questionnaire from Candidate #3.

Employment Questionnaire:

- What are your key strengths?

I'm creative and independent.

- What are your strongest skills as a teammate?

I can be a helpful teammate.

- Why do you want to join the investment task?

Honestly, I don't really want to do the group task.   I actually have a lot of work to do, and I need to go finish a paper for class.

Disclaimer and Signature

I certify that my answers are true and complete to the best of my knowledge.

If this application leads to employment, I understand that false or misleading information in my application or interview may result in my release. Checking the box below confirms this.

| Are all of your answers true and complete? | ☐ | Date |

Appendix G

LIWC Results

I chose five categories that would be relevant for this study. These categories were focused on the emotional (either positive or negative) reactions to the newcomer and how participants viewed the newcomer (as an outsider or a member of the group). The reactions to the newcomer could serve as a measure for how well the participants accept the newcomers. The categories I focused on are listed below:

Negative emotion words. This category focuses on words that express negative affect towards the newcomer. Examples of these words are annoying, difficult, disagree and fight.

Positive emotion words. This category focuses on words that express positive affect towards the newcomer. Examples of these words are intelligent, efficient, supportive and wise.

Negating. This category focuses on words that express believing or doing the opposite of something. Examples of these words include no, not, doesn't and can't.

Third person singular pronouns. This category includes all the pronouns used to refer to a single person. Examples of these words include she, he, herself, and himself. These words could show how participants view the newcomer as another individual as opposed to another member of a group.

First person plural pronouns. This category includes words used to refer to multiple people in the first person. These include words such as we, us and our. Words in this category could show how participants view themselves as being members of the group.

Third person plural pronouns. This category includes words used to refer to multiple people in the third person. These include words such as they, their, they'd. Words in this category could show how participants view newcomers as a member of the outgroup. These words may also be used when the participant refers to the newcomer in a non-gendered way.

Study 1 Results.

Participants' qualitative evaluations of the newcomer were analyzed along with the participants' decisions and their perception of the newcomers' trustworthiness. The results revealed that newcomer race had no impact on the participants' vocabulary when discussing their reactions to the newcomer. Participants used more third person singular pronouns when reacting to the male newcomers (M=4.28,

SD=5.99) than female newcomers (M=2.87, SD=5.12; t(575)=2.89, p=.005). On the other hand, participants used more third person plural pronouns when reacting to the female newcomers (M=3.89, SD = 5.92) than male newcomers (M=2.65, SD=5.02; t(575)=-2.48, p=.013).

Study 2 Results.

This study added two qualitative questions that were used to better explain how participants felt about the newcomer, and why they listened to the newcomer. As in study 1, I chose five categories that would be relevant for this study.   I compared how often participants used 1st and 3rd person pronouns, along with their usage of words that elicited positive or negative emotions.

Differences in 3rd Person Singular Pronoun Usage. First, I examined if the race of the newcomer would have an impact on the amount of times participants used third person pronouns when describing their reactions to the newcomer. The results showed that there was a significant effect of newcomer race on the usage of 3rd person plural pronouns when participants were describing how they felt about the newcomer ($F(2,777)$=62.94, p <.000). 3rd person plural pronoun usage was lower in the control condition (M=2.82, SD=4.11) than in the Black newcomer condition (M=7.90, SD=4.77) and the White newcomer (M=6.90, SD=4.76) groups. The difference between control group and Black newcomer condition was significant ($t(777)$=-11.06, p < .000), as was the differences between the control condition and the White newcomer condition ($t(777)$=-8.958, p <.000).   The difference between the White newcomer condition and the Black newcomer condition was also significant ($t(777)$= -2.716, p =.007).

Next, I looked at the effects of gender on pronoun usage. Results showed that gender had an impact on the usage of third person singular pronouns $F(2,777)$=59.73, p <.000. Participants were less likely to use third person singular pronouns when referring to newcomers in the control condition (M=2.83, SD=4.10) than referring to male newcomers (M=7.65, SD=4.44) or female newcomers (M=7.15, SD= 5.11).

I also looked at 3rd person singular pronoun usage when participants were explaining why they changed their minds after hearing from the newcomer. The responses here were not impacted by the newcomer's race or gender.

Differences in 3rd Person Plural Pronoun Usage. Third person pronoun usage within the qualitative responses was also examined. When describing their reactions to the newcomer, participants

were more likely to use 3rd person plural pronouns when discussing newcomers in the control condition $F(2,777)=72.86$, $p <.000$. This was also the case for participants' explanation of why they changed their minds $F(2,777)=16.43$, $p <.000$.

The race and gender of the newcomer did not impact the positive emotion, negative emotion or negating words utilized by the participants.

Study 3 Results.

As each discussion was recorded and transcribed, the discussions were also analyzed using LIWC software. As in previous studies, the language utilized by the participants could provide some insight into their reactions to the newcomer and his contributions. The LIWC Analyses consisted of transcribing each discussion and calculating the rate at which certain words were used in the discussion (i.e. number of words used in a category divided by the total number of words used in a discussion). The categories chosen were selected because they could speak to the tone of the discussion as well as how the group viewed the newcomer:

Negative emotion words. This category focuses on words that express negative affect during the discussion. Examples of these words are annoying, difficult, disagree and fight. This category was included to examine if the condition impacted how negatively participants felt about the discussion.

Positive emotion words. This category focuses on words that express positive affect during the discussion. Examples of these words are intelligent, efficient, supportive and wise. Like the negative emotion words, this category was included to examine if the condition impacted the positivity of the discussion.

Negating. This category focuses on words that express believing or doing the opposite of something. Examples of these words include no, not, doesn't and can't. These words may be utilized more during disagreements. This category was included to examine the rate at which groups disagreed during the discussion.

First person plural pronouns. This category includes words used to refer to multiple people in the first person. These include words such as we, us and our. Words in this category could show how participants view themselves as being members of the group. Groups that use these pronouns may see

themselves in a collective fashion instead of individually (i.e. "we think we should…" vs. "I think I should…". This category could speak to the participants' perception of their ingroup.

The findings from the LIWC analysis are shown below. Overall, there were few effects of race and selection on the LIWC outcomes. However, results showed that there was a main effect of race on the usage of negating language ($F(1, 84) = 3.803$, $p = .055$). Groups with Black newcomers used negating language for .030% of the discussion, where groups with White newcomers used negating language for .027% of the discussion. There were no interactions of race and selection on any of the language used.

Main Effects and Interactions of Race and Selection on LIWC Categories

IV	LIWC Category	*Mean Square*	F	Sig.
Race				
	Negative Emotion	5.935E-7	2.028	.158
	Positive Emotion	1.254E-7	.098	.755
	Negating	2.571E-6	3.803	.055
	Third Person Singular	7.877E-10	.006	.938
	First Person Plural	1.795E-6	2.625	.109
	Third Person Plural	4.781E-7	.245	.622
Selection				
	Negative Emotion	1.578E-7	.539	.465
	Positive Emotion	1.572E-6	1.230	.271
	Negating	4.767E-7	.705	.403
	Third Person Singular	3.937E-9	.031	.862
	First Person Plural	9.787E-8	.143	.706
	Third Person Plural	3.291E-7	.168	.683
Race x Select				

Negative Emotion	1.119E-8	.038	.845	
Positive Emotion	1.274E-7	.100	.753	
Negating	1.080E-6	1.598	.210	
Third Person Singular	1.924E-7	1.496	.225	
First Person Plural	1.804E-6	2.638	.108	
Third Person Plural	6.247E-8	.032	.859	

Note. N= 86 groups

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