Organization Science

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Abstract. This study proposes and tests a new theoretical model explaining whether, and how, supervisors socialize "temporary newcomers," defined as new organizational members who join an organization on a temporary basis, with a potential, but uncertain, opportunity of receiving a long-term job offer in the future. We suggest that under specific conditions, supervisors first evaluate temporary newcomers' proactivity based on whether they positively stand out by proposing new feasible ideas and by promoting their achievements. On the basis of these initial evaluations, supervisors then decide whether to increase their support of newcomers' creativity (using an investiture approach) or to intensify newcomers' socialization by attempting to change their behavior (using a divestiture approach). When supervisors adopt an investiture approach, it positively influences temporary newcomers' socialization adjustment outcomes, as indicated by increased newcomer job satisfaction, social integration, task performance, organizational and task socialization, challenge stress, and reduced hindrance stress. When supervisors instead adopt a divestiture approach, it has an opposite (thus negative) effect on the same socialization outcomes. We tested our theoretical model using a mix-method design, based on a three-wave longitudinal sample of 325 newcomer–supervisor dyads spanning a wide range of companies and industries, complemented with interviews of 41 supervisors.

Introduction

Job markets have witnessed a sharp change in the duration and stability of labor relations (Cappelli and Keller 2013), gradually substituting the model of "lifetime employment" with flexible arrangements (Katz and Krueger 2019). These changes have substantially impacted the process through which incoming organizational members, or newcomers, join their new work settings. Indeed, newcomers are ever less likely to be contracted on a permanent basis at the beginning of their work relationship, not just in blue-collar positions but increasingly also in white-collar jobs (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2002).[1] New employees frequently start with a flexible contract, often joining the company through an internship or a co-op program; these flexible arrangements not only lower employers' cost structure and financial risk but also allow them to screen new workers for permanent positions (Houseman 2001).[2] Hence "temporary newcomers" are those new organizational members who join an organization on a temporary basis, with the potential, but uncertain, opportunity of receiving a long-term job offer in the future (Ashforth et al. 2007, Rink and Ellemers 2009).

Because of the uncertainty of their long-term employment status, temporary newcomers tend to experience a socialization process—through which new organizational members transform from outsiders into organizational insiders (Louis 1980)—that is very different from the socialization processes described by classic theories, which were rooted in a time period (i.e., 1970s–1990s) that was characterized by stable job markets and more linear career paths (Beenen and Rousseau 2010). Classic theories suggested that supervisor support of newcomers during socialization was positive, automatic, systematic, and standardized—likely because of the

assumption that socialization was the first stage of lifetime employment at one firm—and that was executed by supervisors through institutionalized socialization tactics and procedures that would ensure newcomers became successfully adjusted and consistently so (Van Maanen and Schein 1979, Jones 1986). However, the uncertain nature of temporary newcomers' worth and work status, coupled with increased supervisor latitude and autonomy when it comes to supporting new organizational members (Jokisaari and Nurmi 2009 and Sluss and Thompson 2012), makes supervisors less likely to follow suggested organizational tactics automatically. In turn, supervisors are more likely to evaluate newcomers autonomously before deciding whether to provide them with support (Ellis et al. 2017).

In this paper we thus propose a new theoretical model that centers on how supervisor autonomy affects the socialization of temporary newcomers; in particular, we theorize when, and how, supervisor initial evaluations of temporary newcomers may trigger different tactics to support their socialization. Following Ellis et al. (2017), we develop and test a model in which supervisors are autonomous decision-making and action-taking agents who base their decision to provide support on the early evaluation of newcomers' particular behaviors. However, whereas Ellis et al. (2017) suggested that supervisors evaluate newcomer task and social commitment to the organization as initial conditions for their support—likely under the traditional assumption that newcomers will progress linearly and vertically within their function and company—we theorize the conditions under which supervisors rather evaluate temporary newcomers by considering two initial signals of their proactivity that carry information about their long-term potential to create value for the organization: the feasibility of their new ideas and their ability to self-promote their achievements. From these two signals, supervisors may engage in two different forms of support: they can attempt to change newcomers' behavior and identity forcefully, to favor their adjustment to their new environment (a divestiture tactic; Van Maanen and Schein 1979), or they can support newcomer creativity to challenge the status quo (an investiture tactic; Cable et al. 2013 and Harris et al. 2014). We found that when supervisors adopt an investiture approach, it positively influences newcomer socialization, whereas when supervisors adopt a divestiture approach, a negative impact on socialization is to be found.

We test our model using a three-wave, longitudinal sample of 325 newcomer–supervisor dyads collected across multiple organizations and industries, and we complement it with qualitative insights based on 41 interviews with experienced supervisors. Our findings offer significant contributions to current managerial and organizational literature as we extend and connect the socialization literature with recent evolutions in labor markets. We focus on the population of management-

track temporary newcomers, whose organizations increasingly hire to test their abilities before providing them with an indeterminate contract (Beenen and Rousseau 2010). In addition, we explore the increasing trend of "boundaryless careers," where individuals develop careers that are not tied to an organization, job, or function (Arthur and Rousseau 1996)—a trend that shifts what supervisors value in their newcomers. Indeed, to determine whether a newcomer has potential, we show how supervisors evaluate newcomers based on general qualities (or "metacompetences") that will allow them to be successful when changing jobs and functions within the organization in the future. Moreover, our work offers new insights on the socialization process by emphasizing the supervisor perspective, specifically by uncovering the evaluation processes that trigger supervisor support. Indeed, apart from Ellis et al. (2017), to our knowledge, no other research has investigated in depth how supervisors evaluate newcomers (Saks et al. 2011, Cooper-Thomas et al. 2014). In addition, whereas past socialization studies have primarily emphasized newcomer general proactivity as the way newcomers adjust to incumbent organizational members' expectations, we identify the two specific newcomer proactive behaviors (providing feasible new ideas and self-promotion) that supervisors initially evaluate when deciding how to support newcomer socialization. Finally, our work highlights the central role played by the newcomer identity in the socialization process and illustrates that the supervisor actions of favoring or restraining newcomer identity expression through investiture and divestiture tactics can influence newcomer socialization outcomes (i.e., job satisfaction, task performance, stress, social integration, and task/organizational socialization) in a diametric manner.

Theory
The Role of Initial Supervisor Evaluations of Newcomers in the Socialization Process

A large body of literature has demonstrated that supervisors exert a strong influence on newcomers' successful adjustment to their new firm (Sluss et al. 2012, Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2013). However, most socialization models treat supervisor characteristics and behaviors as important, but exogenous, inputs to the socialization processes (Ashforth et al. 2008). This approach has shed light on how specific supervisor inputs (supervisor behaviors) lead to specific outcomes (newcomer adjustment outcomes), but it does not account for the antecedents of supervisor behaviors, a fact that has been identified as a persistent theoretical gap in the socialization literature (e.g., Bauer and Green 1998 and Sluss and Thompson 2012). In other words, most socialization studies tend to overlook the mechanisms that prompt supervisors to support newcomers in different ways.

Research outside of the socialization domain has found that interpersonal evaluations may trigger supervisor decisions about who to promote, mentor, or assist in the workplace (Diekmann et al. 2015). In the past, socialization scholars have generally noted that proactive behaviors of newcomers can help supervisors form impressions about their capabilities and potential contributions (Wayne and Ferris 1990), but the existing socialization research has not systematically investigated which precise newcomer proactive behaviors are most sought-after by supervisors as input for their evaluations (Ellis et al. 2017). Recent work by Ellis et al. (2017) showed that supervisors first evaluate new software engineers' proactivity by considering their commitment to their task mastery and social adjustment, and on the basis of these initial evaluations, supervisors then decide whether to provide newcomers with more support (in the form of additional information) to facilitate their subsequent adjustment. However, given the wide scope of organizations and activities in which newcomers are involved, we suggest that, in certain conditions, supervisors may follow a different process of evaluation and support than the one proposed by Ellis et al. (2017), focusing on other facets of newcomer proactivity and triggering different forms of supervisor support. In particular, we theorize how supervisors evaluate and support an emerging class of newcomer: that of the "temporary newcomer" (Beenen and Rousseau 2010).

Supervisor Socialization of Temporary Newcomers: The Role of Initial Evaluations of Newcomer Proactivity

Temporary newcomers are new employees who join firms first through a temporary contract, often as interns or apprentices, before potentially receiving an offer to engage in a longer-term work relationship if they demonstrate sufficient potential to create value for their companies in the future. We believe it is worth studying how supervisors evaluate and support temporary newcomers not only because they are becoming more and more prevalent in contemporary job markets (Michigan State University 2018) but also because supervisor expectations of temporary newcomers are likely to be different, as these newcomers are often recruited through internships, apprenticeships, and/or rotational programs in which they are staffed to short-term projects and/or tasks, until they are ready to be moved to their next position (Michigan State University 2018). Indeed, temporary newcomers are characterized by two unique features that make their onboarding process theoretically different from regular newcomers. First, given that temporary newcomers have a limited amount of time to prove their value to their supervisors, their supervisors have a higher degree of uncertainty about the ability of temporary newcomers to create value for the

organization. Second, not only do temporary workers have to demonstrate their value to their supervisor in their current position, but they also may be evaluated for their ability to thrive in other organizational positions or departments in the future, as internal mobility is often increasing, particularly for white-collar positions. Indeed, given the increasing development of firms' internal mobility programs (Maurer 2015), white-collar temporary newcomers are more likely to change tasks frequently (Meister 2012) and to change position very soon after accepting a full-time contract in the organization, as managerial intraorganizational mobility tends to be nonhierarchical and nonfunctional, happening across functions, products, divisions, and/or geographical areas (Greenhaus et al. 2008).

We thus contend that supervisors, under specific conditions,[3] are more likely to evaluate temporary newcomer future value-creation potential by considering behaviors that signal proactivity through generic metacompetencies (Seibert et al. 2001). These metacompetences signal temporary newcomers potential to be successful long-term contributors during their future career within the organization, independent of whatever specific role or task they end up performing (Merluzzi and Phillips 2016). In the context of temporary newcomers, we suggest such metacompetences to be (1) the degree of temporary newcomers' *feasibility of new ideas* and (2) their ability to communicate their achievements and skills to the rest of the organization through *self-promotion*. Feasibility of new ideas signals the extent to which temporary newcomers understand their new work context, because ideas are, by definition, "feasible" only when they are applicable to the specific organizational setting, implying newcomers' adaptability and understanding of their working context. Self-promotion captures the ability of temporary newcomers to make others aware of their accomplishments, which showcases initiative taking. We theorize that these two behaviors showcase not only temporary newcomers' ability to adjust to their new organizational environment but also their potential to "take initiative in improving current circumstances or creating new ones" and "challenging the status quo rather than passively adapting to present conditions" (Crant 2000, p. 436). In other words, these two general skills signal the temporary newcomers' ability to proactively create value for their new employer irrespective of the specific task or work group to which they have been assigned for the internship period, as temporary newcomers are very rarely meant to remain in the position in which they started (Defillippi and Arthur 1994).

Figure 1 illustrates our theoretical model explaining how supervisors evaluate and support temporary newcomers. We model supervisors as active socialization agents who initially evaluate the ability of temporary

Figure 1. Theoretical Model
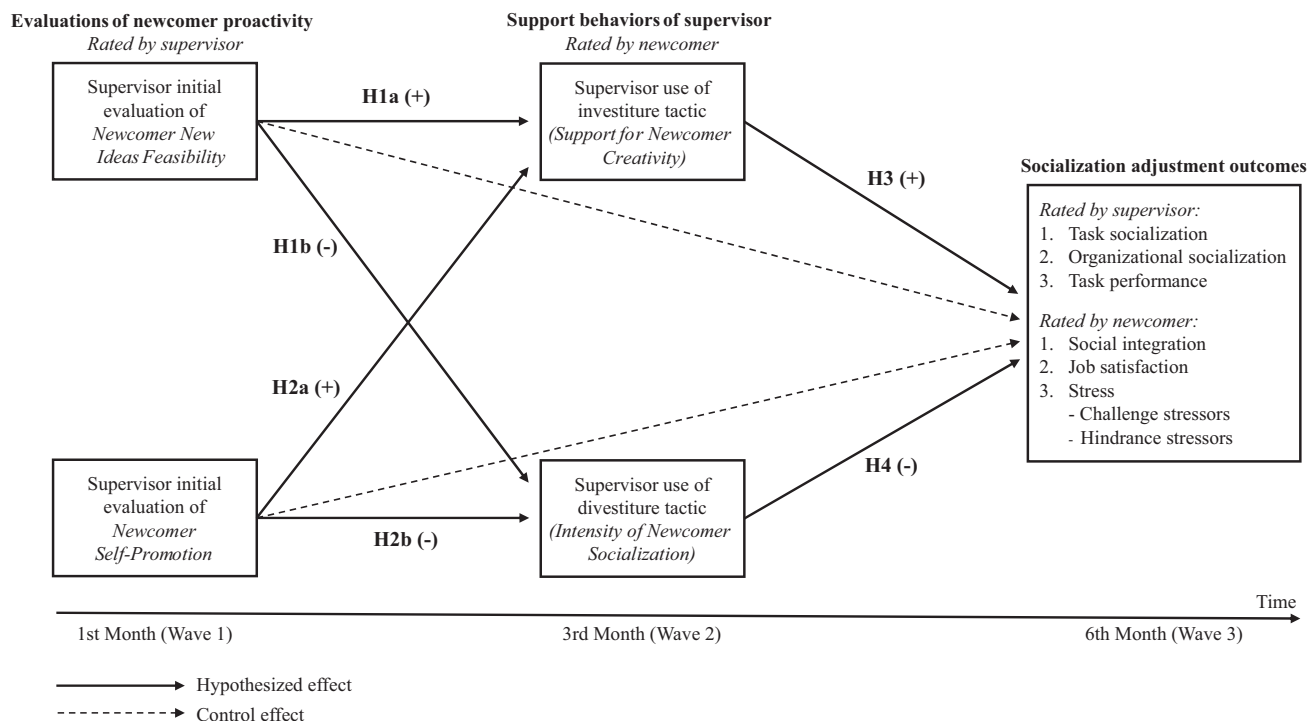
newcomers to provide valuable, novel, and feasible insights that constructively challenge the status quo (feasibility of new ideas) and to demonstrate initiative by promoting their efforts to communicate and make visible their accomplishments (self-promotion). According to these initial evaluations, supervisors then decide whether and how to support newcomers through investiture or divestiture tactics to generate socialization outcomes that might benefit the organization.

In the following subsections, we theoretically derive and illustrate each part of the model displayed in Figure 1. At the end of this section, we provide a set of scope conditions under which we believe our predictions may be more likely to hold. Indeed, we do not expect our model to be applicable across the whole population of temporary newcomers, which has an extreme variance in terms of industry, type of job and task, the role of supervisors, and job market conditions.

Temporary Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility and Supervisor Use of Investiture and Divestiture Tactics

Often supervisors expect their newcomers not only to adjust to their work environment but also to modify it by generating novel ideas (Argote and Ingram 2000, Kim et al. 2009, Harris et al. 2014)—and temporary newcomers are no exception, especially when they join firms that operate in dynamic environments and/or firms with highly interdependent tasks that require

creativity. Supervisors are open to receiving new propositions from their mentees and to cobuild innovative solutions with them (Commeiras et al. 2013). Indeed, Oldham and Cummings (1996) studied how the creativity-related personal characteristics of an individual can influence the extent to which support is provided by his or her supervisor; the literature on creativity has also shown that supervisors are more likely to support individuals who demonstrate a creative personality (Shalley et al. 2004). However, none of the existing studies yet provides any conclusive evidence regarding which type of creative behavior is most likely to trigger supervisor support, as the literature mainly focuses on the conditions under which specific individual traits are more likely to boost different outputs. For instance, Kim et al. (2009) focus their attention on the effect of proactive personality on career satisfaction and perceived insider status—where creativity acts as the mediating mechanism—but, again, without considering the role of supervisor support for creativity. Kim et al. (2010) take a situational approach showing that a proactive personality may not entirely determine individual creativity but that situational cues such as supervisor support for creativity interact to facilitate proactive people to initiate creative activities. Although they contribute to the literature by highlighting that best results are produced when proactive efforts by newcomers are matched with supportive actions by supervisors, Kim et al. (2010) neither detail which type of newcomer proactive behavior is most likely to trigger supervisor

support nor measure newcomer proactivity from the perspective of the supervisor.

In this paper, we argue that to trigger supervisor support, newcomers need to demonstrate that they have a solid grasp of their work context. They can do so by proposing ideas that are *feasible*—those that consider the organizational idiosyncrasies to provide implementable suggestions that are more likely to improve the existing organization (Van de Portal 2008). This is particularly rare, given newcomers' relative lack of experience and understanding of their new work environment (Beenen 2014), and it is likely even rarer for temporary newcomers, who are generally even less connected to the rest of the organization than regular employees (Liu et al. 2011). Indeed, according to Molleman and Van der Vegt (2007), temporary workers need to demonstrate—even more than permanent workers—that they understand their working context and that their new ideas have taken into account organizational norms in order for organizational members to be more receptive to their ideas. Although still faced with this hurdle of idea acceptance, by providing novel, feasible ideas, temporary newcomers may signal their intentions to contribute to the organization's interests and display loyalty and commitment to the group's functioning (Rink and Ellemers 2009) while simultaneously enhancing their status (Howell et al. 2015) and affirming their intention to pursue a career within the organization (Sturges et al. 2002).

We thus argue that supervisors, based on their initial evaluation of newcomer new ideas feasibility, will customize how they support temporary newcomers and engage in either investiture or divestiture tactics. The socialization literature has conceptualized investiture tactics and divestiture tactics as opposed ends of a continuum (Van Maanen and Schein 1979, Jones 1986). In this regard, we expect that supervisors will be more inclined to support temporary newcomers who have feasible ideas—signaling their long-term potential to create organizational value—through *investiture* tactics rather than divestiture tactics (Crant 2000, West 2002). Investiture tactics support and foster newcomer identity expression and idea development (Madjar et al. 2002). Moreover, because supervisors expect their newcomers to be able to contribute to the organization as soon as possible (Nifadkar et al. 2012), it is reasonable to assume that the former would support newcomer ideas, especially when supervisors consider those ideas to be both valuable for the organization and directly implementable. However, when newcomers' new ideas are *not* feasible, supervisors may attempt to modify newcomers' behavior (instead of supporting them) as soon as they perceive that newcomers might fail to realistically contribute on their own. Consequently, we also expect that when supervisors perceive newcomer ideas as *not* feasible,

they will be more likely to intervene forcefully, using divestiture tactics that aim to increase the fit between the newcomer and his or her working environment by changing newcomer behaviors. Supervisors will do so until the newcomer behaves in ways consistent with organizational norms and supervisor expectations (Nicholson 1984, Bauer et al. 1998). We thus expect the following.

Hypothesis 1a. *A supervisor's initial evaluation of the feasibility of a temporary newcomer's new ideas positively relates to the supervisor's subsequent use of investiture tactics.*

Hypothesis 1b. *A supervisor's initial evaluation of the feasibility of a temporary newcomer's new ideas negatively relates to the supervisor's subsequent use of divestiture tactics.*

Newcomer Self-Promotion and Supervisor Use of Investiture and Divestiture Tactics

Temporary newcomers not only need to provide feasible ideas to be recognized as proactive and valuable contributors by their supervisor but also need to be able to make their contributions visible to the rest of their coworkers and the larger organization. Seibert et al. (2001) theorize that newcomers who exhibit an "active attempt to promote [one's] career rather than a passive response to a job situation" (p. 851) will be more likely to progress successfully within any given organization. Yet self-promotion is particularly challenging for temporary newcomers, who are more isolated and less prioritized than regular employees (Liu et al. 2011).

Temporary newcomers can achieve this objective by actively promoting their skills, successes, and contributions to other organizational members. In particular, by making their supervisors aware of their accomplishments, newcomers can try to get credit for their work and thus gain visibility and communicate their aim to further their career in the organization (Sturges et al. 2002). Supervisors may interpret newcomer self-promotion as a positive indicator of the temporary newcomers' ability to fit in and perform well (Bolino et al. 2014), as well as a commitment to further the interests of the work unit and as a signal of their ability to quickly and consistently adapt to new roles, colleagues, supervisors, and organizational tasks and requirements (Defillippi and Arthur 1994, Arthur and Rousseau 1996, Uy et al. 2015). Indeed, Zhao and Liden (2011) report that temporary newcomers who self-promote their competencies, abilities, and achievements as soon as they join the organization are perceived as fully functioning organizational members by their supervisor and are more likely to receive a job offer at the end of their internships. This is likely particularly important in the initial stages of the socialization process, when the qualifications of the newcomer are not self-

evident, especially given how supervisors are often busy with their own tasks.

Newcomer self-promotion thus represents another signal of newcomer proactivity that may trigger supervisor investiture and divestiture tactics. Although the feasibility of new ideas (Hypotheses 1a and 1b) relates to the quality of the newcomers' thinking and their ability to understand the idiosyncratic characteristics of their social surroundings, self-promotion signals newcomers' ability to communicate their thinking and achievements to the rest of the organization (Wilson and Stokes 2005). We argue that when supervisors note newcomers as being proactively able to showcase their successes, they will engage in investiture tactics to encourage newcomers to continue on the right path and to amplify their positive behaviors. However, when newcomers struggle to promote their work, supervisors might feel the need to take a more active and forceful role to guide newcomers to the correct path. In this case, supervisors are more likely to take a forceful approach to change the way a newcomer behaves, engaging in intensive divestiture socialization to such an extent that they may try to change the newcomer's individual traits (Cable et al. 2013). For these reasons, we argue that the greater the perceived ability of temporary newcomers to self-promote, the more likely supervisors will be to support them with investiture tactics; on the other hand, the lower the perceived self-promotion, the stronger the intensity of supervisor divestiture socialization efforts will be.

Hypothesis 2a. *A supervisor's initial evaluation of a temporary newcomer's self-promotion positively relates to the supervisor's subsequent use of investiture tactics.*

Hypothesis 2b. *A supervisor's initial evaluation of a temporary newcomer's self-promotion negatively relates to the supervisor's subsequent use of divestiture tactics.*

From Supervisor Support Behaviors to Newcomer Socialization Adjustment Outcomes

As proposed by Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b, supervisor initial evaluations of temporary newcomer proactivity—in the form of providing feasible new ideas and self-promoting—may trigger different supervisor support behaviors, each with the objective of successfully socializing newcomers. According to Haueter et al. (2003), newcomer socialization can be measured with outcomes at three distinct levels: the individual/task level, the group level, and the organizational level. Therefore, in order to have an all-encompassing evaluation of whether socialization is successful, we theorize that supervisor socialization tactics may, in turn, impact newcomer job satisfaction and stress (individual level), task socialization and task performance (task level), social integration (group level), and organizational socialization (organizational level).

The Impact of Supervisor Investiture Tactics on Temporary Newcomer Socialization.
The use of investiture tactics (Hypotheses 1a and 2a) can have a positive impact on newcomer socialization. At an individual level, the consequence of supporting newcomers through investiture tactics is to encourage them to behave more authentically and express their true selves (Pugsley and Acar 2020). In turn, this self-expression increases their sense of control over their actions, which increases their sense of meaning at work, and improves their job satisfaction (Ryff and Keyes 1995, Roberts 2012). By contrast, when newcomers are not encouraged to express themselves, they might feel forced to work in a way that is inconsistent with their core identity (Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2012), which can lead to self-alienation and identity conflict (Settles et al. 2002, Grandey 2003, Hewlin 2003, Roberts 2012) and, in turn, to increased stress (Karelaia and Guillén 2014). Moreover, when newcomers believe that they can more safely express their ideas and their identity, they will be more engaged in their work (Van Beek et al. 2012), resulting in increased information and feedback-seeking (Cooper-Thomas et al. 2014), thus making them more likely to master the role and task-related knowledge of their new job more quickly (thus their task socialization; Haueter et al. 2003), which will likely enhance their task performance (Dufour et al. 2020).

Supervisor investiture tactics can also impact newcomer socialization at the team and organizational levels. In fact, Tu et al. (2019) illustrate that supervisor support for creativity—an investiture tactic—favors the emergence of team psychological safety. This, in turn, can encourage the development of trusting relationships between the newcomer and the other team members (Roussin and Webber 2012), likely favoring newcomer social integration (Morrison 2002). Supervisor support for creativity also signals to the newcomer that the entire organization supports his or her creativity (Scott and Bruce 1994, Tierney and Farmer 2004) and values his or her identity expression (Madjar et al. 2002), which may lead to greater organizational commitment (Baker 1995) and organizational identification (Ashforth et al. 2007). From these processes, we propose that supervisor investiture tactics may favor both newcomer social integration and organizational socialization. Given the status of temporary workers and the uncertainty attached to their future within the organization, temporary workers tend to experience a lower level of well-being at work, are less likely to feel part of the team or the organization they belong to (Rink and Ellemers 2009, Rink et al. 2013), and also tend to underestimate their job performance (Clark et al. 2010). As a consequence, we anticipate that any signal from their supervisor supporting their self-expression and/or ideas will be interpreted very

positively by newcomers and would increase their level of well-being (i.e., increase job satisfaction and decrease stress), as well as their perceived socialization (i.e., increase task socialization, social integration, organizational socialization) and performance.

Hypothesis 3. *A supervisor's use of investiture tactics positively relates to a temporary newcomer's (a) task socialization, (b) social integration, (c) organizational socialization, (d) task performance, and (e) job satisfaction and negatively relates to a newcomer's (f) stress.*

The Impact of Supervisor Divestiture Tactics on Temporary Newcomer Socialization. Our theory also predicts that a lack of newcomer proactivity may trigger supervisor divestiture tactics (Hypotheses 1b and 2b). As opposed to supervisors who use investiture to favor newcomer expression, the goal of divestiture tactics is to encourage newcomers to change their behavior and, to a certain extent, their identity, to better match the organization's values and norms (Nicholson 1984, Bauer et al. 1998).

Despite these reasonable goals, divestiture socialization tactics can be counterproductive, especially when they are so intense that the change is perceived as forceful by the newcomer. Cable et al. (2013) suggest that divesting newcomers too intensively can be considered "people processing" (Van Maanen 1978), a method by which supervisors sculpt newcomers so that they can "learn the ropes" and forcefully integrate the social knowledge and skills needed to assume their new jobs. But if supervisors are not willing to make concessions or modify their expectations to adjust to the newcomer needs and personality, they can hinder the newcomers' willingness to adjust (De Vos et al. 2003), and socialization may be more likely to fail (Schein 1988). This is even more likely for temporary newcomers, who are strongly expected by other organizational members to adopt firm-specific abilities and skills (Morishima and Shimanuki 2005). Moreover, forced conformity may produce feelings of depersonalization and an inability to express an authentic personality. Requiring a newcomer to adopt predefined roles rather than respecting his or her authentic self-expression likely prompts poor social integration and adjustment on the part of the newcomer (Montani et al. 2019), leading to lower levels of task performance and job satisfaction (Cable et al. 2013, Montani et al. 2019, Dufour et al. 2020) and higher levels of stress (Dufour et al. 2020). Therefore, we expect that when supervisors engage in high levels of divestiture intensity, it may hinder newcomer socialization at the individual, task, group, and organizational levels (Haueter et al. 2003, Dufour et al. 2020). Moreover, we anticipate that temporary newcomers will be particularly likely to react negatively to forced conformity because of their supervisor intense divestiture socialization, especially if it is their first working experience. This is because they will tend to consider their temporary contract as an opportunity for them to test whether their organization allows them to express their true identity and fits with their values (Song and Chathoth 2011). In this case, any action from their supervisor that signals to newcomers that they need to change their identity to fit in will be more likely to be interpreted negatively. Therefore, we expect the following.

Hypothesis 4. *A supervisor's use of divestiture tactics relates negatively to a temporary newcomer's subsequent (a) task socialization, (b) social integration, (c) organizational socialization, (d) task performance, and (e) job satisfaction, and it relates positively to a newcomer's (f) stress.*

Scope Conditions
The socialization of temporary newcomers is a very common process that can cover a spectrum of tasks, organizations, industries, and market conditions. It would thus be unrealistic to expect our theoretical predictions to hold across the entire population of temporary newcomers. We expect four types of scope conditions—task, supervisor, organization/industry, and job market—to impact our predictions in two ways. First, although we focus on the feasibility of new ideas and ability to self-promote, supervisors' initial attention and evaluations may be focused on different newcomer characteristics—for instance, task and social commitment (Ellis et al. 2017)—depending on, for example, the industry. Second, in certain circumstances, supervisors may decide it is *not* worth their time trying to socialize temporary workers who will potentially leave the organization after a few months (Graen et al. 1973). They may instead adopt a "sink-or-swim" approach, in which supervisors do not provide any support to newcomers, especially if they do not perceive them as being able to effectively contribute to their new workplace in the long term (Bosmans et al. 2016). In the following paragraphs, we examine the four types of scope conditions under which we believe our theoretical framework will more applicable.

Task-Level Conditions. Two task characteristics seem to be critical for our model to hold. First, we expect the degree of specialization of the tasks assigned to temporary newcomers to play an important role in socialization. Indeed, when their tasks are highly specialized, we anticipate that supervisors' initial evaluations will be more focused on newcomers' task commitment and knowledge of the specific skills required to successfully carry out the task, rather than on more generic metacompetences (as suggested by our theory; also see Ellis et al. 2017). Second, Levine

and Moreland ([1991](#)) suggest that organizational members are more likely to make efforts to socialize newcomers when there is a high level of outcome dependence among employees. We thus expect supervisors to support temporary newcomers charged with tasks that require adaptation and integration with other organizational members, rather than tasks that can be completed independently. Thus, we believe that our framework is more applicable when the work of temporary newcomers requires frequent interactions and reciprocal or sequential task interdependence (Thompson [1967](#)) and, more broadly, when the asset specificity and social complexity of tasks are high (Coff [1997](#)). For instance, we expect our model to be more applicable to the socialization of temporary white-collar generalists (i.e., young managers) than of blue-collar specialists (i.e., factory workers).

Supervisor-Level Conditions. Our theory also suggests that supervisors decide on whether to support temporary newcomer socialization based on a set of initial evaluations. Two conditions at the supervisor level appear important for our theoretical framework to hold. First, supervisors will use initial evaluations only if they do not know the newcomer beforehand. If they did have a prior relationship with the newcomer, they would simply rely on this prior knowledge to decide which tactics to use rather than attempt an initial evaluation (a corollary of this condition is that our model is likely to be more applicable to young workers without extensive prior experience). Second, our theory assumes that supervisors are motivated to spend significant time helping newcomers to adjust. This is more likely when supervisors receive a formal mandate to do so, when it is part of their job description, or when their key performance indicators or bonus is connected to the successful socialization of the newcomer.

Organizational and Industry Conditions. We also argue that specific organizational-level conditions will increase the likelihood that supervisors will support newcomers. We expect our theoretical framework to be particularly applicable when temporary newcomers are hired as trainees or apprentices, or when it is a common practice to hire newcomers permanently if they are successfully socialized during the initial temporary period. Without this long-term objective, there would be structurally limited need/incentive for supervisors to invest time in maximizing the chances of helping newcomers successfully adjust.

Moreover, our predictions are likely to be stronger in knowledge-intensive and/or highly dynamic industries, where organizational adaptability and learning is particularly critical. Improvements in organizational learning stem from integrating newcomers who can provide new points of view and proactively implement them to create value for their employers and/or customers (Harris et al. [2014](#)). Thus, in contexts in which innovation is key for success, we expect supervisors will decide whether and how to support newcomers based on their initial evaluations of newcomer new ideas feasibility and self-promotion.

Job Market Conditions. Finally, we expect job market conditions to play a role in our theoretical framework. Indeed, in contexts where there is a plethora of candidates, organizations might find it more efficient to simply replace a newcomer who does not showcase much potential rather than exerting (potentially useless) effort trying to socialize him or her. In other words, a "buyer's" job market might make supervisors more likely to adopt a sink-or-swim approach, in comparison with market conditions in which no alternative candidates are available and/or when accessing and screening the job market is particularly costly.

Methods
Mixed-Methods Study Design
We used an explanatory sequential design (Creswell and Clark [2011](#)), a mixed-methods study design in which we complemented our primary quantitative analysis with insights gained through qualitative interviews, with the goal of shedding light on the theoretical mechanisms found in our quantitative results (e.g., Kapoor and Klueter [2015](#) and Schifeling and Demetry [2021](#)). We thus use quantitative data to test our theoretical model and qualitative data to elucidate the relationships between those variables that we identified in our quantitative analysis.

Quantitative Data Sources
We collected our quantitative sample through a longitudinal survey of 538 temporary newcomer-supervisor pairs who were part of an apprenticeship/co-op program organized by a large French business school. The firm panel includes 245 firms that spanned various economic sectors (high-tech, retail, banking, mail delivery) and firm sizes (10–100,000+ employees). All the surveys were conducted in French; we followed established translation–back translation procedures to translate the original English-language measures (Spector et al. [2015](#)).

Newcomer Population. Our population of temporary newcomers was composed by master's students who, as part of a two-year master's program (*Master Grande École*), participated in a year-long apprenticeship (*apprentissage*) in a French firm. During the program, students alternated between working full time for three weeks in their firm and one week studying at the school. To be hired as apprentices, all newcomers

underwent an interview process, signed a work contract, and received a monthly salary from the firm that hired them (net salary M = 399.3 euros/week, sd = 65.3 euros/week). Newcomers were regarded as new colleagues in their workplaces, essentially equivalent to first-year hires in terms of their salaries, job descriptions, and responsibilities. After graduation, the firms could make a full-time job offer to the newcomer, so firms generally use this apprenticeship program to evaluate and hire potential new employees, as illustrated by our qualitative evidence:

> What is the point of training someone one year and not hiring him afterwards? That's just a waste of time and resources for everyone. That's why for me I always consider each apprentice as a potential future colleague in the long-term. (Supervisor 32)

Thus, newcomers were motivated to perform as well as possible to increase their chances of receiving a job offer. The positions occupied by the newcomers were all white-collar, management track jobs in general management, marketing, sales, human resources, or finance, thus fitting our scope conditions.

Supervisor Population. Each newcomer was assigned to one internal supervisor for the entire apprenticeship, and this person was responsible for the socialization of the newcomer. Our sample is thus composed of a set of unique newcomer–supervisor dyads where each supervisor supervised only one newcomer. Our survey thus employed a dyadic, longitudinal design with three waves of data collection for newcomers (waves 1, 2, and 3) and two waves for supervisors (waves 1 and 3). We followed existing research to ensure that the waves reflected meaningful intervals in the socialization process (e.g., Morrison 1993): wave 1 occurred about one month after the start of the apprenticeship, wave 2 occurred three months into the apprenticeship, and wave 3 was collected six months into the internship. The director of the apprenticeship program introduced the study to both newcomers and supervisors before each collection wave. Participation in the survey was encouraged but voluntary; no monetary rewards were offered.

Sample Response Rates. Of the 538 newcomers eligible to participate, 488 (91%) completed the survey in the first wave, 396 (74%) completed the survey in the second wave, and 413 (77%) completed the survey in the third wave. Of the 538 supervisors eligible to participate, 321 (60%) completed the survey in the first wave, and 243 (45%) completed the survey in the third wave. The resulting full data sample features 199 newcomer–supervisor dyads and a 37% response rate, in line with other multiwave multisource studies (e.g., 37% reported by Ellis et al. 2017). However, because

scholars have noted that excluding partially completed cases and not accounting for missing data in any statistical analysis may result in biased and inefficient estimates (Graham and Coffman 2012), we decided to apply full information maximum likelihood (FIML) in our main analyses, an estimation procedure for structural models that allows all available data to be used when estimating each parameter (Enders and Bandalos 2001).

Missing Data Procedure. FIML has been commonly used in contemporary management research (e.g., Matta et al. 2015, van der Werff and Buckley 2017, Dossinger et al. 2019, Simon et al. 2019, Valero and Hirschi 2019). This estimation procedure allows us to keep in our sample all newcomer–supervisor dyads for which we had at least one data point available for each the newcomer and supervisor involved in the dyad (out of the five possible; three for newcomers and two for supervisors), yielding 325 dyads. By leveraging all the available data, FIML improves the precision of parameters that contain missing values by taking the observed information matrix (rather than expected information matrix) as input to compute the means, variances, and covariances for the complete sample without needing to impute the individual responses (Enders and Bandalos 2001). However, as a robustness check, we replicate all our analysis using listwise deletion (see the robustness analyses section).

Sample Description. In our sample of 325 newcomers, the average age was 23 (sd = 1.5), 57% were female, and 84% defined themselves as being of middle or high socioeconomic status. Of the 325 supervisors, 51% were female, 90% were at least 30 years of age (mean = 41, sd = 8.5), 70% held a management or economics degree, 75% completed a master's degree or higher, and 89% defined themselves as being of middle or high socioeconomic status. Of the total newcomer–supervisor dyads, 55% were of the same gender, and 54% belonged to the same socioeconomic status. Overall, the background of the supervisors is similar to the background of newcomers in our sample, except that supervisors tend to be much older and more experienced.

Qualitative Data Sources

For our qualitative study, we conducted 41 interviews with supervisors who had previous experience socializing newcomers. We contacted them via email after they participated in a separate study about the integration of newcomers into their teams and were thus not part of our quantitative sample. The interviewees worked in organizations that employed between 50 and 200,000 employees and that operated in diverse sectors (banking, insurance, service, transportation, communications, information technology, retail, pharmaceuticals, and

agrobusiness); 25 of the 41 interviewees were men. The interviews were conducted by telephone and lasted 50 minutes on average (for methodological details and the interview protocol, see the online appendix), they were tape-recorded, and the data analysis is based on their transcription. After collecting these qualitative data, we conducted a thorough content analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994) of all the supervisor responses. We particularly focused our attention on the quotes that could provide us with a deeper understanding of the relationships hypothesized in our theoretical model.

Quantitative Variables and Measures

All quantitative measures were rated on five-point Likert scales (1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree"). The length of the survey was a primary concern when finalizing the design, because of concerns about respondent fatigue that can result from multiple-wave data collection. We carefully considered whether to shorten some scales, evaluating the trade-off between increasing measurement error and enhancing the response quality and rate (Franke et al. 2013). When we shortened some existing scales, we strove to strike a balance between including items with higher reported factor loadings, to preserve the internal qualities of the original scale (Stanton et al. 2002), and including the items' appropriateness and fit with the socialization process. Finally, to maximize variance across waves, in each wave of data collection we primed newcomers and supervisors to focus on their latest month at work when answering the questions.

Initial Perceptions of Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility (Supervisor, Wave 1).

To the best of our knowledge, no existing study has measured the feasibility of new ideas during the socialization of newcomers. As a first step to ensure construct validity, we reviewed the management literature for constructs that were related to perceiving ideas as feasible and derived a pool of items that could capture whether creative ideas were considered feasible. Among the eight items originally developed by Scott and Bruce (1994) and Oldham and Cummings (1996), which have been adapted and used in multiple settings (e.g., Zhou and George 2001, Madjar et al. 2002, and Farmer et al. 2003), we selected the three that best captured the concept of *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility*. According to Lin et al. (2017), an idea is novel and useful to the extent that appropriate observers perceive it as potentially beneficial for the organization. We thus asked supervisors to rate the extent to which a newcomer shared ideas that they perceived as novel and feasible, using one item from Zhou and George (2001) and two items from Oldham and Cummings (1996) that capture newcomer efforts to share creative, practical ideas in the

current work setting (i.e., "The newcomer's new ideas were very practical and very likely to improve our performance," "The newcomer proposed ideas that were feasible," and "The newcomer proposed ideas that were relevant for this organization"). We obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.89 for this scale. In framing the question, we specifically asked supervisors to focus on the quality of new ideas "irrespective of their number."

Initial Perceptions of Newcomer Self-Promotion (Supervisor, Wave 1).

We asked supervisors to rate three items, modified from a self-promotion scale (Bolino and Turnley 1999), that referred to self-initiated behaviors by a newcomer that the supervisor would perceive as signals of performance and instill confidence in the newcomer abilities (Bolino et al. 2014). The original self-promotion scale was self-rated (Bolino and Turnley 1999), so we modified the items to assess how supervisors would perceive newcomers engaging in such behaviors. Supervisors thus rated newcomers on the following modified items: "The newcomer made me aware of his or her talents or qualifications," "The newcomer made me aware of how he or she was valuable to the organization," and "The newcomer made me aware of his/her accomplishments." The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.88.

Supervisor Use of Investiture Tactics (Newcomer, Wave 2).

We used *Supervisor Support for Newcomer Creativity* as a measure of whether supervisors chose to use investiture socialization tactics. We chose support for creativity because there are strong expectations for newcomers to create value by generating new ideas for their companies. According to the director of the apprenticeship program,

> The huge majority of our newcomers are expected, sooner or later during their integration period, to provide to their manager ideas for possible [firm] improvement.

Support for creativity—defined as the extent to which supervisors provide assistance and encouragement to employees to develop and refine their creative ideas (Madjar et al. 2002)—has been found to foster newcomer identity expression and idea development (Madjar et al. 2002), which falls within the boundaries of the general definition of investiture socialization used in the socialization literature (Van Maanen and Schein 1979, Jones 1986, Ashforth and Saks 1996). To assess newcomer perceptions of support for creativity, we asked newcomers to rate their level of agreement with three items adapted from Farmer et al. (2003). The original scale referred to whether the organization supported creativity, so we changed the referent from the organization to the direct supervisor, citing his or her name for additional clarity. The three items were as follows: "I was able to do

creative or innovative work without feeling threatened by <Supervisor name>," "<Supervisor name> encouraged me to come up with new ideas," and "<Supervisor name> was very supportive of creative work." The resulting Cronbach's alpha for *Supervisor Support for Newcomer Creativity* was 0.85.

Supervisor Use of Divestiture Tactics (Newcomer, Wave 2). We measured supervisor use divestiture tactics by measuring the *Supervisor Intensity of Newcomer Socialization*, using a modified version of the four-item scale from Cable et al. (2013). We chose to use the Cable et al. (2013) scale as opposed to scales from Jones (1986) or Ashforth and Saks (1996), agreeing with Cable and colleagues' argument that their scale was the closest to Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) original conceptualization of divestiture socialization, defined as the denial of newcomer current identity and the pressure for the newcomer to accept a new organizational identity. Furthermore, both Jones' (1986) and Ashforth and Saks' (1996) measures were designed to capture divestiture socialization at an organizational level, whereas we wanted to evaluate the intensity of supervisor divestiture socialization. As the Cable et al. (2013) scale was originally developed at the team level, we simply changed the term "my team" to the term "my supervisor" to move the measurement to the supervisor level. Finally, the scale by Cable and colleagues has much higher reliability scores in published studies than the scales by Jones (1986) and by Ashforth and Saks (1996). The scale items asked newcomers to assess the extent they perceived divestiture pressures from their direct supervisor. One example of the four items we used is, "I felt <supervisor name> wanted to change the way I act and solve problems." We averaged the four items of this scale to form an index for each newcomer and obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.81.

Newcomer Socialization. On the basis of the method used by Haueter et al. (2003), we measured newcomer socialization at three levels: newcomer task socialization, newcomer social integration (i.e., newcomer group socialization), and newcomer organizational socialization.

Task Socialization (Supervisor, Wave 3). Supervisors assessed each newcomer's task socialization using five items from Haueter et al. (2003). One item of this scale was, "I clearly understand the operations of this organization (e.g., who does what, how sites, subsidiaries and/or branches contribute)." We averaged the five items to form an index for each newcomer and obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.83.

Social Integration (Newcomer, Wave 3). Newcomers assessed their social integration using three items from Morrison (2002). One example item was, "In this past month, I felt comfortable around my coworkers." We averaged the three items to form an index for each newcomer and obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.91.

Organizational Socialization (Supervisor, Wave 3). Supervisors assessed each newcomer's organizational socialization using five items, derived from Haueter et al. (2003). An example scale item was "<Newcomer's name> clearly understands the operations of this organization (e.g., who does what, how sites, subsidiaries and/or branches contribute)." We obtained a Cronbach's alpha of 0.89.

Newcomer Task Performance (Newcomer, Wave 3). Supervisors assessed each newcomer's task performance with three items from the scale developed by Yang et al. (2009), which includes items such as "<Newcomer's name> performs his/her job well." The Cronbach's alpha was 0.94.

Newcomer Job Satisfaction (Newcomer, Wave 3). Newcomers reported their job satisfaction using a single-item overall job satisfaction measure similar to the one used by Scarpello and Campbell (1983). The item read as follows: "All things considered, I was very satisfied with my job." Previous research shows that for global or overall job satisfaction, a single-item measure is appropriate and has good psychometric properties (e.g., Wanous and Hudy 2001).

Newcomer Stress (Newcomer, Wave 3). To measure stress, we followed a growing body of literature that categorizes stressful job conditions or job stressors as those that either challenge employees to improve (challenge stressors) or those that can hinder their professional growth (hindrance stressors; e.g. Cavanaugh et al. 2000 and Lepine et al. 2005). Challenge stressors are stressful obstacles that still allow newcomers to learn and achieve, whereas hindrance stressors unnecessarily damage the newcomers' personal development and their ability to attain their objectives. In line with this model, using items from Cavanaugh et al. (2000), we asked newcomers to assess how stressful three challenge stressors were (e.g., "The number of projects and or assignments"). Similarly, newcomers rated how stressful three hindrance stressor were (e.g., "The amount of bureaucracy I need to go through"). In accordance with previous research (e.g., Rodell and Judge 2009), newcomers were informed that the challenge and hindrance stressor items listed were work-related items that may or may not influence their level of stress and were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following statements as sources of

stress during the last month. The Cronbach's alpha was 0.90 for challenge stressors and 0.69 for hindrance stressors.

Control Variables. We included several control variables in our analysis. The first set of control variables were demographics gathered by the business school about the newcomers, the supervisors, and the organizations taking part in this program, which included the gender of the newcomer (*Newcomer is Male*; 1 = male), *Newcomer Grades* (percentile ranking in the cohort), if the newcomer and supervisor were of the same gender (1 = yes), the age difference between supervisor and newcomer, if the supervisor participated in the recruitment of the newcomer (1 = yes), and the logged number of employees in the organization to control for its size. Given the impact of the organizational context and culture on the socialization process (Taormina 2008), we controlled for organizational characteristics that could affect socialization norms and practices. For example, we included dummy variables that capture the function in which newcomers worked and the industry of the newcomer's firm. For industry, we created two dummy variables to represent the three economic sectors where newcomers worked: (a) commerce and distribution, (b) service and communication, and (c) manufacturing and transport. For research and development (R&D) intensity, we used the publicly available data of R&D expenditure level by economic sector in France for 2015 (Balcone and Schweitzer 2019) and created a dummy variable to assess R&D intensity (1 = low). Moreover, in order to understand the impact of the organization's culture, we also controlled for newcomer feelings of authentic self-expression[4] (wave 1) in order to capture newcomers' freedom to express their true selves (Cable et al. 2013). Finally, as job characteristics can potentially influence newcomer socialization (Major et al. 1995), we also controlled for position characteristics. To do so, we created two dummy variables that represented the three possible functions of the department where newcomers worked within the company: (a) sales/marketing and (b) finance; the reference category was human resources/administrative/general management.

The second set of control variables that we included in the surveys were constructs that were potentially correlated with our substantive variables and that could thereby serve as alternative explanations. For example, we considered the *Newcomer New Ideas Frequency* (wave 1) as an additional control, to test to what extent supervisors were seeking the feasibility of newcomers' new ideas (quality) or the frequency of newcomers' new ideas (quantity). We used four items to measure the frequency of new ideas: "In this past month, <newcomer's name> generated lots of creative ideas/frequently suggested new ways to achieve organizational goals or objectives/frequently suggested new ways of performing work tasks/proposed new ideas and solutions very frequently." The Cronbach's alpha was 0.88 ($n = 315$).

Along similar lines, we controlled for newcomer ingratiation (wave 1), given that ingratiation and self-promotion are conceptually close—ingratiation behaviors are other-focused in order to increase how much others like the individual, whereas self-promotion behaviors are self-focused and aims to highlight the individual's qualities to others—and that these two variables are frequently measured together (Kacmar et al. 1992, Stevens and Kristof 1995, Zhao and Liden 2011). To measure ingratiation, we used three items from Bolino and Turnley (1999): "In this past month, <newcomer's name> often complimented me/often took a personal interest in my personal life/often did personal favors for me." The Cronbach's alpha was 0.70 ($n = 308$).

Testing the Measurement Model

We conducted five confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) to establish the distinctiveness of our constructs. We first examined the fit of a model in which our substantive variables (i.e., *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* and *Newcomer Self-Promotion, Supervisor Support for Newcomer Creativity, Newcomer Socialization Intensity, Newcomer Organizational Socialization, Task Socialization, Task Performance, Social Integration, Challenge Stress*, and *Hindrance Stress*) and control variables (i.e., *Newcomer New Ideas Frequency, Newcomer Ingratiation*, and *Authentic Self-Expression*), all loaded onto their hypothesized latent variable; this 13-factor model fit the data well ($\chi^2(867) = 1362.24$, $p < 0.001$, comparative fit index = 0.94, Tucker–Lewis index = 0.93, root mean square error of approximation = 0.04). We then compared the 13-factor model to four alternative 12-factor models, which all revealed a poorer fit to our data. As summarized in Table 1, our CFA suggested that our data successfully differentiate the 13 main constructs of our study. The means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and bivariate correlations of substantive and control variables are reported in Table 2.

Quantitative Data Analysis and Estimation Procedure

We sought support for the study hypotheses by examining the regression coefficients from structural models. In line with previous research (e.g., Enders et al. 2014 and Newman 2014), we tested all the hypothesized relationships simultaneously using a structural equation model. In our model, all independent and control variables predict all mediators and dependent variables, all mediators predict all dependent

Table 1. Comparison of Alternative Measurement Models ($N = 325$)

Model	No. of factors	χ^2	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$ test
Model 1	13-factor	1,362.24	867	0.94	0.93	0.04	
Model 2	12-factor	1,622.77	879	0.90	0.89	0.05	$\Delta\chi^2(12) = 260.54^{***}$
Model 3	12-factor	1,474.96	879	0.92	0.91	0.05	$\Delta\chi^2(12) = 112.72^{***}$
Model 4	12-factor	1,434.14	879	0.93	0.92	0.04	$\Delta\chi^2(12) = 71.91^{***}$
Model 5	12-factor	1,493.45	879	0.92	0.91	0.05	$\Delta\chi^2(912) = 131.21^{***}$

Notes. All comparisons are relative to Model 1. In Model 1, all 13 variables were loaded onto their hypothesized latent variable. In Model 2, newcomer new ideas feasibility and frequency were loaded onto a single factor. In Model 3, newcomer task socialization and task performance were loaded onto a single factor. In Model 4, newcomer task socialization and organizational socialization were loaded onto a single factor. In Model 5, newcomer challenge and hindrance stress were loaded onto a single factor. CFI, comparative fit index; TLI, Tucker–Lewis index; RMSEA, root mean square error of approximation.

$^{***}p < 0.001$.

variables, and we estimated the covariance between the error terms of the mediators.

To increase statistical power and reduce the potential missing data bias, our main analyses used FIML estimates obtained using the lavaan package in R (Rosseel 2012). Defined as a saturated structural model, FIML procedures enable us to estimate the parameters of interest directly from the incomplete data matrix because no correlations are assumed to be zero (Newman 2014), which also prevents possible bias in the tests that might arise as a result of unmodeled sources of covariation across the two mediators

(Preacher and Hayes 2008). To estimate as few parameters as needed for the missing data treatment to avoid estimation problems and convergence failures (Newman 2014), the mean score for each scale was used as an indicator and all variables in our model were defined as single indicator latent variables. This specification simplifies the model estimation among the study variables, yields a saturated model that more closely aligns with the analogous analysis conducted on the complete data sample, and yields parameter estimates that resemble those of ordinary least squares (Enders et al. 2014).

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Reliabilities ($N = 325$)

Variable no.	Dependent and independent variable	Wave	Mean	SD	alpha	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	*Newcomer new ideas feasibility*	1	3.53	0.70	0.89											
2	*Newcomer self-promotion*	1	3.38	0.74	0.87	0.54										
3	*Sup. support for newcomer creativity*	2	3.56	0.86	0.85	0.23	0.19									
4	*Sup. intensity of newcomer socialization*	2	2.24	0.78	0.81	−0.19	−0.21	−0.28								
5	*Newcomer task socialization*	3	4.15	0.61	0.83	0.35	0.36	0.29	−0.32							
6	*Newcomer org socialization*	3	4.17	0.62	0.89	0.44	0.46	0.26	−0.32	0.72						
7	*Newcomer task performance*	3	4.13	0.72	0.94	0.44	0.42	0.28	−0.33	0.74	0.69					
8	*Newcomer social integration*	3	4.32	0.75	0.91	0.14	0.15	0.32	−0.33	0.22	0.22	0.23				
9	*Newcomer job satisfaction*	3	3.79	0.87	—	0.17	0.21	0.28	−0.24	0.33	0.26	0.30	0.45			
10	*Newcomer challenge stressor*	3	3.10	1.00	0.90	0.03	0.13	0.19	−0.07	0.10	0.11	0.03	0.06	0.04		
11	*Newcomer hindrance stressor*	3	2.75	0.88	0.68	−0.02	−0.10	−0.10	0.27	−0.05	−0.04	−0.16	−0.24	−0.23	0.36	
Control variables																
12	*Newcomer new ideas frequency*	1	3.07	0.75	0.88	0.66	0.52	0.13	−0.13	0.33	0.34	0.37	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.00
13	*Newcomer ingratiation*	1	2.89	0.69	0.70	0.28	0.37	0.18	−0.09	0.19	0.19	0.20	0.12	0.04	0.07	0.03
14	*Newcomer authentic self-expression*	1	3.90	0.86	0.84	0.12	0.16	0.23	−0.10	0.01	0.07	0.11	0.18	0.22	−0.05	−0.11
15	*Newcomer grades (GPA)*	—	0.51	0.28	—	0.09	0.05	0.12	−0.11	0.14	0.17	0.21	0.03	0.04	0.10	0.03
16	*Newcomer is male*	—	0.43	0.49	—	0.02	0.08	0.05	0.08	0.02	0.03	−0.02	−0.03	0.03	0.04	0.01
17	*Newcomer-supervisor are same gender*	—	0.55	0.50	—	0.00	−0.01	0.07	−0.04	−0.12	−0.03	−0.04	0.06	−0.03	−0.04	0.02
18	*Newcomer-supervisor age difference*	—	18.79	8.65	—	−0.07	−0.01	0.07	−0.01	0.13	0.10	0.08	−0.02	0.14	−0.04	0.07
19	*Supervisor involved in recruitment*	—	0.77	0.42	—	0.09	0.09	0.17	0.04	0.15	0.11	0.07	0.03	0.12	0.03	0.08
20	*Size of organization*	—	1.95	1.39	—	0.06	0.00	0.04	−0.05	0.10	0.13	−0.01	0.11	0.08	0.03	−0.06
21	*Service sector*	—	0.46	0.50	—	0.09	0.11	0.04	−0.03	0.06	0.03	0.05	0.13	0.11	0.10	−0.12
22	*Manufacturing sector*	—	0.15	0.36	—	−0.03	−0.06	0.03	0.03	−0.08	−0.07	−0.08	−0.06	−0.08	0.00	0.10
23	*Low R&D sector*	—	0.61	0.49	—	0.07	0.15	−0.01	−0.09	0.08	0.11	0.07	0.06	0.04	0.01	−0.13
24	*Sales/Marketing function*	—	0.58	0.49	—	−0.09	0.01	0.02	−0.05	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.05	−0.03	0.05	0.09
25	*Finance/Accounting function*	—	0.20	0.40	—	−0.02	−0.07	−0.06	0.03	−0.06	−0.04	0.00	−0.07	−0.04	−0.10	−0.12

Notes. Means, standard deviations (SD), and correlations were estimated using FIML procedures. Correlations greater than $|0.11|$ were significant at the 95% level (two-tailed tests).

Results

The results of our main quantitative analyses testing each of our hypothesis using FIML are displayed in Tables 3 and 4. Our theoretical framework posits that the feasibility of new ideas (Hypotheses 1a and 1b) and self-promotion (Hypotheses 2a and 2b) can trigger either supervisor investiture or divestiture tactics. To avoid potential artifacts as a result of multicollinearity, we started our multivariate analysis first by first introducing *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* (Models 1 and 2) and *Newcomer Self-Promotion* (Models 3 and 4) separately and then by presenting a full model (Models 5 and 6) in Table 3. Hypotheses 3 and 4 are then tested in Models 7–13, displayed in Tables 3 and 4.

Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility and Supervisor Use of Investiture and Divestiture Tactics

Hypotheses 1a and 1b. Hypotheses 1a and 1b predict that supervisor initial evaluation of temporary *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* should lead to an increased subsequent supervisor use of investiture tactics (higher support for newcomer creativity) and a decreased use of divestiture tactics (lower socialization intensity), respectively. An initial analysis of our qualitative data supported our predictions; supervisors often mentioned their preference for newcomers who propose feasible ideas—even if fewer of them—compared with newcomers who propose many, but less implementable, ideas:

> Most of the young people [newcomers] have a lot of ideas related to their immediate environment, and some can be pretty interesting, but what they miss generally is the impact of their idea on the global environment and more importantly the feasibility of their idea. (Supervisor 10)

> You have some newcomers, they arrive, they want to change everything, they have tons of ideas about revolutionizing everything. That's good, that's why we hire young people, in order to have a new perspective. But what I really care about is not the amount of ideas that the guy can have but that at least one idea is realistic, and then we can work together in order to try to see how to implement his idea. (Supervisor 23)

Moreover, supervisors often brought up the responsibility they feel to provide newcomers with a better understanding of their environment and to try to co-build a way to implement newcomer ideas. When supervisors perceived an idea coming from a newcomer as doable and realistic, it influenced the amount of support that they were willing to provide to the newcomer to develop this idea. This is supported by our quantitative analysis; Model 1 (Table 3) provides initial statistical support for Hypothesis 1a, showing a statistically significant and positive coefficient for *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* ($B = 0.25$, se = 0.09, $p < 0.01$). Similarly, Model 2 reports a negative

statistically significant coefficient between temporary *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* and *Newcomer Socialization Intensity*, in line with Hypothesis 1b ($B = -0.19$, se = 0.09, $p < 0.05$). These initial partial models thus suggest that both Hypotheses 1a and 1b are supported by our data. The results are largely consistent with the complete models (Models 5 and 6), as the direction and size of our coefficients do not substantially change; however, in Model 6, the confidence level of the coefficient between *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* and *Newcomer Socialization Intensity* (Hypothesis 1b) drops from 95% to 88% ($B = -0.14$, se = 0.09, $p = 0.12$).

Newcomer Self-Promotion and Supervisor Use of Investiture and Divestiture Tactics

Hypotheses 2a and 2b. We then move to the multivariate tests of Hypotheses 2a and 2b, where we investigate whether the supervisor's initial evaluation of temporary *Newcomer Self-Promotion* relates positively to the supervisor's subsequent support for newcomer creativity (Hypothesis 2a, Model 3) and negatively to the supervisor's subsequent intensity of socialization (Hypothesis 2b, Model 4). Model 3 shows a positive, albeit not statistically significant, effect of *Newcomer Self-Promotion* on *Supervisor Support for Newcomer Creativity* ($B = 0.08$, se = 0.08, $p = 0.29$), whereas Model 4 reports a statically significant negative relationship between *Newcomer Self-Promotion* and the intensity of newcomer socialization ($B = -0.18$, se = 0.07, $p < 0.05$). We thus find statistical support at the 95% confidence level for Hypothesis 2b but not for Hypothesis 2a. The same results were confirmed by the complete models (Models 5 and 6).

Supervisors echoed these results in the qualitative evidence, highlighting the necessity for newcomers to be able to promote their work and communicate their accomplishments to the rest of the organization. Indeed, supervisors mentioned in their interviews that if the content—the quality of the work and ideas provided by the newcomer—was beneficial, it needed to be advertised in order to be acknowledged and recognized by the organization. The lack of statistical support for Hypothesis 2a may be explained by supervisors suggesting that newcomers did not need investiture support when they demonstrated the ability to act independently through self-promotion:

> Some know very well how to communicate even the smallest of their accomplishment[s] even if they don't bring much to the team. These people[,] I know that they will be fine, so I don't spend much time developing them[;] I prefer to concentrate on those that bring value to the team[,] that want to improve themselves and the team, that bring new ideas and solutions but that don't know how to communicate what they did. (Supervisor 40)

Table 3. Structural Equation Model with FIML Estimates and Control Variables (N = 325)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
	Sup. Support for Newcomer Creativity	Sup. Intensity of Newcomer Socialization	Sup. Support for Newcomer Creativity	Sup. Intensity of Newcomer Socialization	Sup. Support for Newcomer Creativity	Sup. Intensity of Newcomer Socialization
	H1a only	*H1b only*	*H2a only*	*H2b only*	*H1a & H2a*	*H1b & H2b*
Intercept	0.99 (0.42)*	3.75 (0.40)***	1.26 (0.41)***	3.62 (0.38)***	0.98 (0.42)*	3.78 (0.40)***
Independent Variables						
Newcomer new ideas feasibility	0.25 (0.09)**	−0.19 (0.09)*			0.24 (0.10)*	−0.14 (0.09)
Newcomer self-promotion			0.08 (0.08)	−0.18 (0.07)*	0.02 (0.08)	−0.15 (0.08)*
Control Variables						
Newcomer new ideas frequency	−0.10 (0.09)	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	−0.03 (0.07)	−0.11 (0.09)	0.04 (0.08)
Newcomer ingratiation	0.20 (0.07)**	−0.09 (0.07)	0.19 (0.08)*	−0.06 (0.07)	0.19 (0.08)*	−0.06 (0.07)
Newcomer authentic self-expression	0.19 (0.06)***	−0.08 (0.05)	0.19 (0.06)***	−0.07 (0.05)	0.19 (0.06)***	−0.07 (0.05)
Newcomer grades (GPA)	0.35 (0.18)†	−0.21 (0.17)	0.40 (0.18)*	−0.23 (0.17)	0.35 (0.18)†	−0.19 (0.17)
Newcomer is male	0.12 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.14 (0.10)	0.12 (0.10)	0.15 (0.10)
Newcomer-supervisor are same gender	0.12 (0.10)	−0.07 (0.09)	0.11 (0.10)	−0.07 (0.09)	0.12 (0.10)	−0.07 (0.09)
Newcomer-supervisor age difference	0.01 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.01)
Supervisor involved in recruitment	0.24 (0.12)*	0.18 (0.11)	0.25 (0.12)*	0.17 (0.11)	0.24 (0.12)*	0.18 (0.11)
Size of organization	0.01 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.03)
Service sector	0.09 (0.11)	0.00 (0.10)	0.08 (0.11)	0.01 (0.10)	0.09 (0.11)	0.01 (0.10)
Manufacturing sector	0.06 (0.16)	−0.09 (0.15)	0.06 (0.16)	−0.07 (0.15)	0.06 (0.16)	−0.07 (0.15)
Low R&D sector	−0.06 (0.12)	−0.17 (0.11)	−0.08 (0.12)	−0.14 (0.11)	−0.07 (0.12)	−0.14 (0.11)
Sales/Marketing function	0.02 (0.12)	−0.13 (0.12)	−0.02 (0.12)	−0.10 (0.12)	0.02 (0.12)	−0.13 (0.12)
Finance/Accounting function	−0.05 (0.16)	−0.13 (0.15)	−0.06 (0.16)	−0.13 (0.14)	−0.05 (0.16)	−0.14 (0.14)
R^2	0.16	0.08	0.14	0.08	0.16	0.09

Notes. Unstandardized coefficients are reported. Two-tailed tests. *H*, hypothesis. To test H1a and H1b while accounting for missing data using FIML procedures, self-promotion is introduced as an auxiliary variable in Models 1 and 2. To test H2a and H2b while accounting for missing data using FIML procedures, idea feasibility is introduced as an auxiliary variable in Models 3 and 4. All Models from 5 and 6 are part of a single structural model where idea feasibility and self-promotion are included as regressors for all predictors. Coefficients in bold are used for hypotheses testing.

† $p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

Table 4. Structural Equation Model with FIML Estimates and Control Variables (N = 325)

	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13
	Newcomer Task Socialization	Newcomer Org Socialization	Newcomer Task Performance	Newcomer Social Integration	Newcomer Job Satisfaction	Newcomer Challenge Stress	Newcomer Hindrance Stress
	H3 & H4	H3 & H4	H3 & H4	H3 & H4	H3 & H4	H3 & H4	H3 & H4
Intercept	3.03 (0.35)***	2.47 (0.35)***	2.21 (0.41)***	3.51 (0.42)***	2.54 (0.51)***	2.64 (0.63)***	2.23 (0.53)***
Independent Variables							
Sup. support for newcomer creativity	**0.10 (0.04)***	**0.06 (0.04)**	**0.09 (0.05)***	**0.18 (0.05)*****	**0.16 (0.07)***	**0.21 (0.08)****	**−0.06 (0.07)**
Sup. intensity of newcomer socialization	**−0.17 (0.05)*****	**−0.15 (0.05)****	**−0.18 (0.06)****	**−0.23 (0.06)*****	**−0.18 (0.07)****	**−0.02 (0.08)**	**0.27 (0.07)*****
Control Variables							
Newcomer new ideas feasibility	0.07 (0.07)	0.18 (0.07)**	0.20 (0.08)*	0.12 (0.08)	0.10 (0.10)	−0.11 (0.12)	0.09 (0.10)
Newcomer self-promotion	0.14 (0.06)*	0.22 (0.06)***	0.19 (0.06)**	0.04 (0.07)	0.18 (0.09)*	0.18 (0.10)†	−0.12 (0.09)
Newcomer new ideas frequency	0.12 (0.06)†	0.04 (0.06)	0.09 (0.07)	−0.18 (0.08)*	−0.14 (0.09)	−0.04 (0.11)	0.04 (0.09)
Newcomer ingratiation	0.03 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.09 (0.07)	−0.06 (0.08)	0.03 (0.10)	0.11 (0.09)
Newcomer authentic self-expression	−0.07 (0.04)†	−0.03 (0.04)	−0.00 (0.05)	0.10 (0.05)*	0.14 (0.06)*	−0.13 (0.07)†	−0.10 (0.06)†
Newcomer grades (GPA)	0.16 (0.13)	0.26 (0.13)†	0.42 (0.15)**	−0.12 (0.16)	−0.05 (0.18)	0.32 (0.23)	0.12 (0.19)
Newcomer is male	0.04 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	−0.03 (0.08)	−0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.10)	0.14 (0.13)	0.03 (0.11)
Newcomer-supervisor are same gender	−0.19 (0.07)**	−0.08 (0.06)	−0.10 (0.08)	0.07 (0.08)	−0.09 (0.09)	−0.08 (0.12)	0.04 (0.10)
Newcomer-supervisor age difference	0.01 (0.00)*	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)*	−0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Supervisor involved in recruitment	0.14 (0.08)†	0.05 (0.08)	0.01 (0.09)	−0.03 (0.10)	0.13 (0.12)	0.02 (0.15)	0.22 (0.13)†
Size of organization	0.03 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)*	−0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.04)
Service sector	−0.03 (0.08)	−0.07 (0.08)	0.02 (0.09)	0.14 (0.09)	0.15 (0.11)	0.18 (0.14)	−0.15 (0.12)
Manufacturing sector	−0.13 (0.11)	−0.07 (0.11)	−0.12 (0.13)	−0.06 (0.14)	−0.23 (0.16)	0.06 (0.20)	0.05 (0.17)
Low R&D sector	−0.06 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	−0.06 (0.10)	−0.00 (0.10)	−0.13 (0.12)	−0.09 (0.15)	−0.17 (0.12)
Sales/Marketing function	0.04 (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)	0.07 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)	−0.17 (0.12)	−0.00 (0.15)	0.11 (0.13)
Finance/Accounting function	−0.01 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	0.18 (0.12)	−0.04 (0.13)	−0.12 (0.15)	−0.18 (0.19)	−0.29 (0.16)†
R^2	0.32	0.36	0.35	0.22	0.20	0.09	0.16

Notes. Unstandardized coefficients are reported. Two-tailed tests. All Models from 7 to 13 are part of a single structural model where ideafeasibility and self-promotion are included as regressors for all predictors. *H,* hypothesis. Coefficients in bold are used for hypotheses testing.
†$p < .10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

However, when supervisors did not perceive their newcomers as able to promote their accomplishments, they were more likely to encourage their newcomers to change their way of presenting themselves and how they communicated and interacted with others:

> For me those who naturally come to show me or tell what they have done right, they understood the rules of the game. In this case I consider that I should not interfere too much and just accompany their development. On the other hand, those that don't tell me anything even if they did very well[,] I really try to help them to change because … they have to realize that to be recognized it's almost as much based on what you do than on how you communicate it. (Supervisor 26)

> At [name of firm], the relationships between people are very important and the new entrant has to show what he is capable of to his supervisors. If he's not capable of promoting himself and [able] to show what he has done well, he'll plateau in his job and he'll do always the same thing …. Those who are good on the content but not on the shape, I'll help them to present their work better and to talk like a person from [name of firm]. (Supervisor 14)

Robustness analyses revealed the presence of a quadratic effect for Hypothesis 2b;[5] when including a quadratic term for self-promotion, results show that the linear term of self-promotion on divestiture socialization to be negative and statistically significant ($B = -0.74$, se $= 0.33$, $p < 0.05$) and that the quadratic effect is positive and marginally significant ($B = 0.09$, se $= 0.05$, $p = 0.08$). Figure 2 shows a graphic representation of the relationship between newcomer self-promotion and the use of divestiture tactics by supervisors.

These results suggest that supervisors resort to divestiture tactics more intensively when newcomers are extremely low on self-promotion. However, the negative relationship becomes weaker as level of *Newcomer Self-Promotion* reported by supervisors' increases. This is consistent with our expectation that divestiture is an extreme tactic that supervisors use more when newcomers severely struggle to autonomously promote their activities within the firm.

The Impact of Supervisor Use of Investiture Tactics on Socialization Adjustment Outcomes

Hypothesis 3. In Hypotheses 3 and 4, we argue that supervisor use of investiture and divestiture tactics have important implications on newcomer socialization outcomes. Regarding Hypothesis 3, which focuses on socialization investiture through support for creativity, results displayed in Table 4 show that this type of supervisor support behavior has a positive impact on temporary *Newcomer Task Socialization* (Model 7 (Hypothesis 3a): $B = 0.10$, se $= 0.04$, $p < 0.05$), *Organizational Socialization* (Model 8 (Hypothesis 3c): $B = 0.06$, se $= 0.04$,

Figure 2. Estimated Relationship Between Newcomer Self-Promotion and Supervisor Intensity of Newcomer Socialization
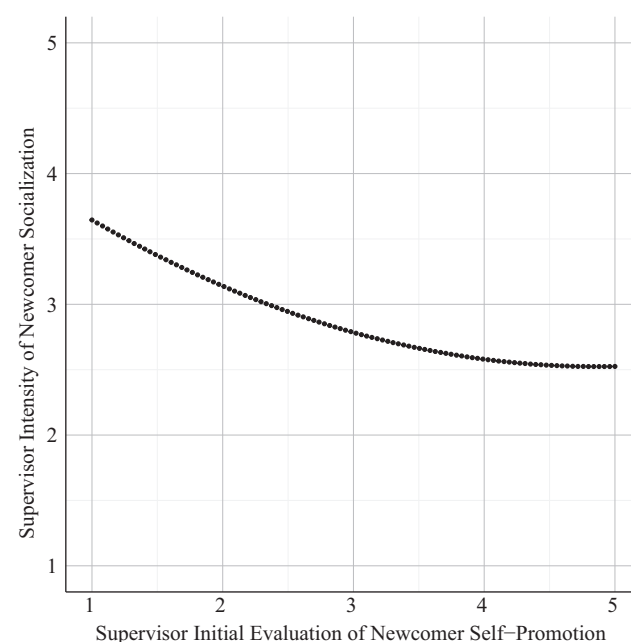
$p = 0.11$), *Task Performance* (Model 9 (Hypothesis 3d): $B = 0.09$, se $= 0.05$, $p < 0.05$), *Social Integration* (Model 10 (Hypothesis 3b): $B = 0.18$, se $= 0.05$, $p < 0.001$), *Job Satisfaction* (Model 11 (Hypothesis 3e): $B = 0.16$, se $= 0.07$, $p < 0.05$), and *Challenge Stress* (Model 12 (Hypothesis 3f): $B = 0.21$, se $= 0.08$, $p < 0.01$). This relationship was not significant for *Hindrance Stress* (Model 13: $B = -0.06$, se $= 0.07$, $p = 0.41$), indicating that socialization investiture through support for creativity makes newcomers relate the increasing demands as opportunities for personal growth and achievement (associated to challenge stress) without necessarily leading to emotional exhaustion (associated to hindrance stress). Hypothesis 3 thus finds support in our quantitative analysis.

The positive relationship between supervisor support for newcomer creativity and newcomer socialization and adjustment outcomes is also confirmed by our interviews. Indeed, supervisors highlight the importance for newcomers to demonstrate their ability to contribute new ideas to their team to get rid of their status of newcomer and be considered as a peer by their colleagues. To do so, supervisors underline the difficulty newcomers may have expressing their ideas in front of work colleagues and to have these ideas accepted by them. Supervisors play a crucial role in the way they support the creativity of their newcomers by encouraging and helping them when newcomers are facing difficulties or may lose motivation, sometimes by actively forcing newcomer's work colleagues to adopt a more welcoming attitude:

> A newcomer starts to be really integrated and respected by his colleagues when he can demonstrate

that he is able to think by himself, when he provides ideas of his own but it takes time. Even the new entrants who try to bring something new, most of the time, they are discouraged very quickly, as soon as they face an obstacle, they abandon. So it's my job as a manager to accompany them and to help them so that when they have a good idea they can transform it into something concrete, show it to their colleagues and say[,] see[,] I am not anymore the newcomer that does not know anything. But some colleagues are very negative or do not let the newcomer talk[;] that's when you have to intervene if you want the new entrant to have a chance. (Supervisor 2)

Our interviews also show that those supervisors who clearly value their newcomer's creativity and are willing to provide support to their newcomers also tend to expect their newcomers to be proactive and to provide ideas or remarks that challenge the status quo. These expectations from the supervisor, even if they can foster the newcomers' integration, as well as their learning and achievement, can also be potentially perceived by newcomers as a source of challenge stressors:

If they [newcomers] have an idea, my door is always open …. I don't want a new entrant who always says, "yes, sir" and follows scrupulously everything I tell him to do. I expect someone that sometimes tells me, "no[,] you're wrong and this is why[,]" or "you should do things this way instead of that way." (Supervisor 35)

The Impact of Supervisor Use of Divestiture Tactics on Socialization Adjustment Outcomes

Hypothesis 4. In the quantitative tests of Hypothesis 4, where the focus is on intensity of divestiture socialization, we find that this supervisory action has a negative relationship with temporary newcomer *Task Socialization* (Model 7 (Hypothesis 4a): $B = -0.17$, se $= 0.05$, $p < 0.001$), *Organizational Socialization* (Model 8 (Hypothesis 4c): $B = -0.15$, se $= 0.05$, $p < 0.01$), *Task Performance* (Model 9 (Hypothesis 4d): $B = -0.18$, se $= 0.06$, $p < 0.01$), *Social Integration* (Model 10 (Hypothesis 4b): $B = -0.23$, se $= 0.06$, $p < 0.001$), and *Job Satisfaction* (Model 11 (Hypothesis 4e): $B = -0.18$, se $= 0.07$, $p < 0.01$), and it positively relates to hindrance stressors (Model 13 (Hypothesis 4f): $B = 0.27$, se $= 0.07$, $p < 0.001$). Although the intensity of socialization makes newcomers more likely to experience emotional exhaustion (associated to hindrance stress), it does not relate to stress that could lead to personal growth and achievement (associated to *Challenge Stress*; Model 12: $B = -0.02$, se $= 0.08$, $p = 0.79$). Hypothesis 4 is thus supported by our quantitative data.

Supervisors often suggested in their interviews that when they were socializing their newcomers too intensively, it sometimes had counterproductive effects. When supervisors used a more directive style,

newcomers felt that they were unable to express their personality or that the supervisor was forcing them to be someone else, and thus they were less likely to adapt to their new environment and to integrate into their new social circles, demonstrated little openness to change, and actively resisted their supervisor's attempts to modify their behavior at work. Moreover, by socializing their newcomers in such an intense way, supervisors were increasing the tension experienced by newcomers as well as their unwillingness to compromise or improve, which are characteristics of hindrance stress:

I realized that I was way too pushy with newcomers[;] to a certain extent I was expecting them to behave like me instead of being themselves. When I realized that, I started engaging much more in a conversation with them to keep what was good and change what needed to be improved, and the results were way better. (Supervisor 5)

Sometimes, especially for those that I think that they will struggle to integrate, I tend to be more directive and tell them more what they should do how they should behave. But you have careful with that because if they feel that you trying to reshape their personality, they dig their heels in and don't accept any remark from you. You have also to show them that to a certain extent you are willing to accept them as they are. (Supervisor 20)

Test of Scope Conditions: Analysis on Receiving a Job Offer and R&D Intensity

Job Offers. Consistent with our scope conditions, we explored whether receiving an offer could be considered a positive outcome of newcomer successful socialization (i.e., whether the intervening mechanisms of our theoretical model help explain attempts to retain the temporary newcomers). We tested this assumption by collecting archival data on whether newcomers received an offer from the company they worked for. These data were independently collected through a survey sent by the office overseeing the apprentissage program to supervisors who participated in the apprenticeship program after our primary data collection was over. The response rate for the survey was 66.46%, yielding 216 responses. We complemented the survey with data from LinkedIn, by checking whether newcomers ended up staying at their company after their temporary contracts were over. This yielded a total usable sample of 314 cases, with 117 (37%) receiving an offer at the end of their temporary contract. We then used a dummy variable indicating whether they received an offer (1 = yes) as an alternative dependent variable to test Hypotheses 3 and 4. After dropping cases with missing data for any of the variables ($n = 197$), results produced are illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Model Results Predicting Job Offers (*n* = 197)
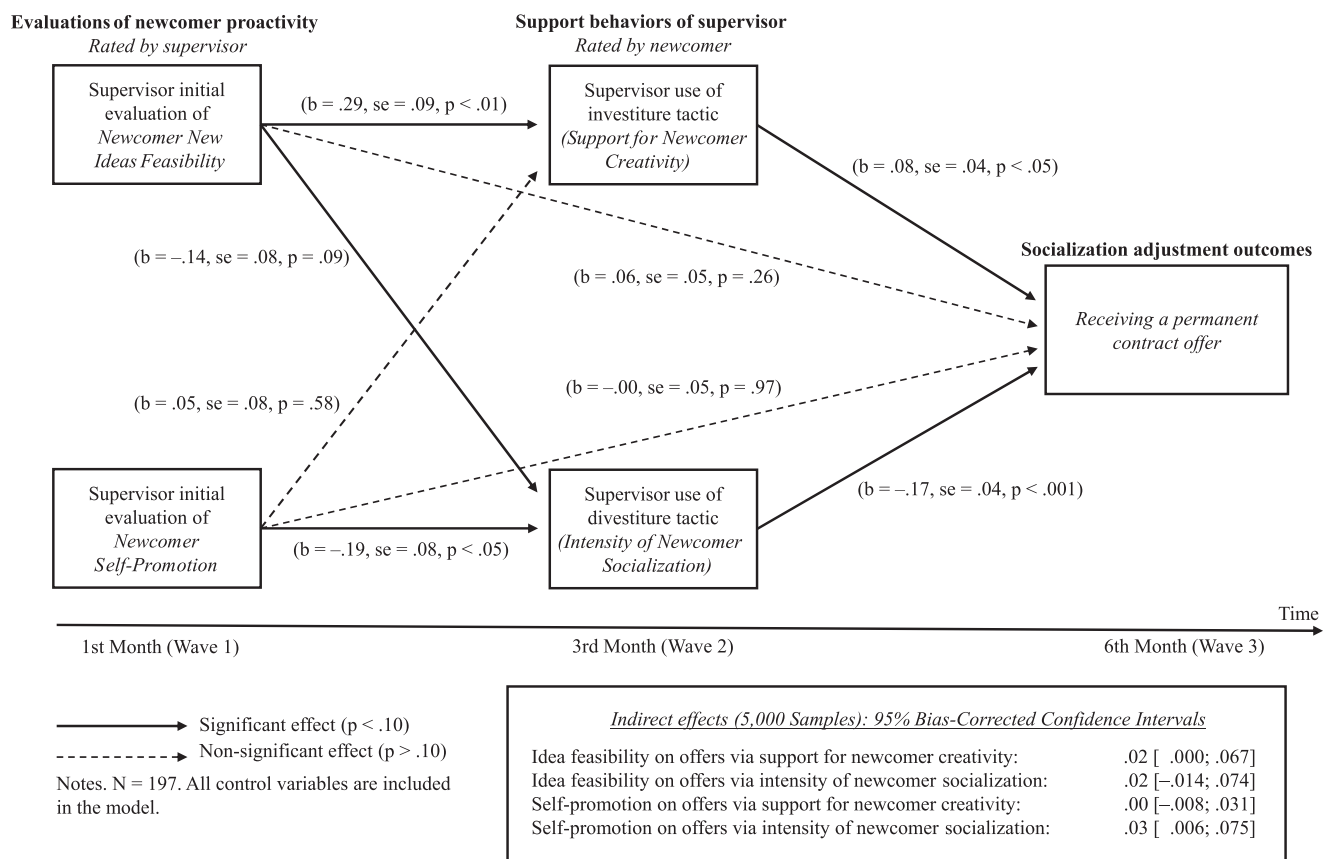
As shown by Figure 3, neither supervisor initial evaluations of *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* (B = 0.06, se = 0.05, p = 0.26) nor such evaluations of *Newcomer Self-Promotion* (B = –0.00, se = 0.05, p = 0.97) have a direct effect on receiving an offer. Although this suggests that once we account for supervisory behaviors in the context of temporary newcomers, initial impressions do not directly lead to hiring decisions, we believe it is important to consider the role of supervisory behaviors as an intervening mechanism in the relationship between initial impression and permanent position offers. For instance, supervisor initial evaluation of temporary *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* positively relates to supervisor subsequent *Support for Newcomer Creativity* (B = 0.29, se = 0.09, p < 0.01), with the latter being positively related to receiving an offer for a permanent position (B = 0.08, se = 0.04, p < 0.05). *Supervisor Support for Newcomer Creativity* accounts for a significant amount of the variance mediating supervisor initial evaluation of temporary *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* and receiving an offer for a permanent position (B = 0.02, 5,000 samples; 95% bias-corrected confidence interval (CI) = [0.000, 0.067]), providing evidence for it serving as an intervening mechanism. Similarly, supervisor initial evaluation of *Newcomer Self-Promotion* negatively relates to supervisor subsequent

Intensity of Newcomer Socialization (B = –0.19, se = 0.08, p < 0.05), which, in turn, negatively relates to offers (B = –0.17, se = 0.04, p < 0.001). Again, a mediation test shows that *Supervisor Intensity of Newcomer Socialization* acts as an intervening mechanism linking positive initial evaluations of temporary *Newcomer Self-Promotion* to receiving an offer for a permanent position (B = 0.03, 5,000 samples; 95% bias-corrected CI = [0.006, 0.075]). Overall, this analysis confirms that supervisor initial impressions of newcomer proactiveness influence supervisor support behaviors leading to job offers and thus the ultimate retention of temporary newcomers.

R&D Intensity. Our scope conditions posit that the organization's level of innovativeness should impact the applicability of our theoretical model. Previous studies have demonstrated that an organization's level of investment in R&D has an impact on the creativity of its employees (Murphy and Kumar 1996), as well as the level of autonomy experienced by its employees (Chen et al. 2015). We thus expect to find that the positive effect of *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* on *Supervisor Support for Newcomer Creativity* (Hypothesis 1a) and the negative effect of *Newcomer Self-Promotion* on *Newcomer Socialization Intensity* (Hypothesis 2b) will

be stronger for newcomer–supervisor dyads working in firms that are high on R&D intensity than those working in firms that are low on R&D intensity.

One common method to assess an organization's innovative culture is to measure its level of investment in R&D (Wyld and Maurin 2009). In line with this rationale, we used the publicly available data of R&D expenditure level by economic sector in France (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques 2015) and created a dummy variable to assess R&D intensity (1 = low[6]) for the 245 organizations included in our sample. We tested this scope condition by estimating all relationships included in our hypothesized model (see Figure 1) following a split-sample approach and FIML procedures, splitting the sample into newcomer–supervisor dyads working in industries that score mid-high on R&D intensity (n = 128) and newcomer–supervisor dyads working in industries that are low on R&D intensity (n = 197). Results suggest that the positive effect of *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* on *Supervisor Support for Newcomer Creativity* (mid-high R&D: B = 0.41, se = 0.18, p < 0.05; low R&D: B = 0.13, se = 0.15, p = 0.39) and the negative effect of *Newcomer Self-Promotion* on *Newcomer Socialization Intensity* (mid-high R&D: B = –0.29, se = 0.11, p < 0.05; low R&D: B = –0.12, se = 0.12, p = 0.28) were bigger and statistically significant for newcomers working in firms that are mid-high on R&D intensity; conversely, the same effects were smaller and nonsignificant for those working in firms that are low on R&D intensity. Although the directions of the effects were as expected in both samples, the difference in significance and coefficient magnitude suggest that firms that operate in intensive R&D environments may rely more on supervisors' autonomy, as they seem to give them more discretion to behave in accordance with their initial impressions of temporary newcomers when socializing them.

Robustness Tests

We conducted four sets of robustness tests. First, to check for potential multicollinearity, we calculated the variance inflation factors (VIFs) for self-promotion, new idea feasibility, and all control variables using the corresponding correlations reported in Table 2. All the resulting VIFs (min = 1.02, max = 2.15) are smaller than 10, suggesting that our results are robust to multicollinearity (Thompson et al. 2017). Moreover, because of the high correlation between *Newcomer New Ideas Feasibility* and *Newcomer New Ideas Frequency* (r = 0.66), we reran all our Tables 3 and 4 models without *Newcomer New Ideas Frequency* to ensure the consistency of the coefficients of our explanatory variables. The results, available in Table A1 in the online appendix, confirm the results of our main analyses.

Second, the 325 newcomers come from 245 different organizations; therefore, we reran our main model by clustering standard errors at the organization level. Because 236 of the 245 clusters (organizations) present in our data are of size 3 or smaller and capture 86.15% of the observations, these additional results show that accounting for a nested error structure at the organizational level does not seem to have a fundamental impact on our results (see Table A2 in the online appendix).

Third, we respecified our structural model by including the control variables as auxiliary variables. This entails adding all the control variables as saturated covariates (i.e., including all possible associations among the auxiliary variables as well as all possible associations between the auxiliary variables and substantive model variables) to our main model. The auxiliary portion of the model helps reduce biases related to missing data in our study variables and restores lost power because of attrition or other forms of missing data in FIML estimates. Consistent with previous research, including those variables as auxiliary variables does not disturb the causal paths presented in Tables 3 and 4 and leads to the same conclusions derived from our main analysis (Graham and Coffman 2012; see Table A3 in the online appendix for details).

Fourth, we estimated a structural equation model excluding all control variables and only those cases without any missing data to test if the results reported in Tables 3 and 4 were driven by the procedures we implemented to account for missing data (Table A4 in the online appendix). Considering the results when control variables are included as auxiliary (n = 325) and the results when applying listwise deletion (n = 191), the results reported in our main analysis do not seem to be artifacts of the procedures implemented to account for missing data. Therefore, our results are robust, and our model specification for FIML procedures increases the statistical power of the significance tests without significantly biasing our results.

Discussion

How are socialization processes evolving in a world in which employment relations are increasingly flexible, shorter, and less stable, and organizations are flatter and more agile? Building on the literature on the socialization of interns and apprentices (e.g., Beenen and Rousseau 2010 and Commeiras et al. 2013), our work contributes to the socialization literature by providing key findings to answer this fundamental question. We focused on the role of supervisors in managing temporary newcomers, a type of employment that is more and more used in organizations that aim at first selecting, screening, and testing trainees before eventually hiring them on a more permanent

basis. Our quantitative and qualitative data reveal that supervisors take on a more active, gate-keeping role, in which they independently activate support behaviors depending on whether newcomers espouse proactive behaviors early on in their employment relationship. These findings underline the autonomous role of supervisors who, through positive and/or negative support, shape the socialization of the newcomer.

Theoretical Contributions
Our article contributes to socialization theories in three ways. The Role of Supervisor Autonomy in Newcomer Socialization. The context in which newcomers are socialized today has fundamentally changed from the stable, vertical careers that were predominant during the development of foundational organizational socialization theories (Van Maanen and Schein 1979, Jones 1986). With increasing frequency, newcomers are hired—and socialized—on a temporary contract first, before getting a longer-term contract that often organically evolves into a boundaryless career characterized by frequent job and position changes throughout their career (Ashford et al. 2007). Our findings show that supervisors value and prioritize supporting temporary newcomers who are able to stand out by showcasing their ability to improve the status quo (via proposing feasible ideas) in a realistic manner and are able to communicate their accomplishments (via self-promotion).

Our model thus complements and extends the theoretical scope of Ellis et al. (2017) by illustrating that supervisors may evaluate newcomer proactivity by attending to a wider set of factors. Indeed, whereas Ellis et al. (2017) focused on behaviors that help the newcomer to fit with the existing environment, focusing on newcomer commitment to task mastery and social adjustment, our model focuses on how newcomer proactive behaviors are signals of newcomer ability to not only fit in but also stand out (feasibility of new ideas and self-promotion), which in turn triggers supervisor support behaviors. We want to stress that our model does not work in opposition to Ellis et al. (2017) but rather describes processes that are largely complementary and might be prevalent depending on various theoretical dimensions.[7]

The first dimension relates to the nature of the employment relationship. Whereas Ellis et al. (2017) studied permanent workers, we analyzed temporary newcomers during the period that could precede permanent hiring. In the case of permanent workers, it is likely that supervisors focus more on their long-term development, making the commitment-information supply model of Ellis et al. more likely to be the underlying process that determines supervisor agency. In our case, the potential temporary nature of the relationship between trainees and supervisors emphasizes a focus on skills that signal a newcomer's ability to become a valuable and independent player in the organization. This is particularly important given that newcomers rarely stay for long in the same position and that they will probably work for a different manager/department in the future, so supervisors are likely more oriented to making sure newcomers have the skills to adapt to their subsequent position.

A second theoretical dimension relates to the nature of newcomers' careers. Ellis et al. (2017) study software engineers who specialize in developing software applications; our sample includes young white-collar trainees on a general management path. The distinction between careers that are either more traditional (specialized, vertical, and function-based) or "boundaryless" likely determines which facets supervisors may use to evaluate newcomer proactivity. It is reasonable to expect that supervisors managing newcomers in specialized careers will be more proactive in developing the critical tasks that allow one to specialize even further; thus, showing task mastery and receiving task information constitute the positive feedback loop that allows specialist newcomers to be successful. On the other hand, the critical aspect for white-collar newcomers on boundaryless management paths is to act as independent change agents who can adapt to fluctuating tasks, social surroundings, and varying challenges; as such, proactive behaviors are more likely to be related to the ability to generate implementable ideas and self-promote their competences and skills.

A final dimension relates to the wider cultural context, whether at the professional, industry, or national level. Our paper suggests that organizational characteristics such as the level of R&D could impact the way supervisors socialize their newcomers. Even though the analysis for the impact of context on supervisory socialization tactics was exploratory in nature, these preliminary findings are aligned with Taormina's (2008) study that found that an innovative organizational culture impacts the way organizational members socialize newcomers. These preliminary findings are aligned with several recent papers that analyze simultaneously the newcomer, the supervisor, and the organization (Lapointe et al. 2013, Nasr et al. 2019, Kim and Moon 2021) with the aim of understanding how the organizational culture can influence both supervisors' behavior during the socialization process and newcomers' socialization outcomes. We collected responses from participants in the apprenticeship program and their supervisors across France, a culture in which the successful socialization of newcomers is considered vitally important (Perrot et al. 2014). In contrast to the bulk of the socialization literature, which mostly features samples based in the

United States, both Ellis and colleagues, who focused on information technology in India, and our study might pick up specific features of Indian and Western European culture. According to Perlow et al. (2004), the patterns and outcomes of work interactions depend on the institutional and cultural norms in which they are embedded. The extent to which our findings can be generalized and applied to other contexts is thus unclear. In particular, it is important to note that our study is conducted in France, a country characterized by a high power distance culture. Because power distance directly affects the relationship between supervisor and newcomer, this cultural dimension might have an impact on our expected relationships. Understanding how cultural dimensions, such as power distance, individualism, and uncertainty avoidance, may interact with the supervisor evaluation processes is thus an important avenue for future research.

Organizational Tactics vs. Supervisor Autonomy. Most pertinent literature concentrates on socialization tactics at the organizational level, assuming that supervisors homogeneously transmit the socialization tactics determined by some upper level (Van Maanen and Schein 1979, Jones 1986). Our findings challenge this assumption, in that we find that supervisors exhibit true independence and make decisions, based on their own evaluations, about whether or not to provide support to newcomers. Even if the socialization process is structured and implemented by a human resources department, the margin of autonomy that supervisors have remains substantial. These findings question the extent to which we can define an entire organization by socialization tactics that are decided by top management but are ultimately interpreted and transformed by supervisors at a team level, particularly in contemporary organizations that are flatter and more decentralized. In line with Sluss and Thompson (2012), we encourage continued research to distinguish contextual socialization tactics implemented by the organization from supervisory socialization tactics that come directly from the supervisor, because such an approach can reveal the true influence of socialization tactics directed toward newcomers.

In a related contribution, our study offers a clearer understanding of the support that supervisors can provide to their newcomers during socialization processes. Most research that investigates supervisor support addresses either information provided to newcomers (e.g., Ellis et al. 2017) or the development of the newcomers' skills and knowledge (e.g., Jokisaari and Nurmi 2009) as a means to facilitate newcomer adjustment. We complement these views by showing that supervisors try to encourage newcomers' socialization not only by engaging in divestiture socialization but also by supporting their creativity and enhancing their

innovativeness. Furthermore, socialization research tends to assume that supervisor support always has a positive impact on newcomer socialization (Jokisaari and Nurmi 2009), but our findings show that high levels of divestiture socialization can actually be counterproductive for newcomer socialization. More broadly, our theoretical model also contributes to the socialization literature by including both supervisor investiture and divestiture tactics in a single model. Whereas Dufour et al. (2020), in their theoretical model, focused on supervisor investiture socialization, and Montani et al. (2019) investigated the moderating impact of supervisor investiture socialization on divestiture socialization, our paper analyzes simultaneously (but through distinct paths) the impact of supervisor investiture socialization on newcomer adjustment and socialization and the impact of supervisor divestiture socialization on newcomer adjustment and socialization. By proposing two clear distinct paths, we were able to disentangle the effect of both types of supervisor socialization approaches and to demonstrate the negative impact of divestiture socialization and the positive impact of investiture socialization.

Adjustment vs. Innovation. From the perspective of the newcomer, our research also contributes to the long-standing trade-off in socialization between adjustment and innovation (Ashforth and Saks 1996). The arrival of newcomers can benefit group performance in that they provide divergent thinking and force the group to consider a wider range of options (e.g., Katz and Allen 1982). Yet their arrival does not automatically increase the innovation of a work group (De Dreu and West 2001, Choi and Thompson 2005), as supervisors who integrate the newcomer tend to share homogeneous views and are not necessarily open to divergent ideas that challenge their status quo. Because newcomers are not yet fully integrated into the group, they must find ways to demonstrate how their innovative ideas align with the existing goals of the group, without threatening its norms and values. Traditionally, socialization literature has investigated newcomers' need to fit in (Cable and Parsons 2001, Kim et al. 2005), which grants them enough legitimacy to propose new ideas or alter the group's functioning. However, a balance is required between extraconformity that leads to newcomers' perfect adherence to existing norms but the absence of idea generation (Levine et al. 2003) and radical postures that may prompt newcomers to act in ways that violate existing norms (Schein 1988). As a contribution to socialization literature, we demonstrate that newcomers can get beyond this strict opposition (Anderson and Cooper-Thomas 1996) if they provide feasible ideas and demonstrate their ability to promote themselves. By considering these two criteria, supervisors

can predict newcomers' ability to facilitate idea implementation and acceptance among other organizational members (Levine et al. 2003).

Challenge vs. Hindrance Stress. The socialization literature has associated stress with high levels of divestiture socialization (Ashforth and Saks 1996, Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2012). However, the stress literature makes a clear difference between positive stress—challenge stressors—that favors newcomer learning and improvement and negative stress—hindrance stressors—that hinders newcomer well-being and goal achievement (Lepine et al. 2005, Podsakoff et al. 2007). Ellis et al. (2015) encourage future socialization research to empirically distinguish challenge stress from hindrance stress. Our paper responds to this call by showing that investiture socialization tactics (in the form of support for creativity) favor the emergence of challenge stress, whereas divestiture socialization tactics may instead favor hindrance stress.

Practical Contributions

In the present paper, we have identified two characteristics of newcomers (new ideas feasibility and self-promotion) that supervisors evaluate to determine their level of involvement in the socialization process. However, newcomers, in order to obtain their supervisor support, need to be subtle about their use of self-promotion tactics; otherwise, they can be perceived as conceited (Turnley and Bolino 2001). Indeed, Crant (2000) demonstrated that when an individual engages in high levels of impression management tactics, it can have counterproductive effects. However, if the newcomer demonstrates high political skills (Bolino et al. 2016) or high social skills (Turnley and Bolino 2001, Harris et al. 2007), he or she will have the ability to use self-promotion tactics to increase his or her performance. From a managerial perspective, supervisors can use these two qualities strategically to identify high potential job candidates and plan the career development of newcomers who are most likely to bring value to the organization (Dries and Pepermans 2007). Our article thus provides an alternative criterion to performance data for evaluating the potential of an employee as soon as he or she enters the organization (Dries et al. 2012).

In this paper, we also identify the types of help from supervisors that are most efficient for enhancing newcomer innovative behavior, performance, and socialization. That is, support for creativity can be extremely helpful in encouraging innovative behaviors, but when supervisors use divestiture socialization intensively to socialize their newcomers, it may provoke unintended, opposing effects, including reduced organizational and task socialization. The findings of Cable et al. (2013) confirm the negative impact of socialization divestiture intensity on newcomer individual outcomes such as job

satisfaction and task performance on the link between the newcomer and his or her organization in terms of engagement and likelihood to quit. We add to this list a counterintuitive result. According to our findings, socialization divestiture intensity also negatively affects the likelihood that the newcomer is socialized. Indeed, the more intensively a supervisor uses a divestiture approach when socializing a newcomer, the greater the negative impact on the newcomer organizational and task socialization. Supervisors providing support to newcomers thus should make sure that those newcomers are not experiencing their socialization as an identity threat. As soon as newcomers perceive that their required adjustment to the organizational rules or norms is too extreme, any further form of supervisor intervention is likely to be interpreted negatively, possibly with counterproductive effects. Supervisor support should instead occur in a context in which newcomers feel that they are allowed, or even encouraged, to express their real personality.

Limitations and Further Research

Several limitations help specify the actual scope of the theoretical and practical contributions of our research. First, we did not consider some important individual and organization differences that might qualify the hypothesized relationships. For instance, newcomers likely have varying levels of knowledge about the organization, and the more one knows about an organization in advance, the more positive that newcomer socialization outcomes tend to be (Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg 2003). Prior knowledge could even be a mechanism through which newcomers self-select into organizations that enable them to maximize the fit between their abilities and the demands of the job. In such situations, supervisor behaviors may be less informative for predicting socialization outcomes. At the organizational level, we did not assess the different procedures that the organizations used to select the newcomers, such as whether they utilized a multiple-hurdle selection process (Zhao and Liden 2011). Differences in recruitment and selection practices could radically alter the challenges that newcomers face, so we encourage scholars to investigate the selection process and the extent to which newcomers are evaluated by organizational insiders. Examining these elements could reveal additional important scope conditions for the relationships in our model.

Second, we focus on supervisor–newcomer interactions as determinants of socialization outcomes, which creates the impression that socialization outcomes are fully determined by such interactions. Although supervisors clearly play a key role in the socialization of newcomers (e.g., Nifadkar et al. 2012), newcomers may seek support from other socialization agents, such as peers. In particular, it would be interesting to explore how

newcomers could overcome supervisors' negative first impressions and gain their support despite a bad start. Methodologically, by gathering dyadic data, our study is less exposed to concerns of common method variance (Podsakoff et al. 2013), yet additional waves of data collection and different intervals could be even more advantageous for understanding how socialization unfolds. A more comprehensive examination of the socialization process, still from the perspective of insiders (Feldman 1994), should include other socialization agents, such as peers, as well as alternative data collection procedures.

Third, we purposefully surveyed newcomers who had little or no experience. Given that the focus of our study was to investigate the circumstances under which supervisors are best able to provide their support to temporary newcomers to favor their socialization, we focused on inexperienced newcomers given. This is because we thought supervisors would be much more likely to provide their support to inexperienced newcomers rather than to experienced newcomers. And so, by focusing on this population, we anticipated that the socialization mechanisms that favor supervisor support would be much more apparent. However, the support mechanism might be different when supervisors are socializing more experienced newcomers. For this reason, and to increase the generalizability of our findings and nuance some of our results, we encourage future studies to investigate more experienced newcomers.

Finally, the context and the organizational setting in which the newcomer is socialized is likely to be of great influence on the way supervisors approach socialization and socialize their newcomers. Our analysis on the impact the R&D investment level has on how supervisors support the creativity of their newcomers suggests a possible relationship between the two variables, even though our statistical tests remained inconclusive. For this reason, we encourage future research to investigate this relationship and, more broadly, the impact of the organizational culture and the organizational environment on the way supervisors socialize their newcomers, given the limited amount of research on this domain.

Acknowledgments

Endnotes

[1] In 2000, in most OECD countries, white-collar temporary workers represented roughly the same percentage than blue-collar workers with, on average, 7.7% of white-collar temporary workers versus 9.2% of blue-collar temporary workers. In some countries, such as Australia, Finland, Ireland and the United Kingdom, the percentage of white-collar temporary workers was higher than the percentage of blue-collar temporary workers (OECD 2002).

[2] Co-op/apprenticeship programs and internships have been the fastest-growing recruiting strategies for employers across industries (Michigan State University 2013, 2018), with up to 40% of co-op/ apprentice students and 29% of interns receiving a job offer at the end of their internship (Chesnel 2012). For example, about 89% of J.P. Morgan's and Goldman Sachs' new hires during 2008 and 2009 were their former interns (Gerdes 2009).

[3] Temporary newcomers are a very wide phenomenon that occur across a wide range of tasks, organizations, industry, and job market conditions. At the end of our theory section, we more thoroughly discuss the scope conditions of our theoretical framework.

[4] To measure authentic self-expression, we asked newcomers to rate it using three items from Cable et al. (2013): "In this past month, I behaved like the person I really am while performing my job," In this past month, I didn't feel I needed to hide who I really am while on the job," and "In this past month, I felt authentic while performing my job." We obtained a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.84 ($n = 318$).

[5] No other nonlinear relationship was present in our model.

[6] According to Balcone and Schweitzer (2019), the following French industries that invested less than 1% of their value added in R&D in 2015 were considered as having a low investment in R&D: (1) public sector, (2) commerce and distribution, (3) banking and insurance, and (4) service and communication.

[7] As an important limitation, we did not measure the Ellis et al. variables in our sample, because our research design and data collection were executed when their paper was not yet published. Thus, we could not be aware of their study, which prevented us from including their variables as controls in our models. We hope future research will be able to measure a wider set of supervisors' evaluating behaviors, which would allow for a test of the scope conditions we propose in the rest of the discussion.

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